BEING IN BETWEEN: DISCOVERING THE IDENTITIES OF EMERGING ADULT IMMIGRANTS

by

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Abstract

The proposed research aimed to discover the ways in which emerging adult immigrants negotiate their cultural identities within the context of both cultural and developmental transition. Using a grounded theory research design, 10 intensive-interviews were conducted with emerging adult immigrants, ages 19-27, who had immigrated and saw Canada as their long-term home. Emerging data was analyzed and results of this study yielded a conceptual model of cultural identity formation (MCIF) for emerging adult immigrants. The MCIF suggests that One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity is at the core of participant’s navigation of cultural identities. Additionally, the MCIF for emerging adult immigrants outlined six higher-order categories (1) Family Cultural Rigidity, (2) Connections Specific to Canada, (3) Connection to a Same Cultured Community, (4) Sense of Permanency, (5) Desire to Preserve Culture of Origin, (6) Desire to fit in to Canadian Culture, as well as two overarching factors (a) Dimension of Time and the (b) Dimension of Age that were found to be influential on participant’s overall sense of cultural identities (Blended, Dual, Disconnected, Intermediate). The present model and accompanying theory contributes to a deeper understanding of the lived experiences and sense of cultural selves of emerging adult immigrants during these phases of change. Recommendations for further research are made, as well as recommendations for counsellors working with an emerging adult immigrant population.
Preface

The entirety of this study is based on work conducted by Julie Cohen. I was responsible for determining the scope of the research and developing the research question, conducting the literature review, and choosing the methodology. In addition, I was responsible for recruiting participants, conducting participant interviews, and analyzing the data.

This current study entitled ‘Being in between: Discovering the Identities of Emerging Adult Immigrants’ was conducted with the approval from the University of British Columbia Behavioural Research Ethics Board. The ethics certification obtained was H14-00277.
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Dedication

“What I'm looking for is not out there, it is in me.”

~ Helen Keller

I have had the privilege and honour to work with immigrants, newcomers, and refugees whose experiences of challenge, perseverance, resiliency, and hope have inspired my own journey of finding myself as an American-Canadian woman. Being witness to such strength has taught me that despite hardship, disappointment, and ongoing difficulty, there is always something worth striving for. This study is dedicated to all of them, and most especially, to the ten inspirational participants who so caringly shared their stories and their selves with me. Your words are truly motivating.
Chapter 1: Introduction

Research Problem

Identity as a concept has been the focus of many research avenues with its onset emerging in the late 1960’s (Shwartz, 2001). Starting with early developmental models of identity and its formation, and quickly spreading to the myriad of dimensions that encompass identity, this construct has been at the forefront of much of the literature on the creation of a sense of self in the face of many psychological factors. A sense of self, defined as the “self as subject (the individual as experiencer) and self as object (the individual as known to himself)” (Guardo & Bohan, 1971, p. 1910), is multifaceted and complex. Although the terms ‘identity’ and ‘sense of self’ are used interchangeably in the literature, this study will refer to the ‘sense of self’ as one’s phenomenological feeling of oneself, and utilize ‘identity’ to mean the larger framework that is defined as “a clearly delineated self-definition comprised of goals, values, and beliefs to which the person is unequivocally committed…” (Waterman, 1984, p. 333) which subsumes the concept of self.

One’s sense of self is thus multi-layered and difficult to truly comprehend. It becomes even less clear for individuals who are transitioning into a new culture. As culture “consists of shared elements which provide the standards for perceiving, believing, evaluating, communicating, and acting among those who share a language, a history, and a geographic location…and are transmitted from generation to generation with modifications” (Triandis, 1996, p. 408), how one adapts to a new culture becomes important to the process of internalizing their sense of self. Phinney (2006) explains that
all individuals who live in environments that are different from their culture of origin face questions concerning their bicultural or multicultural identity. As a result of this migration, individuals are said to go through a period of cultural transition, which refers to the individuals’ psychological, socio-cultural, and linguistic adjustment in the new society (Sinacore, Mikhail, Kassan, & Lerner 2009). Furthermore, research by Akhtar (1999) showed that immigration often brings with it a dividing of the sense of self, as immigrants tend to find themselves stuck between their prior self and their efforts to cope and adapt to the challenges that accompany transitioning into a new culture.

As a result of trying to understand this transitioning period, researchers have been interested in how different immigrant individuals go about culturally transitioning into new host cultures and how they define their sense of self within their new environments. The issues and experiences associated with migration and transitioning have been explored from a myriad of different fields such as anthropology, education, psychology, and sociology (Sam, 2000). From these perspectives, we have gained insight on the formation of identity across various different domains including development (Erikson, 1950; Marcia 1966), acculturation (Berry, 2001), race (Cross, 1971; 1978), ethnicity (Phinney, 1990), gender (Downing & Roush, 1985), sexuality (Cass, 1979), and the intersection of multiple identities (Jones & McEwin, 2000). Of the current literature devoted to identity, and identity within the context of immigration, a significant proportion is dedicated to understanding the overall patterns that individuals exhibit throughout the process of forming a sense of self within their personal contexts (Root, 1992).

In a closer examination of the literature, research on identity development during
the last decade has shown one other important variable that should be considered when discussing the formation of the self, and that is the idea that identity solidification tends to be an important conceptualization for adolescent development (Meeus, 2011).

Informed by developmental psychology, the dominant theory of identity development views this exploration of self as a fundamental task of adolescence, beginning with the onset of puberty, and lasting until the late teens (Erikson, 1950). Although this paradigm was rooted in the socio-economic environment of the mid 20\textsuperscript{th} century, today Arnett (2007) argues that it no longer speaks to the normative pattern in North American industrialized societies. He suggests that identity development tends to occur at a later age as a result of young adults’ need to maintain a reliance on their families for emotional and financial support considerably longer than in past decades, while still exercising a fair amount of autonomy and freedom to explore their personal interests. Therefore in societies that offer young adults an extended time to practice being independent and explore, they continue to develop their world views and identities beyond the ages originally put forth by earlier developmental theorists. Building on this assertion, it is suggested that a new stage of development entitled ‘emerging adulthood’ be considered in the formation of identity (Arnett, 2000).

With our ever-increasing awareness of the importance of the emerging adulthood stage in the crystallization of identity and culture, the question begs to be asked, what does this stage look like for the emerging adult population who has migrated to Canada? Unfortunately, even though over 18% of Canadian society is made up of immigrants and refugee youth, there is a paucity of literature on this specific population (Salehi, 2009). Much of the scholarship on identity, culture, and immigrant populations focuses on the
experiences of immigrant adults and/or the experiences of immigrant youth (Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006; Salehi, 2009). While some communalities may be extended from these two groups onto the emerging adult stage of development, the exploration of the self in terms of crystallizing a career path, setting down roots both economically and romantically, and discovering who one wants to ultimately become are of particular importance to those on the brink of adulthood. As such, literature that addresses the experiences of immigrant youth and adults needs to be complemented by research pertaining to the experiences of emerging adult immigrants in order to understand how these individuals negotiate their cultural sense of self within a new cultural environment and in the context of developmental transition.

To date, little has been investigated as to how immigrants during the emerging adulthood period make sense of their identity exploration, and how their cultural self-concept is understood within the context of both immigration and developmental transition. Furthermore, of the literature that does look at identity within the broader immigrant population, the majority is of a quantitative nature which focuses more on the patterns of creating a cultural identity (Berry & Sam, 1996) and less on understanding the experience and the process of being between identities and cultures. Consequently, the research in this area overlooks the personal experience of the young adults themselves, and loses the understanding of how they navigate and construct their feelings of belongingness. More specifically, the majority of the scholarship addresses the coping mechanisms of individuals who fall in the middle of two or more cultures, paying particular attention to what multicultural and bicultural individuals do in order to reconcile dissonance between identities (Kawakami et al., 2011).
research loses connection with how these individuals make sense of navigating two cultures, which in turn results in a tendency to conduct research about immigrant populations, rather than in collaboration with them.

Of the literature that does give voice to the emerging adult immigrant population through qualitative methods, the primary focus has been largely on only one or two dimensions of identity such as, culture-related issues (Nelson, Badger & Wu, 2004), ethnic and racial identity issues (Sinclair & Milner, 2005), or social issues (Bynner, 2005) and not on the overall experience which may encompass the intersection of many of these dimensions. Currently, only one study, conducted by Ellis and Chen (2013) examines how both cultural and contextual factors impact the process within which undocumented immigrant college students navigate their educational and career pursuits. Although this study sheds light on the overall experience of being within the emerging adult immigrant stage and within the context of immigration, the focus on undocumented emerging adult immigrants may speak more specifically to understanding the impact of documentation status on career and personal identity development, and not on the overall navigation of identities. As such, the proposed study aimed to address the gap in the literature that tends to overlook the personal process of how emerging adult immigrants negotiate their cultural identities within the context of cultural and developmental transition.

**Rationale**

As identity is an important facet of personal development, it is important to ask how individuals from another culture understand their sense of self in a different environment, especially in countries where immigration is increasing. It is predicted that over the next twenty years, nearly half of Canadians (approximately 46% by 2031) aged
15 and older will be foreign-born or have at least one foreign-born parent. This estimation represents an important increase from previous years (39% in 2006) (Ethnic Diversity and Immigration, Statistics Canada, 2011). With immigration being an increasing reality in Canada, and as the cultural mosaic of our society continues to diversify, the experience of cultural transition plays a prevalent psychosocial role in the lives of many people within our society. Furthermore, the 2001 Canadian Census suggested that of the overall population, approximately 6.7 million were young adults between the ages of 18 and 34. Moreover, the period of transition into adulthood is being postponed, with emerging adults leaving school later, staying at the family home longer, entering the labour market later, and delaying committed relationships and having children (Delayed transitions of young adults, Statistics Canada, 2009).

As our society is seeing an increase in immigration with a heavy number of those being of youth and young adult ages, cultural identity formation becomes an important psychosocial element that needs to be considered in the services our society provides. Identity is thus a construct that is of particular importance to the field of counselling psychology as one’s identity, culture, and sense of self are the basis of many life challenges (Young, Marshall, & Valach, 2008). More specifically, studies have shown that young adult immigrants face a unique set of challenges as they transition into a new country, including among many other variables, confusion around cultural identity (Strohmeier & Schmitt-Rodermund, 2008). For example, some of the identity literature highlights the stresses that accompany what is called an “identity crisis” for immigrant youth, which Oppedal, Røysamb, and Sam (2004) define as a foundational deficit by which individuals make consistent decisions or commit to a set of underlying principles.
Accordingly, Salehi (2009) suggests that the process of acculturation causes some adolescents to teeter between strongly identifying, and not identifying with some or all aspects of both their culture of origin and the host culture. Furthermore, in a multicultural and pluralistic society such as Canada, identity formation becomes closely tied to feelings of belonging to a wider societal community. Following this trajectory, the feeling of ‘connectedness’ becomes an important aspect to the overall cultural transition of immigrant youth, with a lack of belonging associated with poor mental health outcomes such as anxiety and depression (Crockett et al., 2007; Wei et al., 2007), feelings of marginality, identity confusion, and other poor health outcomes (Williams & Berry, 1991).

Through the current research study I gained a working understanding of how those who feel “in-between” cultures negotiate this feeling and create a sense of identity. With the garnered knowledge of the process of navigating multiple cultural identities, as well as contextual elements that influence the formation of the cultural self for emerging adult immigrants, I have expanded my perspective from which to view the literature on cultural identity development, as well as created the opportunity for increased awareness of diverse immigrants’ needs.

**Research Question**

Focusing on young adult immigrants’ personal understanding of their multiple identities, the present study endeavored to understand the process of navigating identities within the context of immigration and development from adolescence to adulthood. In order to achieve this goal, the current study aimed to answer the following research question: *How do emerging adult immigrants negotiate their identities in the context of*
cultural and developmental transitioning? Focusing on this question allowed for a better understanding of the formation of cultural identity, as experienced by young adult immigrants, and the meanings that these individuals attribute to the different dimensions of their felt sense of self. Accordingly, asking this research question allowed participants to discuss how different components of their cultural identities relate to their sense of self, how immigration plays a role in their conceptualization of the self, and how they understand their sense of self at this age in their lives.
Chapter 2: Literature Review

Developmental Models of Identity

Scholarship surrounding the formation of identity has its roots in early developmental models such as Erikson’s (1950, 1968) theory of ego development, and Marcia’s (1966) identity status model. These frameworks laid the foundation for, and continue to inform, the identity development literature and models prevalent today. As such, the ensuing section will explore the fundamental models that have informed much of the literature on identity, discuss more contemporary work that suggests the need for the addition of an emerging adulthood stage of development, and lastly examine specific studies that investigate how the emerging adulthood stage is impacted by culture and cultural transition.

Erik Erikson’s (1950) Ego-Development Model

Beginning with the seminal work of Erik Erikson in 1950, his psychosocial model of identity was one of the first theories of identity and its development (Shwartz, Zamboanga, Mecca, & Ritchie, 2012). As Erikson suggested, identity helps individuals in understanding, figuring out, and finding one’s footing among the multitude of possibilities offered in the world. Acting as an anchor, identity plays a practical role in the people’s lives as it allows them to define themselves (Shwartz, 2005). Through an eight-stage ego development model, Erikson described the process by which each person is said to grow throughout his or her life, with the culmination of identity occurring during the years of adolescence. These eight stages are defined as follows: (a) Trust vs. Mistrust (birth-1 year) which describes a child’s development of dependence; (b) Autonomy vs. Shame and Doubt (2 -3 years) which refers to a child’s development of
confidence and security; (c) Initiative vs. Guilt (3-5 years) which describes a preschoolers’ development of a sense of control and ability, (d) Industry (competence) vs. Inferiority (6-12 years) which outlines a young child’s development of a sense of accomplishment; (e) Identity vs. Role Confusion (13-18 years), which delineates an adolescents’ development of a sense of self; (f) Intimacy vs. Isolation (young adulthood) which describes a young adults’ exploration of personal relationships, (g) Generativity vs. Stagnation (middle adulthood) which outlines an adult individuals’ sense of accomplishment and productivity, and lastly, (h) Ego Integrity vs. Despair (old age) which describes an older individuals’ reflection on their life.

Focusing on the Identity vs. Role Confusion stage, Identity, seen by Erikson, is a collaborative process between the youth and his or her context, and as such he described three levels at which identity could be formed – ego, personal, and social. At the ego level, identity reflects the most recessed, unconscious, and underlying process of identity formation, something Erikson described as implied and immeasurable. At the level of personality, identity represents the individual’s values, goals, and belief systems. Lastly, at the social level, identity refers to the self that an individual presents to the outside world, as well as their chosen and assigned group identifications (Erikson, 1959).

As such, Erikson highlighted the relationship between the assigned identity attributes and the individual meanings given to them. He emphasized the role of Identity vs. Role Confusion as being an integral adolescent developmental task. This adolescent stage, which typically occurs between the ages of 13 and 18, is the period whereby young individuals’ egos begin to integrate and synthesize various childhood identification fragments into a single structure. According to Erikson, this process is made accessible
to young individuals as they have the opportunity to explore and choose their line of career, their social and romantic relationships, as well as their personal values and belief systems (Erikson, 1950).

Set aside specifically for identity exploration, the adolescent years (which Erikson referred to as the *psychosocial moratorium*) are a time of reflection whereby young individuals can evaluate and explore various life paths and choices without the encumbrance of adult responsibility (Erikson, 1968). Later in his career, Erikson (1968) began to highlight that ego identity is essential to an individual’s sense of self. More specifically, he stresses that an ego identity can affect different dimensions that are critical to a stable identity, which include: its sameness over time, its internal coherence, its integration of successive identifications, and its ability to remedy inconsistencies (Laghi, Baiocco, Liga, Guarino & Baumgartner, 2013). In order to develop his ideas of identity development, Erikson employed clinical case studies, historical biographies, as well as complex psychoanalytic concepts. As a consequence of using such materials, deriving empirical models from his work was a difficult feat (Shwartz et. al., 2012).

**James Marcia’s (1966) Identity Status Model**

Although many attempts were made to build an empirical framework of Erikson’s model, only one in particular became influential in the current identity literature - the identity status model of Marcia (1966). Pulling from Erikson’s ideas, this descriptive model endeavored to elaborate on several aspects of identity that Erikson (1968) had suggested, in order to make some dimensions of his identity construct more accessible to scientific research (Kroger, 2007). Instead of conceptualizing individual identity as a resolution that falls on a continuum with identity achievement and role confusion at its
polarities, Marcia suggests that identity is articulated through one of four different identity statuses.

Expanding on Erikson’s dimensions of exploration and commitment, Marcia (1966) developed a model of identity formation where the primary focus is on capturing individual differences in the way adolescents approach identity issues, and form identity-related commitments. Exploration, according to Marcia, refers to the active process of considering numerous alternative identity elements and variants in order to discover a set of ideals that best fits oneself. The decision to adhere to one or more sets of goals, values and belief systems is what Marcia referred to as Commitment (Marcia, 1980; Seginer & Noyman, 2005). By crossing the two dimensions of exploration and commitment and by juxtaposing high and low levels of both of these concepts, Marcia derived four identity statuses: Diffusion (lack of commitment coupled with little systematic exploration), Foreclosure (commitments adopted without much prior exploration), Moratorium (ongoing exploration with little commitment), and Achievement (commitments enacted following exploration). According to Marcia, the achievement status represents the consolidation of a unified sense of identity.

Marcia’s identity status model (1966) has played an instrumental role in much of the current theoretical literature on identity (Kroger & Marcia, 2011). However, this model that has informed so many of the seminal models of identity has not gone without criticism. The foremost concern surrounding this model is the argument that the concept of identity, within the identity status model, is examined as a static set of categories (Shwartz, 2001). Another prominent limitation of Marcia’s identity status theory is that it focuses too intently on the individual, limiting its lens on how external forces guide
identity development (van Hoof, 1999). As a result, the identity status theory does not take into account identity that is assigned biologically (i.e. race) or influenced by the environment such as ethnicity and social identity (Shwartz, 2005). Without considering these elements, Marcia’s theory of identity is limited in its conceptualization of identity in today’s modern and globalized society as migration between cultures is an ever-increasing phenomenon. As a result, Marcia’s identity status model, as well as other models that have been built off of its foundation, may not account for certain dimensions of identity that are critical to the identity formation of immigrants from different cultures. Additionally, without considering the contexts in which individuals develop their identities, Marcia’s model may not speak to more current globalized views of identity development.

**The Need for an Emerging Adulthood Stage of Development**

The period of adolescence postulated by Erikson (1950), and later used in Marcia’s (1966) theory, spans from the onset of puberty through to the late teens. Scholars assessing this stage of life propose that the age range of 13 to 18, outlined in earlier models, was suggested at a time when the majority of individuals entered into a marital union and a stable work environment in their early 20’s. Hence, this paradigm no longer captures the reality of North American industrialized societies today (Arnett, 2007). According to Arnett (2000), young individuals are getting married and having children much later in life than previous generations as a result of both unstable career markets, and an increase in postsecondary education and training. Therefore, as a result of postponing these commitments, Arnett suggests that people between the rough ages of 18 to 25 do not clearly identify as either an adolescent or an adult as they are in the
process of building and solidifying an identity. Consequently, he proposed a theory of *emerging adulthood* as a framework for acknowledging the distinction between the period of adolescence and the period of transition to adulthood.

Arnett (2000; 2004; 2006; 2007) suggests that as Western society has evolved, the identity developmental tasks delineated by earlier models are often addressed at different ages than those set out by authors such as Erikson. He adds that this development occurs at a later age due to the dependability of young adults on their kinship. In industrialized societies, Arnett (2000) insinuates that these emerging adults maintain a reliance on their families for emotional and financial support considerably longer than in past decades, while still exercising a fair amount of autonomy and freedom to explore their personal interests. Therefore in societies that offer emerging adults an extended time to practice being independent and explore; they continue to develop their worldviews and identities beyond the ages originally suggested by Erikson. This extended period postulated by Arnett is said to constitute the period in an individual’s life where identity exploration, instability, self-focus, possibilities, and of feeling in-between are most prominent (Arnett, 2004).

Although the phase of *emerging adulthood* is gaining traction in the developmental literature, the concept of extending the period that constitutes adolescence was first considered in 1904. Stanley Hall, The founding father of research pertaining to adolescence, wrote that in his opinion the adolescent period concluded around age 25 (Bynner, 2005). Bynner (2005) also suggests that the parameters made around the shorter age period of the teenage years were most likely a result of the convenience and practicality of sampling youth tied to the educational system. Traditionally, young
people in high school were in school until their graduation year, when typically they were age 18, which Arnett (2000) suggests is one potential factor contributing to the use of this age as the demarcation for adolescence. The concept of emerging adulthood was also seen in the late 1980’s in Europe. Stressing the term ‘postadolescence’ as a more appropriate term than ‘adolescence’ to delimit the period of moratorium proposed by Erikson, German social scientists acknowledged an expansion of the period between childhood and adulthood (Bynner, 2005).

Furthering the notion that a prolonged stage is needed to better describe the reality of identity formation among today’s emerging adults, Phinney (2006) highlights that the dimensions of race, ethnicity, and culture play a more significant role as emerging adults face society outside of high school. An earlier study by Phinney (1989) found that only one quarter of high school students graduating from grade ten had actively investigated and formed an achieved ethnic identity. This finding substantiates the concept that the formations of identity, and elements of identity, frequently go beyond the age of adolescence. Furthermore, it is suggested that as different cultures comes into contact, the distinctions between them become more prominent and thus raise questions around identity (Phinney, 2006). In addition to this proposition lies the notion that as individuals age, their capacity to broaden their perspectives, as well as their cognitive awareness increases, and as a result, they have the ability to develop a more rounded multicultural viewpoint leading to an increase in identity exploration (Quintana, 1994).

In summary, this prolonged period of transition defined as emerging adulthood has been proposed to better capture the identity exploration and development of individuals who are between being classified as either youths or adults. In developed
countries such as Canada, this extended milieu allows these individuals the freedom to explore what it means to be who they are, and crystallize who they want to become (Arnett, 2007). As one begins to explore the world outside of the realm of high school, elements such as race, ethnicity, and culture become more salient in every day interactions, and as a result may cause some individuals to question their identity. Accordingly, in order to understand the complexity that is the transitional time after high school, it is important to examine the experiences of individuals who may find themselves challenged with issues of race, ethnicity, and culture. With this in mind, the following section will explore specific studies that have addressed factors that effect the emerging adulthood phase among immigrant, and ethnic minorities.

Cultural influence on emerging adulthood. A major dimension for the development of an emerging adulthood stage is a reliance on the concept of an industrialized western society that allows for a transitional space of exploration. However, even Arnett (2000) asserts that “emerging adulthood is not a universal period but a period that exists only in cultures that postpone the entry into adult roles and responsibilities until well past the late teens” (p. 478). Therefore, in societies that place more importance on practices such education, marriage, and community responsibility, which customarily would lead one to transition into adulthood much earlier, emerging adulthood may be experienced much differently than in societies that emphasize self-discovery.

A study examining emerging adulthood in China was conducted to explore how this transitional period was experienced in this particular society (Nelson, Badger, & Wu, 2004). Studying 207 students from the Beijing Normal University, with an average age
of 20.54 years old, the researchers administered a 143-item questionnaire developed by Arnett (1997) in order to investigate individuals’ concepts of emerging adulthood. More specifically, these authors examined the dimensions of self-perception of being an adult, perceived external and internal criteria for adulthood, individual identity distinctions (e.g. worldviews), and individual behavioural distinctions (e.g. risk-taking). Their findings suggest that although some participants’ responses seemingly match those found in Western cultures like the United States, many findings postulate that emerging adulthood is a reflection of their culture and is thus experienced differently in China (Nelson et. al., 2004).

These author’s findings suggests that the majority of Chinese young individuals believe they have reached adult status much younger than their American counterparts, and that the criteria for which young Chinese individuals consider a pre-requisite to achieve adulthood reflect a collectivistic culture. More specifically, the most salient criteria outlined by Chinese participants for adulthood were the ability to learn to have a sense of control over their emotions, a capacity to be less self-oriented, an aptitude to develop a greater consideration for others, and the ability to support their parents financially. These results suggest a marked difference from the results of a study conducted in the United States using the same questionnaire, with only 73% of Caucasian Americans endorsing “become less self-oriented and develop greater concern for others” in comparison to 93% of Chinese participants (Arnett, 2003). The discrepancy in age and identification has been hypothesized as a result of some culture’s potential for shorter periods of emerging adulthood based on their practices and beliefs (Arnett, 2000).

The suggestion that culture plays an important role on the perception of how
emerging adulthood is experienced is further supported by research conducted with Canadian aboriginal college students by Cheah and Nelson (2004). These authors examined the role that culture plays in emerging adulthood in relation to acculturation to Canadian Aboriginal heritage culture. Much like Nelson, Badger and Wu (2004), Cheah and Nelson found that Aboriginal students were more likely to perceive themselves as having reached adulthood earlier than their European counterparts. Furthermore, they found that participants indicated that the most important criteria for achieving adulthood was accepting responsibility for the consequences of their actions, and that the role of the family, and one’s position within family relationships in aboriginal culture was an important dimension of adulthood (Cheah & Nelson, 2004).

As one can see, an individual’s subjective sense of adulthood is critical to their feeling of having reached a stage of maturity. In order to gain a more in-depth understanding of the role that subjective attributes play in the transition from adolescence to adulthood, the following section will examine how personal agency contributes to this transitional process.

**Agency and emerging adulthood.** According to Shwartz, Coté, and Arnett (2005), in order for emerging adults to make long-term life commitments and choices, they must first establish a consistent and practical sense of identity in order to maintain and facilitate these plans. These authors hypothesize that because the emerging adulthood stage is relatively unstructured, identity development becomes an all-encompassing undertaking for many emerging adults, and as a result, may entail a certain amount of agency on the part of individuals in order to negotiate their transition into adulthood. Furthermore, they suggest that those emerging adults who address this period
with agency may be more capable of forming a stable sense of identity, while those who are more passive in their approach to this period of exploration may be challenged in forming a fuller, more complete identity. In order to test these predictions, these authors administered the Identity Style Inventory (Berzonsky, 1997), the Ego Identity Process Questionnaire (Balistreri, Busch-Rosnagel & Geisinger, 1995), the Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (Bennion & Adams, 1986), and the Multi-Measure Agentic Personality Scale (Côté, 1997) to 332 emerging-adult university students, representing both immigrant and U.S.-born individuals within the sample. In congruence with their hypotheses, their findings suggest that agency is positively correlated with increased exploration, flexible commitment, and deliberate choice making, as well as negatively correlated with avoidance and aimlessness.

In relation to migration, the literature postulates that as individuals’ cultural context changes, their self-concept of agency may change over time (Salili, Chiu, & Lai, 2001). In a different study conducted by Salili, Chiu and Lai’s (2001) investigating three groups: Canadian students of European decent, East Asian Canadian students (the majority of which were Chinese), and Chinese students in Hong Kong, the role of culture and context on student’s motivational orientation was examined. Results propose that the immigrant East Asian Canadian group rated their self-efficacy beliefs as falling somewhere in the middle of the individualist European Canadian group and the collectivist Hong Kong Chinese group. This particular finding implies that perhaps some aspects of the self may shift throughout the process of cultural transition (Klassen, 2004).

The aforementioned studies suggest that cultural and ethnic identity in emerging adults cannot be considered as a separate dimension from the milieu in which they are
living, studying, and working. The environments in which they live offer important information for the exploration of identity (Phinney, 2006). Alongside their educational and career contexts, research suggests that the emerging adult period for individuals who have undergone the process of migration, and may be part of an immigrant group, is influenced by their culture of origins’ values, traditions, and practices (Nelson et. al., 2004; Cheah & Nelson, 2004). Furthermore, agency and the ability to proactively explore their identity throughout the stage of emerging adulthood indicate the strength and stability of their overall identity and sense of self. Lastly, studies such as Salili, Chiu, and Lai’s (2001) suggest that an immigrant individual’s sense of agency may change over time as a result of contextual cultural changes and transitions.

As cultural transitioning may play an important role on the dimensions that influence an individual’s sense of agency and thus development of a stable sense of self, the next section will summarize literature pertaining to acculturation and identity, which focuses on how cultural transition can play a role in one’s cultural adaptation to a new country.

**Acculturation and Identity**

A significant amount of research has been placed on understanding the process of immigration. Consequently, much of the literature examines the phenomenon of acculturation as it relates to immigrants and their adaptation to a new cultural setting. Acculturation, more specifically, has been defined as the psychological and cultural changes that arise following contact between individuals and groups of different cultural backgrounds (Berry, 1997). Within the acculturation literature there are two salient models that inform research: a linear bipolar model, and a two-dimensional model. The
linear model of acculturation suggests that an individual’s sense of ethnic identity after immigration tends to falls on a continuum, with assimilation at one extreme, and pluralism at the other. More specifically, this model posits an ‘either-or’ view of identification and acculturation. In order for an individual to gain a strong sense of either an ethnic identity or a mainstream identity, one must relinquish the other to attain it. In contrast, the bi-dimensional model of acculturation suggests that the relationship between the heritage identity and the mainstream identity can be held as distinct entities. Coming from a more fluid perspective, this model proposes that individuals from cultural minority groups can have either a weak or strong identification with the culture of their ethnic heritage, or the culture of the host society (Phinney, 1990).

Later research conducted by Berry (2001) suggests that when individuals come into daily contact with another culture they must resolve two main concerns: (a) ‘cultural maintenance’, the degree to which cultural identity and its accompanying characteristics are deemed important, and thus their preservation upheld; and (b) ‘intercultural contact’, the degree to which individuals believe they should involve themselves in other cultures. When these two fundamental aspects are simultaneously explored, it results in a bi-dimensional model of acculturation that highlights four potential acculturation attitudes that immigrant individuals can adopt to make sense of these factors: assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization. These four strategies are defined as follows: (a) assimilation occurs when an individual does not desire to maintain their cultural heritage and instead would prefer to associate with the dominant culture; (b) separation, in contrast, occurs when an individual prefers to shut out interaction with the dominant culture and associate only with their culture of heritage; (c) integration occurs
when an individual simultaneously places importance on associating with both their culture of origin and the dominant culture; and lastly, (d) *marginalization* occurs when an individual cannot or does not desire to associate with either their cultural heritage or the dominant culture, and as a result do not identify themselves in respect to these cultural identities.

Although the acculturation literature outlines these four strategies as patterns exhibited by immigrant individuals, as modern society becomes increasingly diverse, even these conceptualizations are argued. A new argument to the literature proposes that mainstream psychology has been primarily occupied with developing universal, linear models and theories of immigrant identity, acculturation, and adaptation. This cross-cultural research has principally highlighted immigration as a sequence of preset stages that fail to conceptualize the experience of migration for culturally distinct stories of transnational immigrants (Bhatia & Ram, 2001). Today, the modern concept of ‘diasporas’ urges us to define identity not in terms of fixed, linear, and bi-directional absolutes, but rather as creations of cultural discourses that are continuously under negotiation (Gilroy, 1997; Hall, 1990; Bhatia & Ram, 2001; 2009; Kramer 2010).

While the more recent concept of diasporas is held by some, the predominant discourse in the literature understands immigration and identity through an acculturative lens. Consequently, the following section will explore how the different theoretical concepts that are impacting the cultural transition of emerging adult immigrants have been examined in relation to dimensions outlined by the acculturation scholarship. Where applicable, the literature on emerging adult immigrants will be highlight, however because the research in this area is limited, the following section will explore the patterns
of acculturation, cultural identity, and adaptation of immigrant youth.

**Patterns of acculturation and adaptation.** Although research has outlined four potential strategies in which immigrants are able to choose from when engaging in intercultural relations, the literature also highlights that how an individual acculturates is not always informed solely by the individual migrating (Berry, 1974). More specifically, the host society also has an impact. Depending on whether the dominant society is interested in engaging with new immigrants, whether there are integration policies in place, and whether integral institutions adjust to accommodate their needs; certain strategies of acculturation can be imposed, and limitations can be placed on the potential choices immigrants have when acculturating (Phillimore, 2011). For example, Berry (2000) explains that integration can only occur when the host society is willing and inclusive in its outlook towards a multicultural society.

Although the host society plays a significant role in how one acculturates, research also highlights that an individual’s internal sense of cultural identity also plays a role in which acculturation strategy is used (Berry, 2001). This cultural identity approach to conceptualizing acculturation reflects how an individual internally views oneself based on two independent dimensions, including: (a) identification with one’s heritage or ethnocultural group; and (b) identification with the dominant society. When considering these two dimensions together, four strategies emerge that are akin to the acculturation strategies: an *integration* strategy, when an individual presents both identities equally, a *marginalization* strategy, when an individual does not identify with either identity, and either an *assimilation* or *separation* strategy, when an individual accentuates one identity over the other.
Inherently linked to the process of acculturation is the way that immigrant youth adapt to the migration process. According to Berry and colleagues, (2006), there are two differing methods that can be used to adapt to acculturation: (a) psychological adaptation, which reflects the individual’s general mental health and well being; and (b) sociocultural adaptation, which reflects the individual’s ability to competently manage everyday activities within one’s new cultural setting. As a result of these theoretical conceptualizations, a substantial amount of research has been dedicated to understanding the process of adaptation for adults, with little to no focus on how these phenomena are experienced by youth (Berry, 1997). Accordingly, Berry and colleagues set out to test the bi-dimensional model of acculturation and investigate the association between successful adaptation and acculturation attitudes among immigrant youth, to discover if youth followed the same patterns exhibited by adults. Utilizing the data from a sample of 5,366 immigrants (ages 13 to 18) from 26 different cultural backgrounds and 13 different immigrant-receiving countries, as well as 2,631 national youth, the authors administered a questionnaire comprised of items either created for the study, or modified from preexisting scales in order to examine a large facet of dimensions associated with acculturation and adaptation. Among the variables assessed were acculturation attitudes (Berry, Kim, Power, Young & Bujaki, 1989), cultural and ethnic identity (The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure, Phinney, 1992), language use and proficiency (Kwak, 1991), ethnic and national peer contact (Berry et. al., 1989), family relationship values (Nguyen & Williams 1989; Georgas 1989; Georgas, Berry, Chrisakopoulou & Mylonas, 1996), perceived discrimination (Berry et. al., 1989), and psychological adaptation and sociocultural adaptation (The Satisfaction with Life Scale, Diener,

From their study, Berry and colleagues (2006) found that adolescent immigrants indeed fall within the four distinct categories proposed by the bi-dimensional model of acculturation when migrating and adapting to a new culture. More specifically, the authors showed that the majority of the immigrant youth adopted an integration approach to acculturation. Of the 1,576 immigrant adolescents who endorsed this profile, they reported relatively high levels of involvements in both ethnic and national identity, language, peer contacts, and values. Additionally, the authors found that those immigrant adolescents that chose the integration profile of acculturation showed a higher overall psychological and sociocultural adaptation. In accordance to this finding, Sam and Berry (2010) found that of all the approaches, the common finding across the literature is that the most positive acculturation method in terms of social and psychological well being is integration. Furthermore, the research points out that integration may be a better indicator of adaptation outcome in that it offers immigrants a double competence and access to double resources, both stemming from the individual’s ethnic and cultural group, and from the new host society.

Research looking specifically at how an individual uses integration strategies to internally incorporate their different cultural identities suggests different ways to conceptualize how multicultural individuals subjectively reconcile different sense of
selves. Noels et. al., (1996) found that “frame switching”, or more specifically, a shift from one set of actions to another, based on context, is one way that bicultural individuals manage different cultural identities. Other research describes bicultural individuals as being ‘cultural chameleons’, suggesting that different contexts activate different social categories, which in turn predicts the synchronization of one’s self-concept to the relevant category (Kawakami et. al., 2011). Downie et al., (2006) discussed the intra-individual negotiation process by showing that compatible cultural identities are ones that are consistent across identities and contexts.

In summary, the research on acculturation among immigrant youth has found that they, like immigrant adults, follow a bi-cultural model of acculturation, whereby the most preferable strategy is integration. This profile has been consistently associated with better mental health, and the increased ability to acquire the sociocultural skills needed to navigate living successfully in the new host culture. The process of migration is closely tied to how well an individual adapts to the cultural transition, and there are multiple factors that help determine an immigrant individual’s overall well being. Although it is outlined in the literature that immigrants have a choice as to how they acculturate, integration is also dependent on whether the host society is open to accepting and welcoming new immigrants. If the nature of the host society is discriminatory, immigrants are more likely to experience rejection, and in turn are more likely to reject the host society, resulting in a preference for the separation approach to acculturation (Berry, 2006; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, & Solheim, 2009).

As we have seen, acculturation research has shown that integration is an important approach to the overall health and capacity of immigrant youth to adapt when
transitioning to a new culture. As such, it is essential to look at current scholarship addressing the sociocultural and psychological patterns of emerging adult immigrants in their process of understanding their immigration and developmental transition. With this in mind, the following sections will address these areas that have been highlighted in the literature.

**Sociocultural and psychological patterns of emerging adult immigrants.** The literature on immigration and youth has suggested that adolescents migrate to a new culture for many different reasons (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). As a result, many immigrant adolescents arrive to the host society at a variety of different ages, and consequently experience migration differently. Of one of the few qualitative studies that have invited the voices of emerging adult immigrants to lend their perspective to the literature, Ellis and Chen (2013) conducted a grounded theory study exploring the identity development process of 11 undocumented college students living in the United States. Utilizing a semi-structured interview protocol, the authors found that participants reported that as children migrating after birth but before adulthood, their cultural and ethnic self-identity was influenced by both their culture of origin and the host society. Dependent on the age at which they migrated, participants responded that culture influences from the home were more frequently gained through indirect means: from past memories of their former culture, or through experiences with family members who maintained their cultural values and customs. Of those participants who migrated at an earlier stage and experienced the process of public school in the United States, all of them reported a sense of being impacted in some way by both their culture of origin and the culture of the host society. One such participant illustrated the influence of the two
cultures in her description of identity: “I am Colombian, but because I have been sewn with a thread of Colombian and American culture, I also identify myself as American” (Ellis & Chen, 2013, p. 255).

Findings from Ellis and Chen’s (2013) study also show that the acculturation process for emerging adult immigrants who migrated at an early stage differed a great deal from that of their parents and older siblings whose identities were shaped within the framework of their culture of origin. Participants indicated that their early sense of inclusion in American society reflected a certain amount of innocence in their feelings of belonging. Many participants reported not being aware of, or feeling as if they were any different from other children going to school at the time. However, findings also illustrate that the innocent feeling of belonging at an early age left them ill prepared to cope with the constraints and challenges that accompany being undocumented immigrants. This disillusion of belonging based on their documentation status in the host society undoubtedly played a role in the formation of their identity (Ellis & Chen, 2013).

Accordingly, Ellis and Chen (2013) found that the ability for emerging adult immigrants to adapt fluidly to their host society, feeling as if they were sewn with two threads, posed some tension in other areas of their life as well. Although there are benefits to having experienced childhood in the host society, some emerging adult immigrants reported that there was a need to seek out and maintain connections to their immigrant communities by making friends within their cultural and ethnic group, and by maintaining cultural customs and beliefs. In contrast, when emerging adult immigrants embraced the American culture, but actively disengaged from their culture of origin, they reported these actions as resulting from a desire to shed the negative stereotypes that
accompanied their particular ethnic culture (Ellis & Chen, 2013).

Having a more fluid sense of American culture, as well as a desire to fit-in to the new society, emerging adult immigrants reported that the most tension between both the culture of origin and the host culture stemmed from family (Ellis & Chen, 2013). The authors’ findings suggest that immigrant children with more exposure to American culture, and thus a better apprehension of the English language and the American value system, often resentfully acted as cultural and linguistic translators for their families. Additionally, some participants indicated that their parents, who at one point played a prominent role in the planning of their futures, tended to eventually give up their active engagement to allow for their children to uphold the value of independence. One participant captures this dilemma through her expressed experience: “Moving to America really created a wedge. And thinking things over now I realized that what separated us was school” (Ellis & Chen, 2013, p. 257).

