2016

Racial Identity, Acculturation, and Well-Being among Black Canadian Immigrant Youth

Abunya Cecilia Medina
University of Windsor

Racial Identity, Acculturation, and Well-Being among Black Canadian Immigrant Youth

by

Abunya C. Medina

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
through the Department of Psychology
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Arts at the
University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

Racial Identity, Acculturation, and Well-Being among Black Canadian Immigrant Youth

by

Abunya C. Medina

APPROVED BY:

_____
A. Allen
Faculty of Education

_____
K. Lafreniere
Department of Psychology

_____
S. Towson, Advisor
Department of Psychology

August 16, 2016

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I hereby certify that I am the sole author of this thesis and that no part of this thesis has been published or submitted for publication.

I certify that, to the best of my knowledge, my thesis does not infringe upon anyone's copyright nor violate any proprietary rights and that any ideas, techniques, quotations, or any other material from the work of other people included in my thesis, published or otherwise, are fully acknowledged in accordance with the standard referencing practices. Furthermore, to the extent that I have included copyrighted material that surpasses the bounds of fair dealing within the meaning of the Canada Copyright Act, I certify that I have obtained a written permission from the copyright owner(s) to include such material(s) in my thesis and have included copies of such copyright clearances to my appendix.

I declare that this is a true copy of my thesis, including any final revisions, as approved by my thesis committee and the Graduate Studies office, and that this thesis has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other University or Institution.

Abstract

The present study examined what successful acculturation looks like for Black Canadian immigrants using a tridimensional model of acculturation (Ferguson, Bornstein, & Pottinger, 2012), as well as how Black Canadian immigrants conceptualize their racial identity. Participants were 120 first and second generation Black Canadians with African and/or Caribbean heritage (M_{age} = 21.27, SD = 3.50, $Range$ = 16-30). Although the tridimensional model did not predict subjective well-being (SWB) above and beyond the traditional bidimensional model of acculturation, participants who were oriented toward their heritage culture and mainstream Black culture had the highest SWB. Conversely, participants who were oriented solely toward mainstream Black culture had the lowest SWB. Additionally, perceiving cultural incompatibility with White culture predicted lower life satisfaction and positive affect, and greater negative affect. The only statistically significant difference between African heritage and Caribbean heritage Canadians among the study variables was that African heritage participants reported being more oriented toward mainstream Black culture than did Caribbean heritage participants. Participants shared what being Black in Canada means to them in open-ended questions. Although there was no consensus among participants on how to define mainstream Black culture, their responses indicated that mainstream Black culture is an important destination culture for Black Canadian immigrants, and its role in the acculturation of Black Canadian immigrants needs to be further explored.

Keywords: racial identity, social identity, acculturation, tridimensional acculturation, bidimensional acculturation, Black Canadians, multiculturalism

Dedication

For my parents, Dr. Benson Agi and Mrs. Ada Agi.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. Shelagh Towson, for your feedback and support throughout my M.A. thesis. I have learned so much about myself and my research interests under your guidance, both as your student and as your graduate assistant for Introduction to Social Psychology and Stereotyping, Prejudice, and Discrimination. From big picture feedback to the tiny details, you have helped me to become a better, more organized writer. You have also gone above and beyond to accommodate my special circumstances—how many students can say their advisor drove across an international border to meet with them? It is clear to me that you value my success, and I appreciate having you in my corner.

Thank you to my committee members, Dr. Kathryn Lafreniere and Dr. Andrew Allen, for your continued guidance and feedback. Kathy, thank you for facilitating my understanding of community and health psychology and pointing me toward an interest in participatory anti-oppressive research. Our discussions in Ethics really helped me to frame my research in a way that prioritized the needs of my participants. Andrew, thank you for reminding me to ground my research in my own lived experience. The day we met, our discussion gave me a new perspective with which to think about being Black in Canada, and how that might differ for those from the GTA or Windsor.

I must also express my deepest gratitude to Dr. Kendall Soucie, who provided immeasurable support during my data analysis phase. You went above and beyond, working tirelessly with me over Skype and Gmail to analyze my data, and patiently explaining statistical concepts to me in a way I could understand. Thank you for helping

me to clarify my results. I also really appreciated your enthusiasm about my work—it made me really excited about what I was doing!

I would like to thank Dr. Greg Chung-Yan, whose feedback, guidance, and support during Applied Social Psychology and Theory and Research in Applied Social Psychology helped me to develop this project. You taught me to be more critical of both implicit and explicit assumptions in research, and as a result, I have become a more thoughtful researcher.

I also thank my cohort, Arief Kartolo, Kristin Schramer, and Laura Wähler for your feedback on my proposal during our classes, which helped me think about potential issues and ways to possibly mitigate them.

I am incredibly grateful to Dr. Stephanie Rowley, for your support and feedback as I transition to the University of Michigan. Thank you for helping me to clarify my paper, ensuring that I checked my assumptions. Thank you for opening up your lab space to me and welcoming me this summer as your student, despite my unpredictable travel arrangements. I look forward to continuing to work with you in the Combined Program in Education and Psychology (CPEP).

I owe many thanks to my husband, CPEP PhD student Michael Medina, for your countless hours of being a sounding board for my ideas, providing feedback on my writing, proofreading my papers, and being my emotional rock. I could not have completed my M.A. without you. Every time I thought I couldn't do it, you were there to remind me that I could.

I would like to thank my sisters, Ojo Agi and Ene Agi, for your feedback on my survey. I had to (reluctantly) admit that I am no longer in touch with what young people

think is 'good' and, without you both, I couldn't have appealed to so many young people

through social media. Thank you, both, for all of your recruitment efforts! I couldn't have

done it without you, Ojo, sharing the survey with all of your friends or you, Ene, putting

recruitment posters all over the GTA. Thank you, Ojo, for your feedback on my writing.

Thank you, Ene, for providing the artwork for my poster. You created a beautiful image

that perfectly encapsulated the essence of my project.

　　　　I thank John Elliott, Windsor city counsellor and Executive Director of Sandwich

Teen Action Group (STAG), for not only taking the time to give me a guided tour of

STAG, but also for giving me a brief history lesson of Black Canadians in Windsor.

Thank you for sharing my recruitment posters with the teens!