It appears that there are many factors that can effect the experience of emerging adult immigrant’s identity formation, including age of migration, participation in the host cultures’ educational system, immigrant status in the new society, feelings of belonging, and the potential value clash between their new found cultural values and that of their families who are upholding those of their culture of origin (Ellis & Chen, 2013). Although results from Ellis and Chen’s study provide us with invaluable insight into different elements that influence identity formation, their findings are not without limitations. It is important to consider when examining these findings that the participants in the study’s sample were self-selected and had to meet the requirement of having had educational success and aspirations. As such, it may become difficult to
extrapolate these findings to other immigrant populations who may not be as willing to express their experiences, or who have not had the opportunity to attend an educational institution in their new host-country. Additionally, the study’s focus on immigrant documentation may speak more directly to how immigrant youth negotiate the limitations that arise with being undocumented and as such may not give us a full picture of the process of constructing an identity.

Alongside the investigation of sociocultural and psychological factors that affect one’s identity through the process of both cultural and developmental transition, much of the research on identity focuses on the different dimensions that make up and thus play a large role in the shaping of one’s identity. As such, the next sections will explore the identity literature as it pertains to ethnicity and race (Phinney, 1989; Cross 1971; 1978), gender (Downing & Roush, 1985), sexuality (Cass, 1979), and multiple identities (Jones & McEwin, 2000; Collins, 2010).

**Ethnic and Racial Identity**

The need to examine how individuals from different ethnic or racial groups gain a sense of self became an important area in the identity research as a resurgence of ethnic nationalism around the world started to become more apparent (Nagel, 1994). In addition, the topic of ethnic identity became increasingly important due to the ever-increasing changes within demographics and the rising amount of immigrants and refugees all over the world (Phinney, 1990). As research in this area became more abundant, it began to show the impact that having a stable ethnic and racial identity had on an individual. More specifically, scholarship in this area highlights that ethnic and racial identity are correlated with positive psychological well being (Chae & Foley, 2012;
Tsai et al., 2002; Yip & Fulgni, 2002). Corroborating these findings, Lee & Yoo (2004) examined archival data and found that ethnic and racial identity was associated with increased social connectedness and self-esteem. As these two constructs have been illustrated as critical pieces to one’s overall well being, the following section will address the theoretical frameworks that inform ethnic and racial identity, as well as some of the most salient models that speak to the development of these dimensions of identity.

**Defining ethnic and racial identity.** In order to critically examine the research on ethnic and racial identity it is important to explore how these constructs have been defined. Unfortunately, a search of ethnic identity models and frameworks becomes easily muddled, as there is no consistency in the meanings that are proscribed to ethnic identity (Chavez & Guido-Dibrito, 1999). According to a review of the literature, Phinney (1990) found that an astonishing two thirds of the examined articles offered no specific definition of the construct. Furthermore, of the definitions that were provided, he highlights that all of them emphasized different understandings and elements of what ethnic identity signifies.

As a result of not having a clear definition, the term ‘ethnic identity’ is often used interchangeably with ‘racial identity’ in the literature. This amalgamation of concepts becomes a problem, as an one’s ethnicity, according to researchers, should include more than his or her racial heritage. Ethnicity should encompass the values, belief systems, and culture of one’s heritage (Phinney, 1995). To further confuse the terminology, ‘racial identity’ is most often defined from a social perspective as well – one that suggests that its stems from a “sense of group or collective identity based on one’s perception that he or she shares a common heritage with a particular racial group” (Helms, 1993, p. 3). As a
consequence of the similarities and continuous nature of both ethnic and racial identity definitions, it becomes difficult to tease the two concepts apart in the literature, and hence one must consider the two together in order to understand the theoretical conception of their development. As such, the following section will explore the psychological fields and historical contexts that have informed both ethnic and racial identity, as well as highlight some of the most salient and influential models within their respective areas.

**Ethnic Identity Development**

Most of the literature on ethnic identity has been based on three prominent conceptualizations: (a) a social psychology perspective, where social identity becomes the basis for defining ethnicity; (b) an acculturation and conflict view, in which the overarching patterns of migration informs ethnicity; or (c) a developmental outlook, whereby identity formation informs ethnicity (Phinney, 1990). The social identity approach has become one of the most influential theories of group processes and intergroup relations worldwide. Consequently, most of the research on ethnic identity (which involves some aspect of group relations) pulls directly from the work of Tajfel and Turner (1979). According to their view of identity, in order for people to preserve a sense of well being, individuals seek to establish a sense of group identification. In articulating his Social Identity Theory, Henri Tajfel argues that human interaction ranges on a spectrum from being purely interpersonal on the one hand, to purely intergroup on the other. He proposes that the mere process of making salient distinctions between an ‘us and them’ changes the way people view each other (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Moreover, this theory suggests that merely identifying with a group fosters a feeling of belonging, which in turn provides a positive self-concept (Phinney, 1990). The
correlation of psychological well being and ethnic identification has been seen in the findings of multiple studies (Chae & Foley, 2012). Data from an archival study on Asian immigrants found that ethnic identity was linked with social connectedness, self-esteem, and cultural adjustment (Lee & Yoo, 2004; Tse, 1999; Ying & Lee, 1999).

Turner, a student of Tajfel, later in his own Self-Categorization model (1987) argues that categorization also acts to change the way individuals see themselves in so far that it initiates a different level of one’s self-concept. At the interpersonal level, one’s self-concept is comprised mostly of the attitudes, memories, behaviours, and emotions that define oneself as distinctive entities from others, which is labeled as one’s ‘personal identity’. At the intergroup level, the self-concept is comprised mainly of one’s ‘social identity’, which is defined as those aspects of an individual’s self-image that stem from the social categories to which he or she belongs as well as the emotional and evaluative costs of being a member within a particular group (Turner et al., 1987). When it comes to ethnic groups, however, Tajfel and Turner’s models posit that the dominant group once again plays a large role in the outcome of a positive social identity. According to these theories, if the normative group in society holds a particular ethnic minority group in low regard, then this perspective has the ability to influence the way members from this group see themselves, which may result in a low self-regard and a negative social identity (Hogg, Abrams, & Patel, 1987).

Another way in which ethnic identity is conceptualized is through the broader acculturation literature, which was presented earlier. It is posited that in societies where there is a homogeneous ethnicity and race, the concept of ethnic and racial identity becomes meaningless (Phinney, 1990). Used synonymously with ethnicity and race, the
term ‘acculturation’ generally focuses on the shifts that occur in attitudes, values, and behaviours due to the interaction of different cultures (Berry, Trimble, & Olmedo, 1986). In order to examine ethnic and racial identity within and acculturation framework, the literature suggests that one must move away from looking specifically at the ethnic group and how it relates to the host society, and focus more on how individuals connect to their own subgroups (Cuéllar et. al., 1997).

The third perspective that informs ethnicity and identity extends from developmental models of identity such as the aforementioned Ego identity model (Erikson, 1950), and the Identity status model (Marcia, 1966). More specifically, many traditional models of identity development (Atkinson, Morten & Sue, 1983; Cross, 1978; Kim, 1981) draw on the idea of attaining identity through a process of exploration characterized by attaching a greater positive valence to one particular identity (e.g., ethnicity). According to these developmental models, this acquisition is deemed successful if this explored dimension is then effectively integrated into the individual’s self-concept (Stirratt, Meter, Ouellette, & Gara, 2008). As a result of this perspective, these long-established developmental models of ethnic identity present a linear stage progression of identity development (Chavez & Guido-Dibrito, 1999).

**Phinney’s ethnic identity development model (1989).** One of the most prevalent and well-known theories of ethnic identity development comes from the seminal work of Phinney (1989). He highlights that individuals who have strong ethnic or national identities have embedded that sense of themselves into their self-concept, and as a result, portray their ethnic or national background within the social world in varying ways (Shwartz, 2005). His model outlines three stages whereby all ethnic groups are said
to progress. The first stage, *Unexamined Ethnic Identity*, is characterized by one’s positive or negative perspective of their ethnic group. The second stage, *Exploration* or *Ethnic Identity Search*, highlights one’s pursuit of meaning in regards to their membership within their ethnic group. The final stage, *Achieved Ethnic Identity*, is characterized by one’s understanding and integration of ethnicity into their lives (Phinney, 1992). Similar to Marcia’s work, Phinney highlights a stage characterized by exploration, and finally a stage that acknowledges an informed commitment.

**Racial Identity Development**

Within the psychological literature pertaining to racial identity development, theories have emerged over the past 25 years and have mainly focused on African Americans as an oppressed group. Several of these early theories were created with the goal of delineating aspects of race that were seemingly impacting the process of psychotherapy, as well as addressing the belief that a Black individual had to assimilate to the dominant White culture in order to have a healthy psychological adjustment. In contrast, other early models posited that a Black enmeshed identification with White culture was actually damaging to the self, and thus set out to outline the development of a healthy Black identity (Constantine, Richardson, Benjamin & Wilson, 1998).

As a result of these early theorizations, a myriad of models were developed. Divided into two streams of conceptualization, the mainstream models (referred to more commonly as Nigrescence racial identity models) predominantly concentrate on the dimensions of cognitive, affective, and behavioral processes of racial identity development, and have conventionally been the focus of much of the psychological literature. Fundamentally, these theories suggest that in order for Black individuals to
gain a healthy racial identity, they must move through a series of stages that are characterized by an initial idealized conviction about the White dominant group, and demeaning feelings and cognitions towards themselves and others within their race. Towards the end of the progression, mainstream approaches highlight stages that are then characterized by a positive internalization about themselves, other members of their race, as well as other racial and ethnic groups. In contrast, the second, and less apparent conceptualization of developing a healthy Black identity (often thought of as the underground approaches) assume that despite some of the oppressive experiences that this population faces, there are positive cultural influences that may possibly facilitate the shaping of a healthy Black self-concept without having to first internalize a negative view of the self. In essence, by highlighting the personal distinctions and experiences amongst Black individuals, as well as their understanding of their cultural history and current state in American society, these models have a tendency to underscore the experience of being Black (Constantine et al., 1998). Unfortunately, this second view is coined as being “underground” as it reflects the little attention it has received from the larger psychological literature (Gaines & Reed, 1994, 1995; Sellers et al., 1998).

As the majority of the scholarship on racial identity has primarily been from a mainstream conceptualization of racial development, the subsequent section will address some of the most prominent mainstream models that have outlined the theoretical concepts of racial identity development.

**Prominent models of racial identity development.** One of the most widely accepted mainstream conceptualization of Black identity development in the psychological literature is the Psychological Nigrescence theory developed by Cross in
1971, and further expanded on in 1978 (Cross, 1971; 1978; Helms, 1990). Not only is this model the primary basis for understanding this population’s identity development, it has been the primary counselling and psychotherapy tool for exploring racial identity, because of its association with the empirical Racial Identity Attitude Scale- Black developed by Parham and Helms in 1981 (Vandiver, Cross, Worrell, & Fhagen-Smith, 2002). Cross proposed a four- and five-stage model wherein each stage is characterized by difficulties faced by the self-concept that have consequences for a Black individual’s feelings, thoughts, and behaviors. The first stage, Pre-Encounter suggests that Black individuals feel inferior to those of the dominant White race. The second stage, Encounter, constitutes a shift from an anti-Black sentiment towards a more pro-Black one, which is said to occur as a result of an event (personal or social) that challenges the individuals’ Eurocentric worldviews, making them vulnerable to a new interpretation of their identity. The third stage, Immersion-Emersion, first describes an active engagement in the Black experience that is characterized by the disparagement of Whiteness and Eurocentricity, followed by an emersion phase which reflects a resurfacing from the darker, more reactionary “either-or” stance brought on in immersion. The fourth stage, Internalization, is characterized by the individual’s achievement of a positive Black racial identity. Added to this model later on, a fifth stage called Internalization/Commitment, which incorporates the idea of the individual actively seeking to challenge the systems of oppression (Cross, 1978). More recently, Cross and Fhagen-Smith (1996) updated Cross’s original models, suggesting that the Black identity-development process may actually occur across the lifespan, and that this developmental path may be connected to the stages of Erikson's (1950) Ego-identity development model.
Although the majority of racial identity research has focused on African Americans, there are models that focus on other racial groups. More specifically, Atkinson et al., (1989) developed the Racial and Cultural Identity Development model that is inclusive of all racial and ethnic minority groups, Kim (1981) created the Asian American Identity Development Model, Ferdman and Gallegos (2001) proposed the Latino/a Racial Identity Orientation Model, and finally, Katz (1989) illustrated a descriptive model of white ethnic identity and worldview. Despite the eruption of racial and ethnic models, only a very few gained the same traction in the literature as that of models for African Americans. One such model is Helms’s Model of White Identity Development (1990), which emerged from Cross’s (1971) Nigrescence model. Helms developed a six-stage model in order to bring awareness to White individuals about their active participation in constructing and upholding a racist society (Helms, 1992). Following the creation of the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale to quantify identity development, Helms posited that the “evolution of a positive White racial identity consists of two processes, the abandonment of racism and the development of a non-racist White identity” (Helms, 1990, p. 50). Her model delineates a number of stages (Contact, Disintegration, Reintegration, Pseudo-Independence, Immersion-Emersion, and Autonomy) that outline the process of becoming more racially conscious with the ultimate goal of integrating a White racial identity that is characterized as non-racist and advanced (Helms, 1990). Not long after its creation, Helms’s model was empirically tested, with studies showing that advanced White racial attitudes were associated with cultural values (Carter & Helms, 1990), and that self-actualization and individual adjustment were positively associated with successively later stages of White racial
consciousness (Tokar & Swanson, 1991).

In essence, ethnic and racial identity has mainly been recognized in the literature as playing an important role in the sense of self of those from a non-dominant ethnic and racial group. Prevalent in the research on ethnic identity development are three conceptualizations of how ethnicity is informed: social theory, acculturation theory, and developmental theory. Although racial identity models stemmed from the attempt to understand how African American’s developed a sense of self based on their racial difference, much like ethnic identity models, the mainstream approaches to racial identity development delineate how an individual gains insight into the reconciliation of their identity. Models outlined by Cross (1971) and Helms (1990) follow a similar trajectory as those laid out in the literature on ethnicity. Like Phinney’s ethnic identity model (1989), these theoretical frameworks posit that individuals begin with either a negative self-view, or are unaware of their racial and ethnic role, and progressively begin to integrate a positive sense of self with the increasing knowledge of their racial and ethnic community and their place within it.

As these models have suggested, race and ethnicity are large dimensions of an individual’s sense of self and play a significant role in the positive or negative integration of one’s self-concept. With that in mind, if race and ethnicity are as important to an individual’s self-concept as the literature proposes, it becomes important to examine how these dimensions factor into the sense of self of those who have migrated from one culture to another. As such, in order to acquire a deeper understanding of the dimensions of race and ethnicity in the context of immigration, the ensuing section will explore various studies that have examined how immigrant individuals’ ethnic and racial identity
is influenced through the process of migration.

**Cultural Transition and Ethnic and Racial Identity**

Currently, the majority of literature pertaining to identity and emerging adult immigrants focuses primarily on how ethnicity and race informs this population’s sense of self. As a result, the research does not investigate the manner in which being in this emerging developmental phase, or having undergone cultural transition, influences one’s sense of ethnic and racial identity. Phinney (2003) suggests that exploring the relationship between migration (and thus acculturation) and ethnic and racial identity is not an easy task, as there are a multitude of perspectives of what each construct constitutes. Additionally, he argues that measures that assess these constructs tend to overlap due to the fact that ethnic self-identification is a critical dimension of both ethnic, and racial identity. To further add to the blurred categorizations of these constructs, Phinney points out that one’s self-identification is also included in scales that assess acculturation.

Despite the difficulty of teasing apart the relationship between ethnicity and race in the context of cultural transition, there has been research on acculturative change that has shed some light on how changes due to migration may affect one’s ethnic and racial identity. To garner knowledge of how the migration process may influence ethnic and racial identity, the following two sections will explore some of the acculturative literature. Highlighted below are studies that examine how the acculturation process may impact immigrants’ self-concepts, with particular focus being placed on ethnic and racial labeling, the strength and valence of ethnic and racial identity, and lastly, the role that language plays in the maintenance of ethnic and racial identity.
**Acculturative stress and self-identification.** The group label that one chooses for oneself is said to be one of the most important aspects of ethnic and racial self-identification (Phinney, 2003). Much like the strategies that an immigrant can take when acculturating, those who migrate face similar challenges when it comes to deciding whether to adopt the prominent labels of the host society, or whether or not they should maintain their ethnic and racial label. In a study examining over 5,000 adolescents of both first and second generation Latin and Asian immigrant families residing in the United States, Rumbaut (1994), found that 43 percent of first generation immigrants, and only 11 percent of second-generation immigrants, identified themselves with a national origin label (e.g., Chinese), whereas 49 percent of second-generation immigrants self-identified more consistently with compound or bicultural labels (e.g., Chinese American). These findings are consistent with the general research examining identity self-identification that has shown that ethnic and racial, or national labeling, is more commonly used within first generation immigrants, while the use of compound or bicultural labels is more common among second-generation immigrants (Phinney, 2003).

These results suggest that depending on the generation of the immigrant, different degrees of identification with ethnic and racial identity labels may be present, with adolescents being more likely to endorse bicultural labels than their parents.

**Acculturative changes and ethnic and racial identity strength.** Stemming from the work of Tajfel and Turner (1986) on social identity, examining strength and valence in ethnic and racial identity arose in order to describe one’s sense of group belonging. Similar to self-identification through ethnic and racial labels, a study of 364 Mexican American students suggests that second-generation immigrants are less likely to
have ‘ethnic loyalty’, defined as an individual’s wish to preserve their culture, their inclination to connect with others of the same ethnic and racial background, and their beliefs of ethnic and racial discrimination (Arbona, Flores, & Novy, 1995). Adding to this finding, Cameron and Lalonde (1994) conducted a study to determine the strength of ethnic identity among first and second generation Italian Canadians. The researchers asked participants to rate their perceived resemblance to Canadian and ethnic reference groups. Utilizing multidimensional scaling, a marked difference was found between the generations, with the second generation appearing more bicultural.

**Acculturative changes, language, and ethnic and racial identity.** Laroche, Kim, Hui, and Tomiuk (1998) used data collected from several questionnaires given over the period of seven years to Francophone, Anglophone, Italian, and Greek participants who lived in varying districts within Montreal in order to examine the connection between two elements of cultural transition: the acquisition of the dominant culture, and the retention of the culture of origin. The authors found that the degree to which an immigrant individual identifies with one’s ethnic or racial group is correlated with the degree to which one is able to speak the dominant culture’s language. More specifically, as an individual becomes more knowledgeable in the host society’s national language, the strength of one’s identification with one’s ethnic or racial origin weakens. The authors point out however that these findings were not linear, and that the correlation between the two components may fluctuate over generations (p. 430)

In summary, it seems that there are different components that impact an immigrant’s ethnic and racial identity formation and maintenance through the process of cultural transition. Studies show that an immigrant’s generational status (e.g., first or
second) plays a large role in whether a person defines oneself with labels that are strictly
tied to one’s culture of origin, or labels that reflect a more bicultural identification
(Rumbaut, 1994). Moreover, there appears to be a decline in ethnic loyalty as the
generations pass. This finding, among others highlighted, suggests that the general
strength and valence given to ethnic and racial identity fluctuates, and typically weakens
over time. Nevertheless, as language has been shown to play a role in the degree of
strength of an immigrant’s ethnic identification, the relationship between cultural
transition and maintenance of culture of origin is not necessarily linear.

Given the documented complexity in defining and understanding identity
formation and maintenance, it is important to examine variables beyond race and
ethnicity in order to fully capture this concept. Consequently, the ensuing section will
examine the literature pertaining to gender identity and its development.

**Gender Identity Development**

Gender Identity is defined as an individual’s “concept of himself or herself as
male or female” (Ross-Gordon, 1999, p.29). Over the past two decades, the research on
how one develops a gendered identity has produced many theories to explain this
phenomenon, all of which place differing emphasis on psychological, biological or
sociostructural dimensions (Bussey & Bandura, 1999). As the focus of the present study
is on the manner in which one understands and negotiates their identities, the following
section will focus on the theoretical perspectives and models that emphasize either a
psychological or sociostructural understanding of gender identity development.

**Psychological theoretical perspectives on gender identity development.** The
psychological models of gender identity development, also referred to as transmission
models, tend to emphasize the cognitive construction of gender conceptions and
behaviours through the influence of the family (Bussey & Bandura, 1999). One of the
very first psychological frameworks of gender identity development stems from the work
of Freud. His psychoanalytic theory highlights a child’s inner psychic conflicts through
the process of identification and one’s eventual alignment of gender roles in the family.
Well known as the phallic stage of development, Freud outlines how young boys and
girls develop a gender identity akin to the parent of the same gender in order to resolve
internal tensions (Ross-Gordon, 1999).

Expanding on Freud’s work, Chodorow (1978) argues that attachment is the
underlying current shaping young girls’ gender identity, as they are being reared by an
individual of the same sex and accordingly align their gender identity with them. While
some posit attachment as driving gender identity, another traditional framework of gender
identity development is rooted in cognitive developmental models. These theories
suggest that one’s understanding of gender is dependent on their cognitive ability to
reason about the world, and thus is a function of their age. Kohlberg (1966) proposed a
seminal model of gender identity development; outlining three stages that children
progress through in order to cognitively understand their gender. The first stage, Gender
Identity, is characterized by children’s ability to recognize their own and other’s gender.
The second stage, Gender Stability, suggests that with age, children understand that
gender stays stable over time. Finally, the third stage, Gender Constancy, outlines a
child’s understanding that gender is stable regardless of an individual’s appearance,
activities, or behaviours (Ross-Gordon, 1999).

Of the more contemporary cognitive frameworks of gender identity development,
much of the research has focused on how women attain a positive self-identity in the face of challenges, such as negative media portrayals and unequal career and educational opportunities (Gerstmann & Kramer, 1997). One of the most cited and popular models of feminist identity development is that of Downing and Roush (1985). These authors suggested a five-stage model that was based off of the racial identity work of Cross (1971). In their conceptualization of feminine identity, women progress through the stages of Passive Acceptance, Revelation, Embeddedness-Emanation, Synthesis, and Active Commitment. Emulating Cross’s model of Black identity development, Downing and Roush propose that in the Passive Acceptance phase women initially do not recognize or deny the individual, institutional, and cultural discrimination against them. The Revelation stage then outlines the awakening of awareness to this discrimination based on one or a series of crises, which is usually accompanied by feelings of anger towards men. Following this stage, women progress through to the Embeddedness-Emanation stage which is characterized by an attachment and later detachment toward feminism. The Synthesis stage shows women increasingly valuing and adopting a positive view of being female. In this stage, women have the capacity to integrate feminine aspects alongside their own personal attributes into an affirmative and healthy self-concept. Lastly, the Active Commitment stage outlines the effort of women to use their newly developed and secure identity to seek societal change in order to reflect a more egalitarian system. Although this stage is outlined, the authors posit that few women actually evolve into this stage and also posit that women who are contributing to women’s right may in fact be operating from the earlier, Embeddedness-Emanation stage (Downing & Roush, 1985).
Following the feminist identity development model, Helms (1990) proposed the womanist identity theory. Following a very similar path as Downing and Roush’s model (1985), and utilizing the same stage titles as Cross’s model of Nigrescence (1971); Pre-Encounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, Internalization, Helms describes the process of creating a feminine identity, adding that feminist action by women is necessary in order to fully achieve a healthy feminine identity.

**Sociocultural theoretical perspectives on gender identity development.**

Psychological perspectives on gender identity development highlight internal processes; however, sociocultural perspectives emphasize the role of external dimensions. One theory that falls into this category is the social-learning theory of gender identity posited by Bandura (1986; 1997). This conceptual model integrates both psychological and sociocultural dimensions to underscore that gender identity is shaped through the process of imitation, positive reinforcement for gender stereotypical activities and behaviours, and vicarious learning from both peer and adult models (Bussey & Bandura, 1999).

Merging cognitive–developmental and social learning theory, another framework, known as gender-schema theory proposed by Bem (1981), was formulated so as to conceptualize how internal cognitive networks are shaped, maintained, and transmitted by society. She outlines that gender-schemas are cognitive frameworks that make sense of the concepts of masculinity and femininity, and that those who have strong gender-schemas have the propensity to systematize their beliefs according to gender stereotypes. As such, individuals deem what roles, careers, and behaviours are appropriate based on their associated gender-schemas (Ross-Gordon, 1999).

In summary, much of the research on gender identity development has taken
either a focus on psychological dimensions and/or a combination of cognitive and sociocultural dimensions. The former places a heavy emphasis on the internal conceptualization of the family and attachment, and treats gender development as an important developmental task of early childhood, while the latter emphasizes gender development as a product of one’s life-course, emphasizing external and internal influences. Of the psychological models, many present stage frameworks for gender identity development that are very much akin and influenced by racial identity research. In examining these models, Bussey and Bandura (1999) point out that beliefs about gender and their accompanying roles differ across cultural and social contexts, as well as through different periods within the life cycle. This observation suggests that perhaps childhood is not the only period of development in which gender identity negotiation exists. In exploring the sociocultural theories of gender identity development, authors also highlight that sociocultural and technological advancement suggests that current conceptions of what constitutes appropriate gender conduct may need to be revised. With this in mind, it is important to explore how gender identity development fluctuates according to cultural context and developmental age. As the current study proposes to explore emerging adult immigrants within the context of cultural transition, the following section will investigate the studies that have highlighted gender and its roles in cultural adaptation.

Gender role negotiation. Studying the role of gender in immigrants’ experiences in the host society allows for insight into the challenges confronting immigrant families (Dion & Dion, 2001). More specifically, studying migration allows for the examination of how socio-structural transitions, and the migration process itself, inform and shape
gender relations. Of this research, some studies have shown that through the process of migration, the patriarchal power in diverse ethnic immigrant families can be either flexible or strict (Kibna, 1990). Lim (1997) examined how gender-related assumptions and expectations challenged immigrants’ previous held beliefs about individual behaviours and family roles. The author conducted in-depth interviews with 18 Korean immigrant working couples that had settled in Austin and Dallas, Texas. More specifically, the couples all fell into one of three occupational categories: professional, nonprofessional wage earner, and family business. Within all the categories, the author explored each spouse’s view on earning money, as well as their views on the allocation of family and domestic work. One of the significant themes that emerged in the study was that Korean immigrant husbands worried that their wives would challenge the male dominance at home, with three consistent factors contributing to this fear: (a) the American stereotype that western society offers women equal rights and freedoms; (b) the belief that with the switch from full-time homemaker to working wife, their female spouses will bargain for new marital relations based on their ability to earn income; and (c) the belief that their wives will not be the same as they were when they lived in Korea. Furthermore, Lim (1997) found that among those couples who were categorized as professional, the husbands did not directly oppose their wives working, but rather viewed them as a secondary breadwinner, choosing to work for fun while maintaining their primary responsibility for the home and family life. The women from this category however, were the most likely to endorse a ‘superwoman’ ideal, meaning that they held high expectations for themselves as both a homemaker and professional worker. Additionally, it was found that the wives’ new experience of working outside of the home
contributed to their increased assertiveness, prompting them to want more help from their husbands in home-related duties, while simultaneously asserting their role as primary homemaker. The above findings highlight that the process of cultural transition can pose challenges to gender role expectations for immigrants whose host culture differs significantly from that of their culture of origin. Women from the Korean culture who take on work, whether out of need to help provide for their family, or to help with the family business, seem to challenge culture-related values of marital hierarchy, which may cause spousal stress. Thus, the socio-structural factors of employment and finances may contribute, albeit differently, to the adaptation of immigrant women and men (Dion & Dion, 2001).

Additional research that examined gender-role negotiations and immigration is Hondagneu-Sotelo’s (1992) study with Mexican immigrant women and men in the United States. The author suggests that women and men do not engage in the migration experience equally, and that different migration paths lead to the formation of varying gender roles and interactions after the families have settled into their new environment. In examination of the impact of family stage migration (when individual family members migrate at different times) Hondagneu-Sotelo set out to investigate how alterations in patriarchal behaviours were related to the immigration process. The author’s study spanned across 18 months, and included participant observations, social interactions, and in-depth interviews with 44 adult women and men immigrants. Results demonstrated that when husbands migrated before their families, and were thus gone for a significant period of time, both spouses were required to assume responsibilities that were traditionally completed by the other spouse, with men needing to learn to accomplish
domestic duties while they lived alone, and women needing to work to provide financially for the family back in their country of origin. Specifically, in the context of cultural transition, gender plays a role in the migration process, and the way in which a family migrates, either separately or together, is associated with changes in different dimensions of gender role-related behavior.

**Gender roles, socialization, and immigration.** Another dimension in which gender is seen to play a role in the cultural adaptation of immigrants is within the socialization process of families. More specifically, the expectations that parents have for their children and their behaviours have implications on how these children culturally adapt within the host society (Pettys & Balgopal, 1998). These expectations are often more prevalent when specific values and behaviours within the parents’ culture of origin differ largely from those of the receiving society.

As a result of discrepant cultural values, in an attempt to uphold their cultural views and traditions, parents may try to control their children’s contact with values in the current society which threaten heritage values (Dion & Dion, 2001). Moreover, research demonstrates that the culture-specific expectation that one should represent traditional ideals is greater for daughters than it is for sons (Das Gupta, 1997). Furthermore, research conducted by Ghosh (1984), suggests that appropriate behaviour based on parental gender-related expectations may no longer reflect the current, more flexible cultural views of certain countries of origin, which can lead to potential family tension between parents and their young adult daughters. As a result of these pressures and conflicts, Rosenthal, Ranjeri, and Klimidis (1996) administered questionnaires to 204 Vietnamese immigrants in Australia, and found that parental values were correlated with
increased conflict and greater gender dissatisfaction. These authors also found that adolescents identified less with traditional values than their parents, and that this lack of identification was stronger among females. Additionally, their results show that girls viewed their parents as less accepting of independence, and were markedly more dissatisfied with their gender roles. The authors conclude that young adult females may have more difficulty than their male counterparts in coping with the gender-role expectations of two cultures simultaneously (Rosenthal, Ranjeri, and Klimidis, 1996, p.90).

In summation, the dimension of gender becomes a significant conceptual lens in which to examine the degree of identity continuity and adaptation that is apparent through the process of cultural transitioning. Research has shown that settling into a new culture may require families to meet certain demands that previously were not required in their country of origin. As demonstrated in Lim’s (1997) study with Korean immigrant couples, the necessity for both spouses to be employed alongside the values upheld by the host society delineates the degree and nature of gender-related behavioral changes that occurs between men and women. Moreover, as shown in Hondagneu-Sotelo’s (1992) study, other elements associated with transitioning, such as the timing of different family member’s move, promote men and women to learn new skills that may foster changes in role behavior. Lastly, the literature also shows that socialization within immigrant families plays a critical role in the shaping of gender expectations and behaviours. The desire of immigrant parents to have their children reap the benefits associated with migration, as well as uphold the values and traditions of their culture of origin, which is especially true for their daughters, may have consequential outcomes on the formation of
adolescents’ and young adults’ identities (Dion & Dion, 2001).

Given the intricate nature of identity, it is critical to explore as many variables associated with its development in order to gain a more informed description of the construct. As such, the subsequent section will examine the literature as it relates to sexual identity and its development.

**Sexual Identity Development**

During the 1970s in the United States, research on sexual identity development became increasingly popular in order to describe lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) identity in higher education. This research produced a plethora of theoretical stage models including: (a) Chapman and Brannock’s (1987) model of lesbian identity development; (b) Fassinger and Miller’s (1996) model of sexual minority identity formation; (c) Minton & McDonald’s (1984) homosexual identity formation model; (d) Meyer & Schwitzer’s (1999) stages of identity development among college students with minority sexual orientations; and (e) Troiden’s (1988) formation of homosexual identity model. Sexual minority identity development, defined as “the process by which individuals become aware of, acknowledge, and accept lesbian or gay identities” (Dubé & Savin-Williams, 1999), has been the focus of many of these theoretical models. As such, the major conceptualizations of sexual minority identity development attempt to highlight the process of resolving internal lesbian or gay identification conflicts and inform research on the process known as “coming out”. Based most frequently on small samples of men, the majority of models contend that LGB individuals progress through a succession of identity development stages, commonly beginning during the teenage ages years and progressing through the early twenties (Bilodeau & Renn, 2005).
In an examination of the different stage models of sexual minority identity development, Gonsiorek (1995) proposed that these models, although at times targeting different populations, tend to share common elements throughout their outline of identity development. For example, more often than not, these models begin with a stage that describes individuals as actively trying to deny and minimize their same-sex feelings. The emergence of a tentative recognition of their sexual orientation is only described in these models as occurring if individuals come to accept that their feelings are not of a heterosexual nature. Following this stage, these linear models often outline a phase where individuals begin to increasingly acknowledge their same-sex feelings and results in an increasing sense of normality based on a period of exploration and experimentation within the LGB community. The difference in some of the models is seen at this stage, where a few outline a crisis that occurs when the first homosexual relationship concludes, which is said to send the individual back into a negative state of mind about homosexuality. Alternatively, other models continue the progression of their stage models by outlining the continued acceptance of homosexual feelings and eventually delineate the internal integration of a positive homosexual self-identification (Gonsiorek, 1995). In order to give example to Gonsiorek’s claim, the following section will examine one of the most comprehensively studied models within this area of the psychological literature: Cass’s (1979; 1984) model of sexual minority identity development.

Cass’s (1979; 1984) model of sexual minority identity development. According to Cass, the main dilemma inherent in the development of identity is the desire for an individual to have congruence between the self-perception of their behaviours, the perceptions of others’ attitudes, and their own sense of self. As a self-identified lesbian
and clinical psychologist, Cass utilized her own personal and professional observations to create a six-stage linear model of the coming out process in order to address this underlying dilemma (Eliason, 1996). The first stage outlined in Cass’s model, *Identity Confusion*, is characterized by experiences and/or feelings of a non-heterosexual nature, coupled with a sense of incongruence with a heterosexual self-identity. These mixed feelings can lead one to either reject their potential homosexuality, and in turn foreclose any future development, or cause one to explore their sexuality further, leading them to the second stage of the model. Stage two, *Identity Comparison*, is characterized as one where the individual compares one’s behaviour to the normative “homosexual” behavior, as well as to others’ feedback. Depending on whether the individual perceives homosexuality as negative or not, one can decide to stop exploration or may decide to seek out another individual within the LGB community. Stage three, *Identity Tolerance*, entails the individual cautiously labeling him or herself as “homosexual” and actively making contact with other LGB individuals. It is during this third stage that one may begin living parallel lives because disclosure to heterosexual others is extremely limited. The fourth stage, *Identity Acceptance*, is the phase where if the initial contact with another LGB individual is positive, one may progress rather rapidly to an acceptance of their LGB identity. This stage is also characterized by a selective disclosure of their sexual orientation to close family and friends. Stage five, *Identity Pride*, encompasses the attempt to achieve congruence through an evaluation of whether the heterosexual view of homosexuality is negative or not. If the normative world-view is overly negative, in order to feel congruent, one may categorize heterosexuals as inferior to LGB individuals and develop a sense of fidelity and pride for the LGB community. Finally,
the sixth stage, *Identity Synthesis*, is characterized by a sense of identity achievement and full integration of the LGB identity into their overall sense of self. According to Cass, this integration is accompanied by a merging of both the public and private self, and results in an inner peacefulness (Cass, 1979).

As one can see from her model, Cass (1979) put heavy emphasis on identity as a cognitive construct, highlighting that it is a set of organized self-perceptions and emotions in relation to social categories (Eliason, 1996). Much like the commonalities delineated by Gonsiorek (1995), Cass’s model outlines stages that follow closely to the overall trend that was prevalent at the time of the proliferation of sexual identity development models. This model, as well as other developmental models like it, seeks to illustrate the unique process of self-identification within the LGB community. Additionally, models such as Cass’s, place emphasis on the role of the wider community in the formation of an LGB identity. More specifically, depending on how others, from both sexual orientation communities, perceive and react to LGB individuals, one may develop different conceptualizations of their sense of sexuality. With this in mind, it is important to examine how one experiences their sexual identity when they enter into a new environment that may have different worldviews than their culture of origin. As such, the following section will explore relevant studies that have conceptualized the impact of sexual identity development through the process of cultural transition.

**Conflicting Cultural Views of Sexuality**

The literature pertaining to sexuality and immigration highlights that the values held by certain immigrant groups with respect to how sexuality is expressed often differ greatly from those found in Western countries such as the United States. This
discrepancy can result in a great deal of parental control over children’s sexuality
(Parmar, 1993). In a study examining sexuality in immigrant adolescents from Vietnam,
Haiti, Spain, and Portugal, the researchers found that participants could not have open
discussions with their parents about sex, and that daughters in particular would often be
reprimanded for exhibiting sexual activity (Ward & Taylor, 1991). In accordance with
these findings, Espiritu’s (2001) study of immigrant Filipino American families found
that these restrictions often led to high family tension, especially when parents responded
differently to their daughters’ and sons’. The strictness to which some immigrant parents
adhere to when it comes to their children’s sexuality may pose potential consequences for
the formation of sexual identity development, as emerging young adults are attempting to
shape their sexual selves in a culture, such as the United States or by extension Canada,
that traditionally does not claim such rigid sexual values.

Gigi Durham (2004) aimed to explore “the nuances of diaspora girls’ negotiations
of identity in relation to conflicting cultural discourses” (p. 145). In his study, he
conducted three focus groups, followed by in-depth interviews with five immigrant South
Asian Indian teenage girls (aged 13 to 15 years old). All participants were born in India
and moved to the United States as young children. Through his investigation, he found
that the sexual self-identification of participants fell between what they perceived to be
an overly hypersexualized American view of ethnic women, and a restricted sexual
Indian script of purity. More specifically, the author suggests that these five teens were
“embarking on the project of forging new ethnicities in the interstitial cultural spaces that
allow for new imaginings of gender and sexuality” (p. 157).

As one can see, how a particular ethnic family views sexuality impacts the ways
in which adolescents feel they can express, and by extension form, their sense of sexual identity. When cultural views and traditions of sexuality conflict, studies such as Espiritu’s (2001) and Gigi Durham’s (2004), suggest that immigrant youth may adapt their sexual identities to conform to their parents’ expectations, build angst towards them for not being able to openly discuss their sexuality, or form a sexuality identity that speaks to neither cultures’ values. The process of cultural transition thus plays an important role on the development of sexual identity, especially for young immigrant women.

Through a review of the literature thus far, it becomes evident that there are many dimensions of identity (race, ethnicity, gender and sexuality) that are influential on the overall development of a stable sense of self. Given the documented importance of these elements on identity formation and maintenance, the literature has acknowledged that these dimensions do not often occur in a vacuum, and thus must be examined in relation to one other. Therefore, in order to fully capture these identity concepts, it is critical to examine the interplay of these dimensions. Accordingly, the ensuing section will examine the literature pertaining to multiple identities and its development.

**Multiple Identity Development**

The creation of socially constructed models of identity has seen an increase over the past decade, with particular attention placed on the developmental aspect of identity and the different components that may affect its formation. As we have seen, the dimensions of identity such as race, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality have become more salient in the literature, as society continues to evolve and globalization continues to influence social interactions. In taking a closer look at the literature, however, it seems
that most models that attempt to conceptualize identity as being multi-faceted still only address one dimension of identity, and overlook the intersection between multiple identities (Abes, Jones & McEwin, 2007). An illustration of this is seen when examining Atkinson, Morten, and Sue’s (1993), well-established Minority Identity Development model. This particular conceptualization of minority identity development does not specify the dimension of minority status, and overlooks how an individual may develop multiple minority statuses concurrently. As there seems to be a gap in the literature that aspires to understand the process of multiple identity development, it is important to explore how models have thus far tried to formalize this formation. To further our knowledge on the development of multiple identities, the ensuing section will examine the history as well some of the prominent models that have attempted to conceptualize the intersection of identities.

**The conceptual formations of multiple identities.** Although very prominent in the current identity literature, the concept of multiple identities was first seen in social psychology through the work of William James (1890) who suggested that the “empirical self” was made up of a material, social, and spiritual self, all elements that in and of themselves are multi-layered and comprised of multiple meanings. The thought of individuals identifying with multiple selves has been supported in the literature (Sedikides & Brewer, 2001), with the different dimensions of identity including, but not limited to, personal, relational, and collective self-characterizations (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004). More contemporary research on the formation of multiple identities such as the role-identity model (McCall & Simmons, 1978) and Stryker’s identity theory (1980; Stryker & Statham, 1985) hypothesize that individuals create a
hierarchy of their multiple identities based on their salience.

Although these models inform the research in this area, they still do not specify how one develops a sense of self based on the interaction of more than one identity. One of the first attempts to theorize the intersection of identities was the Multidimensional Identity Model put forth by Reynolds and Pope (1991). As one of the most prominent and frequently referenced model of multiple identities, this framework highlights the significance of multiple identities through the lens of multiple oppressions (Jones & McEwin, 2000). Expanding on Root’s (1990) model of biracial identity development, Reynolds and Pope utilized case studies to illustrate how one copes with multiple oppressions. Created from a two by two matrix that acknowledges whether one has endured only one or multiple oppressions, and whether one has actively or passively identified with the oppression(s), their model proposes four potential identity resolutions. A first option to find identity resolution is for one to identify with only a singular dimension of their self, through the passive acceptance of it being assigned to them by social contexts. A second option is for one to identify with only a singular dimension of the self through the active choice of the individual. A third option proposed by the model is for one to identify with multiple dimensions of the self, but doing so passively by allowing circumstances to dictate which dimension is expressed. Lastly, a fourth option to achieve identity resolution is for one to identify with more than one dimension of the self, doing so through an active and conscious choice and through the integration of these dimensions into their self-concept (Reynolds & Pope, 1991).

Reynolds and Pope’s (1991) model was influential in that it brought to light the idea of multiple identities interacting concurrently. Moreover, it underscored the issues
with considering an individual’s identity development too narrowly. As shown, previous models of identity development tend to only acknowledge one dimension of the identity at a time through either a hierarchy of identities, or through a model of contextual salience, and thus have a tendency to ignore the intersection of identities (Jones & McEwin, 2000). While the Multidimensional Identity Model was considered to be quite sophisticated, some limitations have been highlighted. The predominant critique of this model suggests that by examining identity resolution in the context of multiple oppressions, the Multidimensional Identity Model tends to ignore how individuals navigate identities in and of themselves. A second critique is that little empirical research has been conducted on the appropriateness of this model, and therefore its validity has been questioned (Jones & McEwin, 2000).

More recent work on the multiplicity of identity stems from the scholarship on African American feminism. Within this theoretical perspective lies the notion that socially constructed identities can be experienced concurrently, rather than hierarchically, as seen in previous models (Crenshaw, 1996; Weber, 1998; McCann & Kim, 2002; Stirratt, Meyer, Ouellette & Gara, 2008). The concept of a framework of intersectionality was created in an attempt to broaden scholarship from examining the similarities and differences that discriminate between dimensions of identity, to one that explores the ways in which these identity dimensions interconnect (Collins, 1990).

Extrapolating from the work of Reynolds and Pope (1991), Jones and McEwin (2000) conducted a qualitative study where they examined female college students’ self-perceptions of identity and understandings of multiple identities. Proposing a more fluid and integrative process of identity development, the authors put forth a conceptual model
to illustrate the intersection of identities. Depicted by a core which reflects the personal and internal sense of self found at the center of all the various dimensions of identity, this model attempts to describe how other identity dimensions connect with one’s self-concept. Surrounded by intersecting circles which represent the different externally defined dimensions of identity such as race, gender, religion, sexuality, culture, and contextual influences, the core is influenced by each dimensions’ relative salience as illustrated by dots on the intersecting circles. This model reflects the changing nature of identity conceptualizations, away from linear, fixed stages, and highlights the importance of considering different dimensions of one’s identity. Additionally, this model speaks more generally to multiple identities, as opposed to multiple oppressions, and offers a perspective on the individual’s ability to integrate the core self with other changing and salient dimensions of identity. Jones and McEwin (2000) were the first to propose a fluid model pertaining to multiple identities. To date, this framework has not been empirically tested and has not gained a great deal of momentum within the mainstream psychological literature. The authors suggest that future research should focus on the complex process of developing multiple identities, with additional attention placed on the shifting nature of identities.

Another fluid model of multiple identities that pays particular attention to cultural identity is the feminist work of Collins (as cited in Ross, 2010). In an attempt to better conceptualize the lived experiences and identities of women who did not fit cleanly into the many other ideas and models of multiple and cultural identity, this author extrapolated from various models (Arredondo et al., 1996; Ivey, D’Andrea, Bradford Ivey & Simek-Morgan, 2002; Robinson, 1999; Sue, 2001; Arthur & Collins, 2005b), to
highlight the dimensions that are key to conceptualizing cultural identity. Across different models, Collins listed five factors that emerged as central to the intersection of cultural identity, which include: (a) *Cultural Factors* such as age, gender, ethnicity, physical and mental ability, sexual orientation, religion, language, and social class; (b) *Personal Identity Factors* such as idiosyncratic experiences, genetic makeup and socialization; (c) *Contextual Factors* such as historical, political, social, environmental and economic contexts; (d) *Ideological Factors* such as the dominant discourse on power and privilege, and the various ‘isms’ that influence women’s self-concepts; and (e) *Universal Factors* such as self-awareness, ability to use symbols, and psychological and biological similarities. Using these five factors, the author illustrates the intersection of identities as a fluid kaleidoscope to reflect the ever-changing mixture of dimensions across time and contexts (Collins, as cited in Ross, 2010). Although Collins offers a model that reflects a wider perspective from which to view the intersection of cultural identity for women, it is hard to say whether this model holds all the dimensions that may be salient for different demographics.

As one can see, earlier models of multiple identities have attempted to, but have fallen short at capturing how different dimensions of an identity are navigated. These models’ tendency to focus on how the different dimensions of identity are ordered hierarchically, or their focus on only one single dimension of identity, limits the potential for more fluid conceptualizations of how these dimensions could intersect. Consequently, models such as Jones and McEwin (2000) and Collins (as cited in Ross, 2010) offer a more complex conceptualization of the intersection of multiple identities, and places emphasis on both time and context. Although these models have broadened
the concept of multiple identities, they have yet to be empirically tested and as such have not been as prevalent in mainstream literature addressing multiple identities.

**Summary and Conclusions**

As we have seen through the review of the literature, identity is a construct that is all encompassing, and as a result is hard to define. Consequently, as identity has been labeled an important developmental task of emerging adulthood, it becomes critical to explore identity development among this population. However, the investigation into the process of identity development becomes difficult when one examines individuals who have immigrated into a new culture. As a result of the complexities that immigration entails, the literature on identity has attempted to capture the process of identity formation by examining different dimensions of the self that are affected through the process of cultural and developmental transition.

As previously mentioned, early research suggests that identity is a concept that an individual increasingly gains insight into as they age, and is a crucial element to development (Erikson, 1950). Said to be particularly important during adolescence, the development of identity is a process that takes places as individuals have the opportunity to explore and choose their careers, their social and romantic relationships, as well as their personal values and beliefs (Erikson, 1950).

However, recent scholarship suggests that this opportunity to explore has become harder for adolescents in industrialized societies, and thus the achievement of a stable sense of self requires more time (Arnett, 2000). Because of characteristics in developing countries, such as, the need for increased financial competency, longer educational commitments, and thus a delay in marriage and child bearing commitments; the transition
between adolescence and adulthood has become a fairly distinct period. As such, a developmental stage entitled emerging adulthood was proposed to capture the extended time frame where individuals explore their identities much longer than they would have previously (Arnett, 2000). Hence, individuals between the rough ages of 18 and 28, (between the adolescent and adulthood stage), emphasize a desire to be self-sufficient (Arnett, 1998). In order to achieve a sense of self-reliance, exploration within this stage of development has been correlated with an individual’s sense of agency. This sense of agency, as well as one’s ability to explore one’s identity throughout emerging adulthood, have been linked to strength and stability in one’s overall identity and sense of self. In a study examining agency and immigration, results demonstrated that an immigrant’s sense of agency may change over time as a result of contextual cultural changes and transitions (e.g., Salili, Chiu, & Lai, 2001).

The manner in which an individual experiences cultural transitioning has been the focus of much research in the area of acculturation. This scholarship suggests that patterns of acculturation are important when considering how an individual adapts into a new culture, with integration being the most successful option (Berry, 2001). Quantitative studies have shown that the majority of young immigrants choose to integrate into a new culture, which is associated with higher degrees of psychological and sociocultural adaptation. Furthermore, research has highlighted that there are many dimensions that influence the formation of identity, including, age of migration, degree of participation in the host society’s culture, immigration status, feelings of belonging, and conflicting cultural views (Ellis & Chen, 2013; Jasinskaja-Lahti et. al., 2009). Of the few qualitative studies that have focused on these dimensions, findings have deepened our
understanding of immigrants’ feelings of falling ‘in-between’ (Ellis & Chen, 2013).

The feeling of being ‘in-between’ is echoed in research on racial and ethnic identity development. The literature in this area suggests that an individual’s capacity to preserve a sense of wellbeing depends on one’s ability to establish a sense of group identification (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Moreover, social identity theory proposes that merely identifying with a group fosters a feeling of belonging, which in turn provides a positive self-concept (Phinney, 1990). Furthermore, quantitative studies pertaining to race and ethnicity suggest that the use of bicultural labeling is more common among immigrant adolescents than it is among their parents. Hence, younger immigrants seem more likely to self-identify as falling between cultures (Phinney, 2003).

A sense of being in the middle is also addressed through research on gender identity. That is, studies have illustrated how culture plays a role in gender expectations and forms the basis for many gender-related behaviors that change throughout the process of cultural transition (Dion & Dion, 2001). Furthermore, conflict between cultural views and feeling in the middle has also been highlighted in the literature on sexual identity development. Specifically, research in this area has demonstrated that immigrant youth may adapt their sexual identities to reflect values of sexuality that fall in-between their culture of origin and the dominant culture of their new environment (Gigi Durham, 2004).

Finally, more recent scholarship has investigated how the different dimensions of identity intersect. With the seminal Multidimensional Identity Model by Reynolds and Pope (1991), the concept that an identity can be made up of multiple dimensions was made popular in mainstream research. Although linked more to multiple oppressions
than to the intersection of multiple identities, this model set the stage for the concept to be discussed and explored in more depth. More contemporary theories put forth by Jones and McEwin (2000) and Collins (as cited in Ross, 2010) reflect the fluctuating nature of identity and highlight the importance of different dimensions of identity at different periods of time, as well as across contexts (Jones & McEwin, 2000). These authors’ research suggests that identity is an ever-changing and adapting aspect of an individual’s sense of self, which is dependent on the cultural, social, political, personal, universal, ideological and geographical contexts.

The literature pertaining to identity development has provided us with an enormous amount of insight into how an individual forms a sense of self. However, despite these advancements, there are two main challenges that have been identified within the current scholarship on identity; the tendency for mainstream models to have narrow conceptualizations of identity development, and the tendency for them use quantitative methods to obtain larger sample sizes and infer trends and patterns.

The first challenge relates to the narrow scope in which these models conceptualize identity. Within this challenge is the critique that most major conceptualizations of identity development have the tendency to offer universal, linear models and theories of immigrant identity, acculturation, and adaptation (Bhatia & Ram, 2001). As a result, cross-cultural psychologists have largely presented migration as a series of fixed stages that do not account for the specific culturally distinct experiences of transnational immigrants. Accordingly, another critique that maintains that the majority of models describing identity formation are too narrow, is the tendency for most mainstream models to frame identity around a broad range of individuals (Fassinger,
1991). By blanketing a model for an entire demographic, one ignores the influence of individual differences on the dimensions of ethnicity, race, gender, and sexual orientation (McCarn & Fassinger, 1990). As such, there is a lack of acknowledgement for the possibility of a more fluid nature of these elements. Lastly, a third critique that falls within the challenge of mainstream models being too narrow in their conceptualization of identity, is that studies on identity development have focused on responses to racism, marginalization, or oppression, which assesses individuals’ experiences related to the internalization of these elements, and not on their personal process of identity development (Helms, 2007).

A second major challenge that arises in the literature on identity development as it pertains to immigration is the critique that the majority of studies are conducted through a quantitative lens. The acculturation literature that examines identity has given us important knowledge on the ways in which individuals settle into their new cultural contexts. However, to identify these patterns and trends, the majority of the acculturation research uses quantitative methods to describe what the overall immigrant population tends to do in order to reconcile dissonance between identities and cultures. Hence, there is a paucity of research that holds the individual immigrant at its core, utilizing their experiences as the basis for theory, and privileging their voices as the experts of their navigations. Additionally, there are very few studies that examine identity development among emerging adult immigrants that also honor their perspectives of cultural transition. Investigating this population more directly in a qualitative way would allow the literature to gain a more meaningful understanding of how immigrant individuals’ sense of self is related to different cultural aspects, what they feel is most salient in its development, and
how cultural and developmental transition plays a role in their identity. Currently, the literature as it is, lacks this richer understanding of the process of navigating identities.

“Given our multicultural society and world, one can no longer be a competent or effective therapist unless one is also culturally competent” (Sue, 2006, p. 244). Seeing as the Canadian mosaic of our society is continuing to diversify, it is very important that counselling services and other service providers have an understanding of the ways in which culturally diverse clients are experiencing their new environment. Identity as a construct is thus of particular importance to the field of counselling psychology, as it is the basis for many life challenges (Young, Marshall, & Valach, 2008). Moreover, as our society continues to expend culturally not only are we seeing an increase in immigrant individuals to Canada, but emerging adults and youth are challenged with forming bi-cultural identities (Hermans & Dimaggion, 2007). With this in mind, we are presented with a challenge between our long-established view that identities are constant and categorically created, and our new found understanding of the ongoing, striven for process of actively negotiating the formation of identity (Young, Marshall, & Valach, 2008).

Gaining a better understanding of multicultural clients’ sense of self will allow counsellors the opportunity to gain knowledge of clients’ cultural background, values, and beliefs, and thus shed light on how they conceptualize their identities. With these identified gaps in the literature, and with the potential implications it has for the field of counselling, the current study endeavors to ask: How do emerging adult immigrants negotiate their identities in the context of cultural and developmental transition? In posing such a question, I will provide participants with an opportunity to have an open
discourse about their lived experiences and the meanings they ascribe to them. It is with this in mind that the following chapter outlines the means in which I intend to best answer this question.
Chapter 3: Research Methodology

To better understand the framework that informs my research, the subsequent section will explore the study’s research design. Following this, I will describe the reasoning for my epistemological worldview and give a brief background of the history of Grounded Theory (GT) and its appropriateness to the research question. Additionally, the ensuing sections will outline the criteria used for participation, recruitment strategies, participant demographics, data collection, management, and dissemination, the researcher’s subjective stance, the methods used to ensure rigour and trustworthiness, and lastly the study’s ethical and diversity considerations.

Research Design

In order to answer the following research question: *How do emerging adult immigrants negotiate their identities in the context of cultural and developmental transitioning* a GT tradition of inquiry was employed. This GT followed the guidelines as set forth by Glaser (1978), Strauss (1987), and Strauss and Corbin (1990; 1998) in order to create a conceptual theory and conceptual model that captured the meanings and interpretations that each participant had in relation to the research question.

**Researcher’s epistemological stance.** The relationship between the nature of knowledge and the type of research one conducts is very important. In my opinion, meaning, or more specifically, things or objects in which we as human beings give value, is derived through social construction. Following within this framework, knowledge is thus an interpretation of meaning that we as individuals have come to accept and believe as truth. Through this social constructivist lens, and critical to research within this school of thought, is the notion that truth can only be understood by the ongoing examination of
different perspectives and constructions of meaning (Creswell, 2014). As a result, there can be a myriad of “truths” as they are constructed through social interactions, which in and of themselves can vary in many different contextual facets. The constructivist and interpretive worldview suggests that everything we as human beings know within this reality, any meaning we derive within this world, is socially constructed through common discourse (Creswell, 2014). With this in mind, I conducted research in a manner that reflected the importance of multiple perspectives as well as highlighted the significance of a common shared experience. As the goal of conducting such research was to understand the individual meaning and interpretation of identity within the context of cultural and developmental transition, I believe GT was an ideal method in which to ensure that the data gathered was grounded in the experiences of the participants, that it reflected an interpretative illustration of the topic, and that it captured more broadly a theoretical conceptualization of a shared experience and phenomenon. To gain a fuller understanding of GT, the ensuing sections will address the underlying principles of this method of inquiry.

**Grounded theory.** Proposed by Glaser and Strauss in 1967, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*, was presented as an alternative to the methodological reign of quantitative research that was prevalent in the sociological field at that time. Within the academic world, positivist concepts of scientific knowledge and method dominated, all of which highlighted “objectivity, generality, replication of research, and falsification of competing hypotheses and theories [ruled the] institutional departments, journal editorial boards, and funding agencies” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 4). As a result of qualitative methods losing ground, GT offered a middle ground between absolute empiricism and strict
relativism, by outlining a systematic methodology that utilized inductive and iterative processes to build theories as well as to articulate the interpretive realities of the participants from the collected data (Annells, 2005). More specifically, Strauss believed that people played an active role in the creation of their lives, utilizing language and action to produce subjective and social meanings (Charmaz, 2006). This view of GT suggests that meaning is co-constructed between the researcher and the participants, that value is placed on the interpretive lens of the researcher, and that importance is given to the voice of the participants by means of quotations, which highlight the theoretical assumptions being pulled from the data (Ponterotto, 2005).

**Participation**

As the goal of this study was to elicit a wide variety of understandings from participants, it is very important to examine the eligibility criteria for those that participated, and the methods of recruitment utilized.

**Inclusion criteria.** In order to understand how emerging adult immigrants negotiated their cultural identities within the context of both developmental and cultural transition, individuals between the ages of 19 and 28 were eligible to participate in this study. This particular age range was selected as it had been defined in the literature as the “age of identity explorations, age of instability, the self-focused age, the age of feeling in-between, and the age of possibilities” (Arnett, 2004, p. xii), all of which is characteristic of the emerging adult stage of development (Arnett, 2007). In addition to their age, participants must have had immigrated to Canada, and at the time of participation, must have been living in British Columbia. There was no particular immigration status requirement, meaning that participants were included regardless of
whether they were living in Canada as temporary visitors, as permanent residents, or as Canadian citizens. However, despite his or her status, each participant had to identify that he or she was planning to, and had a desire to, live in Canada long-term. As defined in the literature, cultural transitioning is a result of an individual’s “…linguistic adjustment […] to [the] host language…; [to their ability] to ‘‘fit-in’’ and to effectively interact with members of the new cultural environment and…[their] general wellbeing or satisfaction in the new cultural environment…” (Sinacore et., al, 2009, p. 159). Thus, having decided that Canada would be the culture in which they wished to reside ensured that the participants had sufficient reason to experience cultural transition within the country.

Furthermore, in order to be eligible participants for this study, participants and their parents must have been born outside of Canada, (the country of origin was open), and had been living in the country for at least three consecutive years. This criterion was used to ensure that participants had incorporated to a certain extent into Canadian culture and could reflect on their cultural transition (Statistics Canada, Canadian Social Trends: Immigrants perspectives on their first four years in Canada, 2007).

Lastly, as I was exploring the negotiation of identities through the mean of interviews, it was required that participants had a sufficient proficiency to express their experiences in English, that they had a level of functioning that permitted them to engage in an hour to two hour long interview, and that they were not currently experiencing any major or extreme difficulties in their adjustment.

**Recruitment.** Having obtained the approval from the Behavioural Research Ethics Board (BREB) to move forward with the proposed study, participants were
recruited through snowball and theoretical sampling. Although originally the intention was to contact numerous organizations (see Appendix A) that provide services to different immigrant populations, all participants were recruited through posted advertisements (see Appendix B) around the campus of the University of British Columbia (UBC) and on the UBC Career Services website. In addition to flyers, I began initially by using snowball sampling as a means to further recruit participants. With the permission from participants, I provided those that were interested with recruitment posters so that they could extend information about the study to others they felt might be appropriate candidates. Throughout this process, all prospective participants had to contact me; accordingly no names or contact information was given directly to me.

In addition to snowball sampling, theoretical sampling, a hallmark of GT, was used throughout the study to ensure that all relevant elements of the data were actively pursued in the interviews. This particular form of sampling is defined as the collection of data that is informed by the emerging theory instead of by a framework of pre-determined population and interview dimensions (Strauss, 1987, as cited in Draucker, Martsolf, Ratchneewan, & Rusk, 2007). Theoretical sampling was critical to the development of the final generated theory as it allowed me to “carefully select participants and to modify the questions asked in data collection, [to] fill gaps, [to] clarify uncertainties, [to] test their interpretations, and [to] build their emerging theory” (Sbaraini, Carter, Evans & Blinkhorn, 2011, p.3) Thus, based on the concept of theoretical sampling, throughout the study, I recruited participants who differed on the following dimensions: culture, ethnicity, race, and gender so as to ensure an investigation of the multiple facets of identity.
All participants interested in potentially participating in the study contacted me initially through email. As a result, each one was sent an electronic version of the screening protocol (Appendix C) to fill out. Once completed, I ascertained whether participants met criteria to partake in the study. Of those who met participation criteria, I informed them of their eligibility, and sent them an electronic copy of the consent form (Appendix D) outlining the significance of the study as well as the reason for conducting it, the study methods employed, the research participation and requirements, and the potential results that may be generated. At this time, I asked participants to read through the consent form and stated that if they had any additional questions or concerns, I was happy to respond via email and would review the consent form with them upon our meeting. I then proceeded to set up an interview time and location that fit with the participants’ schedule and accessibility, and sent a reminder email to participants, along with a map of our interview location the day prior to our scheduled meeting. All interviews were conducted on the UBC campus in private rooms in order to ensure their confidentiality. Upon meeting with each participant, two hard copies of the consent form were given to the participant, one for them to keep and the other to be filed as record of their consent. After discussing any participant concerns and questions about the consent form and/or the study as a whole, all participants received an honorarium of $20.00 dollars to thank them for sharing their stories and devoting their time to the efforts of the study.

As it is the concept of identity through the lens of cultural and developmental transition that is the phenomena of study, a large sample size was not necessary in order to elicit a rich data set, as an individual can generate a multitude of concepts (Starks &
Trinidad, 2007). Additionally, GT places heavy emphasis on the concept of achieving theoretical saturation, which suggests that participant recruitment and interviews are generated until all the concepts in the emerging conceptual theory are richly understood and can further be confirmed in the data (Draucker et. al., 2007). With the aim of comparing conceptualizations of identity until no new properties emerge, my goal was to first recruit ten participants - with the first nine serving as the basis for conceptual comparison, and the tenth serving as a means of confirming that no new relationships or dimensions emerge from the analysis of this interview. Consequently, I found that the data met saturation by the tenth participant and thus did not continue to produce new information. As a result, I did not continue to recruit participants past my initial goal of ten participants.

**Participant demographics.** In total 30 participant self-referrals were received. Of the 30 participant requests, five were deemed ineligible as they did not meet the three-year required inclusion time lived in Canada, two fell outside of the age range of 19-28 to participate, one recanted their desire due to time constraints, and one did not reply to the screening questions. Additionally, in order to maintain as diverse of a sample as possible, as well as to uphold GT’s emphasis of theoretical sampling, 11 interested participants were put on a waitlist due to the study already having a large representation of the same ethnic, racial and/or cultural background.

Of the final ten participants, six were self-referred from the UBC Career Services website, and four were informed through snowball sampling. The sample was made up of six participants who self-identified as female and four as male, ranging in ages from 19-27 with an average age of 24. All ten participants self-identified as having a
heterosexual sexual orientation. The sample of ten reflected many country of origins, including: China (3), Philippines (1), Taiwan (2), Malta (1), India (1), Bangladesh (1), and Colombia (1). Of the ten participants’ racial and ethnic backgrounds, one identified as Chinese, one as Chinese Manchu-Minor, one as Taiwanese, one as Asian, one as Filipino, one as South Asian, one as Bengali/South Asian, one as Caucasian-Mediterranean, and one as Colombian-German. The age at which participants immigrated to Canada ranged from 5-23 with an average age of 14. Of the ten participants, five identified as having the immigration status of Canadian Citizen, four of Permanent Resident, and one of Post Graduate Work Permit. Additionally, in terms of participant’s religious affiliation two participants self-identified as Roman Catholic, one as Buddhist, one as Sikh, one as Familial-Islam/Universal/Spiritual, and five participants reported no religious affiliation. Lastly, all participants listed English as one of their primary spoken tongues; however, five reported the ability to speak Mandarin, one Filipino, one Indonesian, one Japanese, one Cantonese, one Punjabi, one Hindi, one Bengali, and two French.

Data Collection

In order to ensure for both ethical and systematic handling of all data, the ensuing section will explore the various means in which I upheld participant’s rights and the ways in which data was collected.

Consent form. Data collection began once participants voluntarily signed and understood the consent form. In order to know if participants fully understood the protocols of the study, upon meeting with them at the time of the interview, I re-stated that their participation was completely voluntarily, and highlighted once again that if they
wished to terminate participation, they had the right to do so at any point in the study without consequence. After outlining these rights, I asked participants if they had any further questions regarding the study, and inform them that if ever a question or concern arose they could contact me via phone or by email, which was provided in their copy of the consent form.

**Demographics form.** The first information gathered was a demographics form (see Appendix E) that was administered to the participants after consent had been achieved. This form elicited information in respect to their age, gender, sexual orientation, marital status, ethnic and racial background, languages spoken, country or origin, current Canadian status, and length of time in Canada. This information was used to specify the sample from which the emerging theory was generated. By specifying this information, I was able to outline the demographic parameters by which the final theory holds true. Additionally, demographics information allowed me to ensure that I was getting a variety of participant traits across the different categories mentioned above.

**Interview protocol.** Once all forms had been completed, I informed the participant that the interview portion would begin, outlining that it would be digitally-recorded, and when necessary I would be taking notes. The interview process that is recommended in GT, because of its applicability to interpretive inquiry, is the ‘intensive interview’, which allowed for an in-depth exploration of a specific topic and/or experience (Charmaz, 2006). Because of the in-depth nature of the intensive interview, participants were able to recount and interpret their experience through an “open-ended yet directed, shaped yet emergent, and paced yet unrestricted” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 28) manner. The interview protocol (see Appendix F) was created based on the relevant
literature and reflected openness to participants’ views, experiences, and actions. Based off of Strauss and Corbin’s (1998) suggestions, questions were shaped using a funnel-like approach, progressing from broader questions to more specific ones intended to unfold across the duration of the interview. In order to ensure that I was not imposing constructs on the participants, prompts were kept to a minimum, and were related to process (e.g. encouraging elaboration) rather than to content (e.g. paraphrasing) (Fassinger, 2005).

Another tenet of GT interviewing, to ensure that data elicited was grounded in the experiences of the participants, was the revision and addition of questions to the interview protocol based on the emerging data being analyzed by the researcher (Rennie, 1995). By adding and changing the interview questions based on recurring patterns in participant data, as well as by eliciting more information from participants on dimensions that appeared to be important to the emerging theory, I ensured that I was staying open and close to the data (Glaser, 1978). The amended interview protocol (See Appendix G) was created following the same funnel-like approach previously used to form the initial questions. All added questions began with broader questions and progressed to more specific ones.

Data Management

After each interview had been collected I proceeded to transcribe them verbatim on my own computer. All digital files, transcripts, and spreadsheets were kept in a password-protected folder on my computer, and no one other than myself had access to the folder and its password. Moreover, all paper copies of the data were stored in a locked cabinet in my personal office.
**Data analysis.** GT has been noted for its extensive data analysis process (Fassinger, 2005). Centered around three levels of analytic coding – open coding, axial coding, and selective coding, GT attempts to understand and progressively generate a theoretical description about the process being studied (Charmaz, 2006). The subsequent section will discuss these three different analytic phases as well explore the process of the constant comparison method, a GT strategy used to cross-check, amalgamate, and compare codes across the various analytic phases.

**Open coding.** When utilizing a GT approach, analysis “begins as soon as the first bit of data is collected” (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). This means that upon finishing the first interview, and after member-checking, the first analytic step of the qualitative coding process began with open coding. Described as the method of defining what is happening in the data and the beginning of interpreting what it means, open coding consists of two phases: initial coding and focused coding (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). When conducting the initial coding phase, the aim was to be provisional by remaining open to all possible analytic avenues, by continuously following up on created codes across the transcript and grounding the data by paying particular attention to the fit of the codes to the data (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). By engaging in coding, I named meaningful units of sentences within the written data in order to generate ideas, prompt openness to the data, and better detect the nuances between each line (Charmaz, 2006; Fassinger 2005). Accordingly, I broke the data into their component parts or properties and “remained open, stayed close to the data, kept my codes simple, short, and precise, compared data with data, and moved quickly through the data” (Charmaz, 2006,
This first step of data analysis yielded 57 initial codes that surfaced repeatedly across all ten interviews.

Once each meaning unit was coded, I moved onto the second phase of open coding, referred to as focused coding or microanalysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Coding within this second phase is more directed, selective, and conceptual (Charmaz, 2006). This more focused coding suggests using the “most significant and/or frequent earlier codes to sift through large amounts of data […] with the goal of determining which initial codes make the most analytic sense to categorize […] data incisively and completely” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 57). The idea behind focused coding was thus to group together similar initial codes, and select the ones that best represented a meaning unit within the data (Fassinger, 2005). Furthermore, through the use of focus coding, I was able to compare across interviews, condense data, and provide a more manageable way to conceptualize the meaning units (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Consequently, these codes from the initial open-coding phase of analysis were grouped into 17 overarching categories, based on their shared properties, as derived from participants’ transcripts in the ‘focused coding phase’ of data analysis. For example, the code “Adopting Values Over Time” became subsumed under the overarching code of “Sense of Permanency” as participants repeatedly described that knowing they would be living in one place for a long time often brought a willingness to explore and adopt different values. The 17 overarching categories that were present at the beginning of the ‘axial coding’ phase were as follows: 1) Being in a New Cultural Environment; 2) Sense of Permanency; 3) Deciphering Culture; 4) Blending Cultures; 5) Dimension of Time; 6) Dimension of Age; 7) Connecting with Roots; 8) Identification with Canada; 9) Identification with Culture of
Origin; 10) Personal Agency in Creating a New Identity; 11) Feeling Othered/Disconnected; 12) Desire to Preserve Culture of Origin; 13) Connection to a Same Cultured Community; 14) Connections Specific to Canada; 15) Compartmentalizing the Self/Multiple Identities; 16) Family Cultural Rigidity; and 17) Desire to Fit in to Canadian Culture. Further discussion on the overall findings of the current study is explored in chapter four.

Throughout the process of initial and focused coding, I standardized my coding by answering the following questions derived from the work of Glaser (1978), Strauss (1987), and Strauss and Corbin (1990) –as outlined by Chiovitti and Piran (2003): (a) What is happening in the data?; (b) What does the action in the data represent?; (c) Is the conceptual label or code, part of the participant’s vocabulary?; (d) In what context is the code/action used?; (e) Is the code related to another code?; (f) Is the code encompassed by a broader code?; and (g) Are there codes that reflect similar patterns? By consistently asking these questions throughout coding, I was better able to reflect on the data, ensure that my coding process was grounded in the data, and reflect the participant’s experience of negotiating cultural identities.

**Axial coding.** After the initial open coding phase, the second level, referred to as axial coding, is the process of explaining the categories in more depth, highlighting the relationships among the categories, and grouping them together into more encompassing higher-order categories that subsume multiple subcategories (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Fassinger, 2005). By relating categories to subcategories, axial coding aims to specify “the properties and dimensions of a category” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 60), and put together the fragmented data resulting from the initial coding phase
Before the 17 categories could be explored in terms of their relationships with each other and to the phenomenon of creating an identity, each one was explored in more depth across all ten transcripts (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Specifically, the categories were broken down into how participants were carrying them out, their internal and external reasoning for them, their consequences, and finally the overall properties and dimensions of each category. According to Fassinger (2005) the aim of examining each category in more detail is to compare the older data against the new data, compare the categories to subcategories, expand on the density and intricacies of the categories by describing their properties and dimensions, and finally to explore negative instances that disconfirm relationships. Thus, the 17 overarching categories were further refined through the process of constant comparison in order to expand on the nuances between the categories and to begin to bring forward potential relationships amongst them.

Once each category had been further explicated based on participants’ interviews, the relationships between these categories, and how they play a role in participants’ identity creations were explored. According to Strauss and Corbin (1998), axial coding attempts to describe the participants’ experiences more fully by answering questions such as: ‘when’, ‘where’, ‘why’, ‘who’, ‘how’, and ‘with what consequences’ (p. 125). In order to answer such questions, participants’ statements were grouped into the following components: (a) causal conditions, which reflect the contexts that shape the structure of the investigated phenomena, answering the ‘why’, ‘where’ questions; (b) actions/interactions, which represent how participants respond to issues, events, and problems, answering the ‘by whom’ question; (c) Intervening variables, which reflect the circumstances that mitigate or otherwise alter the impact of the phenomena, answering
the ‘how come’; and (d) consequences, which reflect the outcomes of the actions and interactions, answering the ‘what happens’ question (Charmaz, 2006, p. 61). While open coding aims to begin the identification of meaning units, axial coding aims to identify relationships between them (Ellis & Chen, 2013). Please see Table 1 for each category’s classification.

Table 1

*Axial Coding: Paradigm Sorting*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paradigm Categories</th>
<th>Categories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Causal Conditions</td>
<td>Being in a New Cultural Environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actions/Interactions</td>
<td>Deciphering Culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Connecting with Roots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intervening Variables</td>
<td>Family Cultural Rigidity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Connections Specific to Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Connection to a Same Cultured Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sense of Permanency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Desire to Preserve Culture of Origin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Desire to Fit In to Canadian Culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dimension of Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dimension of Time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consequences</td>
<td>Blended Cultures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Identification with Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Identification with Culture of Origin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Feeling Othered/Disconnected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Compartmentalization of the Self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Personal Agency in Creating a New Identity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the aim of generating axial relationships, once the 17 categories were sorted into their respective paradigms, a summary of each participant’s story was placed into a table (see Appendix H). As Corbin and Strauss (1998) highlight “often, returning back to the raw data and rereading several interviews or observations helps stimulate thinking…if one reads them not for detail but rather for the general sense” (p. 148). Thus, the primary
use of the table was to verify if the assigned coding paradigms of the categories held true within the participants’ stories. Subsequently, the table was used to further highlight the roles that each category played in participants’ cultural identity creations and to examine the data for any additional emerging patterns. Upon multiple reviews of the table, a major pattern was exhibited amongst all ten participants’ stories. That is, the table illustrated that the eight intervening variables played a very large role on the overall outcome of the participants’ felt sense of identity.

Based on the above procedures, as well as through several peer-debriefing meetings (which are described in more detail in the section ‘Managing Researchers’ Assumptions’ in the current chapter), six higher-order categories were labeled (Sense of Permanency; Family Cultural Rigidity; Connection to a Same Cultured Community; Connections Specific to Canada; Culture, Desire to Preserve Culture of Origin; Desire to Fit in to Canadian) along with two overarching dimensions (Dimension of Time; Dimension of Age). For a more in depth look at the above categories, please refer to the section ‘Axial relationships and higher-order categories’ in chapter four.

Selective coding. The final stage of data analysis within GT is called selective coding. This phase aims to create a theory that best fits the data by selecting a central or “core” category that incorporates the other categories into “an explanatory whole” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 146).

With the emerging patterns identified from axial coding, following the guidelines laid out by Corbin and Strauss (1998), a storyline memo (see Appendix I) was produced in order to create a fully integrated explanation of the phenomenon. More specifically, a core storyline was generated which delineated the most important dimensions of the data,
integrated the other categories, and communicated the relationships between them and the core narrative (Corbin and Strauss, 1998). The outlined storyline memo used the existing categories, patterns, and relationships derived from the axial coding relationships and higher-categories. More details of the emerging patterns are explored in the delineation of the data findings in chapter four in the section ‘Selective coding’.

Once the relationships between the core category, the higher-order categories, and the different identity consequences were outlined and defined, a model of the theory was created in order to place a visual representation to the different relationships informing participants’ cultural identity creations (Appendix J). This model was then mapped out and created for each participant and their stories. Each participant was then contacted with a brief overview of the theory (see Appendix K) and the model as it was tailored to their personal experiences (see Appendix L). For more details on the second phase of member checking see the section ‘Checking generated constructions against participants’ meanings’.

**Constant comparison method.** Regardless of the level at which analysis was being conducted, GT emphasizes the ongoing use of constant comparison (Charmaz, 2006). This method is “an inductive process of comparing data with data, data with categories, categories with categories, and categories with concepts” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 187). In the initial level of coding, codes that represented units of meaning were compared to other coded units of meaning within the same transcript in order to think more conceptually of the words chosen to represent the data. As more interviews were conducted and thus transcribed, codes across transcriptions were compared, with modifications made to integrate any new information or ideas that emerged. At the axial
level, subcategories were compared to categories, categories were compared to new data, and re-conceptualizations of the categories and their relationships were made whenever necessary. At the selective level of analysis, the theory that was emerging was continuously compared to both the data and current scholarship to assure that it was grounded in the experiences of the participants and to the current literature.

**Data Dissemination**

Typically, the GT tradition of inquiry produces a conceptual theory that is grounded in the analyzed data. As a result, the findings include “a set of well-developed categories” (Strauss & Corbin, 1988, p. 22) that is a contextualized explanation of how emerging adult immigrants negotiate their identities within the context of cultural and developmental transition. Additionally, the relationships among the categories are articulated. Moreover, to illustrate and highlight the participants’ experiences and understanding of cultural identity, the findings employed the use of participant quotations (Fassinger, 2005). When quotes were displayed in the findings, all participants’ names were changed to pseudonyms so as to maintain their confidentiality. Following the description of the GT, I situated the findings to present scholarship to see how it related to our knowledge of identity development, cultural transition, and emerging adulthood. Furthermore, where the emerged GT informed the current literature was outlined and highlighted. After the scholarship and the GT were woven together, I discussed the implications the findings have for the field of counselling psychology, as well as how it could be beneficial to work with an emerging adult immigrant population. Once the final product has been approved, it will be presented at a psychological conference and submitted for publication.
Researcher’s Subjective Stance

In order to fully understand how I am approaching the topic of study (i.e., the concept of identity through cultural transition and emerging adulthood), it is very important to gain insight into my own experience with these constructs, and thus shed light on the potential assumptions that I held. Having moved to Canada at the age of six, with parents who strongly identify with an American culture, I have often felt in-between when it came to identifying my own cultural identity. As my parents never believed we would live in Canada forever, we remained in the country with temporary visitor statuses. As a result, I grew up without knowing the limitations and bureaucratic struggles I would face when I decided that Canada was where I wanted to call home. Today, I identify as a 27-year-old, heterosexual, able-bodied women, with Permanent Residency status, and I am attempting to define who I want to be, where I want to put down roots, and how I can achieve my goals as an American in Canada. Although I am Caucasian and speak both English and French fluently, and therefore have not had the same transitional experiences as other immigrants, my ability to blend in has confounded the formation of my cultural identity, leaving me to feel that I do not quite fit into either culture fully. As such, the idea of identity formation for individuals who feel in the middle, and who cannot define themselves clearly as one or the other was very intriguing to me.

Moreover, having been raised in Vancouver I have become accustomed to a culturally diverse society, and as such I have encountered many individuals who have expressed a feeling of “being in between” when classifying their identity. Therefore, not only did I see a personal connection to this research, but I was aware of a fundamental need to better understand the process by which this particular population creates an
internal belongingness for themselves.