　　　　Finally, I would like to thank each and every participant for your time, and for

sharing your knowledge and insight with me. This research could not have been done at

all without you. So many of you expressed being grateful that I am conducting this

research—I am grateful that I have the privilege and opportunity, and know that Black

Canadians have so much more to share. I saw so many of you put your heart and soul into

your responses, and I learned so much from each of you. Thank you.

Table of Contents

Locating Myself in the Study

The focus of the present study is an examination of the relation between racial identity, acculturation and psychological well-being among Black Canadian young people. My choice of this topic is not accidental or academic; the questions that drive my research derive from my personal, professional, and research experiences. Throughout my graduate studies, I have continually reflected on the ways my intersecting identities (e.g., Black, African, Nigerian, Canadian, woman) have shaped me as an individual. I spent my developmental years moving to different cities and provinces in Canada and, despite the changing environment, a common thread among my peers remained; there was a specific way to be Black, and this way often conflicted with my own interests and self-concept.

Understanding what it means to be Black and what being Black means for Black Canadians has been my *raison d'être*. Attending secondary school in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), I had the strong sense that "mainstream Black culture" did not include African cultures. It seemed, then, that being African was something to be ashamed of. As a result, I never fully felt that I belonged in "mainstream White" or "mainstream Black" spaces. Although my family had (and continues to be part of) a community of other Nigerians in Canada, I did not have such a community in my own schools, I did not speak any Nigerian languages, and I was not very familiar with Nigerian popular culture. In many ways, I acculturated slightly to my heritage culture, mainstream White culture, and mainstream Black culture, but never fully identified with (or felt as though I belonged) to any one. When I think about how I would have responded to the Acculturation Rating Scale for Black Canadians as an adolescent, I may have felt marginalized. Today, I may

be considered marginalized for different reasons. Today, I am more critical of what mainstream White and Black cultures consist of. As difficult as these cultures are to define without resorting to stereotypes, it is even more difficult for me to pretend I do not know the implications of what they mean.

I came to the University of Windsor for the combined MA/PhD program in Applied Social Psychology with the intent of examining how negative racial stereotypes affect Black Canadian children's academic outcomes and self-esteem. Through my literature review, I discovered the work of several scholars at the University of Michigan, who have found that a strong Black racial identity leads to positive self-esteem and academic outcomes (e.g., Chavous et al., 2003; Chavous, Rivas-Drake, Smalls, Griffin, & Cogburn, 2008; Rowley, Sellers, Chavous, & Smith, 1998). I began to reflect on my own experiences and my sense that definitions of Blackness in the GTA differed from definitions in American literature. I saw a gap in the racial identity literature for Black Canadians, where many of us have ties to other heritage cultures, both as enclaves in Canada and outside of Canada. Moreover, Canada's reputation as "peacemaker" and multicultural haven where racism doesn't exist makes discussions about anti-Black racism somewhat more complex. As a self-identified bicultural person, I thought about how navigating the acculturation process complicated my own racial identity development and vice versa, and what this complexity might mean for other Black Canadians.

My training as an applied social psychologist has instilled in me the desire to develop my body of research through the phenomenological understanding of being Black, as told by Black Canadians. I see a shift in myself, my friends, and particularly,

online, in the way Black people across the diaspora are thinking about ourselves and what our multiple identities mean, and I hope to contribute to research that will facilitate better outcomes for Black children, particularly in Canada, where so many feel ignored.

Literature Review

Social and Racial Identity

The examination of the relation between racial identity, acculturation and psychological well-being among Black Canadian young people requires an exploration of our understanding of each of these concepts. Identity, broadly defined by psychologists as who we believe ourselves to be, is integral to how we value ourselves, guides our thoughts, feelings, and behaviours, and has implications for psychological well-being (Erikson, 1994; Taylor, 2002). In addition to the portion of our identity based on our characteristics as individuals, social identity theory (Tajfel, 1974) proposes that individuals construct a social identity based on their membership in particular groups. According to social identity theory, people create social 'in-groups' based on a sense of belonging to particular groups and have a vested interest in ensuring that their in-group identities contribute positively to their self-concepts (Tajfel, 1974). This motivation for a positive self-view can result in believing one's in-group is superior, showing in-group favouritism, or distancing oneself from a group that is viewed negatively (Tajfel, 1970; Tajfel, 1974). Tajfel (1982) postulates that individuals can have multiple social identities, but how the in-group is defined and when in-group membership is evoked is highly context-dependent, and contingent on which characteristics are made salient.

For non-White people living in a predominantly White society, race is a salient and inescapable aspect of their social identities (Smedley & Smedley, 2005), which has a

substantial impact on the way they think about themselves and, consequently, how they feel about themselves (Tatum, 1997). Although the concept of race has no biological basis (Glenn, 2000; Witzig, 1996) and "poorly [describes] the phenomenon it seeks to describe" (Thompson, 2006, p.1), its power as a social construction is immeasurable. As just one illustration, the hypodescent or 'one drop rule' in the United States and Canada, dictated, both informally and by law, that any trace of African origin made a person Black (Khanna, 2010). On average, individuals who self-report as Black or African American have up to 25% European and Native American ancestry (Bryc, Durand, Macpherson, Reich, & Mountain, 2015), and until very recently, Americans with one Black and one White parent were legally defined as Black. Not surprisingly, research indicates that Black-White biracial Americans with one White parent often internalize their identities as 'Black,' or feel that others perceive them as Black (Khanna, 2010).

Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, and Chavous (1998) define racial identity as the importance and meaning individuals assign to race in their self-definition and describe this identity as a multidimensional construct. The constructs they propose include (but are not limited to): centrality, which is the extent to which race is a part of an individual's normative self-definition; private regard, which refers to how positively or negatively an individual feels about his or her membership in the racial group; and public regard, which refers to how positively or negatively an individual thinks other people feel about the racial group (Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997).

Despite its being a social construction rather than a biological categorization, historically, pseudoscience has tied race to personality, criminality, and intelligence (Ellwood, 1910; Fish, 2011), and so individuals have a vested interest in constructing a

positive social identity based on race (Tajfel, 1974). Black racial identity (or lack thereof)

has a number of implications for well-being and life satisfaction (Baldwin, 1984).

Specifically, research with African Americans has shown that centrality, private regard,

and public regard are positively correlated with life satisfaction among African American

adults (Yap, Settles, & Pratty-Hyatt, 2011). Additionally, African Americans with higher

centrality scores have been shown to have lower scores on a depression and anxiety scale

(Sellers, Caldwell, Schmeelk-Cone, & Zimmerman, 2003). For African American

adolescents, higher public regard is associated with greater psychological well-being

(Sellers, Copeland-Linder, Martin, & Lewis, 2006).