As you can see, I had an extensive personal connection to the research topic, and as a result, there are certain assumptions that I held: (a) the process of cultural transition is challenging and can be a major influence on one’s sense of self and belonging; (b) the process of integration and cultural identity development is especially unique and challenging for those in an emerging adulthood stage, as they are attempting to crystallize their futures; (c) there is a gap in our current understanding of cultural identity development as it is experienced from the perspectives of the emerging adult immigrants themselves.

**Managing Researcher’s Assumptions**

Approaching this study with a constructivist-interpretive epistemology, it is understood that the “researcher’s values and lived experience cannot be divorced from the research process” (Ponterotto, 2005, p. 131). This perspective places emphasis on the co-creation of meaning of lived experiences, and thus maintains that the process of data collection and analysis is a collaboration between the listener and the storyteller insofar that meaning is made through their shared understanding of pre-existing cultural connotations. This theoretical perspective thus recognizes and positions the interviewer as an active participant in the construction of the research data. More specifically, it seeks to have the interviewer aid the storyteller in providing a rich, retrospective account of their experiences as they relate to the research questions. Although this co-construction is an important element to the generation of participants’ experiences, Fine (1992) points out the importance of “positioning researchers as self-conscious, critical, and participatory analysts, engaged with, but still distinct from our informants” (p. 220).
In order to ensure that I was being as open as I could be throughout the study, I employed several methods to articulate my assumptions and biases, to encourage reflexivity, and to ensure my data represented the participants’ experiences (Morrow, 2005). More specifically, I employed bracketing through self-reflexive journaling and peer debriefing, as well as engaged in member checking throughout multiple stages of the study.

The process commonly referred to as “bracketing” in qualitative research, reflects the researcher’s active engagement of becoming overtly aware of his or her assumptions (Morrow, 2005). Accordingly, Brannen (1988) proposes that the researcher should not define the boundaries of the research problem too closely, as it may lead to prejudgments of answers. In order to ensure that my assumptions were not leading the interviews, I engaged in journaling before and after interviews. By engaging in this self-reflexive activity from the beginning to the end of the study, I was able to keep account of my own beliefs, values, and reactions through the process of data collection and analysis. The ultimate goal of keeping a self-reflexive journal was to recognize, express, and “Bracket” my own world-views in a manner that acknowledges their existence but does not eliminate them.

Additionally, I was in on-going contact with my thesis supervisor in order to discuss and debrief my views and reactions throughout the entirety of the study. Furthermore, as I analyzed the data, I engaged in peer debriefing a two points in the study. More specifically, the first stage of peer debriefing occurred once the first three transcripts had been analyzed at the open coding level. Upon completing the analysis at this level, I had Jackie Bendell, an impartial peer from the UBC counselling psychology program act a peer reviewer. In addition to being a graduate student in the counselling
psychology program at UBC and having experience with qualitative research, Jackie was required to complete several readings on the methodology of grounded theory, and undergo training on data analysis within this method of inquiry. Once adequately informed with the principles and methods of grounded theory, Jackie examined the first three transcripts from which I was working in order to check the codes I created to confirm their appropriateness. More specifically, Jackie examined how I broke the data into component parts, how I labeled the data, and weighed whether I stayed close enough to the data by using participant wording and meanings to guide my unit labeling. Additionally, she also examined whether she agreed or disagreed with the larger conceptual labels discovered from the focused coding analysis. After having checked the transcripts and given me feedback, Jackie and I discussed any points in need of clarification and further explication. In the end of this first stage of peer debriefing, after several in-person meetings we had to clarify and refine ideas about the relationships among the main categories, Jackie concluded that my codes represented the data adequately. The second point in the study at which peer debriefing occurred is at the selective coding level of analysis. Similarly to the first stage of peer-debriefing, Jackie read through the last three transcripts that I coded to verify that the selected categories of each transcript encapsulated the process of negotiating identity for those particular participants.

Once having given me feedback on the coding of the final three transcripts, Jackie read through the 17 categories outlined and verified if the properties and dimensioned outlined authentically reflected the participant’s experiences. To ensure an impartial view, Jackie then independently sorted the 17 overarching categories into the axial
coding paradigm as outlined by Strauss and Corbin (1998) in order to compare her categorization with mine. After discussion, clarification, and refinement, Jackie independently examined the derived framework and the emerging theoretical model. At this stage, Jackie had access to my memos in order to track my connections between relationships and categories in order to confirm or disagree with the selective analysis I conducted. After review, Jackie concluded that the derived framework of identity accurately captured the data.

This process, known as “peer checking” in qualitative research, aided in the verification of the appropriateness of my codes, and ensured that I was reflecting the participants’ experiences as accurately and honestly as possible. According to Creswell and Miller (2000), the process of peer debriefing and checking acts as a means to “provide support, play devil’s advocate, challenge the researcher’s assumptions, push the researchers to the next step methodologically, and ask hard questions about methods and interpretations” (p.129).

**Rigour and Trustworthiness**

Beck (1993) proposed three main standards in which I maintained in order to uphold rigour and trustworthiness in the present study: credibility, auditability, and fittingness. In an examination of these three concepts, Chiovitti and Piran (2003) present eight practical applications of GT procedures, in which I followed to ensure that these dimensions were met, including: “(a) letting participants guide the inquiry process; (b) checking the theoretical construction generated against participants’ meanings of the phenomenon; (c) using participants’ actual words in the theory; (d) articulating the researcher’s personal views and insights about the phenomenon explored; (e) specifying
the criteria built into the researcher’s thinking; (f) specifying how and why participants in
the study were selected; (g) delineating the scope of the research; and (h) describing how
the literature relates to each category which emerged in the theory” (p. 427). The
subsequent section will break down what these eight methods entail and how I employed
them throughout the study to uphold rigour and trustworthiness.

Enhancing Credibility

The concept of credibility reflects the richness and authenticity by which the
researcher is able to describe the phenomenon from the participant data (Beck, 1993).
Credibility is thus an important element in qualitative research, as it reflects how
grounded the findings are in the data. As such, the following will explore four GT
procedures outlined by Chiovitti and Piran (2003) that this study employed to enhance
and maintain credibility.

Letting participants guide the inquiry process. Chiovitti and Piran (2003)
suggest that in order to allow participants to guide the inquiry process and thus increase
credibility, researchers must modify and adapt the interview protocol to include
dimensions of the emerging theory in relation to incoming information from participants.
In order to ensure that I was inviting participants’ guidance, I engaged in member
checking (see section Checking generated constructions against participants’ meanings)
at two occasions throughout the study, the first being after the initial interview had been
transcribed, and the second being once the final theoretical and conceptual model had
been produced.

Another manner in which I ensured participant guidance of the inquiry process is
through theoretical sampling (see section Recruitment). Once I began the analysis phase,
I paid particular attention during the coding process to the ways in which participants were responding to questions. Consequently, I revised my interview protocol to reflect the emerging data from the interviews.

**Checking generated constructions against participants’ meanings.** In order to recognize if the generated codes and thus theoretical constructions truly reflect the participants’ understanding and meaning making of the phenomena, Chiovitti and Piran (2003) suggest checking back with participants as often as possible. Thus, upon transcribing their interviews, I provided participants the opportunity to member check. More specifically, I sent each participant via email an electronic copy of their transcribed interview inviting them to read, make changes, delete, or add any responses they wished to be excluded or included in the final analysis. All ten participants responded to the first member checking phase, and all subsequent analyses were made to the edited versions of the transcripts. Furthermore, once the final conceptual model had been generated from the data I once again invited participants to take part in a second round of member checking. More specifically, participants were asked electronically to confirm whether or not they agreed that the theory authentically reflected their experiences. Within this email I specified that the generated theory may not include details of every element relevant to their personal experience, as it reflected an amalgamation of all participant’s experiences. Additionally, within each participant’s email, I included the conceptual model as it might appear given their individual stories so that they may see how the theory maps onto their own experience of cultural identity formation. Accordingly, I asked each participant for their feedback, and asked if they could return their results to me in two weeks time. Of the ten participants, five responded with feedback.
Furthermore, of the participant’s feedback, all five responded positively reporting the accuracy of the theory and conceptual model to their sense of cultural identity (see Appendix M).

The aim of this member check was to stay open to the data and the experiences of the participants. Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest that by using this form of member checking I ensured that the data in fact represented the participants’ experiences and was truly grounded in the data from which they generated (as cited in Creswell & Miller, 2000). Another manner in which participant’s had the chance to give feedback was at the end of the interview process. Through the inclusion of a reflective question about the interview (e.g. What was this interview like for you?), the research provided catalytic validity. Catalytic validity according to Scheurich (1996) describes the degree to which the research empowers and liberates participants to take action based on the perspectives they acquired while participating. Thus by inquiring about participant’s understanding and experience of the interview process, this study permitted them to make positive change for others navigating their cultural identities, and ensured that the study topics were relevant to their sense of selves.

**Using participants’ actual words.** Another provision that enhanced the credibility of the findings was to honour and represent participants’ experiences by using their own terminology in the generated theory. Chiovitti and Piran (2003) describe this as borrowing participant’s language at each stage of data analysis. They propose that every code reflecting a word, relationship, and action should be supported by citations and a brief description of the meanings of such codes as informed by the data. This method of tracking within a GT framework is called “memo-writing”, a strategy that
employed in my reflexive journal writing. Glaser and Holton (2004) suggest that “memos present hypotheses about connections between categories and/or their properties and begin to integrate these connections with clusters of other categories to generate the theory” (as cited in Saldana, 2013, p. 52). Furthermore, Charmaz (2006) argues that memo-writing enables the researcher the space to outline comparisons between data, codes, categories, and concepts as well as formulate “analytic notes to explicate and fill out categories” (p. 72). Through the act of sorting and integrating my memos, I was better able to elicit new connections and foster the construction of the final written report and theoretical framework.

**Articulating researcher’s views of the research topic.** Understanding and making explicit the researcher’s own assumptions of the phenomenon and recognizing how it shapes the research are critical steps to enhancing the study’s credibility (Chiovitti & Piran, 2003). Throughout the study, I participated in an on-going discussion and review of my biases and conceptual outlook through peer debriefing (see section Managing Researcher’s Assumptions) as well as through discussions with my supervisor.

**Auditability**

The auditability of a study refers the ability of other researchers to track the methods and conceptual conclusions made by the original researcher (Beck, 1993). Thus, auditability reflects the consistency within the study, and becomes an important element of the study’s rigour. Chiovitti and Piran (2003) outline two GT procedures that I utilized throughout my research to maintain auditability.

**Specifying criteria for researcher’s thinking.** Chiovitti and Piran (2003) propose that the researcher should have specific reasoning to support each process of
their data collection and analysis so as to ensure that my interpretations were grounded in participants’ experiences, that it reflected the data’s richness, and that it was based on the research question of interest. Consequently, to make my process as overt as possible, I outlined a comprehensive interview protocol that delineates my reasoning for posing such questions and consequently can be replicated. Furthermore, as mentioned in the section delineating the data analysis, I engaged in an on-going process of analysis that was based on questions outlined by Glaser (1978), Strauss (1987), and Strauss and Corbin (1990) as cited by Chiovitti and Piran (2003) to help audit my process of analysis and allow my findings to be tracked by others. Moreover, as previously outlined, I maintained a reflexive journal, alongside using the strategy of memo-writing throughout the entirety of the research process. Having these two methods as a form of an audit trail allowed me to record my ideas and the connections I made within the data, as well as outlined a traceable, chronological account of my interpretation of the data as it was being analyzed.

**Specifying participant selection.** By describing the underlying reasons for participant selection, I added audibility to the study, as it outlines the parameters under which I was operating when selecting particular individuals. As reported earlier, this study first employed snowball sampling from a wide variety of community organizations and university settings to attain as diverse of a sample as possible. Where diversity was not being attained, theoretical sampling was employed to ensure that the sample represented as many different dimensions of identity as possible. When theoretical sampling was required, the reason and basis for participant selection was recorded.

**Fittingness**

Fittingness reflects the transferability of the meaning of the research findings to
others in similar contexts. Essentially, fittingness represents how well the generated theory “fit into a context other than the one from which they were generated” (Beck, 1993, p. 264). Chiovitti and Piran (2003) outline two last GT procedures that I put in place in the current study to ensure that the findings have fittingness.

**Delineating parameters of the research.** In order to attain transferability, other researchers must have enough information on the parameters of my study to determine its applicability to other contexts. By outlining the sample, setting, and level of theory that is generated, I aided readers and researchers to envisage the context from which the findings were developed. As such, the inclusion of a demographics form allowed some knowledge of the sample context and background for which my results were generated. Moreover, as mentioned previously, GT aims to represent a diverse population so as to ensure that as many dimensions of the research question of interest are reflected in the findings (Charmaz, 2006). Therefore, in order to ensure as diverse a sample as possible, I employed theoretical sampling techniques when necessary.

Additionally, to ensure fittingness, it is important to reflect and identify the level of theory that this study will present so that there is sufficient information for others to assess transferability (Chiovitti & Piran, 2003). As my study produced a theory that has evolved from “the study of a phenomenon situated in a particular situational context” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990), and not from the exploration of a phenomenon rooted in several contexts, the level of theory that was generated was a conceptual theory and model and not a grand theory. By outlining that I was not attempting to explain global views of identity within the context of cultural and developmental transition, but rather, examined the negotiation of cultural identities as this particular population experiences it,
I delineated the scope of my study and thus informed others how transferable my particular findings are for other contexts and situations.

Describing the literature pertaining to the emerged theory. In order to establish the transferability of my research findings, it is essential that each generated category be related back to the literature (Chiovitti & Piran, 2003). As such, once the GT had been described, I examined both the similarities and differences that my findings had to previous theoretical constructs outlined in the literature. By making this comparison, it allowed me to explore how the phenomenon can be transferred to other situations of identity development, immigration, and emerging adulthood.

Ethical Considerations

In order to uphold ethical standards throughout this study, many different efforts were made to ensure fair treatment of all participants involved and data gathered. Firstly, I submitted this proposal to the Behavioural Research Ethics Board (BREB) for approval before beginning the process of data collection. Secondly, each participant was given a consent form that outlines the rationale for the study, the means of data collection, and an explanation of how the data aims to be represented. This form also outlined the participants’ full right to consent and withdraw at any time throughout the study without consequence, as well as their right to freely discuss only what they felt comfortable with during the interview process.

Should any participant become emotional during the interview and hence require particular techniques (such as breathing exercises, guided visualization, or other grounding exercises) I, as a counsellor-in-training, had the required skills that would allow me to provide such support, as well as ensure a safe and comfortable environment
during data collection. Furthermore, if needed, I was in a position to provide participants with community resources, should they require personal support following the interview. Additionally, I was also working collaboratively with a registered psychologist during the data collection process in the event that a participant felt like he or she needed immediate assistance.

To ensure participant confidentiality, rigorous precautions was taken including: the change of all participants’ names to codes, the use of pseudonyms when quotations were used in the data display, the use of a secure and locked filing cabinet for all raw data, and the use of a password protected file on my own computer in which all soft copies of interviews and transcripts were kept. To further ensure participant’s comfort throughout the interview, I invited participant’s feedback throughout the process and used my empathy skills to follow the participant’s lead. Additionally, if I sensed any unease from the participant, I utilized my interviewing and counselling skills to move the interview in a different direction.
Chapter 4: Research Findings

Restating the Research Purpose

The main focus of the present study was to understand the process of how emerging adult immigrants create an identity given they now live in a new cultural environment and are at a point in their lives where they are deciding what their next steps will be (i.e. career, relationships, place of home, starting a family) (Arnett, 2000). In order to realize this goal the current study attempted to answer the following research question: *How do emerging adult immigrants negotiate their identities in the context of cultural and developmental transitioning?* This question allowed for an open exploration of the formation of identity, as experienced by young adult immigrants, and the meanings that these individuals attribute to the different dimensions of their identity. Accordingly, by asking this research question participants were given the opportunity to freely express how different components of their immigration experience relate to their sense of identity, and how they understand their sense of self at this age in their lives.

The findings of this study were derived from an in-depth analysis of ten interviews. Participants’ experiences of creating identities in Canada were analyzed, synthesized, and then organized into a conceptual theory. To begin, an overview summarizing the principal components of the theory will be discussed. Following will be a closer examination of the core category of the derived theory. Next, each key factor (also referred to as the higher-order categories as derived from the data analysis process) will be presented in context to the core category. Subsequently, an explanation of how the factors interacted will be explored to illustrate the most salient patterns that comprise the conceptual theory. To conclude, the different cultural identity formation outcomes
(e.g., Blended, Dual, Disconnected, Intermediate) will be discussed. Participant quotations derived from interviews that demonstrate a category, a subcategory, or a pattern in the process will be incorporated throughout. Pseudonyms will be used when quoting participants in order to protect their identities.

**Overview of Findings and Conceptual Model**

Through the process of coding, constant comparison, and peer debriefing, the core category that was outlined from the data was *One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity*. This category reflected the driving force behind the process of identity creation for emerging adult immigrants in Canada, as well as threaded all other categories together. More specifically, participants described *One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity* as an internal felt sense that helped shape their sense of cultural identity, and was influenced by both external and internal factors. How these different external and internal factors interacted with each other, as well as how they interacted with other aspects of identity, all affected the outcome of participants’ cultural identity exploration and navigation in Canada, and how they ultimately identified themselves culturally. In order to gain an in-depth understanding of *One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity* and how it related to the creation of participant’s cultural identity, the following section will (a) examine the definitions of the external and internal factors that affect this core category, (b) explore an overview of the integration of these factors with the core category into a theoretical model, (c) discuss the role of age and time in relation to the factors and the core category, and (d) outline the different cultural identity formation outcomes as derived from the data analysis.
Definitions of internal and external factors. In analyzing the data, it was found that One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity was influenced by six key higher-order categories: (a) Family Cultural Rigidity; (b) Connections Specific to Canada; (c) Connection to a Same Cultured Community; (d) Sense of Permanency; (e) Desire to Preserve Culture of Origin; and (f) Desire to fit in to Canadian Culture. When breaking these higher-order categories into their component dimensions and properties, it became apparent across the ten participants that these categories were being driven by either internal or external factors. More specifically, internal factors are those categories that were represented by internal feelings and desires, while external factors are those categories that were represented by situational reality. Both internal and external higher-order categories played a key role as to how One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity was influenced and in turn how participant’s identities were shaped.

As mentioned above, across all ten participants four external factors were identified. The first external factor identified was that of Family Cultural Rigidity, which participants defined as the degree to which their family places importance on maintaining cultural heritage and cultural expectations. The second external factor identified was one’s Connections Specific to Canada, which participants defined as meaningful connections that include relationships with people from diverse cultures, as well as include their connection to the education system in Canada, and their connection to work in Canada. The third external factor identified was that of Connection to a Same Cultured Community, which participants defined as their connection to a group of people who share in common a similar cultural heritage (i.e. language, religion, traditions, food,
Lastly, the fourth external factor identified was one’s *Sense of Permanency*, which participants defined as a feeling of home and external sense (ability and/or reason) that they belong in a certain geographical location (i.e. Canada). More specifically, the more participants had of any one external factor, the more they were likely to seek and maintain connection to a particular culture, which will be furthered explained in the subsequent section.

Additionally, two internal factors emerged which seemed to influence and amplify the cultural directionality of participant’s new identities. The first internal factor that emerged was one’s *Desire to Preserve Culture of Origin*, which participants defined as an internal desire to connect with their culture of origin in order to carry it through into their future. The second internal factor that emerged was one’s *Desire to Fit In to Canadian Culture*, which participants defined as an internal desire to feel like they belong to and are accepted in the new environment. The stronger participants felt a desire to preserve their culture of origin or to fit in to Canadian society, the more likely they were to seek out connection with a particular culture (i.e. their culture of origin, or Canadian culture, respectively). Thus, in this way internal factors amplified *One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency in Creating a New Identity*.

**Interaction of internal and external factors with the core category.** Figure 1 on the following page represents a diagram that conceptually outlines the manner in which the above-described external and internal factors influenced *One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity*. 
In Figure 1, the large circle in the middle represents the main category: One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity. This circle is bisected in two by a perforated line to conceptually represent factors that draw an individual in the direction of a culture (i.e. the cultural of origin or the Canadian culture). The left side of the circle represents participants’ connection to their culture of origin. As outlined in the diagram, their Connection to a Same Cultured Community and Family Cultural Rigidity fall on the left side, indicating that they are the factors that most influence their connection and identification to their culture of origin. Conversely, the right side of the circle represents their connection to Canadian culture. As outlined in the diagram, their Connections Specific to Canada and Sense of Permanency fall on the right side, indicating that they are the factors that most influence their attachment and connection to
a Canadian identity. These four factors fall on the periphery of the larger circle to reflect their external nature to the individual. In the middle of the large circle lie the two smaller circles that represent the internal factors: *Desire to Preserve Culture of Origin* and *Desire to Fit In to Canadian Culture*. Like the external factors, the perforated line bisects these two internal factors to indicate which cultural direction they draw an individual towards.

The cultural directional pull of any one factor is represented in the diagram by a two-sided arrow with a + and – sign underneath. These arrows represent how much someone has of each factor. The closer participants are to the + sign on the arrow, the stronger they identify with the corresponding culture, and the more likely they are to incorporate it into their identity. Conversely, the closer participants are to the – sign on the arrow, the less they identify with the corresponding culture, and the less likely they are to incorporate it into their identity. For example, in the examination of the internal factor of *Desire to Preserve Culture of Origin*, the two-sided arrow continuum represents how strongly individuals feel this internal drive within them. The larger a participant’s internal drive to preserve their culture of origin, the more likely they were to attempt to connect with their culture of origin (i.e. participate in traditions/ethnic events, learn about culture of origin, and incorporate elements of culture of origin into one’s identity). Whereas the smaller a participant’s internal drive to preserve their culture of origin, the less likely they were to attempt to connect with their culture of origin. As mentioned, these continua exist for each factor and represent the influence it has on *One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity*, and thus plays a large role in participant’s overall cultural identification.
Although there are several outcomes of identity formation that an individual can identify with (e.g. blended, dual, disconnected, intermediate), it is important to recognize that one’s identity is not static. The data often showed that participants’ felt sense of identity was ever changing and always under construction between the two cultures. Consequently, the overarching arrows on both the upper and lower sides of the larger circle signify that one’s cultural identity is fluid. More specifically, these arrows indicate that one’s identification with being from their culture of origin and/or identification with being from Canadian culture can shift with context. When considering the fluid nature of identity, the data suggested two important elements that affect changes and shifts to the perception of the self: (a) age; and (b) time. In the larger conceptual model that depicts identity, age indicates the importance of each factor as one gets older, and is represented as the size of the factor’s circle. The larger the circle, the more important the factor is to someone at a particular age. Consequently, the smaller the circle, the less important the factor is to someone at a particular age. Whereas age reflects the importance of a factor, time reflects the amount someone has of each factor. More specifically, where one falls on each factor’s continuum arrow changes over time. Thus, time is depicted only in the comparison of diagrams from one point in time to another. Accordingly, in order to understand how age and time influence the different factors of the theoretical model, the following section will outline the trends found in the data.

**Influence of age and time.** As indicated, a participant’s age, and thus where they are in their life, affected how much importance they placed on the different higher-order categories. According to the data, for the factor of *Family Cultural Rigidity*, participants in the study shared that as they entered an older stage of life, they began to sense a degree
of personal agency that aided in the creation of an identity that was separate from their family’s identity. As such, the factor of *Family Cultural Rigidity* no longer held as much importance in the creation of participant’s identity as it did when they were younger. In relation to the factor of *Connections Specific to Canada*, as participants began to emerge into adulthood, the data reflected that their search for permanent work and partnership became more relevant and salient to them. Much like *Connections Specific to Canada*, with an older stage of life the factor of *Sense of Permanency* (i.e. putting down roots, finding a career, finding a permanent romantic partner) became more relevant and important. According to participants, finding a permanent location to live and thus start the next chapters of their lives became more essential to their identity as they got older. Furthermore, the data showed that age impacted the importance of participant’s *Desire to Preserve Culture of Origin*. Participants reported that as they got older they wanted to connect more with family and thus tended to turn to their culture of origin as a way to bridge that connection. Additionally, participants noted that the idea of starting one’s own family became more important to them as they entered a later stage of life, thus the idea of passing on culture became more relevant. In terms of the factor of *Desire to Fit In to Canadian Culture*, participants reported that the closer they were to their teenage years at time of immigration, the more desire they had to fit in. Conversely, participants expressed that as they got older and were exposed to others outside of a high school population (i.e. culturally diverse students at university, people in career or job settings), their desire to fit in decreased. Lastly, in relation to the factor of *Connection to a Same Cultured Community*, the role that age played is unclear. Based on the ages of immigration of participants in the study, which varied from very young ages of
immigration to much older ages of immigration, there were no subjective differences between the importance of a connection to a same cultural group dependent on age.

As previously described, the factor of time influences how much of each higher-order category someone possesses. Unlike age, however, there are no clearly defined guidelines as to which direction one moves along the factor continuums. For example, over time, one may find themselves more connected with a same cultured community, or they may find themselves less connected. Despite the unclear nature that time has on the directionality of each factor, there are some general trends that occurred in the data. The first trend that became apparent was within the factor of *Sense of Permanency*. More specifically, the more time participants spent in Canada, the more they began to feel a *Sense of Permanency*. The second trend that became apparent was within the factor of *Family Cultural Rigidity*. In most cases across the data the more time participant’s families spent in Canada, the more likely they were to become more culturally flexible.

As one can see, there are many elements that came into play to emerging adult immigrants when they were shaping their sense of cultural identity. As a result, what participants culturally identified with varied. Consequently, in order to understand how the six higher-order categories, as well as the dimensions of age and time shape one’s overall cultural sense of self, it is important to explore the different cultural identity formation outcomes that emerged from the data.

**Four cultural identity formation outcomes.** In order to conceptually depict how the interplay of the six factors affect and influence participant’s cultural identification, underneath the main phenomenon is a two-sided arrow that represents a continuum of how one might culturally identify. The extreme left side of the continuum represents an
identity that is fully informed by one’s culture of origin, and on the extreme right side of the continuum represents an identity that is fully informed by Canadian culture. As the diagram outlines, towards the middle of the continuum of identity, an individual can identify with one of three options: (1) a Blended Identity; (2) a Dual Identity; and (3) a Disconnected Identity. According to participants, a **Blended Identity** tended to occur when individuals found themselves relatively high on all six factors that influence *One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency in Creating a New Identity*, as they were being pulled in both cultural directions. Someone who identifies as having a blended identity has a sense of being a ‘mixed bag’ of values taken from both their culture of origin and Canadian culture. In this instance one culture does not supersede the other. A **Dual Identity** tended to occur when individuals found themselves relatively high on all six factors, but felt the two cultures did not blend as easily and often felt a sense of cultural conflict between the two. Finally, a **Disconnected Identity** tended to occur when individuals found themselves relatively low on all six factors. Participants who identified with a **Disconnected Identity** felt like they did not belong fully to either culture and as a result felt somewhat like an outsider from both cultures. As one can see, depending on the interactions of the different factors, *One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity* can be influenced to shape their cultural identity in a particular way. In the case where one does not fall on either extreme of the continuum or in the middle of the continuum of identity, one’s identity must fall in the intermediate spaces at either end of the spectrum. These spaces often represent someone with an identity that is informed more by one culture, but who also feels, albeit to a lesser extent, connected to values of the other culture.
**In-depth Exploration of the Data**

The overview of the model presented in the previous section briefly outlined the components that impacted participant’s identity searches and creations. Specifically, the core category of *One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity* was explained, the relationships between this category and the higher-order categories were highlighted, and the impact of the dimensions of age and time were delineated. To provide a more comprehensive understanding of the theory and model, the axial coding and relationships that are at the base of the data analysis will be explored in more detail. Following, delineation of how the axial relationships lead to the higher-order categories will be examined. Next, the selective coding phase will be explored to outline how the core category was derived from the higher-order categories. Finally, a closer explanation of how each higher-order category affects the core category will be presented to highlight the different dimensions of each. Participant quotations derived from the interviews will be used throughout in order to further demonstrate a category, a subcategory, or a pattern being explained. Where quotations are used, pseudonyms were substituted in place of participants names in order to maintain their confidentiality.

**Axial Coding and Relationships**

As discussed in chapter three, the first step of data analysis (‘open coding’) yielded 57 initial codes that were consequently reduced 17 overarching categories based on their shared properties, as derived from participants’ transcripts in the ‘focused coding phase’ of data analysis. For example, the code “Adopting Values Over Time” became subsumed under the overarching code of “*Sense of Permanency*” as participants
repeatedly described that knowing they would be living in one place for a long time often brought a willingness to explore and adopt different values.

Axial coding in the data analysis of a grounded theory study is the process of explaining the categories in more depth, highlighting the relationships among the categories, and grouping them together into more encompassing higher-order categories that subsume multiple subcategories (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Fassinger, 2005). Before the 17 categories could be explored in terms of their relationships with each other and to the phenomenon of creating an identity, each one was explored in more depth across all ten transcripts and placed into their respective coding paradigms based on their axial relationships.

The first axial relationship that was explored was the causal conditions that gave rise to the creation of a new identity. Upon exploring the 17 categories, it became evident that the direct event that was influencing participants’ development of a new identity was the physical act of Being in a New Cultural Environment. Across the ten transcripts, all of the participants discussed how immigrating and experiencing cultural transition in a new environment brought a level of required adaptability and identity navigation. The causal condition of immigrating to Canada can be best summarized in Kabir’s statement “you decide to move here you have to accept some things and adapt” and points to participants’ expectations of having to navigate and create an identity upon arriving in a new cultural environment.

The second axial relationship that was explored represented the actions/interactions through which the creation of an identity occurred in the new environment. More specifically, of the 17 categories, two emerged as actions taken by
participants: *Deciphering Culture* and *Connecting with Roots*. Of the participants, all ten described how learning cultural nuances, as well as participating in cultural activities from their culture of origin lead to the creation of an identity that incorporated new values. By way of example, Marco illustrated how *Deciphering Culture* influenced the way he learned to behave in the new environment:

I guess the other thing was being on time, Canadians like to be on time. In Asia they’re a lot more flexible I guess. So for me I learned quite quickly that Canadians will not be happy if you’re late, or significantly late, so yeah. Punctuality was definitely something I learned and now think is important.

The third axial relationship that was explored was the *intervening variables/immediate context* that influenced the ways in which participants developed a new identity. Upon examination of the 17 categories and their in-depth analyses, the following eight were deemed as important: 1) *Sense of Permanency*; 2) *Family Cultural Rigidity*; 3) *Connection to a Same Cultured Community*; 4) *Connections Specific to Canada*; 5) *Desire to Fit in to Canadian Culture*; 6) *Desire to Preserve Culture of Origin*; 7) *Dimension of Time*; and 8) *Dimension of Age*. All of the participants described these categories as having a direct impact on the decisions and actions they were taking in the creation of their identities. For example, participants described that with the maturity that comes with age, there was a tendency for them to develop an identity separate from their parents that was characteristically independent. In this case, the independent nature of participants’ identities was contingent on the *Dimension of Age* and thus can be considered an intervening variable. The following excerpt from Kabir’s
interview illustrates how the intervening variables of *Family Cultural Rigidity* and the *Dimension of Age* encouraged a sense of self-exploration of his identity:

Kabir: “My family became more open. They see that you’re not supposed to control a child…so they…I felt more open when I came here. Not just from the language part but also from the family part. They were more controlling back then. Also I grew up so that might have played a part but coming here was more open.”

Interviewer: “So how did their flexibility then shape you? You said you felt that you could be more open?”

Kabir: “I was less pressured and I started exploring what I was here…that changed everything.”

The fourth and last axial relationship that was explored was the consequence of creating a new identity. Reviewing the 17 categories, the following six categories were deemed consequences of establishing a new identity in Canada: 1) *Blended Cultures*; 2) *Identification with Canada*; 3) *Identification with Culture of Origin*; 4) *Feeling Othered/Disconnected*; 5) *Compartmentalization of the Self*; and 6) *Personal Agency in Creating a New Identity*. Across the ten transcripts, all of the participants discussed how given the context of their cultural transitions and the current salient dimensions in their lives, they developed one of the six identity identifications as listed above. The following excerpt from Helen’s interview highlights how the outcome of creating a new identity in Canada is a sense of having *Blended Cultures*:

Helen: “Some people are really Chinese-Chinese and I’m more like Canadian-
Chinese. If someone says something that they think is offensive [regarding their race] but it’s not necessarily regarding their race, they’d be super furious and uhh, they think they’re defending their culture and country, but for me…like…I could see the whole thing from a clearer perspective. Sometimes it’s not as offensive as they think. Yeah, you know…?”

Interviewer: “You think that you can see it from a wider lens?”

Helen: “From both sides…”

Interviewer: “From both sides…can you tell me then how you would describe your current cultural identity? “

Helen: “Mmm…I’m both.”

Interviewer: “So you feel like there’s a mixture?”

Helen: “Yeah, a mixture.”

**Axial relationships and higher-order categories.** Upon reviewing and reflecting on the summary table of each participant’s story (See Appendix H), a major pattern was exhibited amongst all ten participants’ stories. That is, the table illustrated that the eight intervening variables played a very large role on the overall outcome of the participants’ felt sense of identity. For example, Alicia reported that she identified weakly with her culture of origin, however, she explained that this lack of identification was contingent on the fact that she had little to no connection with her culture of origin here in Canada. Thus, reflecting on these variables, it became evident that the categories of *Family, Cultural Rigidity, Connections Specific to Canada, Connection to a Same Cultured Community, Sense of Permanency, Desire to Preserve Culture of Origin, Desire to fit in to Canadian Culture, the Dimension of Time, and the Dimension of Age* were all
underlying the internal decision-making of participants identity creations. Participants’
decisions to participate and take specific actions/interactions to create their identities
were all dependent on the context of these different intervening variables. As a result, the
intervening variable categories were labeled as higher-order categories due to their ability
to encapsulate all the other codes and categories.

Upon further reflection and peer debriefing, the higher-order categories of
Dimension of Time and Dimension of Age seemed to stand apart from the other six
intervening variables. According to participants, while still factors that seemed to play a
role on identity creation, the Dimension of Time and the Dimension of Age also had an
impact on the subjective importance of each of the other intervening variables. For
example, given the amount of time each participant spent in Canada, the age at which
they immigrated and their current age at the time of their interview, participants described
how the six other intervening variables had different degrees of influence in their identity
creation. As a result of this pattern, the Dimension of Time and the Dimension of Age
were deemed as overarching factors that influence and give context to the higher-order
categories and not as higher-order categories themselves.

Selective Coding

Selective coding in the data analysis of a grounded theory study is the process of
selectively identifying a fundamental category that incorporates all other categories into
“an explanatory whole” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 146). According to Fassinger
(2005), a core narrative is generated in order to illustrate the most salient pieces of the
data that subsumes all other categories and delineates the relationships among them and
the core category. Thus, in order to identify a core category, a storyline-memo (see
Appendix I) was created to highlight the different patterns and relationships shown from the axial coding relationships and higher-categories. Upon completion of the storyline-memo, an underlying theme emerged from the identified higher-order categories: one’s ability to explore a new culture seemed to be dependent on the degree of one’s internal sense of choice. More specifically, the identities that participants were creating tended to be based on their inner perceptions of self-agency and incentive. Priya illustrates how her sense of choice to explore her cultural identity gave her inspiration to be active in and take ownership of her identity creation:

> Once I finished up with university and then was working for a year that’s when I really…I don’t know exactly what it was that catalyzed it but I was…I kind of wanted to learn then and it wasn’t being foisted upon me…it very much felt like a choice…And I was just really curious to pick that up and see what does family mean and who are these human beings that are half-way across the world that are my family and what is this culture and this identity mean to me? So I very much was adamant about going over there and getting connected on my own terms, so not going as my mother’s daughter or my father’s daughter but very much going as I’m a part of your family let’s figure out what that looks like and what that means. But I definitely feel like, once I’ve worked through it wherever I land in the end on that spectrum of choice A, choice B or any grey area I feel a lot more committed to that because I think it’s come from a process rather than just a default of being there.

Thus, a working hypothesis of the core category became *One’s Internal Sense of Choice*. However, through several closer examinations of the interactions between the higher-
order categories and the rest of the data, the core category was refined to One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity. Although similar in terminology, by using the terms Motivation and Sense of Agency to explain the felt experience of choice, it illustrates that there are elements within the creation of identity that can be both influenced as well as realized through a sense of personal empowerment. Furthermore, the latter phrasing explains the data in participants’ own words and stays closer to the meaning they proscribed to their identity creations.

One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity was undeniably the most salient thread among all participant interviews. The sense of empowerment was present in many different contexts for all of the participants and manifested itself in all of the higher-order categories. For example, according to participants, developing a sense of identity was connected to their ability to choose meaningful elements to incorporate into their sense of selves in Canada. However, when describing One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity, participants indicated that their sense of internal choice, motivation, and agency varied. More specifically, the strength of participants’ motivation and agency depended on how the higher-order categories interacted. As a result of these various interactions, what informed participants while creating their identities differed. As a result, it became evident that the strength and nature of One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity are the products of a complex and dynamic interplay of the six higher-order categories. Consequently, in order to gain an in-depth understanding of how these interactions impact One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity, each higher-
order category will be explained in further detail and described with respect to the core category.

**Higher-Order Categories and the Core Category**

As mentioned, participants’ ability to explore a new culture is dependent on their internal sense of motivation and personal agency, to varying degrees. The data indicates that *One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity* can be understood as being comprised of both external and internal experiences. Externally, this sense of choice and motivation expressed through the practical actions participants take to create their identities. Internally, this same sense of choice is expressed through the emotional reasons participants choose to include different elements into their sense of identity. Consequently, the six higher-order categories were grouped into external and internal factors. More specifically, external factors are those higher-order categories that are represented by situational reality, while internal factors are those higher-order categories that are represented by internal feelings and desires. As mentioned earlier, the six higher-order categories include: (a) *Family Cultural Rigidity*; (b) *Connections Specific to Canada*; (d) *Connection to a Same Cultured Community*; (d) *Sense of Permanency*; (e) *Desire to Preserve Culture of Origin*; and (f) *Desire to fit in to Canadian Culture*. To understand how participants utilize both external and internal processes to create their identity, the higher-order categories will be examined in more detail to illustrate how they can vary between contexts and how they influence the core-category.

**Family cultural rigidity.** One of the higher-order categories that influenced *One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity* in a new environment was participants’ experiences of *Family Cultural Rigidity*. According to all ten
participants, the degree to which their families placed importance on maintaining their cultural heritage at home, as well as upholding cultural expectations, influenced the amount of freedom and support they felt they had in their creation of a new identity in Canada. Participants’ perceptions of *Family Cultural Rigidity* varied from quite rigid to fairly flexible in their maintenance and expected adherence to their culture of origin. In examining the data, two participants reported family environments that were pretty rigid, three reported environments that were somewhat rigid, four reported environments that were somewhat flexible, and one reported a family context that was neutral.

The two participants who experienced high *Family Cultural Rigidity* explained that they were expected to maintain their cultural heritage and raise their own children in such an environment. As a result, they felt less inclined to adapt elements of Canadian culture and sometimes encountered conflicts with their parents about this issue. For example, Andres explains how parental expectations prevented him from feeling integrated in his cultural identities:

> I feel stuck in between kinda ‘cause I mean whenever you go to school it’s a completely different environment. My parents still stick to their Latin roots so it’s very cultured at home. They’re much more strict than what my other friends’ parents were like and I mean there was a place in time…I couldn’t really see where I fit in ‘cause yeah I don’t know I was stuck between the two.

As one can see, participants’ *Family Cultural Rigidity* impacted the degree to which they felt comfortable exploring their cultural identities outside of their home environment. That is, one’s *Family Cultural Rigidity* can weaken *One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity* that incorporates elements from the new environment.
Furthermore, three participants reported coming from family households that were ‘somewhat rigid.’ Specifically, these participants described their families as ones that expected them to be fairly compliant with the beliefs of their culture of origin, but also gave them room to flexibly integrate these values. In the following response, Jenny illustrates how her family’s cultural rigidity could be flexible yet rigid, and thus provide her with a sense of permission to challenge cultural values when necessary:

My mom, probably she does play a role, not a lot cause like I tend to like do it and inform her afterwards, and then see whether she’s ok with it. She’s trying to be more acceptable. Like she has changed since I was little. And she is trying to be more flexible. So if she didn’t like accept it or she wasn’t ok with it…I would try to talk her through it, but if that’s really important to me I would still do it, no matter what. And then I would just convince her along the way.

In this case, a slight perception of flexibility allowed the participant to voice her curiosity around her identity navigation. As such, a minimal level of flexibility in the area of Family Cultural Rigidity allowed participants to explore One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity more readily.

Of the ten participants, four described their family environments as being somewhat flexible. According to these participants, their families tended to maintain their culture of origin mainly for themselves, but allowed their children to explore and integrate Canadian culture wherever they felt it fit. Priya captures the essence of the dimension of ‘somewhat flexible’ in the following response:

My sister’s and I all carried very similar experiences and it was a lot of verbal cultural reinforcement and little things here and there, but we didn’t necessarily
live them out loud in terms of culture so we did become quite Canadian you know. We would watch Canadian T.V. shows at home and listen to Z95.3 on the radio, and language between my sisters and I, it was English, and between everybody else was English. Between my mom though was more Bengali to start and then we did the hybrid thing. I spoke a lot of Bengali with my mom and my dad on the phone sometimes just to keep that in practice. My younger sister however just solely will talk to my mom in English and my mom will answer back in Bengali.

In essence, when participants experienced acceptance and permission from their parents to explore Canadian culture, they felt more confident to explore their identity development in different environments. Thus, with less Family Cultural Rigidity, it becomes apparent that One’s Motivation and Personal Agency to Create a New Identity increases.

Finally, one participant described his family household as being ‘neutral’ when it came to Family Cultural Rigidity. More specifically, this participant explained how his family’s neutral stance actively encouraged him and his siblings to explore their identities in their new environment, while also maintained the importance of their culture of origin. Brian describes how his parents’ embodiment of Canadian culture, while maintaining their own culture, allowed him to feel connected to both:

[My family] have learned the Canadian traditions as well since we moved here. Especially my mom…We have some gatherings at home, a little party, a potluck party, where people just mingle around, celebrate say Victoria day or Christmas day. Or even sometimes during some of traditional Chinese festivals say the
moon cake festival we have little gatherings at our place to celebrate this kind of traditional Chinese. [We celebrate] both the Canadian’s…say Christmas, and the Chinese, say…moon cake or the Chinese New year, and that makes me feel connected to both definitely.

This participant’s unique experience around *Family Cultural Rigidity* allowed him to actively and comfortably explore *One’s Motivation and Personal Agency to Create a New Identity* without losing his sense of affiliation to his culture of origin.

In summary, participants’ *Family Cultural Rigidity* affects their internal sense of motivation and personal agency when building and navigating their identities in Canada. That is, more flexible cultural expectations have led them to more readily explore their new environment and develop identities accordingly. Conversely, more rigid cultural expectations leave less space to the exploration and establishment of new identities. As such, participants’ experiences of the higher-order category of *Family Cultural Rigidity* directly impact the core category of *One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity*, as it gives way to curiosity and exploration in this area.

**Connections specific to Canada.** Much like participants’ *Family Cultural Rigidity*, their *Connections Specific to Canada* also influences *One’s Motivation and Sense of Personal Agency to Create a New Identity* in Canada. Participants defined this higher-order category as including relationships with people from diverse cultures, their affiliation to the education system in Canada, and their connection to work and careers in Canada. Participants’ *Connections Specific to Canada* varied from strong connections to no connections at all. Of the ten individuals who participated in this study, seven
identified strong or above average connections, two described below average connections, and one stated having no connections specific to Canada.

The majority of participants reported that they had development many connections since establishing themselves in Canada. As such, they felt more inclined to integrate and embody some values of Canadian culture. By way of example, Alicia describes how having gone through a Canadian education system and making friends in Canada had shaped her orientation within the country:

I really like my friends at school and my teachers at school probably shaped me…the independent of parents part. And so seeing what my friends were doing and hearing what teachers were saying. My teachers also really shaped my thinking a lot in school, with tasks and assignments trying to get us to think independently, and contemplate scenarios, as opposed to reciting or memorizing facts, which was very different from a traditional Chinese educational system. It’s also a little bit of professional interaction as well like work and being in my masters and working and interacting with members in academia, members in the department, colleagues…that’s also shaping a lot of things as well.

As one can see, establishing strong Connections Specific to Canada such as work interactions, school environment, culturally different friends, propelled participants’ motivation and sense of agency to integrate Canadian values within their new identities.

For the two participants who felt that their connections in Canada were below average, the process of identity navigation and development in the new environment was more limited. For example, Mei Lin acknowledges that while her connections in Canada
are not abundant, she has integrated some Canadian values into her new identities because she completed some of her education in the country:

I think it’s ok to be Chinese, but at least I’m not too conservative. At least I feel ok when I see two guys kissing on the street, right? So I still have the 25% Canadian aspect, because I am educated here and I understand lots of concepts that people from China may not understand.

As outlined in the example presented above, limited Connections Specific to Canada reduces One’s Motivation and Sense of Personal Agency to Create a New Identity. Hence, in Mei Lin’s case, having some connection to Canadian culture through the educational system lead her to feel a certain level of affiliation with the predominant culture in Canada.

Finally, one of the participants in this study disclosed that he did not establish any connection in Canada, and as such, had a low motivation and sense of personal agency when it came to exploring and developing new cultural identities in the country. Specifically, in the following quote, Andres describes his complete lack of connections specific to Canada:

I wasn’t really connecting with anyone in high school…or again I had my friends but I never felt like I would tell them anything personal. And so I just felt like maybe if I start close…there isn’t anybody in my high school that really did anything or took initiative in anything so I didn’t feel like there was much point in hanging out with them…I think that’s what I like about my situation right now because I don’t feel like I have too much attachment anywhere. I’m not too sure where I’m going to end up and I’m completely fine with that. I mean without
making this sound depressing…I don’t really feel like I have a home anywhere, so I never thought about fitting in.

In the above example, the participant described difficulties finding connections in Canada and as such did not find himself drawn to making attachments and incorporating Canadian values into his identity. Thus, a lack of Connections Specific to Canada can hamper One’s Motivation and Sense of Personal Agency to Create a New Identity in the new environment.

In summary, participants in this study who reported that they established more relationships and connections in Canada, also felt compelled to integrate elements of Canadian culture in their new identities. On the contrary, participants that felt less connected to Canada were less motivated to explore and embody Canadian culture into their new identities, indicating that lower Connections Specific to Canada, decreases One’s Motivation and Sense of Personal Agency to Create a New Identity.

Thus far, the manner in which external factors (i.e., Sensing of Permanency, Family Cultural Rigidity, Connection to a Same Cultured Community, and Connections Specific to Canada) influence One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity has been explored. The next higher-order categories represent internal factors that impacts One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity.

Connection to a same cultured community. Participants in this study reported that while an independent self-exploration of their identities in Canada was important, Connection to a Same Cultured Community in the new environment was equally meaningful. According to participants, the higher-order category of Connection to a Same Cultured Community was explained as their intimate relationship to a group of
people who share a common cultural heritage (i.e. language, religion, traditions, food, and history). Among the participants, this connection ranged from a strong connection to no connection at all, and impacted *One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity*. Specifically, three individuals described being highly connected to a same culture community, four disclosed average connections, and three stated that they had very low connection with a same cultured community.

When examining the data for those participants with a high *Connection to a Same Cultured Community*, participants reported that it can create a sense of not needing to explore the new environment and thus keep them grounded in identifying more strongly with their culture of origin. In the following response, Jenny describes how her strong connection to an Asian community fostered a sense of comfort and made it unnecessary to seek outside relationships:

> If you have the same racial background you tend to stick together and then you’re just in that zone…Yeah it’s kind of like a comfort zone. You just went in the group and then feel comfortable, it’s like you’re still in Asia. And then cause like most of our values and what we took like we took the same courses and then…we pretty much did the same thing and then we pretty much like we have like you know, how can I describe that…same interests… kinda like…same entertainment, we have common ground we can talk about, like we watch the same dramas and stuff. But then when I talk to Caucasians and stuff its like did you watch this…I’m like no, did you watch that? No. You know? We have different kind of hobbies and entertainment and stuff.
As one can see, having a high sense of *Connection to a Same Cultured Community* can influence *One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity* in the new environment. In Jenny’s case, her motivation and agency to seek friendships and relationships outside of her culture of origin was low, and therefore she did not feel the need to begin a process of identity exploration within Canadian culture.

The four participants who reported that their *Connection to a Same Cultured Community* was in the ‘average’ range explained that they were part of a community that did not uphold their cultural customs so rigidly, and hence they were more flexible in their incorporation of Canadian values. For example, in the following quote, Marco exemplifies this *Connection to a Same Cultured Community* that is more culturally flexible:

> Even the Filipino people that I know, a lot of them were in that orientation that you know…were going to be here for a long time. Our families are already here. So, Philippines is not here. This is Canada, it’s a different country so for them it was kind of a similar mind set as well…Also I think cause the other Filipino people that I met, they went to highschool here, so they were here a lot longer. So I was able to kind of see how they dealt with being here and everything. A lot of other ethnicities as well, like you know, some of them came from like Ontario, some of them came…grew up here, so I was able to kind of see you know how they would get on as Asians in Vancouver. I think it was a little bit interesting because some of them would be a lot more…some of them would be a lot more…I don’t know how to say it, they’re a lot more independent minded, so they
would do what they like. Whereas some of them…the less time they spent here they’re a lot less independent minded.

As illustrated, one’s *Connection to a Same Cultured Community* has an influence on how one begins to explore their identities in a new environment. In Marco’s case, having a *Connection to a Same Cultured Community* that is fairly culturally flexible allowed him to observe how he could incorporate Canadian values and still maintain his Filipino roots.

Finally, the three participants who reported a low *Connection to a Same Cultured Community* described how it was difficult for them to begin to see how their culture of origin merged with that of Canadian culture. Furthermore, they explained that a lack of connection with their culture of origin often lead to internal cultural conflicts where they felt like they did not fully connect with either culture. In the following excerpt, Andres describes how a lack of *Connection to a Same Cultured Community* made him feel different from both cultures:

I think the biggest reason why I just feel so separated is because it’s a completely different language. I have friends who live in California and we would hangout with them all the time, like we would always go down. And they just felt more in tune with being American. I guess just because they lived in L.A. so like there’s much more of a Spanish community over there and then we have relatives over in Spain and it’s the same thing. For them they’re already Spanish because they feel right at home. But my parents…I don’t know my dad’s kinda…he’s not the most social person so like we don’t really have family or friends here…I mean I have my friends but it’s childhood friends. My parents have a few Colombian friends
but they’re just acquaintances more than anything else. It is of a lack of common community, but because the language is a big reason for it.

As evidence in the case above, a lack of Connection to a Same Cultured Community can impede One’s Motivation and Sense of Personal Agency to Create a New Identity where individuals struggle with identity navigation in the new environment because they feel ‘lost’ between their cultural origin and Canadian culture.

In summary, results indicate that a Connection to a Same Cultured Community influences how much motivation and personal agency participants feel they have or need when creating their identities in Canada. When the Connection to a Same Cultured Community is very strong, it can lead individuals to feel it unnecessary to seek external relationships. On the other hand, when the Connection to a Same Cultured Community is low, it can lead individuals to experience a disconnection to both their cultural of origin as well as the dominant culture found in the new environment, ultimately impacting One’s Motivation and Sense of Personal Agency to Create a New Identity in a negative manner.

**Sense of permanency.** According to participants, their internal sense of choice was strongly tied to the manner in which they internalized and externalized their Sense of Permanency in the new environment. Specifically, all ten participants expressed that this category included an internal feeling of home and an external sense (ability and/or reason) that they belong in a certain geographical location (i.e. Canada). This sense of permanency ranged from a strong sense to no sense of permanency, and influenced One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity. Of the ten participants, eight described themselves as having a strong Sense of Permanency, one participant described
having somewhat of a *Sense of Permanency*, and one participant described himself as having no *Sense of Permanency* in Canada.

The eight participants who reported having a high *Sense of Permanency* described that feeling like they would live in Canada on a long-term basis enhanced their motivation to take actions they would not have taken, if they believed their stay in Canada to be temporary. Some participants described this *Sense of Permanency* as being a part of their initial expectations of immigrating to Canada. Brian captures this sentiment in the following statement: “We always said once we decided to move to Canada, we’re determined to find our way, live here.” In Brian’s case a *Sense of Permanency* was present from the beginning of his navigational experience, and as such he began to explore his identity in Canadian culture from the start. However, a *Sense of Permanency* that is not present from the onset of immigration can also be fostered over the course of time, as one’s sense of internal choice grows. In the subsequent quote, Kabir describes how his *Sense of Permanency* shifted:

I didn’t know that I would be permanent here. I know I had permanent residency before I came here. But I didn’t know that I would be staying here for a long time and doing my university and all even post-university. But it just changed like I said the reasons I went to…it changed in my mind as well. So I decided to stay and became strongly grounded here instead of just going back and staying there.

So I still want to visit there but I’d like to stay here.

According to the eight participants who felt a strong *Sense of Permanency*, the sense of home and permanence tended to bring with it a sense of belonging and grounding in their identity in the new environment. Furthermore, feeling like they had stability in the new
environment helped foster a larger sense of One’s Motivation and Personal Agency to Create a New Identity.

While some participants came to Canada with a long-term sense of commitment, other participants had weaker feelings towards their Sense of Permanency in Canada. For example, one participant’s Sense of Permanency was not as strong as those described above, as she reported that she did not necessarily see herself living in Canada for the majority of her life, but at the same time still felt somewhat rooted to the country. Melanie described how her feelings towards putting down roots in Canada were not as strong:

Yeah, I think…I’m not sure 100% because as I said the issue of if I want my kids raised here or not is a bit of a big one in my mind right now. I think it would be, I see myself to be honest like living in different places probably. So I do think I will live somewhere else but I think I would like Canada to be the place that will be my returning point.

This participant’s experience of permanency impacted the core category of One’s Motivation and Personal Agency to Create a New Identity, as she had some level of motivation and connection to Canada. Consequently, due to her weaker Sense of Permanency in Canada, Melanie was not as readily willing to incorporate Canadian values into her cultural sense of self.

Finally, one participant described himself as having no Sense of Permanency in Canada. The following quote from Andres, illustrated how a lack of a Sense of Permanency affected his internal motivation and sense of agency to create attachments in Canada:
[Canada] always just felt like a stopping ground kind of place. ‘Cause when we
moved here my parents having it really rough so they were debating whether to
move back, whether not. I don’t remember much of those discussions but I knew
I was aware of that. And then when I was in… I think I to be in 6th or 7th grade,
my parents were considering moving to California for a business opportunity.
But then they decided not to but I mean in the meanwhile I felt like I was leaving
at any point. And then once I got up to high school and started thinking about
universities and where I was going to go study so again I felt like I was expected
to leave. The entire time I never felt like I might stay here for 20 years…and
when my mom told me we’ve been here 14 years it surprised me that we were
already here for 14 years ‘cause I never thought that we would leave but then I
also never thought that we’d stay. I was always in limbo. I felt like whether I put
ties here or in Colombia or anywhere else in the world at the end of the day I’m
just going to be more happy if I’m a good person…

This participant’s sense of ‘limbo’ or ‘being in between’ weakened the core category of
One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity in Canada, as he was
ready to leave the country at any moment. More specifically, Andres’ complete absence
of a Sense of Permanency weakened his sense of motivation and agency to create a
cultural identity associated and attached to Canadian values.

In summary, there were many ways that participants’ Sense of Permanency
influenced their navigation and creation of identities in Canada. The stronger one’s Sense
of Permanency in Canada is, the more motivation and empowerment one has to create an
identity that incorporates Canadian culture and values. The less one’s Sense of
Permanency in Canada is, the less incentive one has to create an identity that includes Canadian culture and values. As a result, participants’ experiences of the higher-order category of Sense of Permanency directly impacted the core category of One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity, as it set the foundation for feeling as if there was a reason to stay and belong in Canada.

**Desire to preserve culture of origin.** One of the two internal factors identified by participants represented their Desire to Preserve Culture of Origin. They defined this higher-order category as an internal desire to connect with their culture of origin in order to carry it through into the future. All of the individuals who participated in this study affirmed their Desire to Preserve Culture of Origin, to varying degrees. Of the ten participants, five reported a high desire, two reported a medium-to-high desire, and three reported a medium desire. Participants’ Desire to Preserve Culture of Origin influenced One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity. More specifically, the degree of participant’s inclination to maintain values and beliefs from their culture of origin influenced the manner in which they explored and navigated their new identities in Canada. Moreover, the larger internal drive they had to preserve their culture of origin, the more likely they were to attempt to connect with their culture of origin (e.g., participate in traditions/ethnic events, learn about culture of origin and incorporate elements of culture of origin into one’s identity). Conversely, the weaker participant’s internal drive was to preserve their culture of origin, the less likely they were to attempt to connect with their heritage culture.

The three participants who voiced a strong desire to maintain their culture of origin explained how this feeling motivated them to explore and navigate their new
identities in Canada. The following statement by Melanie captured the essence of a high
*Desire to Preserve Culture of Origin*, and illustrated what motivated her to incorporate
her culture of origin into her sense of cultural identity:

> Now I find I want to learn every single recipe we have or something like that…I
> want to preserve my Malteseness as much as I can in a sense because there is
> some things I totally love about Malta and I totally would want to pass them on…

Melanie described that preserving culture means being personally connected to the values
she desires to uphold and subsequently passing them on to future generations. These
feelings of pride helped foster her motivation and sense of agency to maintain
connections to her culture of origin. Consequently, this high internal desire to maintain
ties and uphold cultural values motivated and empowered participants to seek out and
participate in culturally significant activities.

Although seemingly similar to those participants with high desires, the two
participants who described having a medium-to-high *Desire to Preserve Culture of
Origin* placed a slightly higher priority on other factors such as their *Desire to Fit In to
Canadian Culture*, which will be explored further in the subsequent section. Helen
illustrated in a brief statement how she maintained a fairly high *Desire to Preserve
Culture of Origin*, yet placed more significance on wanting to feel as if she belonged in
Canada: “It’s like I want to be more Canadian than Asian, but I still want to keep my
Asian part. It’s my heritage and stuff you know, traditions and everything.” Much like
Melanie, Helen took pride in her heritage, and as a result was motivated to incorporate it
into her identity. However, unlike the other two participants who indicated a high *Desire
to Preserve Culture of Origin*, Helen placed priority on being Canadian over her culture
While preserving culture was very important to some of the participant’s internal connection to their culture of origin, three participants described that although their *Desire to Preserve Culture of Origin* was important to a moderate extent, it did not motivate them on a personal level to permit it to shape their cultural sense of self. In the following statement Alicia highlighted the concept of a medium desire by describing how her wish to preserve her culture of origin was sparked mainly when thought of as a functional tool:

Their [participant’s family] whole argument is that it’s important to learn Chinese because it shows you where you came from but also…they were like…well you know if you were ever to do business it’s a skill…if you ever have to communicate it’s a skill. So from the skills perspective I think that yeah it would be great if my…any future children I have speak Mandarin and it may facilitate communication between them and my parents, between them and my extended family.

As one may notice, according to Alicia her desire to maintain her culture of origin played more of a practical purpose than it did for the two previous participants outlined. Alicia indicated that preserving culture was only important in so far that it allowed her practical skills as well as fostered a maintained connection with her family. Thus, preserving culture for this participant did not influence her personal sense of motivation and agency to create a new identity as much as it did for those with a high and medium-to-high *Desire to Preserve Culture of Origin*.

While some participant’s desires stemmed from an internal sense of connection
and pride, preserving culture for Alicia was important primarily as a tool for success, with connection to family playing a secondary role. As evidenced One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity is shaped by one’s Desire to Preserve Culture of Origin. From the participant examples above, one can see that the internal reasoning for preserving culture was a driving force of participants’ motivation and sense of agency, albeit to different degrees, to take action and incorporate their culture of origins into their sense cultural identities. The more individuals feels a drive to maintain a connection to their cultural heritage, the greater their motivation and sense agency to actively engage in learning about, being a part of, and connecting with their culture of origin. Conversely, the less they feel a drive to maintain a connection to their culture of heritage, the less motivation and agency they have to include it as a shaping factor in their sense of self.

Desire to fit in to Canadian culture. Another internal factor identified by participants represented their Desire to Fit in to Canadian Culture. They defined this category as an internal sentiment to belong to and be accepted into the new environment. All of the participants discussed how their Desire to Fit In to Canadian Culture influenced One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity. Specifically, of the ten participants, three indicated a high desire, five reported a neutral or medium desire, and two stated a low desire.

The three participants who voiced a strong desire to integrate into Canadian culture explained how this feeling motivated them to explore and navigate their new identities in Canada. In the following statement, Helen illustrated how her motivation and agency to start creating an identity that incorporates Canadian culture was spurred on
by a high *Desire to fit in to Canadian Culture* and sense that she belongs:

I felt like an outsider even though I had my own group which was like the ESL group, I didn’t feel like I belonged there, but I didn’t feel like I belonged to the native speaker group either. So I was trying to work towards fitting in with the native speakers…I wanted to fit in…Yeah, cause this is a totally different environment and if you just keep on being the old self then you’re not really being accepted by people here.

In the case presented above, the participant’s desire to fit in during her high school experience represented an important motivator for her to begin to explore Canadian culture and integrate some of its elements into her emerging identities.

The five participants who disclosed a medium or neutral *Desire to Fit in to Canadian Culture* voiced less motivation to explore and navigate elements of Canadian culture into their identities in the new environment. For example, for Priya, the desire to fit in to Canadian society was present but not as strong. In the following quotation, she described how her desire to fit in was mostly felt at a young age and was not strong enough to influence her daily life:

I likely felt it much more strongly in grade school, thinking back now. I was embarrassed taking curries and other crazy things for lunch when all I wanted was to fit in with the other kids and bring sandwiches or lunchables or something. In retrospect I’m so grateful that wasn’t our everyday, though my mom did start doing that for us a bit more in the later years, relenting more to the ‘standard Burnaby kid lunch’ for school and things like that.

Having spent the formative years of her life living in Canada, Priya and other participants
with similar stories described that the *Desire to Fit in to Canadian Culture* was not as strong. More specifically, these participants reported that although at one point they wanted to fit in, due to growing up in Canada a *Desire to Fit in to Canadian Culture* was not as relevant. Thus, for these participants their navigation of cultural identity was not as largely motivated by a desire to fit in. As such, these participants are described as having neutral or medium *Desires to Fit In to Canadian Culture*.

Finally, two of the individuals who participated in this study explained that they had a low *Desire to Fit in to Canadian Culture*, and as such also had a low motivation to develop new identities in Canada. By way of example, Marco expressed such a disposition, stating that he had a lack of motivation to create an identity that conforms to and adopts certain Canadian cultural values:

I don’t know I think it’s just an understanding with us that you know that we may be living here now but just because we’re here doesn’t mean that we have to do everything that Canadians do. Like for example when it comes to hockey we don’t know anything, so we tried to…but we don’t understand it so it’s just when we have visitors and they want to watch hockey it’s fine, but we’d be like ok, we don’t understand, but that’s ok. Like other things like you know, its just certain things that we don’t…that we’re totally open to doing, and then there are certain things that we just won’t get used to or we just won’t negotiate with.

In Marco’s case, the maintenance of some of the values from his culture of origin superseded his internal *Desires to Fit in to Canadian Culture*. As a result, he described having less motivation to adopt an identity that is more Canadian, and his navigation of identities in this area of life was predominantly guided by his culture of origin.
As one can see, findings suggest that the degree to which participants’ hope to fit in to Canada influences One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity in the host country. That is, the larger one’s internal Desire to Fit In to Canadian Culture, the more motivation and sense of agency one has to create a new identity by taking steps and or action to embody Canadian culture. Conversely, the lower one’s internal Desire to Fit In to Canadian Culture, the less motivation and sense of agency one has to create an identity that incorporates values that differ from the culture of origin.

**Summary**

In summary, the findings show how each higher-order category impacted participants’ overall sense of cultural identity throughout their transition and crystallization of self in Canada. At the foundation of each higher-order category is the core-category of One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity. Accordingly, this motivation and sense of agency to shape participants’ sense of cultural identity depended on the degree to which each factor was present in their lives (i.e. Family Cultural Rigidity, Connection to a Same Cultured Community, Connections Specific to Canada, Sense of Permanency) and whether their desire to connect with certain cultural values were strong or weak (i.e. Desire to Preserve Culture of Origin, Desire to Fit in to Canadian Culture). For an overview of the six higher-order categories and how it influences the core category see appendix N. As we will see in the following section, the interplay of all of these factors had an overall influence on the ways in which participants’ identified themselves in the new environment. As such, in order to gain a better understanding of how the different categories are influenced over participant’s journey of cultural transition it is important to explore the Dimension of Age and the
Dimension of Time.

In-depth Exploration of the Dimensions of Age and Time

As discussed above, One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity can be influenced by a number of differing internal and external factors (also referred to as the higher-order categories). As evidenced in the preceding section, the degree of one’s internal drive and sense of empowerment ultimately shapes how one begins to culturally identify in a new environment. Thus, cultural identity creation depends greatly on the interplay of these factors and how they impact one’s internal drive to take action. According to participant reports, the degree to which the six different factors impacted their motivation and agency was contingent on the amount of importance placed on each of them. Furthermore, the significance that each factor had in shaping participants’ sense of cultural identity varied with age and with the amount of time they spent in Canada.

Given that the focus of this study is on an emerging adult population, it is paramount to explore how age and the passing of time affect the different external and internal factors, and ultimately the way in which participants navigated and created their cultural identities accordingly. As such, the following section will explore the findings related to the dimensions of age and time, examining their influence on the higher-order categories in the creation of cultural identities for the emerging adult immigrant population.

Dimension of Age and its Influence on Cultural Identity Formation

According to all ten participants, as they got older, One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity was more or less influenced by certain factors, including
Family Cultural Rigidity, Connections Specific to Canada, Sense of Permanency, Desire to Preserve Culture of Origin, and Desire to Fit in to Canadian Culture. More specifically, as they entered into an older stage of life, their personal and cultural worldview began to widen, and allowed for a more meaningful exploration and creation of identity. As a result, how they integrated the varying higher-order categories into their cultural identity development depended greatly on how important they felt each factor was to them at the time. In order to represent the importance of each of the higher-order category in the larger theoretical model, the size of each category’s circle may vary; with smaller circles indicating less importance and larger circles indicating more importance (see Appendix O). As age tended to change the degree of participant’s sense of individuality and awareness around One’s Motivation and Sense Agency of Create a New Identity, it is important to examine how the significance of the higher-order categories changed with age and how it affected their overall sense of self.

Age was reportedly influential on the first higher order category, Family Cultural Rigidity. That is, as participants grew older in Canada, they began to embody a larger sense of personal agency, which allowed them to more readily create their own sense of identity. Accordingly, in the context of Canadian culture where individuality is valued, participants started to embody a stronger sense of independence while creating their identity, and began to see their core selves as being somewhat different from that of the family’s. Additionally, as they entered into an older stage of life, participants described situations where their families’ cultural maintenance and expectations played less of a role in their identity creation and navigation.
For example, in the following excerpt, Priya illustrates how an older stage of life brought with it more independence and a capacity to think more critically about her identity. As such, the importance of factoring in her family’s cultural expectations into her self-view has changed:

I would say I’m more of a renegade now then I ever was [laughs]. Just in terms of yeah…in that process of informing who I am and what I believe in…and then being more vocal about it and then starting to live it out loud a little bit more…I decided ok now I’m feeling strong enough in myself and I think I started understanding myself enough where I knew where I would push and I knew where my boundaries were…So I was more comfortable going into scenarios where I don’t think I had that when I was a teenager, because I now have a foundation and a stronger basis in my ‘self’ to operate from. I think the biggest part is that I started feeling more comfortable thinking critically about it and coming to my own conclusions and decisions and then sticking to those conclusions and decisions.

This quote highlights how the higher-order category of *Family Cultural Rigidity*, although important to participants’ identity development, no longer guided the process as strongly as it once did. That is, as participants got older, a stronger sense of identity, personal agency, self-awareness, and individuality developed. As such, participants disclosed feeling empowered to be the main source of influence in the creation of their cultural identities, and as a result, their families’ cultural expectations had less of an impact on *One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity.*
A change in importance, due to age, was also reported for the second higher-order category, *Connections Specific to Canada*. According to participants, as they entered into an older stage of life, connections through education, career, friendships became more relevant and important. That is, questions in these areas were brought into the forefront as they got older, and thus became more important to their sense of cultural identities. The salience of age for this category is exemplified in the following statement, where Brian explains how his newfound priority of finding a permanent career spurred the importance of making connections in Canada:

I didn’t feel it strong when I was in highschool…so…it’s not that I didn’t think it was important, but then after I enter university I kind of start to realize it is very important to be you know socially involved. Basically it has to do with working experience. So near the end of highschool I started to get some part-time job and stuff…so realize it’s also very important to build up personal connections in society so that you can be more adaptive to society. So be prepared for the future careers. By that time in the university I started to be more focused on this.

As depicted in the excerpt above, with age, the higher-order category of *Connections Specific to Canada* became more important to participants, and as a result influenced the core category of *One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity* more significantly. That is, as participants got older, they were more interested in developing relationships at school, at work as well as making new friends in Canada. In turn, these relationships impact *One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity*.

Age was also influential on the fourth higher-order category, *Sense of Permanency*. Based on participant accounts, as they got older, the idea of putting down
roots, finding a permanent career, and finding a permanent romantic partner became more salient in their lives. That is, questions about where one will begin to settle down became more salient with age, and thus impacted participants’ core sense of selves. In the following statement by Alicia, one can see that there was a growing degree of importance that she placed on her *Sense of Permanency* as she got older:

> When we first moved here we didn’t…I was so young we couldn’t really understand that this is for the rest of our life. And I don’t know if my parents meant it to be for the rest of our lives. I’m pretty sure they don’t have plans to move back to Taiwan. We’ve really established ourselves here…and also I feel like I’m at a point where I just finished all the education that I want to do and maybe I should look for work and settle down somewhere.

The participant example above highlights how the higher-order categories of *Sense of Permanency* became more significant with age. That is, for most of the individuals who participated in this study, the need to establish roots in Canada became more relevant and essential to them as they entered into an older stage of life. This desire for permanency thus impacted *One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity*.

The impact of age was also observed within the fifth higher-order category, *Desire to Preserve Culture of Origin*. According to participants, as they got older, they indicated a desire to connect more with family, especially as their family members began to age as well. Additionally, participants described that as they got older, the idea of starting their own family became more important. Thus, with age, preserving one’s culture is increasingly important in order to maintain connections with their family as well as pass on traditions to future generations. In the following statement, Melanie
describes how being older has given her a stronger desire to feel accepted by her family, and as such, the preservation of culture was more important to her sense of identity:

When you leave and when you reach a certain age and your parents are getting older… when I was younger I didn’t care…it didn’t matter if they were opposed to my decisions or not. If anything, if they were opposed it fueled me to do it more, like weaning off of adolescents kind of, but now, for some reason, I guess because they’re growing older and I’m not there and I won’t be there most likely, it’s more like…can I at least have your blessing, can I at least know that they’re not on the verge of disowning me, or on the verge of thinking to themselves what the heck did I raise and what is she doing there? What are her kids…you know, think of me like almost a stranger now. So a lot of things start to come into play which is no longer about me. It’s my partner and then you know our families and then thinking and putting that into a future.

Through the above participant statement, one can see that as participants got older, their desire to connect with family and have children of their own impacted the degree to which they wanted to preserve their culture. In turn, this sentiment became more influential on One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity in that participants were more interested in incorporating cultural heritage into their overall sense of identity.

Lastly, the effect of age was discussed with respect to the sixth higher-order category, Desire to Fit in to Canadian Culture. All ten participants noted that outside of the desire to adapt in order to establish a career, their internal drive to shape their identities to be like that of other Canadians decreased with age. More specifically, as
participants got older and were exposed to individuals outside of high school (e.g., culturally diverse students at university, people in career/job settings), they began to shed the need to conform their identities and instead adopted a more independent view of the self. As such, their *Desire to Fit in to Canadian Culture* weakened. The following quote from Helen’s interview highlights how, as she got older, the concept of fitting in to Canadian culture became less important:

> Umm…I feel like I can take more control…for how I act around people. Back in high school I wanted to fit in and now I still do but back then I felt like I had to imitate others more than acting like my true self. But now I can be who I really am.

As evidenced through this quote, as Helen got older, she felt like she could be genuine and authentic in the new environment, and was less open to outside influences. Likewise, other participants also shared how their *Desire to Fit in to Canadian Culture* decreased with age. Thus, *One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity* in Canada was less influenced by this higher-order category.

As examined, the *Dimension of Age* can either increase or decrease the subjective importance placed on any higher-order category. More specifically, certain elements became more important to participants as they got older, and hence, they began to play a larger role in the shaping their cultural identities in Canada. Much like age, the dimension of time also had an impact on these factors.

**Dimension of Time and its Influence on Cultural Identity Formation**

According to participant’s accounts, over time, *One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity* was more or less influenced by certain factors, *including*
Family Cultural Rigidity, Connections Specific to Canada, and Sense of Permanency. That is, time influenced the degree to which they subjectively perceived each of the higher-order categories to be present in their lives. In the theoretical model, time is represented by the location of where one falls on each category’s continuum (see Appendix P). When examining the overall data, it became evident that the direction one moved along these continuums over time (i.e., from feeling like a category resonates with them to feeling like it is not important at all) was variable across participants. Despite this fluctuation, general trends could be observed among certain higher-order categories.

The passage of time was found to be influential on the first higher-order category, Family Cultural Rigidity. More specifically, participants’ reported that the more time their families spent in the new environment, the more they were likely to become less culturally rigid. In response to a question about family change, Priya explains that her mother became more comfortable in Canada over time, and as such, she reduced her cultural expectations of the family:

I think it was over time. I think part of it was my mom’s comfort in introducing more English into her vocabulary and just…easing into the hybrid identity of what it means to be an immigrant in Canada and what it means to be Canadian and what it means to still be Bengali. Whereas before I think it was maybe a little bit more fear based, maybe for fear of the unknown or definitely losing something…that it was a lot more, it felt like more of a tighter grip. Kind of like the fist full of sand kind of thing, and then it loosened up a little bit with a bit more comfort.
As evidenced from the quotation above, time allowed Priya’s family to become more culturally flexible. As a result, her subjective sense of *Family Cultural Rigidity* moved down the continuum and allowed for greater identity exploration in Canada. Likewise, many participants reported that as time decreased the importance of *Family Cultural Rigidity*, they experienced more flexibility in *One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity* in Canada.

Another area where time was impactful was that of the second higher-order category, *Connections Specific to Canada*. Explicitly, participants’ reported that the more time they spent in Canada (or when they recognized that they would be spending more time in the country), the more likely they were establish relations in their new environment. For example, in the following response, Helen illustrates how her *Connections Specific to Canada* increased over time in the country, to the point where she wanted to establish a career and make more friends:

Knowing now that I want to find a career here in Canada makes it feels more like home. Yeah, and now I feel like I have to make more connections while I still have the chance…I mean in university…Yeah, and it chooses the people I interact with. ‘Cause I know some people, some Chinese friends are sure that they’re going back to China after they graduate so they choose to interact with the Chinese people here more than the native speaks cause they know they’re going to use these connections. And now, for me, it’s different.

This example demonstrates how time fostered more *Connections Specific to Canada* for Helen. As such, her subjective sense of this higher-order category moved down the continuum. Thus, for many participants, with prolonged time in Canada, there is a
greater desire to establish relationships in the country. This experience increases One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity in Canada.

Finally, the passage of time was observed in the fourth higher-order category, Sense of Permanency. That is, participants disclosed that the more time they spent in Canada, the more they began to feel at home in their new environment. The following quotation from Kabir’s interview highlights how his change in perception regarding the importance of a Sense of Permanency over time motivated him to form a sense of self in Canada:

I didn’t know that I would be permanent here. I know I had permanent residency before I came here. But I didn’t know that I would be staying here for a long time and doing my university and all even post-university. But it just changed like I said the reasons I went to…it changed in my mind as well. Over time…after high school after friends group, after I came to UBC and I was like ok this is good. This is much better than how I was treated in school in India. So I decided to stay and became strongly grounded here instead of just going back and staying there.

So I still want to visit there but I’d like to stay here.

This quote highlights how time in Canada lead Kabir to develop a greater Sense of Permanency. Thus, with the passing of time, the degree to which he perceived a Sense of Permanency in Canada increased, and moved him along the continuum. Similarly, many participants voiced a desire for a more permanent home, with the passage of time. The increase in Sense of Permanency also increased One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity in Canada.
In conclusion, according to participant accounts, the dimensions of age and time influenced the salience of the different higher-order categories. More specifically, the finding of the Dimension of Age suggests that the subjective importance of any higher-order category can either increase or decrease depending on one’s age. Accordingly, the finding of the Dimension of Time suggests that the degree to which one subjectively perceives each of the higher-order categories to be present in one’s life is influenced by time. Consequently, these two dimensions influence how one relates to the different higher-order categories and thus influences the ways in which one feels motivated and empowered to shape one’s cultural identities. For an overview of the dimensions of age and time and the core category see appendix Q. In order to gain a deeper understanding of how the different higher-order categories and the two dimensions shape one’s identity, the ensuing section will explore the different cultural identity formation outcomes that emerged from the data.

**Four Cultural Identity Formation Outcomes**

The model of cultural identity formation (MCIF) that emerged from this study allows for the possibility of four identity ‘outcomes’ for emerging adult immigrants. Each of these outcomes captures a different approach to navigating the new environment. In the theoretical diagram, the purple arrow in the middle of the large circle reflects the changing nature and subtle differences between the identity outcomes (see Appendix J).

At one end of the spectrum lie those who identify fully with their culture of origin, and at the other end, those who identify as fully with Canadian culture. According to participants, outside of these two extremities, there are four different types of identities that one can create within the spectrum, depending on how they relate to each of the
higher-order category. The four identity outcomes are as follows: Blended Identity, Dual Identity, Disconnected Identity, and Intermediate Identity.

Four of the individual who participated in this study described the creations of a Blended Identity. Within the larger theoretical model, this type of identity is represented as one of the three outcomes found in the middle of the spectrum, and tended to occur when participants found themselves relatively high on all six of the higher-order categories that influenced One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency in Creating a New Identity. According to participants, someone who identified as having a Blended Identity had a sense of being a combination of values taken from both their culture of origin and Canadian culture. Kabir illustrates the concept of a Blended Identity in the following excerpt from his interview:

I’m like a bag, I choose what I need. So it’s like when you’re shopping you choose what you want to get, not everything in the aisle, right? So I choose what I want to have and then this is a mixed composite of what I am…It’s not entirely affected by if I’m from India or from living in Canada but it’s the core values that define me and it does not change my identity and my personality. I still watch you know TV shows from my country. I watch more English movies than movies from my country. I don’t…we don’t celebrate a lot of festivals except for Vaisakhi parade that happens, but yeah, I haven’t lost connection with my family or my traditions, but even in India I didn’t used to be that…what’s the word…very conservative. I was really open. I wasn’t saying ‘ok I have to follow this to be who I am’. I wasn’t very religious so we don’t celebrate a lot of things here as in Indian celebrations but I still know what they are. I don’t actively do
them as much as if I was in India because of many reasons but I know what they are and I’m familiar with Canadian traditions like thanksgiving and all that stuff too. [I’m a] mixed bag.