Immigration and Racialization

Although for some Black Americans, 'Black' is synonymous with 'African

American,' this paper adopts Sellers and colleagues' (1998) definition of 'African

American' as the specific ethnocultural group in the United States that is descended from

enslaved Africans; 'Black' is used to refer to all peoples of African descent. However, it

must be recognized that social categories are context-dependent. Individuals in other

countries who might be considered as Black in the U.S. and Canada (due to the legacy of

the hypodescent rule) may not think of themselves as Black. For example, in the

Dominican Republic where variations in African and European ancestry are not defined

as a binary, cultural and linguistic ties are more relevant to individuals' sense of identity

(Bailey, 2001).

For others, in majority Black countries, the racial category 'Black' is redundant.

In-group identity is dependent on there being an out-group (Tajfel, 1974), and a group

becomes a group because there are other distinguishable groups present (Faulkner,

Baldwin, Lindsley, & Hecht, 2006). In Nigeria, for example, social categories have historically been constructed on the basis of tribal affiliation, rather than the American conceptualization of race (Sharpe, 1986). Immigrants from the Caribbean or Africa become 'Black' when they immigrate to North America (Sefa Dei, 2006; Satzewich & Liodakis, 2007). As Nigerian author Chimamanda Ngozie Adichie (2013) puts it: "I came from a country where race was not an issue; I did not think of myself as black and I only became black when I came to America" (Adichie, 2013, p. 359). In an interview with NPR, Adichie elucidates, "Race is such a strange construct because you have to learn what it means to be black in America" (Bianculli, 2014).

Sefa Dei and James (1998) describe this *racialization* of identity as *becoming Black*—the political identity one acquires by being Black in North America; this is distinct from *being* Black, and a feeling of racial identity. Becoming Black is not an option. As newcomers, Black immigrants have fewer resources and so may live closer to existing lower income (Black) communities (Portes & Zhou, 1993; Satzewich & Liodakis, 2007). Also, in a racialized, predominantly White society, Black people across the diaspora look more similar to existing Black groups in North America than to other Black ethnocultural groups, and thus receive similar racial discriminatory treatment from the larger society (Portes & Zhou, 1993).

Social identity theory posits that individuals simultaneously define themselves in terms of membership in specific social in-groups (e.g., Jamaican, Ethiopian) and larger groups (e.g., Black). Therefore, the acquisition of a racialized identity does not necessarily replace the immigrants' heritage identities. Consequently, how Black immigrants feel about being Black (i.e., private regard) and how they perceive others'

perceptions of Black people (i.e., public regard) may differ from how these same immigrants feel about being part of particular Black ethnocultural groups, and how they perceive others' views of their ethnocultural group. Indeed, Phelps, Taylor, and Gerard (2001) found that immigrant African, Caribbean, and non-immigrant African American students differed in their group identity processes, with African Americans scoring differently on a racial identity measure than the other two groups.

Immigrants to North America from predominantly Black countries are faced with reconciling possibly conflicting racial and ethnocultural social identities. When they come to North America, immigrants see the negative stereotypes of "black as evil, criminal, disorderly and guilty" (Sefa Dei & James, 1998, p. 95), which are reinforced through mass media. Some may internalize and comply with negative stereotypes when the task of overcoming the system seems too daunting (James, 2012). In one Canadian study, the researchers found that the young Black offenders in their sample (all of them immigrants to Canada from the Caribbean or Africa) recognized criminal behaviour as a stereotype of Black identity, but willingly embraced and adopted such stereotypes because to behave in socially desirable ways was deemed "acting White" (Manzo & Bailey, 2005, p. 292). Given the contentious and loaded nature of what it means to 'act' White or Black (Tyson, Darity, & Castellino, 2005), it is important to understand in their own words how young Black Canadians of Caribbean or African descent conceptualize their racial identity as they navigate multiple cultural norms, beliefs, and values in a new country.

Black Immigrant Acculturation: Two or Three Dimensions?

Acculturation refers to the cultural changes that occur when multiple cultural groups have continuous contact (Berry, 2008). Although the strategies that immigrants employ are highly dependent on the reactions of the host country to their presence, in this paper acculturation refers to the process of an 'ethnocultural minority' group reacting to the larger society (Berry, 2006; Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989).

Early acculturation models hypothesized that successful acculturation was a linear process, whereby as individuals increasingly adopted the values and norms of the host culture (the culture of the country to which they had immigrated), they further deviated from the values and norms of their heritage cultures (Sayegh & Lasry, 1993). Berry (1980) introduced a bidimensional acculturation model, which posited that it was possible to value both heritage and host cultures. In Berry's (1980) model, individual immigrants adopt a particular acculturation strategy based on their responses to two questions: "Do you desire the retention of your heritage culture's values and norms?" and "Do you desire intergroup contact and participation in the larger society?"

Desiring both heritage culture retention and intergroup contact with the mainstream is indicative of an integration orientation. The *integration hypothesis* (Berry, 1997) posits that individuals who value and retain their heritage cultures while participating in the larger society will experience greater levels of well-being than if they only participate in one culture. Integration is widely considered the most adaptive acculturation strategy, associated with academic, occupational, and relational success, in addition to life satisfaction, and psychological well-being (Berry, 2013a; Berry, 2013b). A meta-analysis of 83 studies found that an integration acculturation strategy was significantly associated with positive psychological outcomes, such as life satisfaction, as

well as positive sociocultural outcomes, such as academic achievement (Nguyen &

Benet-Martínez, 2013).

       According to Berry's (1980) model, integration is preferable to either a separation

strategy (retaining heritage culture and not participating in the larger society) or an

assimilation strategy (cutting ties with heritage culture while participating in the larger

society). A multinational, large sample study found that each of these choices had

specific costs. The separation strategy was associated with strong psychological well-

being but poorer sociocultural adaptation, while individuals who fit an assimilated profile

had poorer psychological and sociocultural adaptation, and both orientations were less

adaptive than integration (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). Answering no to both

of Berry's questions (participating in and valuing neither culture) is described as a

marginalization orientation; this is the least adaptive strategy and is often indicative of

rejection by the dominant society in addition to (often involuntary) culture loss (e.g.,

Indigenous North Americans; Berry, 1997; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder,

2001)

       Over the years, extensive research has explored the benefits of (or issues with)

different acculturation strategies (e.g., Berry, 1980; Berry, 1997; Cheung, 1995; Paterson

& Hakim-Larson, 2012). However, relatively little attention has been paid to the

acculturation of Black immigrants to Canada in the context of their developing a

racialized identity. Berry's bidimensional model only allows the possibility of

acculturating to one larger host culture, and this host culture has been defined, implicitly

or explicitly, as a single dominant European-descent culture (Berry, 2006; Ferguson &

Bornstein, 2014). When Berry developed his acculturation theory, European or White

Canadians could be described as the only dominant or 'host' Canadian culture. However, Canadian society has changed. So-called "visible minorities" comprise 19.1% of the Canadian population, with higher percentages in metropolitan cities like Toronto (47%) and Vancouver (45%). Researchers have projected that Canada will continue to become increasingly diverse (Statistics Canada, 2011b; Statistics Canada, 2011c), Given increases in non-European descent resident Canadian populations and the ethnocultural enclaves that have developed through increasing immigration, it is possible that new immigrants to Canada may encounter not one but several host cultures.

Changing race-related and immigration policies in addition to increased globalization, cultural exchange, and mass media have led to the recognition of African American culture as an essential facet of American culture. Since some immigrants to the U.S. share a racialized identity (i.e., 'Black') with African Americans, they may be faced with the choice of acculturation to African American culture in addition to or instead of European American culture. Ferguson, Bornstein, and Pottinger (2012) proposed a tridimensional acculturation model based on segmented assimilation theory, which posits that immigrants from particular ethnocultural backgrounds may assimilate into the ethnocultural enclaves that have already been established in the host country as well as adopting the values of the dominant mainstream society (Portes & Zhou, 1993; Satzewich & Liodakis, 2007).

Black immigrants moving to the U.S. are faced with the longstanding African American/Black culture as well as a dominant European/White American culture. Building on Berry's (1980) two questions, Ferguson and colleagues (2012) sought to discover whether Caribbean-born immigrants to the U.S. hold on to their own heritage

culture, participate in the dominant (European American) culture, and/or participate in

African American culture. As illustrated in Figure 1, the addition of this second host

culture to the bidimensional acculturation model results in eight possible configurations.

Valuing heritage culture and both host cultures is *tricultural integration*, while valuing

one's heritage culture and one of the two U.S. host cultures is considered *bicultural*

integration. Paralleling the bidimensional model, placing high value on one's heritage

culture and not valuing either of the host cultures is characterized as *separation*, while

placing a low value on one's heritage culture and a high value on both host cultures is

defined as *assimilation*. *Upward assimilation* refers to valuing the European American

host culture and neither heritage nor African American host culture; *downward*

assimilation refers to devaluing both heritage culture and European American host

culture in favour of the African American host culture. Lastly, placing a low value on all

three cultures is labelled *marginalization* (Figure 1).

Figure 1. A tridimensional model of acculturation (adapted from Ferguson & Bornstein, 2014)

A = Heritage culture

B = African American culture

C = European American culture

Note: The higher an individual scores on each dimension (A, B, and C), the more the individual is oriented toward that dimension. The dot represents where the individual is oriented in relation to the three cultures.

Research on acculturation processes in multiethnic or plural societies suggests that successful adaptation to a new country has a number of positive implications for psychological well-being, employment, and life satisfaction (Phinney et al., 2001). The research conducted by Ferguson and colleagues (e.g., Ferguson et al., 2012; Ferguson, Iturbide, & Gordon, 2014; Ferguson & Bornstein, 2014) with Jamaican immigrants in the U.S. provides support for this tridimensional acculturation model. Ferguson and Bornstein (2014) found that Jamaican immigrants were more likely to adopt one of the three integration strategies (tricultural, bicultural European, or bicultural African American) than any other strategy, and few exhibited a marginalized orientation. Individuals who were triculturally integrated exhibited a number of psychological, relational, and behavioural advantages. Although Ferguson et al. (2014) found that juggling three cultures was associated with significantly more psychological distress than identifying primarily with a single group, triculturalism appears to be the most adaptive acculturation strategy overall, leading to better behavioural outcomes than either form of bicultural integration (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2014).

Notwithstanding the evidence supporting both tricultural and bicultural integration models, research also suggests that there are specific positive outcomes associated with an orientation toward each culture (heritage culture, European American culture and African American culture). Using the bidimensional acculturation model, a study of Arab-Canadians found that heritage culture orientation was associated with positive adjustment, a strong sense of ethnic identity, and perceived family support (Paterson & Hakim-Larson, 2012). In their study of diverse immigrants in Montreal, Jurcik, Ahmed, Yakobov, and Solopieieva-Jurcikova (2013) found that heritage culture socialization provided psychological benefits, particularly as a buffer against depression, for those who lived in neighbourhoods with a high concentration of their ethnocultural group. This finding is paralleled by research that suggests that the benefits of positively valuing one's heritage cultural group depend on its salience in the individual's environment (Ryder, Alden, Paulhus, & Dere, 2013).

Moreover, research suggests that being Caribbean may be a buffer against the paralyzing effects of low social standing associated with being Black in the U.S. (Joseph, Watson, Wang, Case, & Hunter, 2013). For Black Caribbean immigrants to the U.S., preserving their own ethnocultural identity and distancing themselves from the 'African American' label has some social and psychological benefits. Waters (2000) found that, not only did Black Caribbean immigrants in the U.S. believe that Whites treated them better as Afro-Caribbeans than their African American counterparts, but also, preserving their ethnocultural identities predicted better socioeconomic outcomes. A possible explanation for this phenomenon is rooted in the concept of class as a more important distinction than race, the argument being that supposedly race-based discrimination is due

to perceptions of social class differences (Wolpe, 1986). Supporting this explanation is research indicating that first generation Black immigrants to the U.S. have more positive socioeconomic outcomes than native Black Americans (Rauh, 2014).

Based on a framework highlighting class rather than race, it is not surprising, therefore, that some immigrant Black ethnocultural groups in the U.S. believe they are viewed more favourably than others, because they benefit from a 'model minority' stereotype (Morrison, 2013). For this reason, some Black immigrants may experience benefits to distancing themselves from the African American host culture 'Black' label and engaging in their heritage culture; one of these benefits is that it enables them to preserve their positive self-views of their social identity (Joseph et al., 2013; Tajfel, 1974).