As one can see, Kabir identified with a *Blended Identity* and as such, one culture did not ultimately supersede the other. More specifically, this participant discussed how he identified more with his culture of origin, but still placed an equal amount of importance on his feelings of connection to Canadian culture.

One way in which participants with a *Blended Identity* tended to manage their multiple cultural identities was to compartmentalize one aspect of their cultural selves, depending on the cultural context they were in. Participants, viewed this compartmentalization of cultural identities as an active choice to portray one culture at a time, rather than a felt sense of being forced to portray one over the other. For example, Priya highlights how her *Blended Identity* can look like a compartmentalization of different cultural selves, but is in fact a function of her larger sense of cultural identity:

> I think it [compartmentalization] comes from a much more informed place now whereas before it was the only way I knew how to do it…and it was a more a crude, maybe even a survival mechanism…just to feel belonging. Whereas again now I have this core and this foundation of I know who I am and yet I have the skills and I don’t feel like it’s sacrificing myself or compromising that core of me but I can still very much show up in different realms and show up different ways and those are now all facets of me that connect to that foundation. So I yeah…I feel super comfortable in quite a few different contexts and whatever the separating definition is…So I can do that but not from a place of fear or not
knowing or pretending anymore, but now it’s just this makes sense or I’d like to be here and I know how to operate in this context.

The participants who identified as having a *Blended Identity* felt that they were the active agents in the creation of their identities. That is, they had the ability to pick and choose what values spoke to their sense of self. The manner in which the different higher-order categories can interact with *One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency in Creating a New Identity* and lead to a *Blended Identity* is represented in Brian, Kabir, Marco and Priya’s identity diagrams (see Appendix L).

Two participants identified with a *Dual Identity*. This type of identity is represented in the larger theoretical model as the second outcome found in the middle of the identity spectrum, and tended to occur when participants found themselves relatively high on the factors related to Canadian culture, but still felt pulled to their culture of origin due to family cultural maintenance and rigidity. These individuals had a sense of being a mixed bag of values taken from both cultures, but also felt that the two cultures did not blend very easily and often conflicted with one another. In the subsequent quotation, Alicia illustrates how the cultural elements of her identity were not easily consolidated due to different cultural expectations held at home and in other areas of her life:

I understand the issues but what I try to do is merge them because I really want to merge them I think. And so I’m constantly telling my parents something I did and what I think is my life and trying to consolidate those two…I think [blending cultures] is important because I don’t like this being two-separate people. Like I feel like who I am around my parents is a very different person than who I am in
the rest of my life and I don’t like feeling uncomfortable…and I want to…there’s a part of me that kind of wants to be…and I understand that for most people they have different aspects of themselves that come out in different situations, but for me I’m a little uncomfortable with the idea that I have to change so much to fit the two worlds that I’m in.

In Alicia’s case, the cultural conflict between her home and the rest of her life lead her to feel like two different people instead of an integrated whole. The above example illustrates how having very strong connections to Canadian culture, while also receiving rigid family messages can lead to a Dual Identity. Examples of how the different higher-order categories can interact with One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency in Creating a New Identity to create a Dual Identity can be seen in Alicia and Melanie’s identity diagrams (see Appendix L).

One of the individuals who participated in this study described a Disconnected Identity. Within the larger theoretical model, this type of identity is represented by the three options found in the middle of the spectrum, and tended to occur when the participant found himself relatively low on all six higher-order categories that influenced One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency in Creating a New Identity. According to this participant, he identified with a Disconnected Identity because he felt that there was a great amount of dissonance between his culture of origin and that of Canadian culture. As such, he could not imagine how both cultures could potentially interact. As a result of this conflict, he did not feel like he truly belonged to either culture completely and consequently disengage from them both. In the following response Andres exemplifies his experience of cultural dissonance:
…I couldn’t really see where I fit in ‘cause yeah I don’t know I was stuck between the two. ‘Cause I never felt like I could call myself Canadian, I still always felt very Colombian at heart, but at the same time I knew I was living in Canada so I can’t really think that I’m fully Colombian right? So I just…I stuck kind of outside between the two. I was more of an outsider whenever I went to school…not that I wouldn’t hangout with anybody…I didn’t feel like I was the same as everyone else. And then whenever I was at home I felt like my parents only knew so much about Canada whereas I felt like I knew more. I mean without making this sound depressing…I don’t really feel like I have a home anywhere.

As one can see, someone with a *Disconnected Identity* may still identify more with their culture of origin or more with Canadian culture. However, in Andres’s experience, there was a strong sense of cultural dissonance and internal disconnection. As a result, he reported a *Disconnected Identity* and did not identify culture as an important element in his sense of identity. An example of how the different higher-order categories can interact with *One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency in Creating a New Identity* to create a *Disconnected Identity* is depicted in Andres’s identity diagram (see Appendix L).

Lastly, three participants discussed what came to be labeled an *Intermediate Identity*. Within the larger theoretical model, an *Intermediate Identity* can be seen between the middle and either extreme ends of the spectrum. This type of identity tended to occur when participants found themselves high on all the factors related to one particular culture, yet concurrently only somewhat elevated on the elements pertaining to the other culture. More specifically, participants reported that an *Intermediate Identity*
was informed to a greater degree by one culture, but at the same time, albeit to a lesser extent, was still connected to values of the other culture. An Intermediate Identity can best be summarized by Mei Lin description:

I would describe myself as 75% Chinese 25% Canadian. I think it’s ok to be Chinese, but at least I’m not too conservative. At least I feel ok when I see two guys kissing on the street, right? So I still have the 25% Canadian aspect, because I am educated here and I understand lots of concepts that people from China may not understand.

As Mei Lin’s response exemplified, in an Intermediate Identity, one culture undeniably supersedes the other in terms of how one identifies oneself culturally. However, one cannot be described as identifying fully with that culture alone, as there is recognition that aspects of the secondary culture inform one’s identity as well. According to participant reports, someone who finds themselves in these intermediate spaces may identify themselves with percentages (i.e., I am 85% Malaysian, and 15% Canadian or vice versa). The manner in which the different categories can interact with One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency in Creating a New Identity and lead to an Intermediate Identity can be seen in Helen, Mei Lin, and Jenny’s identity diagrams (see Appendix L)

Summary

In summary, One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity is not only affected by the different higher-order categories, but are also influenced by one’s age as well as the passage of time. According to the data, age and time had the tendency to shape how important and relevant any one element was in participants’ overall cultural identity creation. Consequently, depending on where participants fell on each category,
given their age and the amount of time they spent in Canada, four different types of cultural identity outcomes were expressed: Blended Identity, Dual Identity, Disconnected Identity, and Intermediate Identity. These different outcomes highlight the different approaches that emerging adult immigrants can take in exploring and forming their identities in Canada. For an overview of the four cultural identity formation outcomes see appendix R.
Chapter 5: Discussion

The purpose of this study was to explore identity formation among emerging adult immigrants who re-locate to Canada. The psychological literature on identity and immigration has become increasingly developed over the past thirty years. However, these areas of study have rarely been combined and research has yet to explore how emerging adult immigrants conceptualize and create their cultural identities in new environments. The following section will situate the model of cultural identity formation (MCIF) for emerging adult immigrants that emerged from this grounded theory research within the existing scholarship on identity development and immigration. To begin, the proposed model will be compared and contrasted to the conceptualizations of identity that have proposed to date. Subsequently, the core category and higher-order categories will be examined within the context of the literature on identity creation. To conclude, the dimensions of time and age will also be explored, and a summary of the current model’s unique properties will be outlined.

Current and Existing Models of Identity Development

This section will explore the MCIF within the context of how existing conceptualizations pertain to identity development, acculturation, and multiple identities.

Developmental models of identity. A major contribution in the area of identity development was put forth by Erik Erickson (1950; 1959). In his the Ego-Development Model, the author suggested that individuals pass through eight stages of development, with the culmination of identity occurring during the years of adolescence. More specifically, Erikson outlined that identity could be formed on three levels: ego (the unconscious process), personal (individual’s values, goals, and beliefs), and social (the
presented self to others). While Erikson’s work was foundational and remains influential today, it has been said that his paradigm no longer captures the reality of identity creation within North American industrialized societies (Arnett, 2007).

In examining the MCIF, it is evident that it speaks to both the strengths and limitations of Erikson’s (1950) Ego-Development Model. Much like Erikson’s early work, the MCIF highlights the unconscious and conscious processes involved in developing an identity through the use of both internal and external factors. At the heart of the proposed model lies the core category of *One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity*. This category can be paralleled to Erikson’s three levels of identity formation. The term ‘agency’ can be understood as an unconscious felt sensation that acts as a motivator for emerging adults to seek identity exploration. This is represented in the model by the degree to which different factors are deemed salient or not over time. Additionally, the term ‘motivation’ reflects both the personal and social levels of identity formation as it includes emerging adult immigrants’ internal desires to incorporate inner values, goals, and beliefs (i.e., *Desire to Fit in to Canada*) as well as to form an identity based on the influences of the outside world (i.e., *Family Cultural Rigidity*). Additionally, much like Erikson’s model, the outlined model depicts a process whereby young individuals senses of self begin to integrate into a formed structure.

The MCIF was developed specifically for emerging adult immigrants who undergo the process of cultural transition and re-locate to a new environment. While this model echoes some of the strengths of Erikson’s (1950) Ego-Development Model, it points to the unique experiences and needs of this population, which were not captured in previous identity conceptualizations. Moreover, the MCIF emphasizes identify formation
of an older population (ages 19 to 28), suggesting that this process extends beyond adolescence. Hence, the results of this study provide new insights into the experiences of emerging adult immigrants and their identity development timelines. Where once identity was seen to be an exploration for young adolescents, the current study suggests that identity navigation and crystallization is an ongoing process for older emerging adults (Arnett, 2007).

**Acculturation models of identity.** Currently, there is a significant amount of research aimed at understanding the process of immigration. As a result, much of the literature examines the phenomenon of acculturation as it relates to immigrants and their adaptation to a new cultural setting. One of the leading scholars on this topic is John Berry (2001). In his seminal work, the author outlined a Bi-Dimensional Model of Acculturation that highlighted four potential acculturation attitudes that individuals can adopt following immigrations: Assimilation, Integration, Separation, and Marginalization. While this model was unique at the time of its development and remains impactful today, it has been criticized for its tendency to describe the trends and patterns exhibited by immigrant individuals, which results in a conceptualization of immigration as a sequence of preset stages. Seen in this context, identity is fixed and bi-directional, and hence fails to capture the nuances of migration (e.g., the experiences of transnational immigrants; Bhatia & Ram, 2001).

When viewed through an acculturation lens, the MCIF reaffirms the strengths of previous conceptualizations and fills some of the gaps in the current literature. Much like Berry’s (2001) Bi-Directional Model of Acculturation, the MCIF highlights how individuals can develop a weaker or stronger identification with either their culture of
origin or the host culture. Further, the outlined model strays away from an opposing, unilateral approach to identity, suggesting that both one’s heritage and values of the host culture can be held as distinct and/or integrative entities. Additional parallels can be drawn with Berry’s model. For example, someone who would fall near the spectrum of Identify Fully with Canadian Culture is similar to someone who would fall into the Assimilation strategy. Correspondingly, someone who would fall near the spectrum of Identify Fully with Culture of Origin is similar to someone who would be considered to have taken the Separation strategy.

Uniquely, however, the MCIF is conceptualized on a continuum and identifies two subsets of what Berry describes as the Integration strategy (i.e., a Blended or Dual Identity). In both of these identity outcomes, individuals can simultaneously place importance on their culture of origin and the host culture. Specifically, the former represents an incorporation of both cultures and the latter represents their compartmentalization. As such, the proposed model offers two new possibilities to traditional views on acculturation, specifically as it pertains to identity exploration and formation. In addition, the MCIF addresses some of the limitations inherent in a bi-directional conceptualization of identity, which does not take into account the continuous negotiation involved in creating a cultural self. In order to understand how emerging adult immigrants create their identities in Canada, their cultural discourses must be understood. By focusing on the various elements that influence identity creation, the proposed model honours the ongoing cultural dialogue of negotiating multiple values, beliefs, and meanings. Another unique element of this model is that it takes a micro-examination of these different elements and hence conceptualizes how individuals decide
Multiple identity models. The concept of multiple identities propose a more fluid and integrative process by which to consider different dimensions of one’s identity. One of the first attempts to conceptually conceive the intersection of identities was the Multidimensional Identity Model put forth by Reynolds and Pope (1991). As one of the most well-known and referenced model of multiple identities, this framework outlines the significance of multiple identities through the lens of multiple oppressions (Jones & McEwin, 2000). Jones and McEwin (2000) were one of the first to put forth a model pertaining to multiple identities, which reflected the changing nature of identity conceptualizations away from linear, fixed stages. Their model, depicted by a core which reflect the personal and internal sense of self found at the center of all the various dimensions of identity, aimed to illustrate how other identity dimensions connect with one’s self-concept. Surrounded by intersecting circles, which represent the different externally defined dimensions of identity (e.g., race, gender, religion, sexuality, culture, and contextual influences), the core is said to be influenced by each dimension’s relative salience. Another fluid model of identity was proposed by a feminist research, Sandra Collins (2010). In an attempt to better conceptualize the lived experiences and identities of women, Collins illustrates the interplay of identities as a fluid kaleidoscope to reflect the ever-changing mixture of Cultural, Personal, Contextual, Ideological, and Universal factors (Collins, 2010, Women on the margins: Honouring multiple and intersecting cultural identities, p. 18-50).

Much like the models presented above, the MCIF reflects a movement away from linear, fixed understandings of identity. Although presented as a continuum, this model
accounts for context, directionality, and indirect influences in the navigation and creation of identity among emerging adult immigrants. By considering these elements, at any given moment, identity can change. Furthermore, the MCIF builds on Jones and McEwin’s (2000) model of multiple identities. That is, it focuses in on the cultural components alone, highlighting the elements and saliencies that make up one’s core sense of cultural identity. Hence, it is suggested that each element in Jones and McEwin’s (2000) model is intricate and may have it’s own sub-system of components. Moreover, the MCIF was developed with immigration and cultural transition in mind, for an emerging adult population. As such, it allows a deeper examination of these concepts, which may not have been possible through previous identity frameworks.

**Unique findings of the proposed model.** As one can see, the MCIF echoes many of the aspects of previously identified in models of identity development, acculturation, and multiple identities. However, when examined more closely, the proposed model offers many unique properties, which have been lacking in the literature to date. Firstly, the MCIF places emphasis on an immigrant emerging adult population aged 19 to 28. Not only does this model represent the first of its kind for this specific demographic, but it also extends the process of identity exploration initially proposed by Erikson (1950).

Secondly, the MCIF highlights various elements that influence the process of identity development and offers insight into how individuals make decisions related to their emerging self-concepts. Seen from an acculturation lens, this model provides two subsets of experiences (i.e., a Blended or Dual Identity) for Berry’s (2001) Integration strategy. Additionally, when considering the concepts of identity development and acculturation together, the MCIF lends insight into the how and what of identity
formation when navigating multiple cultures. As such, this model highlights the ongoing and ever changing discourse of identity creation, and goes beyond simply providing immigration strategy trends.

Thirdly, the MCIF offers a unique perspective on the cultural components involved in identity development among emerging adult immigrants. This model offers a unique understanding of identity processes for this particular population, which has not been captured by previous models (e.g., Collins, 2010; Jones & McEwin, 2000). Moreover, the model echoes previous scholarship, which examines the concept of culture in an inclusive, contextual, and fluctuating manner.

**Meaningful Core and Higher-Order Categories**

The following sections will examine the core category (i.e., *One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity*), the six higher-order categories, and the two dimensions (i.e., *Family Cultural Rigidity; Connections Specific to Canada; Connection to a Same Cultured Community; Sense of Permanency; Desire to Preserve Culture of Origin; Desire to fit in to Canadian Culture; Dimension of Age; and Dimension of Time*) that constitute the essence of the MCIF as they relate to some of the key concepts found in the literature on immigration, acculturation, and emerging adults.

**Situating the core category within the literature.** Some of the elements of the core category (i.e., *One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity*) can be linked to previous scholarship on identity development and emerging adulthood, particularly as they relate to one’s sense of agency and empowerment. For example, studies have demonstrated that emerging adults must establish a coherent and functional sense of identity in order to make long-term life decisions and commitments (Cheah &
Nelson, 2004; Nelson et. al., 2004; Shwartz, Coté, & Arnett, 2005).

Similarly, within the MCIF, *One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity* is integral to forming a sense of identity. That is, emerging adult immigrants’ motivation and agency will differ depending on the level of affiliation to the higher-order categories and their influence on the core category. As a result, the amount of freedom to actively explore their identities while in the emerging adulthood stage varied. In addition to being unique to emerging adult immigrants, this model offers more depth, layers, and nuances to the process of identity navigation in the host culture. Specially, it provides various possibilities for the multiple and intersecting factors that can influence *One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity*.

**Situating the higher-order categories within the literature.** Within the MCIF, a number of higher-order categories were found to play an important role in the identity creation of emerging adult immigrant in Canada. A first higher-category to be considered is that of *Family Cultural Rigidity*. In the current study, this category was found to have an impact *One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency in Creating a New Identity*. Previous qualitative research has investigated the role of family on identity development. For example, Petty and Balgopal’s (1998) found that when parents’ cultural values, beliefs, and expectations differ largely from those of the host culture, they have more influence on their children’s identity exploration. Furthermore, in a two-year longitudinal study, Reitz, Motti-Stefanidi, and Asendorpf (2014) established that immigrant families who were ‘culturally flexible’ were more likely to lay the foundation for the development of an autonomous-related self in their children. In line with the present research, these results suggest that family cultural rigidity and/or flexibility can impact the manner in
which an individual approaches the process of identity exploration and formation in a new environment.

Specific to emerging adult immigrants, Ellis and Chen (2013) demonstrated that the role of the family can be very influential on their children’s identity navigation. That is, as young adults began to incorporate the host culture into their identities, they experienced a high degree of cultural conflict with their families. Accordingly, these authors found that the conflict between participant’s immersion in American culture and the cultural values of their immigrant family became a source of acculturative tension or stress. Accordingly, these findings suggest that the more cultural conflict there is at home, the more disconnected and incongruent emerging adult immigrants feel while navigating their sense of self in a new environment. Similar findings emerged from this study, where participants who experienced a high degree of Family Cultural Rigidity felt less motivation and agency to develop an identity within Canadian culture.

A second element that has been echoed in the literature centers on the higher-order category of Connection to a Same Cultured Community. Cuéllar et al. (1997) suggested that when examining ethnic and racial identity within an acculturation framework, it is important to explore how individuals connect with the host society as well as their own subgroups. Accordingly, one’s internal sense of cultural connection to his/her heritage community is said to plays a role in which acculturation strategy is used (Berry, 2001). Similarly, Ellis and Chen (2013) conducted a study on identity formation and found that although there are benefits to having experienced childhood in the host society, emerging adult immigrants need to seek out and maintain connections to their communities of origin by making friends within their cultural and ethnic group. The
findings in this study reaffirm the idea that individuals’ *Connection to a Same Cultured Community* has an influence on how he/she begins to negotiate a sense of identity in a new environment.

A third element from the MCIF that is supported in the literature relates to the higher-order category of *Connections Specific to Canada*. More specifically, this factor suggests that the degree to which one interacts with the host culture influences *One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity* in Canada. Ellis and Chen (2013) found emerging adult immigrants’ cultural identity formation to be influenced by the degree of participation in the host society’s educational system as well as the level to which one learns the dominant language and values. Similarly, Berry (2001) has proposed that one of the main concerns that Canadian newcomers must face is deciding how much they should involve themselves in the host culture. Coined as ‘intercultural contact’, he suggested that acculturation strategies vary according to the degree to which one connects with and participates in the new environment. Likewise, the findings of this study parallel the role of integration into the host culture through the examination of one’s *Connections Specific to Canada*. Specifically, by exploring the meaning attributed to participation in the Canadian education and occupational system as well as developing a support system in the new environment, we can deepen our understanding of how one creates a sense of identity in the host country.

A final higher-category to be considered is that of *Desire to Preserve Culture of Origin*, which was reported to be influential on *One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency in Creating a New Identity*. Stemming from the acculturation literature, the term ‘cultural maintenance’ refers to the decision that individuals who undergo the process of
immigration must make about upholding their cultural identity and its accompanying characteristics (Berry, 2001). One’s internal *Desire to Preserve Culture of Origin*, which was identified in this study and Berry’s concept of ‘cultural maintenance’ appear to reflect similar experiences, both which have been said to be salient to one’s identity navigation and creation post-migration.

Additional scholarship in this area includes a study conducted by Knight and colleagues (2010). In an investigation of youth from Mexican immigrant families, it was reported that it is important to maintain certain cultural traditions and values in the host culture, such as, family support and respect. Similarly, Guengoer and Bornstein (2009) found that adolescents from immigrant families selected specific values and beliefs from their culture of origin, which they wish to maintain, and combine them with features of the host culture. These findings are reaffirmed in the present study, which emphasizes the role that one’s *Desire to Preserve Culture of Origin* can have on *One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity*. More specifically, it seems that the degree to which an emerging adult immigrant wishes to maintain his/her culture of origin will influence identity formation in Canada.

**Unique findings of the core and higher-order categories.** As one can see, the results of this study pertaining to the core category and many of the higher-order categories support some of the research that has already been established in the area of immigration, acculturation, and emerging adulthood. Simultaneously, the MCIF offers some new dimensions to the existing literature. First, the MCIF is the first conceptual frameworks to propose the concepts of motivation and agency as the core of emerging adult immigrant’s navigation of cultural identities. More specifically, the core category
of One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity is described in the MCIF as the driving force that underlies emerging adult immigrant’s sense of identity exploration. To date, there is no literature that examines the role of these two concepts for the emerging adult immigrant population and their understanding of culture and identity. As such, the core category as outlined in the MCIF is a novel finding that offers a new perspective to current scholarship in this area.

Second, multiple higher-order categories were found to be meaningful to the emerging adult immigrants who participated in this study. While some of these categories (i.e., Family Cultural Rigidity, Connection to a Same Cultured Community, Connections Specific to Canada, and Desire to Preserve Culture of Origin) can be linked to previous psychological research, this study focused specifically on the experiences of emerging adult immigrants, a sub-group that has received little attention to date. Third, the model that emerged from this study highlighted two additional factors that appear to be new to the literature (i.e., Sense of Permanency and Desire to Fit In to Canadian Culture). These categories reflect the manners in which feeling at home and being accepted in a certain geographical location (in this case, Canada) are key elements that can influence one’s identity development post-migration. As such, these two elements were incorporated as higher-order categories in the overall model of identity development for emerging adult immigrants.

**Relevance of the Dimensions of Age and Time**

The following sections will examine the Dimension of Age and the Dimension of Time, as they relate to and/or differ from the current scholarship on identity navigation and formation.
Situation the dimension of age within the literature. The proposed model, pertaining to emerging adult immigrants’ cultural identity formation, suggests that the Dimension of Age has a large impact on how emerging adult immigrants identify themselves in Canada. That is, the results of this study revealed that with age, the importance of the higher-order categories on One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity changes. For example, participants described how as they got older, they had a larger sense of self-reliance and personal agency. According to Fuligni and Tsai (2015), gaining a sense of autonomy is essential to adolescents becoming self-sufficient adults who can function and effectively adapt to environment changes and transitions across the life span. This change in agency, spurred on by age, was seen in the present study to translate into participants’ sense of control over what they would allow to influence their identity navigation and formation. Thus, the level of importance that each higher-order category had on participants’ overall motivation and sense of agency when forming their sense of self, differed as they got older.

Literature pertaining to the stage of emerging adulthood also speaks to the importance of age per se. According to Arnett (2000), this stage was formulated to illustrate the exploration phase between the ages of 18 and 28, and to emphasize these individuals’ desires to be self-sufficient as they got older. Through his exploration of the stage of emerging adulthood, Arnett (1998; 2000) showed that in order to achieve a sense of self-reliance, exploration within this stage of development has been correlated with individuals’ sense of agency as they get older. This sense of agency, as well as young adults ability to explore identity throughout emerging adulthood, have been linked to the strength and stability in their overall identity and sense of selves. Accordingly, the
findings that emerged from this research support how closely tied age can be to one’s sense of agency and ability to choose what is most salient in identity formation.

**Situating the dimension of time within the literature.** In addition to the influence of age, the proposed model suggests that the *Dimension of Time* has a large influence on how individuals identify themselves in Canada. That is, over the course of time, one’s self-concept in the new environment inevitably changes as the different higher-order categories fluctuate. This finding related to the *Dimension of Time* supports the work of previous scholars in the field who examined the salience of ethnic identity among first and second-generation immigrants.

For example, Rumbaut (1994) found that the children of first-generation immigrants were more likely to endorse bicultural labels than their parents. Moreover, Cameron and Lalonde (1994), demonstrated that there is a tendency for ethnic loyalty to decline as the generations pass. Thus, it appears that the general strength and valence given to ethnic and racial identity fluctuates, and typically weakens over time. Similarly, the results of this study suggest that the more time emerging adult immigrants spent in Canada, the more they began to identify with Canadian culture and values. It is important to point out however that many of the participants who took part in this research did not experience a polarized choice between their cultural of origin and that of Canadian culture. Rather, they described different ways in which their affiliations merged.

The significance of time, and how it influences identity creation, is also considered in the multiple identity model proposed by Collins (2010). Specifically, the author suggested that cultural identity is an ever-changing concept that reflects the ever-
changing mixture of dimensions across time and contexts. Similarly, in the MCIF it is maintained that there are six factors whose influence and intersection fluctuate and change over time. Specifically, the Dimension of Time impacts where one falls on the continuum of any one higher-order category at any given point in their life. As such, when considering the identity development of emerging adult immigrants in Canada, it is important to remember that time is likely an important factor, which will change the manner in which they experience different facets of themselves.

**Unique findings of the dimensions of age and time.** As one can see, the Dimensions of Age and the Dimension of Time that informed the identity experiences of emerging adult immigrants in this study can be linked to previous work on identity development and emerging adulthood. It appears that while time changes the contexts that inform identity search and navigation, age changes the importance of those contexts on identity search and navigation. In this research, the influence of age and time were highlighted with respect to emerging adult immigrants and in relation to the core and higher-order categories that influence identity exploration and formation. In that sense, this study provides a nuanced understanding of the importance of age and time to the literature on identity development.

**Overall Unique Findings**

The present study represents the first grounded theory effort to understand the identity experiences of emerging adult immigrants after they have re-located to Canada. In essence, this research brings together key concepts across various bodies of work, including that of immigration and identity development. In addition, the unique findings of this study add perspective to the literature of emerging adult immigrants, cultural
transition, and the formation of cultural identities.

When situating the MCIF within the current literature, it is clear that it offers both support and extension to the growing fields of identity development and cultural transition. More explicitly, the proposed model’s focus on an older emerging adult population reaffirms the work of Arnett (2000) and suggests that identity exploration is of continued importance passed the ages initially outlined by Erikson (1950). Gaining insight into this specific population, the current study highlights unique elements that are considered important by emerging adult immigrants as they transition into adulthood. Consequently, the MCIF adds a novel perspective at examining how emerging adult immigrants navigate the creation of their cultural identities. More specifically, the core category of *One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity* as outlined in the MCIF is a unique perspective in the scholarship from which to conceptualize the creation of cultural identities for emerging adult immigrants.

In examining Berry’s (2001) acculturation framework, the MCIF offers insight into two possible routes within the integration strategy. Expanding our understanding of acculturation, when experiencing a *Blended Identity* or *Dual Identity*, emerging adult immigrants maintain the importance of both their culture of heritage and that of the host culture. Additionally, by outlining the different elements that factor into individuals’ decisions and exploration of identity, the proposed model offers a new, more nuanced, perspective into *how* they decide which acculturation attitude they are going to adopt.

Much like Collins’ (2010) model of multiple identities, the MCIF highlights the role of multiple and intersecting cultural identities and social locations post-migration. A point of divergence however is that the current model takes a focused look at cultural
identity and the components that intersect to create it. When situating the core category and the higher-order categories in the literature on identity development, two unique findings emerged. Specifically, the nature of one’s Sense of Permanency and one’s internal Desire to Fit In on one’s overall cultural identity development.

Lastly, the results pertaining to the Dimension of Time and the Dimension of Age support the important role that these elements can have on one’s identity navigation and development. More specifically, the MCIF offers a more detailed perspective on the role of time and age. With respect to emerging adult immigrants, the Dimension of Time can change the contexts that inform one’s identity creation, and the Dimension of Age can change the importance of those contexts.

Overall, the comprehensive findings of the current study adds novel information, as well as new perspectives from which to view the literature on the formation of cultural identities. Given the innovative and unique results of the present study, the findings as outlined in the MCIF suggest implications for counselling practice.
Chapter 6: Conclusion

The present study and proposed model of cultural identity formation (MCIF) for emerging adult immigrants offers unique findings that enable a better understanding of the current literature in this field, and inform the ways in which practitioners can infuse cultural sensitivity into their work. Consequently, it is important that the findings from the current study be situated in the contexts from which they emerged. As such, this section will outline the strengths and limitations of the current study, implications for practice and training, as well as directions for future research.

Strengths of the Current Study and Proposed Model

A primary strength of the current study is that it led to the first empirically driven model of identity formation for emerging adult immigrants in Canada, which compliments the existing theoretical and conceptual models that have been developed to date. Presently, the majority of scholarship on identity development and migration centers on the experiences of children, adolescents, and/or adults (Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006; Salehi, 2009). However, in the current study, the voices and experiences of emerging adult immigrants were highlighted - a population that has received limited attention within the psychology literature on migration. Accordingly, the MCIF offers the first conceptual model specific to an emerging adult immigrant population. As such, the MCIF allows for a better understanding of the formation of identity, as experienced by emerging adult immigrants. Hence, the current model adds a unique perspective to the literature by describing how emerging adult immigrants’ understand and navigate their identities through cultural and developmental transition in Canada.

Another strength of this study is that it gave way to a model of identity formation
which reflects both fluidity and flexibility. Specifically, one of the major criticisms of existing models is that identity is often conceptualized as a fixed, linear, stage-like process, rather than as creations of cultural discourses that are continuously under negotiation (Gilroy, 1997; Hall, 1990; Bhatia & Ram, 2001; 2009; Kramer 2010). Through the means of a grounded theory tradition of inquiry, the present model represents the personal experiences and identity discourses of emerging adult immigrants, and thus is directly informed by individuals at the core of the process of identity navigation. Additionally, the MCIF includes elements that inform emerging adult immigrants’ identity exploration at any given point in their lives. For example, dimensions such as Time and Age suggest that identity exploration may be influenced to different degrees by different factors throughout one’s lifetime. As such, this model proposes a more fluid, flexible, and contextual understanding of identity navigation and formation.

Moreover, current models of identity development have been reported to be limited due to their fixed focus on the individual. That is, by taking this particular focus, these models rarely take into account the influence of external forces on identity exploration and formation (van Hoof, 1999; Shwartz, 2001). The MCIF addresses this gap in the literature in that it considers both internal and external influences and motivations that are at play in the process of identity formation. Furthermore, by allowing both external and internal factors to be considered when exploring the identity of emerging adult immigrants in Canada, this model moves away from a fixed approach to identity navigation. Relatedly, much of the literature pertaining to identity development addresses the coping mechanisms of individuals who ‘fall in the middle’ of
two or more cultures, paying particular attention to what multicultural and bicultural individuals do in order to reconcile dissonance between identities (Root, 1992; Kawakami et al., 2011). However, by adopting a grounded theory approach, the current study offers insight into how emerging adult immigrants make sense of navigating two cultures after they arrive in Canada.

The current study offers unique findings in the area of identity development and migration. First, it lends insight into the significant ages of identity exploration, expanding previous knowledge from ages 13 to 18, to an older range of 19 to 28. Second, the MCIF proposes two unique identity ‘outcomes’ or ‘consequences’ (i.e., Blended and Dual). When viewed in terms of acculturation strategies, these outcomes provides further insight into how emerging adult immigrants may be using the integration strategy initially proposed by Berry (2001). Thirdly, results of this study further support the idea that the process of creating an identity is complex and involves the intersection of many different components. As such, for emerging adult immigrants who undergo a cultural transition to re-locate in Canada, identity navigation is ongoing and ever changing. Fourthly, when situating the core-category and the higher-order categories that make up the MCIF within the existing literature on identity development, two unique findings emerged. More specifically, this model stresses the importance of one’s Sense of Permanency and Desire to Fit In to Canadian Culture in his/her overall identity development process.

Lastly, the use of in-depth, semi-structured interviews offered a space for the emerging adult immigrant participants to deeply explore identity related subjects, which further delineated salient elements that previous studies have discussed. Additionally,
grounded theory’s thorough method of data analysis ensured that each element of the
data was derived directly from the participant’s experiences. Finally, various means of
ensuring rigour and trustworthiness were employed, including memo writing, external
auditing, gaining catalytic validity, and engaging in member checking with all of the
participants.

Limitations of the Current Study and Proposed Model

While this study has a number of strengths, it is not without limitations. More
specifically, the MCIF that emerged from this research was developed based on the
experiences of ten emerging adult immigrants from a large Western Canadian city, who
had been in the country for a minimum of three years, identified as heterosexual, and
were university students at the time of the interviews. While data saturation was met
according to grounded theory parameters (Fassinger 2005; Ellis & Chen, 2013), it is
difficult to know if this model would be transferable to other emerging adult immigrants
and/or young adults. As such, subsequent research is needed in order to capture different
facets of diversity (e.g., sexual orientation, geographical location, level of education, to
name but a few examples) in the process of identity development.

Additionally, although data analysis began after the first interview and continued
with each subsequent interview, comparison of the data only began after the fifth
interview. Although relatively late, holding off on comparing the data until half way
through the process of data collection allowed for the original protocol to be reviewed
and adjusted to incorporate significant emerging data. As a result, it is possible that
certain information from the earlier interviews may have been missed. However, detailed
memos were made throughout the process of data collection resulting in the identification
of many early patterns in the data that went on to later inform the interview protocol. Additionally, all new codes derived from the latter half of the study were compared to the first five transcripts and reviewed against the initial coding to identify any patterns that were missed the first time through.

Furthermore, of the ten participants only five responded to the final member check, which consisted of the review of the conceptual model. Thus it is difficult to know if the emerged conceptual model and theory fully resonated with those that did not respond. However, various means were put in place to ensure that the data accurately and appropriately reflected the data that emerged from the participants, including: an initial member check which yielded a 100% response rate; and rigorous peer debriefing and reviewing throughout the course of data analysis.

Implications for Counselling Practice and Training

The proposed study and model has important implications for counselling practice and training. A number of salient factors were identified in relation to the process of identity exploration and creation for Canadian emerging adult immigrants, which can be transferred to the counselling setting. First and foremost, the current study highlights the importance of entering into a discussion about clients’ sense of self; allowing them to explore and voice the identity elements that are most salient in their current lives. More specifically, scholarship has shown that emerging adult immigrants face a unique set of challenges as they undergo the process of culturally transition, including among many other variables, confusion around cultural identity (Strohmeier & Schmitt-Rodermund, 2008). However, despite these findings, it is estimated that 50% of young immigrants who enter counselling terminate after one session, indicating a gap in the needs of
immigrant clients and the services being provided (Zane et al., 2004). By giving permission to clients to openly explore the salient variables impacting their identity development, the MCIF creates the opportunity for counsellors to increase their awareness of diverse clients needs and gain a wider perspective from which to view the literature on identity formation. As Canada continues to diversify, with a predicted 6.7 million of the population falling between the ages of 18 and 34 (Canadian Census 2001, Statistics Canada, 2003), the ability to enter into a cultural dialogue about the factors that emerging adult immigrants in this study found to be important to their sense of identity will be of paramount importance to the practice of counselling.

Given the trend of globalization and the fluctuation of Canada’s cultural makeup, the experiences of emerging adult immigrants highlighted through this research offers a glimpse into how the phenomena of identity creation is occurring for this population within the current society context. As one transitions into adulthood, the literature suggests that individuals seek to build psychological independence from their families. Moreover, it appears that critical and independent thinking enhances skill and confidence in making informed decisions. For an immigrant population moving through this transitional stage in Canada, where individuation and personal independence is prized, developing an autonomous and flexible identity that allows the incorporation of both one’s culture of origin and that of the host culture can be difficult. For example, Fuligni and Tsai (2015) highlight that the potential for conflict between individuals’ cultural background and the values of the host society challenges them to search for new ways to express their identity and individuality while maintaining connectedness to their culture of origin. Consequently, the exploration of emerging adult immigrants’ Family Cultural
Rigidity, Connection to a Same Cultured Community, Connections Specific to Canada, Sensing Permanency, Desire to Preserve Culture of Origin, and Desire to Fit In to Canadian Culture, can foster an avenue in which to begin to understand the values and beliefs that inform their decisions and choices. As such, the proposed model can act as a roadmap for building a multicultural connection between the client and the counsellor by bringing a structure from which to begin contemplating the complex and ever-changing concept of identity.

Moreover, Sue (2001) suggests that in order to be culturally competent, counsellors must possess and acquire ongoing awareness, knowledge, and skills about their own worldviews as well as that of their clients. As the MCIF proposes, creating an identity in a new environment such as Canada requires emerging adult immigrants to weigh the influence of both internal and external factors on their sense of selves. Consequently, the current model provides a structure to help clients consider which cultural elements inform their identity, proposing the interplay of six meaningful variables that vary with Age and Time. Additionally, the model holds that the saliency of each element influences one’s overall motivation and sense of agency when navigating identity development. Accordingly, with the ability to help articulate the type of identity outcome individuals identify with given the specific and contextual interplay of the six different factors, clients and counsellors can gain insight into the processes that are helping and hindering their sense of wellbeing and congruence. With a deeper understanding of clients’ inner discourses and external relationships, counsellors can provide culturally appropriate therapeutic interventions as well as take culturally competent social action.
In addition to facilitating a bridge from which counsellors and clients can begin an open dialogue about culture and identity, the current study and proposed MCIF has implications for counselling training. Specifically, the current findings can enable counselling psychology students to gain a more in-depth understanding about the experiences of emerging adult immigrants and the process of identity development that can occur in Canada. In addition to being unique to emerging adult immigrants, through the translation of the present study’s findings into training, counselling psychology students can learn more about the varying layers and nuances to the process of identity navigation in the host culture. Lastly, by using the current study’s findings as a means for counselling training, students will be encouraged to reflect on the cultural elements that shape their own sense of selves, and explore how these particular elements inform their practices.

**Directions for Future Research**

Future research in the area of cultural identity development and emerging adult immigrants might include focusing on a population that was not captured by the current study (e.g., individuals who are not in the process of completing higher education). By expanding the sample to include those emerging adult immigrants who have pursued other avenues, the current model could be enriched by other salient variables that did not emerge in the present study. Similarly, diversifying the sample in terms of different cultural identities and social locations would help with the transferability and/or expansion of the model.

Another avenue in which future research can expand upon the current findings is through a closer examination of the unique factors that emerged from the data.
Specifically, by exploring the categories of Sense of Permanency and Desire to Fit in to Canadian Culture in more depth, future research can give the current literature a deeper understanding of the salient aspects of identity development and expand our knowledge in these areas. Additionally, future research in this area may want to explore the MCIF with different age populations so as to see what other salient variables may emerge from the data and compare and contrast them across the dimensions of age and time.