In their sample of Jamaican immigrants to the U.S., Ferguson and Bornstein (2014) found that an orientation toward European American culture was positively related to occupational success in mainstream society. However, despite the benefits of orientation toward European American host culture, Ferguson and Bornstein (2014) reported that an orientation toward African American culture was more prevalent than an orientation toward European American culture in their sample. This preference may be based on the fact that racialized immigrants face the challenge of integrating into a society that may not want or value them, and some immigrant groups tend to start with low socioeconomic status (Portes & Zhou, 1993). Consistent with this perspective, Ferguson and Bornstein (2014) reported that for their Jamaican immigrant sample, an African American culture orientation was positively related to social and relational adaptation. Other researchers have theorized that racialized Black immigrants may

benefit from the tools African Americans have fine-tuned and employed to deal with racism, discrimination, and prejudice (Joseph et al., 2013).

However, Ferguson and Bornstein (2014) found that the youth in their sample tended to lean toward downward assimilation to inner-city African American culture, while also placing a low value on their heritage Jamaican culture and European American culture. The downward assimilation pattern was associated with significantly lower grades in school than the other acculturation patterns, as well as an oppositional stance against mainstream culture. This association appeared to be more problematic for boys, as the first generation immigrant boys in their study who highly identified with African American culture were at greater risk of underperforming academically than the girls.

On a theoretical level, Ferguson et al.'s (2012) research demonstrates the viability of a tridimensional model of acculturation. The dominant European-descent culture is not the single primary destination culture for some immigrants to the U.S.; it is possible to acculturate to more than one destination culture, and for Caribbean immigrants to the U.S., participating in African American culture may be preferred.

Defining Black Culture in Canada

Although Black immigrants to Canada encounter the same racialization of their identities as Black immigrants to the United States, the experience of being Black in Canada is more difficult to describe for a number of reasons. Undoubtedly, Canadian culture is deeply influenced by American culture, mass media, and globalization (Cameron & Berry, 2008), and it is reasonable to infer that U.S. media and culture would influence conceptualizations of what it means to be Black in Canada. There are important

differences, however. First, Black Canadians have many origins with varied histories. Second, Canada's multicultural policy encourages the retention of these heritage cultures.

Unpacking the meaning of 'culture' is a challenging endeavour, as it has had numerous context-driven definitions (Baldwin, Faulkner, & Hecht, 2006). Faulkner and colleagues (2006) identify seven themes that emerge from 313 definitions of culture: culture as structure (or patterns), culture as function, culture as process, culture as product, culture as refinement, culture as group membership, and culture as power or ideology. The focus of this paper is on culture as group membership, which "refers to a group of people, as well as to the common patterns of behavior which characterize the group and link its members together" (as cited in Faulkner et al., 2006, p. 47).

The majority of people of African descent in the United States are not immigrants; they descended from the people who were enslaved and forcibly removed from their own countries more than two centuries ago. In contrast, more than half (53.1%) of the Canadian Black population is foreign-born, mostly from the Caribbean, Central and South America, and Africa (Milan & Tran, 2004; Statistics Canada, 2015). The 2011 Canadian census indicates that approximately one million Canadians identify as Black, with many ethnocultural origins (e.g., Haiti, Nigeria, Jamaica; Statistics Canada, 2011a). Despite being treated as a single homogeneous category (i.e., Black) by the Canadian census and Canadian researchers (e.g., Abada, Hou, & Ram, 2009; Statistics Canada, 2015), Black Canadians represent a diverse array of cultures that make it difficult to identify a single 'Black culture.'

Canadians pride themselves on their ethnocultural diversity and multiculturalism (Parkin & Mendelsohn, 2003), and what it means to be Black or White is complicated by

open cultural exchange. Some countries, such as France, support an assimilationist model where settlers must adopt the norms and values of the host country at the expense of their heritage country norms and values (Berry, 2013a; Sayegh & Lasry, 1993), others, such as Canada, advocate for the retention of settlers' heritage cultures as they participate in larger society (Berry, 1997). In 1971, Canada became one of the first countries in the world to adopt an official multiculturalism policy that assured Canadians that they were free to keep their heritage culture identities, values and practices without fear of persecution. This policy led to the Multiculturalism Act passed by Parliament in 1988 (Berry, 2013a). Although recognizing that the three components are interrelated, Berry, Kalin, and Taylor (1977) differentiate between "multiculturalism as demographic fact… as an ideology… and as a public policy" (as cited in Berry, 2013a, p. 664). Canada's multiculturalism policy aims to improve intercultural relations through cultural engagement and intercultural contact, rather than simply describing the presence of multiple cultures. It also encourages immigrants to retain the values and practices of their heritage culture, and to see them as complementary to Canadian culture, rather than oppositional. Berry (2013a) maintains "[a]t the psychological core of the meaning of multiculturalism lies the notion of individuals having and sharing a collective identity as Canadians, and who also have particular identities as members of various ethnocultural communities" (p. 664). Gilkinson and Sauvé (2010) found that "there is no contradiction between identifying as a citizen of the world and identifying as a citizen of Canada" (p. 1) for Canadian immigrants.

These principles are consistent with social identity theory and acculturation models that allow for multiple social identities. They are also the foundation of the

multiculturalism hypothesis, the idea that individuals who are secure in their own sense of identity will feel more secure in the presence of those from differing ethnocultural backgrounds, and this will decrease prejudice and discrimination. Various studies around the world support the hypothesis, finding not only that increasing economic security predicts positive attitudes toward multiculturalism, but also that cultural security is positively correlated with both multicultural ideology and acceptance of other groups (Berry & Kalin, 1995; Berry et al., 1977; Kruusvall, Vetik, & Berry, 2009; Lebedeva & Tatarko, 2012; Ward & Masgoret, 2008).

However, despite the multiculturalism ideal, national surveys show that (predominantly White) Canadians view individuals of European background more favourably than those of non-European background (Berry, 2013a; Kalin & Berry, 1996), and racialized Canadians have less confidence that they fully belong than do immigrants from Europe (Banting & Kymlicka, 2010; Herberg, 1990). This racial stratification poses challenges to acculturation for racialized immigrant groups that are not as readily accepted; it is more difficult for non-European immigrants to be seen by the larger society as part of the Canadian in-group (Berry, 2013a; James, 2012). Consequently, racialized host cultures may be especially salient to racialized immigrants in racially stratified societies (Sefa Dei & James, 1998; Ferguson & Bornstein, 2014), and these individuals may feel pressured to identify with racialized host cultures, based on receiving similar treatment from the larger White/European society.