As the current model reflects an empirically driven model of identity development for emerging adult immigrants, future research might include exploring its applicability in clinical settings. Moving forward, it would be interesting to explore how the MCIF can be translated into a meaning-making tool to facilitate discussions of identity development between counsellors and clients. Currently, there is a paucity of research that examines how cultural identity is addressed within the counselling process; especially for an emerging adult immigrant population (Shariff, 2009). Thus, moving forward future research on the MCIF could focus on developing a meaning-making tool from the conceptual model in order to aid in the dialogue of cultural levels of identity between counsellors and clients. Specifically, the current model’s potential applicability for expanding the multicultural counselling relationship can be explored through qualitative interviews and focus groups with emerging adult immigrant clients who seek counselling, as well as counsellors who work with this population. Some questions future research in this area could aim to ask are: What are counsellors’ and clients’ thoughts about the model?; In what way does the model facilitate cultural dialogue or not?; In what ways can the model be refined or expanded to better facilitate the therapeutic relationship and discussion on identity? By answering these questions, future
research can provide the basis for a foundational tool that counsellors can utilize to begin the process of uncovering both their own and their clients’ identities. By answering these questions, this future research in this area can provide the basis for a foundational tool that counsellors can utilize to begin the process of uncovering both their own and their client’s cultural identities. Given the diversity that is predicted in Canada, understanding how emerging adult immigrants develop a sense of identity is critical to gaining a deeper awareness of their experience of becoming a part of Canadian culture. For this reason, and due to the essential need to make multicultural competency more transparent in our discipline, further exploration of how the current studies findings might add to the ever-expanding knowledge of diversity, counselling education, and counselling competency is essential.
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Appendices

Appendix A: Recruitment Letter to Community Organizations

**Principal Investigator:** Dr. Anusha Kassan, Assistant Professor, Ph.D., Department of Psychology of the Faculty of Education at the University of British Columbia (UBC)

**Co-Investigator:** Julie Cohen, MA student, UBC

**School:** Department of Education and Counselling Psychology, University of British Columbia

**Project Title:** Being in Between: Discovering the identities of emerging adult immigrants

Dear Director of P.I.C.S,

My name is Julie Cohen and I currently in the second year of the Counselling Psychology Master’s program at the University of British Columbia (UBC). One of the requirements of a Master’s of Arts degree is to conduct an independent research study, and as such I am conducting a study that aims to discover how emerging adult immigrants form and maintain a sense of identity within the context of culturally and developmentally transitioning.

I am contacting you to see if P.I.C.S would be interested in helping me recruit participants for this research study. Your organization’s role, should you agree to participate, would be to hand out information in the form of a flyer, to individuals that you believe would make good candidates for the study. It is from there, that the individual if interested will contact me and I will assess for eligibility. My goal is to recruit at least 10 individuals between the ages of 19-28 who were born outside of Canada and have parents born outside of Canada and have lived in Canada for at least three years. All those who participate will be compensated $20 for their time. Should a participant withdraw mid-way through the study the remuneration will be prorated.

Again, If you have any more questions or concerns I would be more than happy to meet with you in person, or be contacted on the phone or via email. Additionally, I have a more in-depth research proposal that I am willing to share with you should you desire it. The following is a little bit more detail as to the nature of the project, who I am as a researcher and my passion for this study, as well as why I believe it is beneficial and valuable to those who participate. If you do wish to help me in the recruitment phase, I have also included the study’s flyer that outlines the most important eligibility criteria, and is suitable to distribute to those you feel may be potential candidates.

________________________________________________________________________

**What is this study about and Why is it important?**

The purpose of this study is to discover a theory that describes what the emerging adult immigrant population perceives as being most important to the formation and maintenance of a sense of identity through their experience of immigration, and as they put down roots in Canada. Gaining a deeper understanding of the perspectives of multicultural individuals’ sense of the self will allow both Mental Health practitioners and Counselling psychologists the opportunity to gain knowledge of clients’ cultural background, values, and beliefs, and thus
shed light on how they conceptualize their identities. Additionally, as our society continues to diversify not only are we seeing an increase in immigrant individuals to Canada, but we are learning that emerging adults and youth are challenged with forming bi-cultural identities. Of the current literature in this area, the models of identity have been formed using questionnaires and surveys, and have mainly focused on either youth or adults. As such, this research project aims to allow participants to express their views, their experiences, and what they believe to be most important in the formation and maintenance of their identities. The ultimate goal of this study is to privilege the voices of emerging adult immigrants in the creation of a theory that will be built off of what they deem most salient and most valuable in their exploration of identity.

**Who will be conducting this study?**
As mentioned, I am a second year Masters student in Counselling Psychology at the UBC, and I will be the primary researcher in this study under the supervision of Dr. Anusha Kassan, Assistant Professor, Ph.D., in the Department of Psychology of the Faculty of Education at the UBC. Alongside my graduate studies, I have completed a bachelor’s degree in Psychology at UBC, and have been a research co-ordinator for a health lab researching caregivers of cancer, and a research assistant for a multicultural competency research lab. In addition to my academic credentials, I have personally experienced immigrating to Canada. Having moved to Canada at the age of six with parents who strongly identify with an American culture, I have often felt in-between when it comes to identifying my cultural identity. As my parents never believed we would live in Canada forever, we remained in Canada with temporary visitor statuses. As a result, I grew up without knowing the limitations and bureaucratic struggles I would face when I decided that Canada is where I would like to call home. As such, I am passionate to provide the opportunity to emerging adult immigrants to voice their experiences in the hope to both empower them to feel more connected, and garner insight in order to better support them.

**What will happen for those that Participate?**
Those that are interested can contact me at the number listed below. Upon telephone contact, I will administer a screening tool to assess participation eligibility and allow potential participants to ask any further questions they may have. Once the participant and I both agree to move forward with the study, I will invite them to the UBC campus, or together we will set up another location and time that is more convenient for the participant. At this meeting I will give them a demographics questionnaire for them to fill out, and then we will proceed to have an interview that is open-ended in nature, allowing participants to share as much of their experiences as they are comfortable with. Additionally, at the data analysis level, participants will be contacted via email twice in order to check that their stories are being properly represented. This interview may last anywhere between 1-2 hours, and all participants will receive a compensation of $20 for their time and participation. Once again, should a participant withdraw mid-way through the study the remuneration will be prorated.

**What will happen to the findings and participant confidentiality and rights?**
All information and data gathered will be presented in the findings section of my final thesis and potentially in articles that may be published in academic journals. Additionally, If you so desire, I would be more than happy and willing to send my findings to your organization. **All participants’ identities will be kept strictly confidential.** No names or defining details will
be included in the findings to ensure the anonymity of each participant is upheld. I will also
ensure that participants are made aware of their rights as a participant, meaning they have the
right, without any consequence, to answer only questions they feel comfortable answering, stop
the interview at any time, and to withdraw from the research study at any point.

Contact Information:
Thank you for taking the time to consider this request. Any assistance and support you and
P.I.C.S can supply in recruiting participants is deeply appreciated. Should you have any further
questions or concerns please do not hesitate to contact me at: jcohen153@gmail.com or 604-
418-8483
Appendix B: Poster Advertisement

Are You Originally From Another Country?

- Were you and your parents born outside of Canada?
- Are you between the ages of 19-28?
- Have you lived in Canada for at least 3 years?
- Do you see Canada as the place you want to live?
- Do you want to share your experience?

If you answered YES! to the above questions then you may be eligible to participate in a study interested in learning about how people who have moved from another country understand and make sense of their identities in their current, everyday life.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF I PARTICIPATE?

We will interview you in order to learn from your experiences, and you will receive $20.00 as a thank you for participating!

By sharing your point of view you will be helping others who have immigrated to Canada, as well as counsellors and the community who want to support the diverse cultures in our society!

WANT TO LEARN MORE?

Contact Julie Cohen, MA Candidate at the University of British Columbia
By phone at 604-418-8483 or email at jcohen153@gmail.com
Appendix C: Screening Protocol

All participants that contact me will be screened on the telephone for their appropriateness to participate in the study. Upon contact with each participant, they will be thanked for their interest in this study, and I will explain that it is important that I ask them a few questions in order to determine their eligibility. All questions in the screening tool were designed to assess eligibility and to ask some basic demographic information so as to ensure a diverse range of participants in the sample. All callers will be told of their right to answer only those questions they feel comfortable answering, and they will be informed that all answers will be kept confidential. Upon receiving their permission, I will commence by administering the following screening protocol:

1) How old are you?
2) Were you born outside of Canada?
3) Were your parents born outside of Canada?
4) When did you move to Canada?
5) Where did you move to Canada from?
6) What age were you when you moved to Canada?
7) If you are not a Canadian Citizen/Permanent Resident, is it your intention to apply for permanent status and live in Canada long-term?
8) Is there anything that would make it difficult for you to meet with me for an interview that will last approximately 1-2 hours in length?
9) If you choose to participate you will be contacted via email twice after the interview stage. The first to allow you add, delete, or edit the transcript of your interview, and the second to verify that the findings speak to your experiences. Is this ok with you?
10) How did you hear about this study?
11) Do you have any questions that you’d like to ask me?
Appendix D: Consent Form

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

Department of Educational and Counselling Psychology, and Special Education
The University of British Columbia, Faculty of Education
2125 Main Mall
Vancouver, BC V6T 1Z4 Canada
Tel. 604.822.0242 Fax. 604.822.3302
www.ecps.educ.ubc.ca

Consent Form

Principal Investigator
This study is being conducted by Julie Cohen, B.A., a current Master’s student in the Department of Counselling Psychology, under the supervision of Dr. Anusha Kassan and Dr. Richard Young, both faculty members in the Department of Educational and Counselling Psychology, and Special Education at the University of British Columbia. This research is being conducted as part of Julie Cohen’s graduate degree thesis project. Once data has been collected and analyzed, the thesis will be submitted to the department and become a public document. Additionally, once the final product has been written up, it will be presented at a psychological conference and submitted for publication. Lastly, there may be the possibility of using this study’s findings in the future as an initial starting point for a later PhD dissertation that looks at the research question in more depth.

Purpose of Study
The goal of this research is to better understand how emerging adult immigrants between the ages of 19 and 28, who have immigrated to Canada, understand and make sense of their identity, in order to discover a conceptual theory of the process of identity formation for this population in the context of cultural and developmental transition. “Emerging adulthood” is a term meant to capture the transitional age where an individual no longer identifies with being an adolescent, but does not identify with being an adult either. Current research in this area suggests that identity development tends to occur at a later age as a result of an individual’s need to maintain a reliance on their families for emotional and financial support considerably longer than in past decades, while still exercising a fair amount of autonomy and freedom to explore their personal interests. Therefore in societies such as Canada that offer individuals an extended time to practice being independent and explore, they continue to develop their world views and identities beyond the ages suggested by earlier identity development theorists. You are being invited to participate in this research study because you are between the above stated ages, have experienced migration from another country, can reflect on your cultural transition into Canada, and are able to share your experience and understanding of navigating the different elements of your identity.

Procedures
Participation in this study entails the completion of a demographic information questionnaire as well as a semi-structured interview, which together should take
approximately one hour, but may last up to one and a half to two hours. As part of the interview, participants will be asked to share personal information related to their feelings of identity and immigration, and how these elements are negotiated and understood in their current lives. Once the interview is transcribed, the interviewer will contact you via email so as to allow you to edit the transcript before it is analyzed. The opportunity to add, delete, and/or make changes to your interview will ensure that the data is representative of your experience. Once an emerging theory has been outlined as a result of analyzing all participant’s transcripts, the researcher will contact you via email one last time in order to verify if the theory speaks to elements of your personal experience. This last step is to ensure that the final product of the research is grounded in yours and other participant’s experiences and understandings. Participation in this study is voluntary and there will be no pressure to answer any of the interview questions. As a result, we will discuss only what you deem comfortable during the interview process. Should you at any point wish to withdraw from the study at any time, there will be no consequences. Individuals who partake in this study will be given $20.00 to compensate them for their time. Should a participant withdraw mid-way through the study the remuneration will be prorated.

**Potential Risks**

There are no foreseen risks associated with participation in this study. In the case of any unforeseen psychological disturbances, the interviewer, as a counsellor-in-training, has obtained skills (e.g. psychological interviewing, grounding, and relaxation techniques) to provide support to participants should they desire it. Furthermore, the researcher will be working collaboratively with a registered psychologist in the event that a participant feels they would like additional assistance. If necessary, participants will be provided with additional resources and will be referred to appropriate counselling services.

**Potential Benefits**

As a result of participation in this study, participants will have the opportunity to reflect on their immigration experience, and make a contribution to the psychological literature pertaining to the immigration and identity process of emerging adult immigrants. By gaining a better understanding of what this population deems important to their sense of identity, we can shed light on elements that are essential to the overall well-being, adaptation, and cultural transition of many individuals in our society. The emerged theory will be beneficial for both trainers and practitioners (and consequently clients) across helping professions as it will deepen their knowledge of the psychosocial elements that need to be considered in the services our society provides.

**Confidentiality**

This study will be conducted in a research laboratory at The University of British Columbia or at a location that is convenient to the participant, where privacy and confidentiality will be protected. The interview will be digitally recorded, transcribed, and kept in a password-protected file on the researcher’s computer. Participants’ confidentiality will be protected, as interview transcripts will not contain any identifying information, and informed consent forms will be kept separate from the data in a locked filing cabinet at the University of British Columbia.
**Contact Information**
If you have any questions about this study at any point, please do not hesitate to contact Julie Cohen (jcohen153@gmail.com / 604-418-8483)

**Who can you contact if you have complaints or concerns about the study?**
If you have any concerns or complaints about your rights as a research participant and/or your experiences while participating in this study, contact the Research Participant Complaint Line in the UBC Office of Research Services at 604-822-8598 or if long distance e-mail RSIL@ors.ubc.ca or call toll free 1-877-822-8598.

**Participant Consent**
You have read this informed consent form and understand the following:
- You understand the purpose of this study and know about the risks and benefits involved in this research.
- You understand that you are free to withdraw from this study at any time without any penalty or prejudice.
- You understand how confidentiality will be maintained throughout this study.
- You understand the anticipated uses of the data, especially with respect to the publication, communication, and dissemination of the results.
- You have read the information provided above and understand the requirements of participation.
- You have received a copy of this consent form for your records.

*Your signature indicates that you freely consent and voluntarily agree to partake in this study.*

Name of participant: __________________________________
Telephone number: __________________________________
E-mail address: ____________________________________
Home address: _____________________________________

Signature: _________________________________________
Date: ____________________________________________
Appendix E: Demographics Questionnaire

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION QUESTIONNAIRE

Please answer all of the following questions by circling or filling in the appropriate response(s).

1. Age: _____

2. Gender:
   a) Male
   b) Female
   c) Trans

3. Sexual orientation:
   a) Heterosexual
   b) Lesbian
   c) Gay
   d) Bi
   e) Queer
   f) Questioning

4. Country of birth: __________________________________________

5. Racial Background(s): ________________________________
   ________________________________

6. Ethnic Background(s): ________________________________
   ________________________________
   ________________________________

7. Nationality(ies): ________________________________
   ________________________________

8. Current Immigration Status: ____________________________
   (if applicable, e.g. Canadian Citizen, Permanent Resident, Temporary Visitor, Second generation immigrant, etc…)

9. Age of Immigration: ________

10. Year of Immigration: ________

11. Religious affiliation(s): ________________________________

12. Language(s) spoken: ________________________________
    ________________________________
Appendix F: Interview Protocol

Topic A: Opened Ended Warm-Up Question:

Before we get into your immigration experience and talk more about how you’ve shaped your identity, I want to start a little more general, and ask you if you can tell me a little bit more about yourself.

1) Can you tell me a bit about yourself?
   a. Are you currently in school?
   b. Are you currently working? What is it that you do?
   c. What are some of the things (hobbies) you like to do?

Topic B: Cultural Transition and identity:

1) Part of what this study aims to look at is how you’ve made sense of your identity through the process of transitioning from [insert country of origin] to Canada. I’d like to get a sense of what that transition was like for you. Can you tell me about your experience of moving and adapting to living Canada?
   a. How old were you when you moved?
   b. Did you move here with others?
   c. How long ago did you move to Canada?
   d. How were the first few months?
   e. What (if any) were some of the challenges in moving here? What (if any) were some of the easiest/best parts of moving here?

2) How would you describe your current cultural identity?
   a. How important is your culture and its characteristics to you?
   b. How important is it to you to involve yourself in Canadian culture?
   c. How do you feel connected to each culture?
   d. In what ways do you feel more connected to [insert culture]?
   e. How did the immigration experience influence/inform your current identity?

Topic C: Identity:

1) What do you remember about yourself when you lived in [insert country of origin]?
   a. What aspects of your life were important to your sense of self?
      i. Race/Ethnicity/Sexual Orientation/Language/Family/Multiculturalism etc.

2) How did moving here at [insert age] affect (or not affect) your sense of identity?
   a. Did you attend elementary/highschool/university here in Canada? And if so, how did that play a role in shaping who you are today?
3) Can you tell me how moving/not moving to Canada with your family affected your sense of identity?
   a. What role (if any) did your family play in shaping your sense of self here in Canada?
   b. How do such traditions/values inform your identity?

4) Tell me how you would describe the person you are now. What most contributed to this change (or continuity)?
   a. What are/were some of things that helped you make sense of your identity? What are/were some of things that hindered you making sense of your identity?
   b. Are the same elements of your sense of self as important as they were before?
   c. What new elements are important to your sense of self now?

**Topic D: Emerging Adulthood and Identity:**

1) How has being [insert age], living in Canada affected (or not) your current sense of self?
   a. How is your sense of sense at [insert age] different from when you were an adolescent?
   b. What role did/does finding/choosing a career in Canada play in your sense of self?
   c. What role does finding/choosing a romantic partner in Canada play in your sense of self?
   d. Tell me how being [insert age] and [insert culture of origin] in Canada plays (or does not play) a role in your sense of self?
   e. What aspirations do you have for yourself?

**Topic E: Additional Information:**

1) Is there anything that you would like to add to our discussion today?
2) What was this interview like for you?
Appendix G: Amended Interview Protocol

Greeting and Appreciation
I’d like to start by saying thank you for coming in today

Topic A: Opened Ended Warm-Up Question:
1. Before we get into your immigration experience and talk more about how you’ve shaped your identity, I want to start a little more general, and ask you if you can tell me a little bit more about yourself?
   a. Are you currently in school?
   b. Are you currently working? What is it that you do?
   c. What are some of the things (hobbies) you like to do?

Topic B: Cultural Transition and Identity:
1. I was wondering what your perception of Canada was when you first came here?
   a. Where there any values that you noticed that kind of matched with yours or didn’t match with your values?
   b. Has your perception of Canada changed at all since you first came?
   c. I’m wondering how important the idea of fitting in was for you when you came to Canada and throughout your experience here?
      o What made you want to fit in?
      o Where did you find yourself most wanting to fit in?
      o How did you try to fit in?
      o What was the benefit of fitting in?
   d. How did/does connecting with others, or making friends play a role in your transition to Canada?
2. How would you describe your current cultural identity?
   a. How important is your culture and its characteristics to you?
   b. How important is it to you to involve yourself in Canadian culture?
   c. How do you feel connected to each culture?
   d. In what ways do you feel more connected to [insert culture]?
   e. How did the immigration experience influence/inform your current identity?
   f. How did you learn about Canadian culture?
   g. What enabled you to feel more connected to Canadian culture?
   h. What enabled you to feel more connected to your culture of origin?
   i. I’m wondering how the feeling of pride for your culture of origin plays into how you feel about yourself or not?
   j. How does having a diversity of cultures in Canada (or UBC) play or not play into feeling like you can express pride in your culture of origin?

Topic C: Identity:
1. What do you remember about yourself when you lived in [insert country of origin]?
   i. What aspects of your life were important to your sense of self?
ii. Race/Ethnicity/Sexual Orientation/Language/Family/Multiculturalism etc.

2. How did moving here at [insert age] affect (or not affect) your sense of identity?
   a. Did you attend elementary/highschool/university here in Canada? And if so, how did that play a role in shaping who you are today?

3. Can you tell me how moving/not moving to Canada with your family affected your sense of identity?
   a. What role (if any) did your family play in shaping your sense of self here in Canada?
   b. How do such traditions/values inform your identity?

4. Tell me how you would describe the person you are now. What most contributed to this change (or continuity)?
   a. What are/were some of things that helped you make sense of your identity? What are/were some of things that hindered you making sense of your identity?
   b. Are the same elements of your sense of self as important as they were before?
   c. What new elements are important to your sense of self now?

5. How does the ability to choose which cultural values you are going to value inform who you are?
   a. What do you think allows you to be able to choose values from both cultures?
      i. Cultural flexibility? ii. Awareness of cultures? iii. Awareness of what is important to you? iv. A want to fit in?
   b. In what areas of your life can you think of in which you have chosen to value beliefs from both cultures?
   c. In what ways do you show that you’ve embodied values from both cultures?
   d. What is the benefit/consequence of having the ability to choose values from more than one culture?

6. I’m wondering how language played a role for you in getting a sense of who you are in Canada?

7. In what way did your family play a role in shaping who you are here in Canada or not?

**Topic D: Emerging Adulthood and Identity:**

1) How has being [insert age], living in Canada affected (or not) your current sense of self?
   a. How is your sense of sense at [insert age] different from when you were an adolescent?
b. What role did/does finding/choosing a career in Canada play in your sense of self?

c. I’m wondering how knowing that you were going to live in Canada for a long time affected how you felt/feel about yourself here?

d. What role does finding/choosing a romantic partner in Canada play in your sense of self?

e. Tell me how being [insert age] and [insert culture of origin] in Canada plays (or does not play) a role in your sense of self?

f. How does the sense of wanting to reconnect or be connected with your culture of origin affect you in your life?

g. How does connecting with other people from your culture of origin inform your identity?

h. I’m wondering how the idea of passing on culture is for you?

**Topic E: Additional Information:**

1) Is there anything that you would like to add to our discussion today?

2) What was this interview like for you?
Appendix H: Participant Story Summary Table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ISO20</th>
<th>Strong desire to fit in and speak dominant language upon early arrival (age 15) with family. Fitting in made her want to interact with others that were fluent in English or putting effort into learning English, hence she avoided same cultured people. Her mother’s support in learning English was integral to her sense of fitting in. As her English improved she felt more connected to Canada and being Canadian as it allowed her to learn more about Canadian culture. Once she entered university and gained a felt sense of cultural diversity and acceptance, as well as being surrounded by those of the same culture, her desire to fit in and be Canadian lessened. Over time she began to identity more closely with her culture of origin and regained a sense of pride for her culture of origin by interacting with others of the same culture and participating in cultural activities. In an older stage of life she feels more informed about her cultural identity and has more personal agency to decide if she wants to fit in or not. Although she identifies more with her culture of origin, she still describes values and aspects of the Canadian culture as being important to her sense of self.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strong desire to fit in – felt othered without English - learned English – interacted with others outside of culture – learned about and embodied Canadian values – sense of diversity of culture and large same cultured community allowed reconnection to culture of origin – more exposure to culture of origin makes one feel more connected to culture of origin – sense of personal agency in ones identity comes with age, can choose what she wants to be a part of her identity – describes herself as a blend of cultures although identifies more strongly with culture of origin.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ISO21</th>
<th>Came to Canada at age 19 for university with family – decided on Canada based on its large Filipino community and the feedback they received from them. He began learning about the nuances of Canadian culture by observing and interacting with other Canadians and eventually started embodying some Canadian conventions himself. He recognized that there were some values here in Canada that he appreciated and started to live by them as well. After awhile living in Canada and noticing his attachment to certain aspects of Canadian living (open-mindedness, independence) he started to feel more Canadian. A sense of permanency fostered a sense of wanting to know more about others outside of his culture. Despite the connection to a Canadian lifestyle, he still feels strongly rooted in his culture of origin because of his connection to family and friends. Has strong connection to family and thus is connected to his family’s culture of origin and the values that come with it. A sense of personal agency that came with embodying a more Canadian independent mindset allowed him to feel he was the agent of his own identity fostering a sense of choice. Hence he chooses values to uphold from both cultures and identifies himself as being a blend of both but with a stronger connection to his culture of origin.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Came to Canada age 19 (desire to fit in not that strong) – did not need to learn English – already had a good command of it – Learned about culture through others and embodied Canadian values (open-mindedness, independence) – Sense of permanency allowed him to feel a desire to connect to others outside his culture – sense of permanency gets stronger with age and with variables that become more salient with age (career, house, family, kids) which helps connect him to Canada more – thinking about a career in Canada fosters a sense of home - is still connected to his culture of origin due to family and family values – personal agency in ones identity comes with openness and diversity that is inherent to Canada, can choose what he wants to be a part of his identity – small sense of disconnect with culture</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
of origin due to lack of knowledge of country of origin and ability to speak language- describes himself as a **blend of cultures, with strong connections to his family’s cultural values.**

| IS022 | Came to Canada at **age 14 with family** – did not speak **English** and did not connect with Canada. **Desired to fit in** to feel accepted in new culture – to feel more Canadian and make friends, felt like an **outsider** without English – **Sense of permanency fosters ones desire to fit in** – learned English - made connections with others – **interacted with others outside of culture of origin** - **over time she began to notice** she was embodying Canadian values (Canadian mindset, independence) – **with diversity of cultures in Canada and the mature nature of university fitting in became less important** – with age she gained a sense of personal agency to stand firm in her beliefs – Feels she is a blend of both cultures due to having a **flexible family** – feeling more connected to Canada than country of origin – thinking **about a career** in Canada fosters a **sense of home** - small sense of disconnect with culture of origin due to changing nature of country of origin – describes herself as a **blend of cultures** – feeling more connected to **Canadian culture than Chinese culture.** |

| IS023 | Came to Canada at age 14 with family - **No desire to fit in right away** bc she hung out with same **cultured friends (comfort zone)** – No real need to speak English other than homework - learned about Canadian culture through observation - able to keep Chinese identity – identifies with what others perceive her as – **Career spurred on desire to network and blend (fit in)** - desires a **blended cultural identity** (be more white washed - embody more Canadian values - **Parental acceptance and flexibility** encouraged her exploration of blending cultures – **A sense of personal agency** allows her to stand independently from her mother’s values and friends perceptions of her- Considers Vancouver home – **sensing permanency** and attachment makes her consider wanting to stay longer term, thought of a career also fosters a **sense of permanency** in Canada – makes her feel more connected to Canada – slight disconnect from culture of origin because it is changing – ) - **Still desires connection to heritage culture and to family** – **creating something new in the middle out of the two cultures** - Feeling a **strong desire to be a merge of cultures** but ultimately feels more connected to **her culture of origin** |

| IS024 | Became international student in Singapore age 10/11 to **learn English and to learn to be more independent** before **moving to Canada at age 16 with family.** No language barrier because already had **sufficient command of English.** Learned **Western Culture** in Singapore helped in adopting life in Canada. **Identification with being Canadian** due to having **lived in Canada longer than China,** and **sensing permanency in Vancouver being one’s first home.** **Identification with being Canadian due to embodiment of Canadian values** such as independence and ability to choose values. **Fitting in is important because of a sense of permanency** in Canada, little room to move back to China. **Fitting in important because of parental expectation to succeed in new country.** **Encouraged by family to meet others outside of culture.** Fitting in became important because of **desire to find career** in Canada. Still identifies with Chinese culture due to **family influences and connections** as well as living in a large Chinese community. **Identifies with a culturally blended identity** and attributes that to family flexibility and encouragement. **Does not feel any cultural conflict, therefore balancing two cultures isn’t a conflict for his identity.** **Tends to compartmentalize cultural identity** when in different contexts. |
Came to Canada **age 16** – desire to **fit in** – encouraged by family to blend in due to sense of permanency and parental expectations to adapt and be successful in Career. Did not need to learn English – **Learned Culture** through others – began to embody some Canadian values (independence and personal agency) thus began to **identify with being Canadian more and more over time lived in Canada**. Identifies as culturally blended, feels more connection to Canada than China. Still connected to Chinese culture due to **family influences** – living in same cultured neighbourhood. **Compartmentalizes cultural identity** in different contexts – feels ok with that because of a lack of internal cultural conflict.

Moved to Canada at **age 23 without family** – weak sense of permanency in Canada - **Identifies with immigration story** – has two identities, one in Canada and one in country of origin (Compartmentalization of cultural identities). **No need to learn English** – already sufficient. Sense of falling in-between two cultures – not 100% of either culture – identifies with a new label (Mediterranean) to connect with culture in Canada – lack of cultural community in Canada. Felt othered because she does not connect with the culture in Vancouver. **Feeling othered propels one to feel more connected to culture of origin** – sense of pride as defense mechanism. Time eased feeling of otherness to a certain degree because she began to learn Vancouver culture, but still feels a lack of connection to Vancouver as it’s not something she can identify with. **Connected with other immigrants** finding their way in Canada. **Age** fosters feelings of **cultural conflict** when thinking of future family and raising children in new country – **cultural conflict disconnects** her from feeling Canadian. **Identifies strongly with culture of origin** due to having lived there for 25 years and due to family connection/expectation of cultural values. **Family acceptance makes her aware of how she has embodied some Canadian cultural values, desires acceptance to say what you’re doing is ok**. Fitting in is important, but feels forced to do it in order to become successful in Career - lack of sense of personal agency as to whether one has to fit in resulting in a disconnect in identification with Canadian culture. As a result of fitting in she compartmentalizes her cultural identity due to internal sense of cultural conflict – makes it difficult to connect to Canadian culture and blend cultures. Desire to try to make Canada her first home (sensing permanency) propels her to want to stay connected even more to culture of origin. **Desire to merge/blend cultural identities** – not sure how (lack of role models or cultural community connection).

Came to Canada **age 7 with family** – felt **cultural conflict** at home and at school right away – **Learned English due to parental pressure** to adapt- Still sense of connection to culture of origin due to family and wanting to appease them and gain approval. – Identification with being Canadian because of embodiment of Canadian culture and social life (Learning culture through Canadian friends/teachers sense of independence of thought). **Fitting in** became important in highschool – spurred on sense of **cultural conflict between self and family** - **brings a compartmentalization of self** – makes her feel uneasy. **Strong desire to merge/blend cultural identity to consolidate dissonance of identities. Age** allowed a sense of personal agency to deviate away from parental cultural expectations – allows to build own identity – felt othered by those who were more Chinese/Taiwanese than her - lack of connection to others in same culture group. **Propels feeling more connected to and identifying more with Canadian culture**, yet not 100% - feels falls somewhere in-between or is culturally misunderstood in both cultures. Sees herself as **Chinese-Canadian, but more connected to Canada**. **Pride in Taiwanese culture as a defense mechanism. Sensing long term permanency** in Vancouver, **loss of connection with**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IS027</th>
<th>Taiwan over time. Personal agency – being aware of being one’s own person separate from parents – yet wanting to stay connected to culture of origin out of respect for parental culture. Strong desire to observe role model.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IS028</td>
<td>Came to Canada at age 17 with family – Felt diversity allowed for open-mindedness of cultural identities - Embodied Canadian cultural values (Diversity and open-mindedness helped him feel similar) – Learning English helped connect him to other people – adapting and paving the way to make friends. Encouraged by friends to learn and speak English, encouraged by observing role models – felt like different person. Family flexibility over time to allow him to explore - Gave a sense of personal agency to be oneself (Indian-Canadian) and exist in Canada. Felt one could blend cultures and be something new built off of own experiences (creating a new picture out of elements from both) – encouraged sense of Personal Agency to build own identity. Stays connected to culture of origin because he wants to and feels he embodies certain cultural of origin values, also values cultural aspect of family. Learned culture through others and with others’ help. Decided to stay long-term (sensing permanency) and became strongly grounded in Canada - over time felt more connected to Canada, allowed him to want to stay. Connected to culture of origin through citizenship/passport, family and personal history back home.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IS029</td>
<td>Came to Canada at age 8 with family. Identifies with being Canadian due to Time lived in Burnaby, makes Vancouver feel like home - Sensing permanency: Sensing stability, knowing she was going to make roots in Vancouver allowed her to relax into living in Canada. – desire to fit in not strong due to diverse tapestry of cultures – acted as bridge child for parents and new environment -Gained sense of personal agency and empowerment due to helping role in family – allowed to gain a sense of independence in her identity exploration. Sensed internal cultural conflict with school culture and home culture – as a result she Compartmentalized the self. Spoke dominant language – no connection to same cultured community – lost connection to Bengali culture entirely- identifies with something new – new label South Asian (something close to culture of origin) – Connected with other immigrants helped normalize identity search – role models normalize own experience of culture blending - Over time and with age sensing a loss of language ability and knowledge of culture of origin – spurred on preservation of culture and desire to learn more. With Age comes stronger sense of personal agency in ability to stand up for differing values and beliefs stand apart from family identity. Identifies with a blended cultural identity to explain immigration experience. Desires to learn more and connect/reconnect to culture of origin and discover what it means to be Bengali first hand. Desire to blend cultures and find a balance – not sacrificing the self but living in harmony with others as well.</td>
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<tr>
<td>IS029</td>
<td>Came to Canada at age 5 with family – Learned English quickly due to young age – family did not learn English as well. Feels othered and stuck between two cultures because he does not have a sense of full connection with either – Compartmentalized the self: portraying different cultural self depending on context.Disconnected from both cultures in order to cope with feeling othered – No sense of home – Identifies with Colombian culture of origin because it is tied to blood and family history - Lack of same cultural community creates disconnect to feeling of home in new environment – no desire to fit in as felt Canada was a stopping ground, no sense of permanency – slight desire to fit in when realized he was going to have to attend school here – Over time felt more confident in culture of origin – identifying with something new - focused on who he was as a person and not on culture – trying to find</td>
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oneself in the middle ground (blended cultural identity) find own niche. I am ME – no strict guidelines or labels. **Blending cultures** – sensing this is a part of one’s immigration identity story - experiencing things as a third person viewer. Not connected to any one culture – just learning and building from it. **Diversity** of cultures normalizes one’s pursuit to collect experiences. **Desire to learn more** and discover what it means to be Colombian first hand – still identifies more strongly with being Colombian than Canadian.
Appendix I: Storyline Memo

The process of emerging adult immigrant’s identity exploration: An Internal Sense of Choice

An encouraged independent exploration / bridging cultural conflict and dissonance

Core Category: Internal sense of choice (flexibility) changed in name to = One’s Motivation and Sense of Personal Agency to Create a new Identity

One’s ability to explore a new culture seems to be dependent on the degree of one’s internal sense of choice. This internal sense of choice is strongly tied to one’s family’s cultural flexibility, one’s own sense of personal agency and one’s sense of permanency in the new environment. With the passing of time if one’s parents’ cultural expectations in the new environment have become more flexible so as to include an incorporation of some Canadian cultural values, and to include a sense of encouragement for their children’s adaptation to the new environment then the individual begins to feel a certain amount of freedom to begin a self-exploration of what it means for themselves living in Canada. This self-exploration helps foster one’s sense of personal agency in creating one’s own cultural identity, and diminishes feelings of internal cultural conflict.

Personal agency seems to emerge over time and with a later stage of life. As one gets older, one begins to identify themselves in Canada one’s identity starts to become independent from the family identity. This independence of mindset is fostered through the exploration of values in Canada, and by the diversity of cultures that is inherent to the mosaic of Canadian culture. Diversity of culture tends to foster the internal sense of choice, as one begins to see that to be considered Canadian does not necessarily mean to embody all aspects of Canadian culture, but that it is acceptable to be a mixed bag of cultural elements. This does not mean that one no longer identifies with family and family cultural values, but it suggests that one begins to have the capacity to choose what one will incorporate into their identities rather than having elements of either culture foisted upon them. If over time parents continue to maintain strong bonds with their cultural heritage and do not encourage their children to freely explore how they fit in to Canadian culture, one is more likely to feel a degree of cultural conflict both at home and in the community, and a sense of a lack of personal agency in their navigation of identity.

Another element that influences one’s internal sense of choice while navigating identity in a new environment is one’s sense of permanency in the new environment. This sense of permanency may be made apparent upon one’s initial immigration to Canada, with both parents and the self sensing that the move is final, and that there is no room for moving back to one’s country of origin. Thus a sense of permanency has been present from the beginning of one’s navigational experience, and one is encouraged to seek exploration and adaptation from the start. However, a sense of permanency that is not set from the onset of immigration can also be fostered over the course of time as one’s sense of internal choice grows. The more one begins to feel a sense of encouragement from family, and a sense of personal agency in the new environment one begins to create an
identity for the self based on what they deem important to self. Thus one’s identity becomes a creation of something new, rooted in the experiences of the new environment and influenced by one’s culture of origin. The longer one has to explore in the new environment without the sense of cultural conflict the more a sense of home in Canada is fostered. The sense of home tends to bring with it a sense of belonging and a grounding in one’s identity as a new story. As one gets older the question of permanency transfers to a long-term vision – does the individual envision him or herself living long-term in the new environment? This sense of long-term permanency is affected by ones’ view of themselves finding a career in Canada and finding a romantic partner in Canada.

Within one’s own exploration of identity in the new environment there are other sub elements that influence one’s internal sense of choice. The ability to connect with others outside of one’s culture seems to be very important to helping one’s navigation of identity. For many immigrants connecting with others outside of their culture depends heavily on one’s ability to speak the dominant language. Once able to connect with other Canadians the process of deciphering and learning about Canadian culture becomes easier. Making friends and thus feeling a sense of belonging to a group plays an important part in one’s overall connection and identification with the new environment. However, one does not automatically start to identify as Canadian by learning about Canadian culture and making Canadian friends. There seems to always be an internal sense of connection to one’s culture of origin, which mainly stems from one’s connection to family, or from the cultural conflict that one feels in the community. Although an independent self-exploration is important to navigating one’s identity in a new environment, so is the availability of a same cultured community in the new environment. Without the presence of a same cultured community in the new environment it becomes difficult for one to begin to see how their culture of origin merges with Canadian culture. A lack of role models leaves one feeling they are stuck between two cultures and thus makes it harder to merge the two cultural identities. This lack of connection between cultures seems to create a sense of internal cultural conflict and often splits one’s identity into two, leaving one feeling like they do not fully connect with either culture. When one feels they have more than one identity, one tends to compartmentalize the self depending on which cultural environment they are in. As previously mentioned, if dissonance in the two identities does exist, then the individual feels a degree of disconnect from both cultures. However, If the individual does not sense an internal dissonance with these two identities, then the individual does not see it as two separate identities but rather as different aspects of one identity, and thus see it more as a choice to portray themselves in compartmentalized ways rather than feeling forced to be one or the other. On the other side of spectrum, should one’s cultured community be a very large presence in the new environment, it can create a sense of not needing to explore the new environment and thus keep one grounded in identifying more strongly with their culture of origin.

One’s sense of internal choice is also made clear with a later stage of life as individuals seem to want to reconnect in some way to their culture of origin on a more personal level – meaning that there is a desire to find meaning in their culture of origin that is separate from their connection with family.
Appendix J: Model of Cultural Identity Formation (MCIF) for Emerging Adult Immigrants
Appendix K: Overview of Findings for Participants

Research purpose:

To understand the process of how emerging adult immigrants create an identity given that they now live in a new cultural environment and are at a point in their lives where they are deciding what their next steps will be (i.e. career, relationships, place of home, starting a family etc.)

Findings:

The central theme that was interpreted from the data of all ten participants, and the theme that seemed to underlie all other themes was one’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity. This central theme is what influences someone to start to build an identity in Canada, and is shaped by many factors that will be explained later. A new identity in this context means an identity built from both one’s experiences of their culture of origin and their experiences in Canada.

Based on the interviews I had with participants, one’s motivation and sense of agency to create a new identity was influenced by six key factors (in no particular order):

The following four factors are categorized as EXTERNAL FACTORS meaning they are part of the world and you don’t necessarily control them.

1) The Connection to a Same Cultured Community: one’s internal sense of connection to a group of people who share in common a similar cultural heritage (i.e. language, religion, traditions, food, history).

2) Family Cultural Rigidity: The degree to which one’s family places importance on maintaining cultural heritage and cultural expectations.

3) Relationships Specific to Canada: Relationships that include others from cultures outside of one’s cultural heritage. Can range from friendships to intimate partners, career relationships and school relationships - but all hold a significant amount of meaning to the individual.