Since much of the Black racial identity research has been conducted in the U.S., where there is a prevalent African American culture, and since the U.S. tends to follow an

assimilationist model with regard to newcomers (Berry, 2013a), studying Black racial

identity in a Canadian sample of young Black immigrants provides a unique perspective.

Perceived Cultural Incompatibility

Various researchers (Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002) have identified

perceived cultural incompatibility as an important contributor to acculturation strategy

choices. Perceived cultural incompatibility refers to the idea that individuals evaluate two

or more cultures in terms of the perceived incompatibility of their values, beliefs, and

customs. For immigrants, greater perceived differences between heritage and host

cultures are hypothesized to make acculturation more difficult and more stressful, while

greater perceived similarities make it easier to adapt to the new host culture or cultures

(Berry, 2006).

Grant (2007) found that immigrants of Asian and African descent who perceived

their culture as conflicting with mainstream Canadian culture were less likely to choose

an integration strategy, while time in Canada significantly predicted integration with

Canadian culture (but not participation in heritage culture) for first generation

immigrants. These findings support previous research by Benet-Martínez and colleagues

(2002), who measured a construct similar to perceived cultural incompatibility by looking

at how individuals manage dual identities. Using the Bicultural Identity Integration (BII)

Scale, the authors investigated whether Chinese immigrants living in the U.S. had

conflicting cultural identities. Individuals with high BII view the two cultures as

compatible and easy to integrate, whereas individuals with low BII view the two cultures

as oppositional and difficult to integrate. Similar to the reported positive effects of

valuing both heritage and host cultures (the integration model), research indicates that

those with high BII also tend to have higher life satisfaction and psychological well-being than those with low BII (Chen, Benet-Martínez, & Bond, 2008; David, Okazaki, & Saw, 2009).

Similar to acculturation research, much of the research in Canada and the U.S. has focused on the cultural compatibility of one's heritage culture and the dominant or mainstream White culture. However, within a tridimensional framework, it is now important to also consider how compatible Black immigrants find their heritage cultures with the mainstream Black culture. Understanding how Black Canadian immigrants view the compatibility of these cultures may shed light on the mechanisms that lead to various acculturation patterns and bridge the literature of racial identity and ethnocultural identity for Black immigrants in Canada.

Similar to acculturation, Canadian demographics and American influence may also affect the likelihood of Black Canadians identifying with mainstream Black culture (and thus, integration with the mainstream Black culture). Individuals of Caribbean descent represent the majority of Black Canadians (Milan & Tran 2004). In the Toronto area, where the majority of Black Canadians reside, it is common for people to assume that the Black people they meet are from Jamaica (James, 2012) rather than being African Canadian or African American descendants of enslaved African people. However, Ferguson and Bornstein (2012) argue that acculturation can occur even if the two groups are separated geographically, particularly for Blacks in the diaspora who participate in African American culture through mass media. The authors found that Jamaican Islanders who had never been to the U.S. participated in American culture remotely through media, Internet, and social networking; a significant proportion of this sample appeared to be

integrated biculturally with African American culture even though they lived in Jamaica,

supporting the view that immediate physical contact with other cultural groups may not

be a necessary component of acculturation.

Although mainstream or host Black Canadian culture may not be as clearly

defined as African American culture, one-third of Black Canadians have Jamaican origins

and an additional third have other Caribbean origins (Milan & Tran, 2004).

Consequently, it is possible that Black Canadian culture is an amalgamation of Canadian,

American, and Caribbean cultures. Given the evidence of 'Americanized' Jamaican

Islanders (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012), immigrants of Caribbean origin may find it

easier than those of African origin to acculturate to mainstream Black culture.

Subjective Well-Being

Previous acculturation literature has investigated various outcomes to assess

successful adaptation. Each cultural orientation has been examined as a predictor of

academic success, positive behavioural characteristics, relational outcomes (e.g.,

perceived family support), and psychological outcomes, such as well-being, depression

and life satisfaction (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2014; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013;

Paterson & Hakim-Larson, 2012). The present study focused on subjective well-being

(SWB) as an indicator of successful acculturation because it is associated with a number

of important physical and mental health outcomes (Diener, Scollon, & Lucas, 2009).

Subjective well-being (SWB) is a multifaceted measure of 'happiness,' comprised

of an individual's assessment of his or her life satisfaction, as well as positive and

negative affect (Diener et al., 2009). According to Diener and Ryan (2009), the

assessments we make about our satisfaction with life and overall happiness have

significant implications for our health and morbidity, occupational success, and relational outcomes, and can lead to societal benefits.

Life satisfaction, which is the judgement individuals make of their quality of life (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985; Diener et al., 2009), affects the way people feel about themselves and consequently is an important component of subjective well-being (Pasupuleti, Allen, Lambert, & Cluse-Tolar, 2009). Research has demonstrated that life satisfaction is related to multiple domains, such as burnout and engagement in work and school, and can buffer against the negative effects of stress (Çapri, Gündüz, & Akbay, 2013; Suldo & Huebner, 2004).

Positive and negative affect are emotional states that impact our evaluations of our subjective well-being (Diener et al., 2009). The harmful effects of depression and anxiety, characterized by adverse emotional states, have been well documented and most importantly, decrease quality of life (e.g., Bazargan & Charles, 1996; Ellis, Orom, Giovino, Kiviniemi, 2015; Gaynes, Burns, Tweed, & Erikson, 2002; Mechanic, McAlpine, Rosenfield, & Davis, 1994; Roshanaei-Moghaddam, Katon, & Russo, 2009).

Although some research on the immigrant experience indicates that a strong positive orientation to the dominant European-American culture is positively correlated with poor mental and physical health outcomes (e.g., Fujimoto et al., 2000; Guglani, Coleman, & Sonuga-Barke, 2000; Nguyen & Peterson, 1993), others report that the correlation is negative (e.g., Cheung, 1995; Takeuchi et al., 1998). Gupta, Leong, Valentine, and Canada (2013) sought to reconcile these discrepant findings in a meta-analysis of 38 studies of Asian Americans using a bidimensional framework. The authors acknowledge that individuals' choices are constrained by their societal roles, but

determined that, overall, an orientation toward the dominant European American culture

was associated with lower depression scores. They also found a statistically non-

significant but negative relationship between an orientation toward heritage culture and

depression, suggesting that orienting toward "any" culture is positive for a bicultural

individual's well-being, and supporting the *integration hypothesis* (Gupta et al., 2013, p.

379). One explanation for the non-significant findings is that depression scales tend to be

conceptualized and validated in a Western context; Asian cultural groups may be more

reluctant to endorse items on a depression scale than those of European descent, "even if

these groups actually experience similar levels of depression" (Gupta et al., 2013, p. 375;

Wong, Tran, Kim, Kerne, & Calfa, 2010).

However, other research has found that acculturation to U.S. dominant culture

increases depression risk among Hispanic youth (Lorenzo-Blanco, Unger, Baezconde-

Garbanati, Ritt-Olson, & Soto, 2012). As Latinos/as acculturate to 'mainstream' (White)

U.S. culture, they experience everyday discrimination, also referred to as

microaggressions (Lorenzo-Blanco & Cortina, 2013). Research suggests that daily

microaggressions and instances of discrimination are related to chronic stress, depression,

anxiety, and diminished self-esteem (Donovan, Galban, Grace, Bennett, & Felicie, 2012).

Moreover, acculturation to the U.S. is associated with increased family conflict for

Latinos/as, particularly for Latinas (Sarmiento & Cardemil, 2009). In a study of Latino/a

youth, Lorenzo-Blanco and Cortina (2013) found that acculturation to the dominant

White U.S. culture was associated with increased risk of depression, while an orientation

toward one's heritage culture appeared to reduce the risk of depression and smoking.

In Canada, there is evidence to suggest that second generation immigrant children who also belong to racialized groups experience lower levels of life satisfaction than their immigrant parents, and perceive greater levels of discrimination (Reitz & Banerjee, 2007). Similar to findings with Latino/a immigrants to the U.S., a study of Arab-Canadians found that orientation to heritage culture was significantly associated with positive adjustment and life satisfaction (Paterson & Hakim-Larsen, 2012). However, the relation between acculturation strategies and subjective well-being for Black Canadian immigrants, particularly within a racialized, tridimensional framework, has not been explored.

Purpose of Study and Hypotheses

The purpose of the present study is to examine how Black Canadian immigrant youth conceptualize their racial identities and the relation between their acculturation orientations and their subjective well-being.

Based on the literature reviewed, the following five hypotheses are advanced:

Hypothesis 1: For Black Canadian immigrant youth, an orientation toward mainstream Black culture will contribute significantly to the variance in subjective well-being above heritage culture orientation and mainstream White culture orientation.

Hypothesis 2: Black Canadian immigrant youth with a tricultural pattern of integration will have greater subjective well-being than Black Canadian immigrant youth with other acculturation patterns.

Hypothesis 3: For Black Canadian immigrant youth, perceived cultural incompatibility between heritage culture and mainstream White culture, as well as

heritage culture and mainstream Black culture, will be negatively correlated with subjective well-being.

Hypothesis 4: For Black Canadian immigrant youth, perceived cultural incompatibility between heritage culture and mainstream Black culture, and perceptions that the public views Black people positively, will be negatively correlated.

Hypothesis 5: Black Canadian immigrant youth of African origin will perceive greater cultural incompatibility with mainstream Black culture than Black Canadian immigrant youth of Caribbean origin.

One of the goals of the present study is to employ a phenomenological approach to understanding the lived experience of being a Black immigrant in Canada. Therefore, participants were asked open-ended questions to supplement the quantitative data.

Method

Participants

Participants were 120 English-speaking adolescents and young adults who identified as Black and were first, second, or one and half generation immigrants from Africa or the Caribbean. A first generation immigrant is defined as someone who was born outside of Canada and came to Canada after the age of 12; a one and half generation immigrant is someone who was born outside of Canada and arrived at age 12 or younger; a second generation immigrant is someone born in Canada with one or both parents born outside of Canada (Rojas, 2011). Participants were 16 to 30 years old ($M = 21.27$, $SD = 3.50$). This age range was chosen to limit the effects of age and cohort on acculturation orientation that have been demonstrated in previous research (Cheung, Chudek, & Heine, 2010; Lam & Smith, 2009; Patterson, Kyu, & Georgiades, 2013). The inclusion of a

lower age limit of 16 was important, as high school represents a time when individuals are constructing their identities in the face of immense peer pressure (Brown & Larson, 2009). Twenty-six participants were 16-18 years old, with 10 participants indicating that they were still in high school, and an additional seven indicating that they had the equivalent of a high school diploma. Seventy-nine participants were 19-25 years old, and the remaining 15 participants were 26-30 years old. The majority of participants had at least some postsecondary education ($n = 98$), and 86 had at least one parent with a postsecondary certificate, diploma, degree or higher.

During the survey, participants were asked which racial/ethnic group(s) they identify with, and to "check all that apply." At this stage, 83 participants (69%) chose to identify explicitly as Black. One participant identified as both African and Caribbean, but was coded as 'Caribbean' due to identifying Caribbean culture as the most influential culture in their upbringing. Ninety-nine participants (83%) reside in Ontario, with 57 (48%) living in the Greater Toronto Area. The demographic information is provided in Table 1.

Table 1

Participant Demographic Information

		Total	African 69	Caribbean 51
Gender	Female	94	49	45
	Male	18	13	5
	Other	3	2	1
Age	16-18	26	17	9
	19-25	79	45	34
	26-30	15	7	8
Immigrant Type	1st Generation	22	20	2
	1.5 Generation	30	19	11
	2nd Generation	68	30	38

		Total	African	Caribbean
Childhood Religion	Christian	99	54	45
	Non-Christian	17	11	6
Current Religion	Christian	65	41	24
	Non-Christian	51	24	27
Education	No Postsecondary	17	11	6
	Some Postsecondary	58	29	29
	Postsecondary Degree, Certificate, or Diploma	31	20	11
	Post Graduate	9	4	5
Mother's Education	No Postsecondary	26	14	12
	Some Postsecondary	21	14	7
	Postsecondary Degree, Certificate, or Diploma	41	15	26
	Post Graduate	27	21	6
Father's Education	No Postsecondary	26	10	16
	Some Postsecondary	18	8	10
	Postsecondary Degree, Certificate, or Diploma	35	16	19
	Post Graduate	35	29	6
Province	Alberta	3	3	0
	British Columbia	3	3	0
	Manitoba	3	1	2
	New Brunswick	1	1	0
	Newfoundland	1	1	0
	Nova Scotia	2	1	1
	Ontario	99	53	46
	Quebec	7	5	2
	Saskatchewan	1	1	0
City	GTA	57	28	29
	Windsor/Essex	23	17	6
	Other	40	24	16