4) Sense of Permanency: An internal (feeling of home) and external (ability/reason to stay) sense that one belongs in a certain geographical location (i.e. Canada). the individual.

The following two factors are categorized as INTERNAL FACTORS, meaning they are represented by feelings that occur inside someone.

5) Desire to Preserve Culture of Origin: An internal desire to connect with one’s culture of origin in order to carry it through into one’s future.
6) **Desire to Fit In to Canadian Culture:** An internal desire to feel like one belongs to and is accepted by the new environment. Often driven by an internal desire not to feel othered/different.

Below is a diagram that shows how these factors influence one’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity. Explanations of how they interact as well as all other parts of the diagram will be outlined below.

In this diagram the large circle in the middle represents the main phenomenon: One’s Motivation and Sense of Agency to Create a New Identity. This circle is cut in two by a dotted line to represent the factors that draw one to stay connected to an Identity influenced by one’s culture of origin (Connection to a Same Cultured Community and Family Cultural Rigidity); and the other side represents the factors that draw one to build attachment and connection to a Canadian Identity (Relationships Specific to Canada and Sense of Permanency).

In purple is the main phenomenon and a two-sided arrow that represents a continuum of how one would identify given how the other six factors interact together. How these interactions work will be explained later on.
Underneath each factor there is a two-sided arrow with a + and – sign. These arrows represent how much someone has of each factor. The closer one is to the + sign on the arrow the stronger one identifies with the corresponding culture. Accordingly, the closer one is to the – sign on the arrow, the less one identifies with the corresponding culture.

You may notice that towards the middle of the continuum of identity an individual can identify with one of three options:

1) Identification with a blended identity
2) Identification with a dual identity
3) Identification with a disconnected identity

**Blended Identity**

A Blended identity tends to occur when an individual finds themself relatively high on all six factors that influence Motivation and Sense of Agency in Creating a New Identity. Someone who identifies as having a blended identity has a sense of being a mixed bag of values taken from both their culture of origin and Canadian culture. One culture does not supersede the other. Someone with a blended identity may still identify as more from their culture of origin when in a culture of origin context, however, there is an equal feeling of connection to Canadian culture outside of a culture of origin setting. A blended identity may be expressed as a new identity (i.e. a creation of experiences, a blank canvas drawn up based on different cultural values, or even an identity with a new title (i.e. Indo-Canadian). This individual does not feel any cultural conflict between the two cultures, and feels comfortable expressing themselves in both cultural contexts. For example, the person may feel as if they have two identities depending on which culture they are in, but this is not seen as a bad thing and is a function of their larger sense of self.

**Dual Identity**

A Dual Identity tends to occur when an individual finds themself relatively high on the factors related to Canadian culture, high on Family Cultural Rigidity, and relatively low on Connection to Same Cultured Community. Someone who identifies with a Dual Identity initially sounds a lot like someone with a blended identity, but is in the end different. Like a Blended Identity, someone with a Dual Identity has a sense of being a mixed bag of values taken from both cultures, however, they feel the two cultures do not blend as easily and often feel a sense of cultural conflict between the two.

**Disconnected Identity**

A Disconnected Identity tends to occur when an individual finds themself relatively low on all six factors. Someone who identifies with a Disconnected Identity feels they do not belong to either culture completely and feel somewhat like an outsider from both cultures. Someone with a Disconnected Identity may still identify as more from their culture of origin or more from Canadian culture, however, there is still a strong sense of
internal disconnection. Because of this disconnection the individual may not identify culture as an important element in their sense of identity.

Intermediate Identities

If one does not fall on either extreme of the continuum or in the middle, one falls in the intermediate space at either end of the spectrum. These spaces often represent someone with an identity that is informed more by one culture, but who also feels, albeit to a lesser extent, connected to values of the other culture. One culture definitely supersedes the other in terms of how one identifies themself culturally, but again, they identify as having embodied some values from the other culture. Someone who finds themselves in these intermediate spaces may identify themselves with percentages (i.e. I am 85% Malaysian, and 15% Canadian or vice versa).

Lastly, the overarching arrows on both the upper and lower sides of the larger circle signify that one’s cultural identity is fluid. This means that one’s identification with being from their culture of origin and/or identification with being from Canadian culture can shift with time and with context.
Appendix L: Model of Cultural Identity Formation (MCIF) as Tailored to Participant’s Stories

The following appendix outlines the different participant’s stories of cultural transition, and how they translate onto the MCIF. The stories are grouped into their respective identity outcome (Blended, Dual, Disconnected, Intermediate). All participant names were changed to pseudonyms for the protection of their confidentiality.

Blended Identity

Brian

Brian became an international student in Singapore age 10/11 in order to learn English and to learn to be more independent before moving to Canada at age 16 with family. He did not experience a language barrier because he already had sufficient command of English when he arrived in Canada. Brian learned and experienced Western Culture while living in Singapore, which he said helped him feel more comfortable adopting life in Vancouver. Fitting in was an important concept from the beginning for Brian because upon immigrating here, he knew there would be little room to move back to China. He was encouraged by family to meet others outside of culture and try to experience life in Canada as fully as he could. Over time and with a sense of permanency in Vancouver, Brian began to feel like Vancouver was becoming his first home. He said that he identifies with being Canadian due to having lived in Canada longer than China, and due to having embodied some Canadian values such as a sense of independence, and an ability to choose values from both cultures that are important to him. The concept of fitting in became most important to him because of his desire to find career in Canada. Although he identifies with Canadian culture, he still identifies with Chinese culture due to family influences and to his connections to the larger Chinese community where he lives. When asked about his cultural background, Brian identified himself as having a culturally blended identity, which he believes comes from the fact that his family was culturally flexible and encouraged him to develop his own identity here in Vancouver. He does not feel any cultural conflict between his Asian and Canadian selves, therefore balancing two cultures isn’t a conflict for his identity. He tends to compartmentalize cultural identity when in different contexts, and feel ok doing it because it is a choice he has made for himself.

The following diagram reflects his identity given the above information:
On the spectrum of identity, given where the different factors fall, Brian’s identity would be found in the middle, or categorized as a Blended Identity. Given that he is relatively high on all factors, Brian is being pulled to both cultures. Additionally, because his family maintains a connection to their culture of origin, as well as have a degree of cultural flexibility, Brian does not sense cultural conflict and happily feels he can blend both cultures, fit in to Canada and preserve his culture at the same time.

Kabir

Kabir came to Canada at age 17 with his family. Although not keen on being in Canada at first, Kabir learned English in order to make friends and connect himself to other people. As he began to feel encouraged by friends to learn and speak English, Kabir began to feel like a different person. Noticing the diversity inherent to Vancouver, he started to feel accepted for who he was and began to incorporate a more open-minded view of culture. This freedom to see beyond one’s culture allowed Kabir to start opening himself up and thus he began to embody Canadian cultural values (Diversity and openness helped him feel similar to other Canadians). Much like himself, over time his family became more culturally flexible and allowed him to explore his identity, giving Kabir a sense of personal agency to be himself (Indian-Canadian) and exist in Canada. Although they gave him space to explore, they still maintain a fairly cultured home, and expect him to be a part of their culture. Despite these expectations, Kabir’s family also allowed him to embody Canadian values and to have his own sense of personal agency in his identity. Because of this, Kabir began feeling that one could blend cultures and be something new built off of his own experiences (creating a new picture out of elements from both). This encouraged sense of personal agency to build his own identity allowed Kabir to stay connected to his culture of origin and be connected to Canada. Even though he did not plan to stay in Canada, he has over time decided to make Vancouver his long-term home because he has a sense of permanency here. When asked about his cultural
background, Kabir explained himself as a mixed bag of values, a painting created from experiences.

The following diagram reflects his identity given the above information:

On the spectrum of identity, given where the different factors fall, Kabir’s identity would be found in the middle, or categorized as a Blended Identity. Given that he is relatively high on all factors, Kabir is being pulled to both cultures. Additionally, because his family maintains a connection to their culture of origin, as well as have a degree of cultural flexibility, Kabir does not sense cultural conflict and happily feels he can blend both cultures, fit in to Canada and preserve his culture at the same time.

Marco

Marco came to Canada with his family at age 19. He decided to attend university on Canada based on its large Filipino community and the feedback the family received from them. Marco began learning about the nuances of Canadian culture by observing and interacting with other Canadians and eventually started embodying some Canadian conventions himself. He recognized that there were some values here in Canada that he appreciated and started to live by them as well. After awhile living in Canada and noticing his attachment to certain aspects of Canadian living (open-mindedness, independence) Marco started to feel more Canadian. A sense of permanency fostered a sense of wanting to know more about others outside of his culture. Despite the connection to a Canadian lifestyle, Marco still feels strongly rooted in his culture of origin because of his connection to family and friends. Although his family has flexibility in his exploration of identity and fitting into Canada, they still maintain a cultured household and embody values from their culture of origin. Due to his family’s connection with Filipino culture and his strong connection to family, Marco feels
connected to his culture of origin. That being said, a sense of personal agency that came with embodying a more Canadian independent mindset allowed him to feel he was the agent of his own identity, fostering a sense of choice. Hence, Marco chooses values to uphold from both cultures and identifies himself as being a blend of both but with a stronger connection to his culture of origin.

The following diagram reflects his identity given the above information:

On the spectrum of identity, given where the different factors fall, Marco’s identity would be found somewhere close to the middle and ultimately in the category of blended identity. Given that his family maintains their culture of origin, but allows him to embody Canadian values, that he has a fairly high sense of wanting to preserve his culture of origin to stay connected to family, that he has a strong sense of permanency here in Canada, and that he has a relatively high connection to relationships specific to Canada, Marco’s identity is pulled to both ends of the spectrum. Because his desire to fit-in to Canadian culture is fairly low, and elements relating to the family are fairly high, Marco identifies more strongly with a sense of being from his culture of origin than from Canada, however, this identification is also seen as one that is influenced by Canadian values as well.

Priya

Priya came to Canada with her family at age 8. She identifies with being Canadian, or more specifically a BC-girl, due to the amount of time she’s lived in Burnaby. This time has allowed her to gain a sense of home in Vancouver. Sensing this stability and knowing she was going to make roots in Vancouver, Priya has felt the ability to relax into living in Canada and letting herself feel safe here. The desire to fit in was never very strong due to the diverse tapestry of cultures that are inherent to Vancouver. However there were cultural differences that she felt in different contexts (home/school). As a
result she compartmentalized the self in a semi-survival mode. Due to the differing cultural aspects at home and the new environment, Priya acted as a bridge for her mother who’s English was not as strong. Playing this supportive role, allowed Priya to gain a sense of personal agency and empowerment, which fostered a sense of independence in her identity exploration in Canada. She did not and currently does not have a strong connection to a same cultured community, and has felt the loss of a connection to Bengali culture over time. When asked about her cultural identity, Priya identified herself with something new – a new label - South Asian (something close to culture of origin), which connects her with other immigrants and the stories of transnationalism. Key role models in the past have helped normalize her own experience of culture blending, and over time as well as with age, Priya began to become more curious about how to incorporate her culture of origin, in her own way, back into her life. This curiosity was in some way spurred on by a sense of loss of connection to her culture of origin and a desire to learn more and potentially preserve aspects of it such as language. With age also came a stronger sense of personal agency in the ability to stand up for differing values and beliefs and thus stand apart from the family identity. Ultimately she identifies with a blended cultural identity to explain her immigration and current cultural experience. She desires to blend cultures and find a balance without sacrificing the core of herself and living in harmony with others.

The following diagram reflects her identity given the above information:

On the spectrum of identity, given where the different factors fall, Priya’s identity would be found somewhere in the middle or categorized as a Blended Identity. Although she identifies more strongly with Canadian culture (due to a high sense of connection to relationships specific to Canada, as well as a strong sense of permanency to Canada – home-), she also feels she is not only Canadian because of a desire to start understanding, embodying, and preserving elements of her culture of origin. Additionally, identifying
solely with Canada would disconnect her from her family (mother) who still maintains certain cultural expectations and values, and thus she feels her identity reflects an immigrant story that blends different cultural values. Although she may compartmentalize her cultures depending on her context, Priya sees this compartmentalization as a choice and thus sees it as a larger part of her entire identity. Due to this internal sense of choice and blend, Priya does not feel a strong cultural conflict between her cultures and her different selves.

**Dual Identity**

**Alicia**

Alicia came to Canada with her family at age 7. She learned English due to parental pressure to adapt to life in Canada. As a result, Alicia began to learn about Canadian culture by making Canadian friends at school and learning from teachers to have a sense of independence of thought. Fitting in to Canadian society became an important concept for Alicia in highschool, which garnered a sense of cultural conflict in her identity. When trying to connect with same cultured individuals, she felt othered by those she felt were more Chinese/Taiwanese than her, and felt she did not fit the mold of what it is to be “Chinese”. The lack of connection to others in a same culture group propelled her to connect and identify more with Canadian culture, although even that connection does not feel 100% strong either. More specifically, she began to feel some cultural conflict almost right away between her home life and her school life because of her family’s fairly strict nature in regards to maintaining their Taiwanese culture. Although she connects with Canada fairly strongly, she still senses connection to her culture of origin due to her family’s cultural rigidity and a desire to both appease and respect them. The dichotomy of identities brings about a compartmentalization of identity, where she often portrays one side of herself when in a family context and another side of herself when in other contexts. This compartmentalization makes Alicia feel uneasy, as she finds the two selves don’t mingle well. As a result, she strongly desires to merge/blend her cultural identity to consolidate the dissonance of identities. Additionally, Alicia’s sense of living in Canada long term, as well as a sense of a loss of connection with Taiwan over time, furthers her desire to want to consolidate feeling in-between two cultures. As she grew older, Alicia obtained a greater sense of personal agency to deviate away from her parental cultural expectations – which allowed her a sense of freedom to build her own identity. This personal agency has brought with it a sense of conflict as she wants her choices to be respected and understood by her family and their cultural expectations. When asked about her cultural background, Alicia identified herself as Chinese-Canadian, but more connected to Canada. She feels that she falls somewhere in-between due to a strong sense of being culturally misunderstood in both cultures.

The following diagram reflects her identity given the above information:
On the spectrum of identity, given where the different factors fall, Alicia’s identity would be found somewhere in the middle, and likely under the category of Dual Identity. Although she identifies more strongly with Canadian culture (due to a high sense of connection to relationships specific to Canada, as well as a strong sense of permanency to Canada), she feels she is not only Canadian because of the values and expectations upheld by her family and their cultural connection. Not having a connection to a same cultured community, but sensing that Canada may be where she wants to ultimately put down roots, leaves her feeling like she has two identities. The two identities in her mind are difficult to consolidate and often bring a sense of cultural conflict for her. Thus instead of feeling like a blend of cultures, she feels like she has two parts to herself— one that was shaped in Canada, and one that appeases and respects her family.

Melanie

Melanie moved to Canada at age 23 without family. Upon arrival to Canada, there was no need for her to learn English as she already had a sufficient command of the language. Melanie has found it difficult to connect with Canada because she has a hard time figuring out what it means to be Canadian. Additionally she has little to no connection with people from the same culture here, and thus finds it difficult to know how a blended identity could look. Melanie described identifying with being-in-transition which she attributes to the transition of her immigration story. Although she also identifies strongly from her culture of origin, she acknowledges that she has two identities, one that represents a self shaped by Canada, and the other that represents her country and culture of origin. Because of her transitional self, she often has a sense of falling in-between two cultures, as she feels that she is not 100% representative of either culture. Thus while in Canada she identifies with a new label (Mediterranean) to connect with culture and feel connected to the traditions of her culture here in Vancouver. Feeling let down by her expectations of immigrations, Melanie has often felt othered. This feeling of otheredness propels her to feel more connected to culture of origin, as she feels a sense of
pride when needing to defend her culture against stereotypes and discrimination. Despite all this, Melanie mentioned that time has eased some of the feelings of otherness to a certain degree because she began to understand the culture in Vancouver as well as the immigrant pockets here. On one hand she has connected with other immigrants finding their way in Canada, but still feels that her connection to Canada itself is not terribly strong. As she gets older, a sense of age fosters feelings of cultural conflict when thinking of a future family and raising children in new country. This cultural conflict further disconnects her from feeling Canadian. Ultimately, Melanie describes herself as identifying strongly with her culture of origin due to having lived there for 25 years and due to family connection/expectation of cultural values. Family acceptance makes her aware of how she has embodied some Canadian cultural values. This awareness spurs a desire to gain their blessing for the choices and changes that have internally occurred for her having lived in Canada. Fitting in is important concept for Melanie, but she feels forced to do it in order to become successful in Career, and has a sense of resentment that it can’t come more naturally. Not feeling like she has choice as to whether she wants to fit in or not furthers her sense of disconnect from Canada. As a result of fitting in she compartmentalizes her cultural identity due to an internal sense of cultural conflict, which again makes it difficult for her to connect to Canadian culture and blend cultures. Melanie desires to try to make Canada her first home which propels her to want to stay connected even more to her culture of origin and preserve her culture, thus not losing it in her connection here. In the end Melanie described that she desires to merge/blend cultural identities, but at the moment she is not sure how or what that would look like.

The following diagram reflects her identity given the above information:

On the spectrum of identity, given where the different factors fall, Melanie’s identity would be found somewhere in the middle, and likely under the category of Dual Identity. Although she identifies more strongly with her culture of origin (due to family cultural
maintenance, and a strong desire to preserve culture), she feels she is not as staunchly from her culture of origin because she has embodied some Canadian values for herself over time. Not having a connection to a same cultured community, but sensing that Canada may be where she wants to ultimately put down roots, leaves her feeling like she has two identities. The two identities in her mind are difficult to consolidate and often bring a sense of cultural conflict for her. Thus instead of feeling like a blend of cultures, she feels like she has two parts to herself – one that was shaped in Canada, and one that was shaped from her culture of origin. Because she has two identities, Melanie has come to identify with her immigration story of being in transition.

Disconnected Identity

Andres

Andres came to Canada with his family at age 5. He learned English quickly due to his arrival in Canada at young age, while his family did not learn English as well he did. Regardless of learning the language and being apart of the school system here, Andres often felt othered and stuck between two cultures because he didn’t sense of full connection with either culture. As a result, Andres often compartmentalized the self: portraying different cultural selves depending on the context (home/school). Consequently, he disconnected from both cultures in order to cope with feeling different in most situations. As Andres always felt that Canada was a temporary stop for his family, he did not build much attachment here and has no real sense of home. When asked about his cultural identity, Andres stated that he identifies strongly with being Colombian because it is tied to his blood and family history. However, because he feels he is not as Colombian as his family and does not know what really being Colombian means, Andres still feels disconnected from it in a way. Additionally, a lack of same cultural community furthers his disconnected feelings of home in new environment. Because there is no sense of community, attachment, or future prospectives in Canada, Andres has no desire to fit in to Canadian society. Only recently did Andres started thinking about the idea of fitting in when he realized he was going to have to attend school here and live in Canada slightly longer than anticipated. Over time Andres felt more confident in his culture of origin – but finds it easiest to identify with something new. Thus as a result of feeling somewhat disconnected from culture, Andres focuses on who he is as a person and not on his culture. He describes trying to find himself in the middle ground (a blended cultural identity) or find his own niche (I am ME), preferring not to have strict guidelines or labels on his cultural identity. Although he identifies more strongly with Colombian culture than Canadian culture, he ultimately does not feel connected to any one culture fully and feels he is just learning and building from his experiences. Culture is not something he uses as a descriptor of himself.

The following diagram reflects his identity given the above information:
On the spectrum of identity, given where the different factors fall, Andres’s identity would be found somewhere in the middle, and likely under the category of Disconnected Identity. Due to the Andres falling low on almost all the factors, he does not feel pulled to anyone culture specifically. That being said, Andres’s family cultural rigidity is fairly high meaning that they maintain their culture of origin fairly strongly at home. Their connection to their culture helps Andres feel connected to this culture of origin, however because his culture of origin is only experience at home, it becomes hard for Andres to feel connected to this cultural community when he is not at home. Additionally, Andres has relatively high desires to preserve and learn more about his culture, and a low desire to fit-in to Canada, thus pulling him more in the direction of identifying with his culture of origin. Again despite identifying more with being from his culture of origin, he still feels an internal disconnect because he does not know what it means to be Colombian first hand, and doesn’t feel completely Canadian either leaving him feeling like he falls in between both cultures and thus does not identify with culture as an important element of his identity.

Intermediate Identity

Helen

Helen came to Canada with her family at age 14. She did not speak English and did not connect with Canada at first. Helen desired to fit in to feel accepted in the new culture at feeling that it would connect her more to Canada and feeling Canadian, and help her make friends. A felt sense of permanency in Canada fostered Helen’s desire to fit in – without English however she felt like an outsider. Once she learned English, Helen was able to make connections with others outside of her culture. Over time she began to notice she was embodying Canadian values (Canadian mindset, independence). However, with diversity of cultures in Canada and the mature nature of university the concept of fitting in became less important to Helen. Additionally, with age she gained a
sense of personal agency to stand firm in her beliefs. Helen feels she is a blend of both cultures due to having a flexible family. They have encouraged her to do what she wants but still expect her to maintain a degree of success in her chosen career. Even though they have given her a sense of freedom to explore, they still maintain an Asian household. Thinking about a career in Canada also fosters a sense of home here. Helen expresses a small sense of disconnect with her culture of origin due to the changing nature of her country of origin as time passes, and the amount of time she’s spent away from it. When asked to describe her cultural background Helen describes herself as a blend of cultures – feeling more connected to Canadian culture than Chinese culture.

The following diagram reflects her identity given the above information:

On the spectrum of identity, given where the different factors fall Helen’s identity would be found somewhere in the intermediate space closer to Canadian culture. Given that she has a fairly high connection to relationships specific to Canada, a strong sense of permanency to Canada, and a relatively high desire to fit in to Canadian culture, Helen identifies more strongly with Canadian culture. However, because she is still connected to those from a same culture community and her family still maintains a sense of connection to their culture of origin, Helen still identifies herself as being partly from her culture of origin as well.

**Mei Lin**

Mei Lin came to Canada with her family at age 15. Initially she had a strong desire to fit in and speak dominant language upon early arrival. Fitting in made her want to interact with others that were fluent in English or putting effort into learning English, hence she avoided same cultured people whose intention were to stick with same culture values only. Mei Lin’s mother’s support in learning English was integral to her sense of fitting
Although her family supports her integration into Canada, they still maintain their Asian culture at home. As Mei Lin’s English improved she felt more connected to Canada and being Canadian as it allowed her to learn more about Canadian culture. Once she entered university and gained a felt sense of cultural diversity and acceptance, as well as being surrounded by those of the same culture, Mei Lin’s desire to fit in and be Canadian lessened. Over time she began to identity more closely with her culture of origin and regained a sense of pride for her culture of origin by interacting with others of the same culture and participating in cultural activities. In an older stage of life Mei Lin feels more informed about her cultural identity and has more personal agency to decide if she wants to fit in or not. Although she identifies more with her culture of origin, Mei Lin still describes values and aspects of the Canadian culture as being important to her sense of self.

The following diagram reflects her identity given the above information:

On the spectrum of identity, given where the different factors fall, Mei Lin’s identity would be found somewhere in the intermediate space closer to her culture of origin. Given that she has a strong connection to a same cultured community, a strong desire to preserve culture and a family that still maintains their culture of origin, Mei Lin’s identity is pulled closer to her culture of origin than it is to Canadian culture. However, due to a strong sense of permanency here in Canada, as well as an acknowledgement of some desire to fit in to Canadian culture, she describes her internal feeling of her self as being a % of Chinese and Canadian, and thus does not fall completely at the extreme end of the identity spectrum.
Jenny

Jenny came to Canada with her family at age 14. She had no desire to fit in right away because she had many friends that were from the same culture as her (comfort zone). Due to her strong connection with a same cultured community she had no real need to speak English other than to complete homework. She began to learn about Canadian culture through observation of others, but did not connect with people outside of her culture because of a lack of things to discuss. Thus, Jenny has been able to keep a fairly strong Chinese identity. This identity is also fostered by how others perceive her, and Jenny stated that others would see her as Chinese as well. The idea of a finding a career in Canada has spurred on a desire to network and blend (fit in) in order to be successful, although at the moment she is unsure what she will end up doing in terms of work. Although she does not have a large connection with Canadian culture, her parents acceptance and flexibility encouraged her exploration of blending cultures, even though her mother still maintains her Chinese culture fairly strongly. Jenny feels that she is growing a stronger sense of personal agency, which allows her to stand independently from her mother’s values and friends perceptions of her. When she thinks about it, Jenny said she desires a blended cultured identity (be more white washed – embody more Canadian values). This is specifically true because she considers Vancouver home, and will one day work and potentially start a family here. Feeling an attachment and a sense of permanency in Canada, Jenny feels more connected to Canada. This connection brings with it a slight disconnect from her culture of origin because she feels it is changing without her. Despite it’s changing nature, Jenny still desires connection to her heritage culture and to her family. Thus she described wanting to create an identity that reflected something new, an identity in the middle of the two cultures. When asked to describe her cultural background, Jenny said that she feels a strong desire to be a merge of cultures but ultimately feels more connected to her culture of origin at the moment.

The following diagram reflects her identity given the above information:
On the spectrum of identity, given where the different factors fall Jenny’s identity would be found somewhere in the intermediate space closer to her culture of origin. Due to her strong connection with a same cultured community, as well as having a family that still maintains a relatively high connection to their culture of origin, Jenny’s identity is pulled closer to her culture of origin. However, due to a strong sense of permanency in Canada and a large internal desire to fit-in to Canadian culture, she does not fall at the extreme side of the spectrum because there is a sense of wanting to blend cultures and embody more Canadian values.
Appendix M: Participant Feedback

All identifying email correspondence was excluded from participants’ feedback to ensure their confidentiality. Participant names were changed to pseudonyms for the protection of their confidentiality.

Feedback 1

Hey Julie,

The first document was an interesting perspective and I have nothing to critique about it. As for the second part, again, can't find anything I would change, you did really well identifying the things I believe in as well as addressing the bits of me I don't always like to admit to myself.

I hope you do great with your research; this really was a nice experience to reflect on

I wish you the best,
Andres

Feedback 2

Hi Julie!

Thanks for forwarding the result to me! You captured the essence of the transformation/creation of identity in a new cultural environment very well and I agree with your findings. I am glad I could help in your research =)

Cheers,
Jenny

Feedback 3

Hi Julie,

The results are very accurate for my case. Thank you!
Kabir
Feedback 4

Hi Julie,

Overall, I felt this was a strong framework and capture the main drivers in an accessible way. I liked the descriptions of the 3 identity types, I thought they were well-articulated.

No comments or suggestions to my personal (Part 2). I consider it an accurate and fair reflection of our conversation and can see how it was reached.

All the best with your next steps! Would love to know what the plans are for you with this research moving forward.

I see possibility and potential to develop this into something for individuals to use, as a meaning-making tool. (Along the lines of Myers-Briggs, Enneagram, StrengthsFinders, Love Languages, etc. The limitation of these is that they all focus predominantly on the individual.) I see a big need for and massive potential uptake on a tool that would lend purpose and sense to someone on the bigger cultural levels of identity.

Please be in touch. Again, thanks for this work. It's so important.

Chat soon,
~ Priya

Feedback 5

Hi Julie,

Sorry for the delay in responding - I've been out of town for a few weeks! I don't have much feedback to provide - everything you sent looks good!

Good luck on everything - it was great to have taken part in your research!

- Marco
Appendix N: Overview of the Higher-Order Categories and Core Category

Family Cultural Rigidity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Cultural Rigidity</th>
<th>Influence on Core Category</th>
<th>Participant Quote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Highly Rigid (2)</td>
<td>Weakens Core Category</td>
<td>“I feel stuck in between…My parents still stick to their Latin roots so it’s very cultured at home…I couldn’t really see where I fit…”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Rigid (3)</td>
<td>Activates Core Category</td>
<td>“[My mom’s] trying to be more flexible. So if she didn’t like accept it…I would try to talk her through it, but if it was really important to me I would still do it, no matter what.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral (1)</td>
<td>Allows for active and comfortable exploration of core category without a loss of sense of affiliation to culture of origin.</td>
<td>“[We celebrate] both the Canadian and the Chinese [holidays] and that makes me feel connected to both definitely.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Flexible (4)</td>
<td>Strengthens Core Category</td>
<td>“There was a lot of verbal cultural reinforcement…but we didn’t necessarily live them out loud in terms of culture so we did become quite Canadian....”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Connections Specific to Canada

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Connections Specific to Canada</th>
<th>Influence on Core Category</th>
<th>Participant Quote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Strong Connection (7)</strong></td>
<td>Strengthens Core Category</td>
<td>“…my friends at school and my teachers at school probably shaped me… the independent of parents part... professional interaction as well like work and being in my masters… that’s also shaping a lot of things as well.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Below Average Connection (2)</strong></td>
<td>Activates Core Category</td>
<td>“I think it’s ok to be Chinese, but at least I’m not too conservative. At least I feel ok when I see two guys kissing on the street, right? So I still have the 25% Canadian aspect, because I am educated here...”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>No Connection (1)</strong></td>
<td>Weakens Core Category</td>
<td>“I wasn’t really connecting with anyone in high school... I don’t feel like I have too much attachment anywhere... I don’t really feel like I have a home anywhere, so I never thought about fitting in.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Connections to a Same Cultured Community

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Connections to a Same Cultured Community</th>
<th>Influence on Core Category</th>
<th>Participant Quote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strong Connection (3)</td>
<td>Weakens Core Category</td>
<td>“If you have the same racial background you tend to stick together and then you’re just in that zone…Yeah it’s kind of like a comfort zone. You just went in the group and then feel comfortable, it’s like you’re still in Asia…”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below Average Connection (4)</td>
<td>Activates Core Category</td>
<td>“…other Filipino people that I met, they went to high school here, so they were here a lot longer. So I was able to kind of see how they dealt with being here and everything….some of them came…some grew up here, so I was able to kind of see you know how they would get on as Asians in Vancouver.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Connection (3)</td>
<td>Strengthens Core Category</td>
<td>“I think the biggest reason why I just feel so separated is because it’s a completely different language…we don’t really have family or friends here…My parents have a few Colombian friends but they’re just acquaintances more than anything else.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sense of Permanency</td>
<td>Influence on Core Category</td>
<td>Participant Quote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Strong Sense of Permanency (8)</strong></td>
<td>Strengthens Core Category</td>
<td>“We always said once we decided to move to Canada, we’re determined to find our way, live here.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Somewhat of a Sense of Permanency (1)</strong></td>
<td>Weakens Core Category</td>
<td>“I think…I’m not sure 100% because as I said the issue of if I want my kids raised here or not is a bit of a big one in my mind right now.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>No Sense of Permanency (1)</strong></td>
<td>Weakens Core Category</td>
<td>“[Canada] always just felt like a stopping ground kind of place, I never thought that we would leave but then I also never thought that we’d stay. I was always in limbo. I felt like whether I put ties here or in Colombia or anywhere else in the world at the end of the day I’m just going to be more happy if I’m a good person…”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Desire to Preserve Culture of Origin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Desire to Preserve Culture of Origin</th>
<th>Influence on Core Category</th>
<th>Participant Quote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>High Desire (5)</strong></td>
<td>Strengthens Core Category</td>
<td>“…I want to learn every single recipe we have…I want to preserve my Malteseness as much as I can…because there is some things I totally love about Malta and I totally would want to pass them on…”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Medium to High Desire (2)</strong></td>
<td>Weakens Core Category</td>
<td>“It’s like I want to be more Canadian than Asian, but I still want to keep my Asian part. It’s my heritage and stuff you know, traditions and everything.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Medium Desire (3)</strong></td>
<td>Weakens Core Category</td>
<td>“…from the skills perspective I think that yeah it would be great if…any future children I have speak Mandarin and it may facilitate communication between them and my parents, between them and my extended family.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Desire to Fit in to Canadian Culture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Desire to Fit in to Canadian Culture</th>
<th>Influence on Core Category</th>
<th>Participant Quote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>High Desire</strong>&lt;br&gt; (3)</td>
<td>Strengthens Core Category</td>
<td>“I was trying to work towards fitting in with the native speakers…I wanted to fit in…Yeah, cause this is a totally different environment and if you just keep on being the old self then you’re not really being accepted by people here.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Neutral to Medium Desire</strong>&lt;br&gt; (5)</td>
<td>Neutral influence of Core Category</td>
<td>“I likely felt it much more strongly in grade school, thinking back now. I was embarrassed taking curries and other crazy things for lunch when all I wanted was to fit in with the other kids and bring sandwiches or lunchables or something.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Low Desire</strong>&lt;br&gt; (2)</td>
<td>Weakens Core Category</td>
<td>“I think it’s just an understanding with us that you know that we may be living here now but just because we’re here doesn’t mean that we have to do everything that Canadians do.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix O: Age and the Theoretical Model

As one gets older the importance of certain factors to one’s motivation and sense of agency to create a new identity changes. Below is a break down of which factors are affected by age and how:

**Family Cultural Rigidity:**
With an older stage of life comes a larger sense of personal agency. Additionally, this personal agency is bolstered in the context of Canada and the Canadian value of independence. Therefore as one gets older one begins to embody a stronger sense of personal agency in creating their identity. Although family culture and expectations may continue to play a role and be influential to one’s sense of motivation and agency to create an identity, it does not have as large of an impact on the individual as it did when they were younger.

**Relationships Specific to Canada:**
As one enters an older stage of life (i.e. emerging adulthood) relationships specific to Canada that are related to career and intimate partners become more important to an individual. However, it is unclear given the data what role age plays in making friends.

**Sense of Permanency:**
With an older stage of life the concept of permanency (i.e. putting down roots, finding a career, finding a permanent romantic partner) becomes more relevant and important. For an emerging adult population the questions about home, career, and romantic partnership are more at the forefront than they were at a younger age, and thus are more important to their sense of identity.

**Desire to Preserve Culture of Origin:**
With an older stage of life one tends to want to connect more with family (especially as they age). Additionally, as one gets older and the idea of starting one’s own family becomes more important. Thus the idea of passing on culture becomes more relevant for someone as they get older. Consequently, as one ages, one has a tendency to have a stronger desire to preserve their culture of origin.

**Desire to Fit In:**
The closer one is to their teenage years at time of immigration, the more likely one is to desire to fit in. As one gets older and is exposed to others outside of a highschool population (i.e. culturally diverse students at university, people in career/job settings), one begins to move into a more independent worldview, and thus the desire to fit in decreases.

*As age indicates the importance of each factor, in the diagram age is represented as the size of the factor’s bubble.*
Example:

Here the bubble that represents family cultural rigidity is smaller, meaning that it is seen as less important to the individual and has less influence on their motivation and agency to create a new identity.
Appendix P: Time and the Theoretical Model

Where one falls on each factor’s continuum arrow changes over time. Unlike age, it is not as clearly regulated as to what direction one moves along these continuums. There are however, some general trends that were apparent in the data (i.e. the factor of Sensing Permanency: the more time one spends in an environment, the more one begins to feel a sense of permanency there. In the factor of Family Cultural Rigidity the more time a family spends in a new environment the more they are likely to become more flexible).

Example:

One’s sense of permanency is indicated by a dot on the arrow (or continuum).

With time, where one falls on the continuum may change, indicated by the shift of the dot on the line.
Appendix Q: Overview of Age and Time and the Core Category

Dimension of Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension of Age</th>
<th>Influence on Core &amp; Higher-Order Categories</th>
<th>Participant Quote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Connections Specific to Canada</td>
<td>More important on overall view of self, and has a more significant impact on Core Category</td>
<td>“After I enter university I kind of start to realize it is very important to be…socially involved…Basically it has to do with working experience. So near the end of high school I started to realize it’s also very important to build up personal connections in society so that you can be more adaptive to society.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sense of Permanency</td>
<td>More important on overall view of self, and has a more significant impact on Core Category</td>
<td>“When we first moved here we didn’t…really understand that this is for the rest of our life…I feel like I’m at a point where I just finished all the education that I want to do and maybe I should look for work and settle down somewhere.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desire to Preserve Culture of Origin</td>
<td>More important on overall view of self, and has a more significant impact on Core Category</td>
<td>“When you leave and when you reach a certain age and your parents are getting older …When I was younger I didn’t care…but now, for some reason, I guess because they’re growing older and I’m not there…So a lot of things start to come into play which is no longer about me.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Cultural Rigidity</td>
<td>Less important on overall view of self, and has a less significant impact on Core Category</td>
<td>“I would say I’m more of a renegade now then I ever was just in terms of…that process of informing who I am and what I believe in…and then being more vocal about it and then starting to live it out loud a little bit more…”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desire to Fit in to Canadian Culture</td>
<td>Less important on overall view of self, and has a less significant impact on Core Category</td>
<td>“I feel like I can take more control…for how I act around people. Back in high school I wanted to fit in and now I still do but back then I felt like I had to imitate others more than acting like my true self. But now I can be who I really am.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Dimension of Time

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension of Time</th>
<th>Influence on Higher-Order Category &amp; Core Category</th>
<th>Participant Quote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family Cultural Rigidity</td>
<td>More time indicates a decrease in Family Cultural Rigidity and therefore a more felt flexibility in the Core Category</td>
<td>“I think it was over time…my mom…eas[ed] into the hybrid identity of what it means to be an immigrant in Canada and what it means to be Canadian and what it means to still be Bengali. Whereas before I think…it felt like more of a tighter grip. Kind of like the fist full of sand kind of thing, and then it loosened up a little bit with a bit more comfort.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connections Specific to Canada</td>
<td>More time in Canada indicates more Connections and a strengthening of the Core Category</td>
<td>“Knowing now that I want to find a career here in Canada makes it feels more like home. Yeah, and now I feel like I have to make more connections while I still have the chance…I mean in university… “</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sense of Permanency</td>
<td>More time in Canada indicates larger Sense of Permanency and a strengthening of the Core Category</td>
<td>“I didn’t know that I would be permanent here. Over time…after high school after friends group, after I came to UBC and I was like ok this is good. This is much better than how I was treated in school in India. So I decided to stay and became strongly grounded here instead of just going back and staying there. So I still want to visit there but I’d like to stay here.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix R: Overview of the Four Cultural Identity Formation Outcomes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Four Identity Formation Outcomes</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Participant Quote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Blended Identity</strong> (4)</td>
<td>Relatively high on all six of the higher-order categories. A sense of being a combination of values taken from both their culture of origin and Canadian culture</td>
<td>“I’m like a bag, I choose what I need… I choose what I want to have and then this is a mixed composite of what I am…”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dual Identity</strong> (2)</td>
<td>Relatively high on the factors related to Canadian culture, but still pulled to their culture of origin due to high family cultural rigidity. A sense of being a mixed bag of values, but also a sense that the two cultures did not blend very easily and often conflicted with one another</td>
<td>“I understand the issues but what I try to do is merge them because I really want to merge them… And so I’m constantly telling my parents something I did and what I think is my life and trying to consolidate those two…I think [blending cultures] is important because I don’t like this being two separate people. Like I feel like who I am around my parents is a very different person than who I am in the rest of my life and I don’t like feeling uncomfortable…”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Disconnected Identity</strong> (1)</td>
<td>Relatively low on all six higher-order categories. Due to a great sense of dissonance between culture of origin and Canadian culture, a sense of disengagement from both cultures occurs</td>
<td>“I never felt like I could call myself Canadian, I still always felt very Colombian at heart, but at the same time I knew I was living in Canada so I can’t really think that I’m fully Colombian right? So I just…I stuck kind of outside between the two. I was more of an outsider…”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Intermediate Identity</strong> (3)</td>
<td>Relatively high on all the factors related to one particular culture, yet concurrently only somewhat elevated on the elements pertaining to the other culture. A sense of being was informed to a greater degree by one culture, but at the same time, albeit to a lesser extent, was still connected to values of the other culture.</td>
<td>“I would describe myself as 75% Chinese 25% Canadian.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>