Measures

Tridimensional Acculturation. The Acculturation Rating Scale for Black

Canadians (ARSBC) was comprised of 37 items: a 13-item Heritage Culture Orientation

Scale (HCOS; $\alpha = .90$), a 12-item White Culture Orientation Scale (WCOS; $\alpha = .91$),

and a 12-item Black Culture Orientation Scale (BCOS; $\alpha = .93$). Prior to completing the

WCOS and the BCOS, participants were asked to define, in a written response, what 'mainstream White culture' and 'mainstream Black culture' meant to them, respectively. All three Culture Orientation Scales had parallel items. For example: "It is important for me to maintain or develop the practices of my heritage culture"; "It is important for me to maintain or develop mainstream White cultural practices"; "It is important for me to maintain or develop mainstream Black cultural practices." Participants responded to the ARSBC items on 5-point Likert scales (1 = none or not at all; 5 = very much or always), with 6 (unsure/does not apply) as an additional option. High scores on all three scales indicate a stronger orientation toward the respective culture.

The ARSBC used in the present study was created by adapting and merging the 34-item Acculturation Rating Scale for Jamaican Americans (ARSJA) developed by Ferguson and colleagues (2012) and the 20-item Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA; Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000). The ARSJA and VIA were combined because each had items that were relevant to this particular sample that the other did not have, and each had items that were not relevant for the sample.

The ARSJA includes a Jamaican Orientation Scale (JOS; 16 items), a European American Orientation Scale (EAOS; 9 items), and an African American Orientation Scale (AAOS; 9 items). On each of these scales, participants are asked to rate themselves on an interval scale from one to five (1 = none or not at all; 5 = very much or always) regarding the likelihood of their attitudes and behaviours being consistent with each of the three cultures. Examples of the types of the questions asked for each of the three orientations are: "My friends, while I was growing up, were of Jamaican origin," "My friends, while I

was growing up, were of White American/European American origin," and "My friends, while I was growing up, were of Black American/African American origin."

The 20-item Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA) is a general acculturation measure that uses a bidimensional framework, asking participants about their involvement in and personal ties to both heritage culture (10 items) and North American (race unspecified) culture (10 items). Items are measured on a nine-point interval scale (1 = Strongly Disagree; 9 = Strongly Agree) and include, for example, "It is important for me to maintain or develop practices of my heritage culture" and "It is important for me to maintain or develop North American cultural practices."

In the present study, references on the Jamaican Orientation Scale to Jamaican culture were replaced with the term "heritage culture"; references to "White American" or "European American" on the European American Orientation Scale were replaced with "mainstream White;" and references to "Black American" or "African American" on the African American Orientation Scale were replaced with "mainstream Black." Items from the VIA that referenced North American culture were adapted to be either about mainstream White or mainstream Black cultures.

Four items on the ARSJA were removed due to redundancy with the inclusion criteria (e.g., "I like to identify myself as Black", "I like to identify myself as White"). On the Jamaican Orientation Scale of the ARSJA, six items were removed due to there being no corresponding item on the other subscales. Three items on the ARSJA were removed because their meaning was unclear (e.g., "How much contact have you had with Jamaica?"). Three items on the ARSJA (e.g., "I associate with Jamaicans and/or Jamaican Americans") were modified for clarity (e.g., "I like to interact with people from

my heritage culture"). One item was modified to be more generic; for example, "I speak

Jamaican Patois" was changed to "I speak my heritage culture language/dialect

(including pidgin English, Patois, etc.)."

Eleven items on the ARSJA (three from the JOS, and four each from the EAOS

and AAOS) were removed due to redundancy with VIA items (e.g., "I enjoy listening to

White American music", "I enjoy White American movies," and "I enjoy White

American TV"). These items were judged to be equivalent to one VIA item on the

corresponding subscale and replaced (i.e., "I enjoy North American entertainment [e.g.,

music, movies]"). They were also modified to be appropriate for this sample (e.g., "I

enjoy entertainment [e.g., TV, movies, music] from mainstream White culture").

Three items from the VIA were removed because their meaning was unclear (e.g.,

"I would be willing to marry a person from my heritage culture"). Three items (e.g., "I

enjoy entertainment [e.g., movies, music] from my heritage culture") were modified to

include TV as a form of entertainment. Nine items were modified to avoid the use of the

word "typical," which some participants may find offensive (e.g., "I often behave in ways

that are 'typically' Black" was changed to "I often behave in ways that I associate with

mainstream Black culture."). A full list of ARSJA and VIA items with the rationale for

inclusion, exclusion, or modification is included in Appendix B.

Perceived Cultural Incompatibility. Perceived cultural incompatibility was

assessed using the Cultural Incompatibilities Scale (Grant, 2007), a six-item measure of

perceived cultural distance that assesses how different the two cultures are perceived to

be (e.g., "I feel like a different person when I am with my Canadian friends compared to

when I am with friends from my cultural group."). Responses were made on a 5-point

Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree; 5 = strongly agree). The scale was modified for the

present study to allow participants to indicate their perceptions of cultural distance

between their heritage culture and both mainstream White culture and mainstream Black

culture, resulting in two subscales with six items each: Black Cultural Incompatibilities

Scale (BCIS; α = .78), and White Cultural Incompatibilities Scale (WCIS; α = .80). One

of the items on each subscale ("I feel that my heritage culture's values and beliefs are

under attack by mainstream Black culture") was modified to "I feel that my heritage

culture's values and beliefs are rejected by mainstream Black culture" to better reflect the

concerns of this population. When thinking of mainstream White or Black culture,

participants were asked to think of what is mainstream in North America. The present

study used the same 1-5 scale as the Cultural Incompatibilities Scale, with an additional

option for "6 = unsure/does not apply." High scores on each scale indicate higher

perceived incompatibility.

   Racial Identity. Developed by Sellers et al. (1997), the Multidimensional

Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI) is based on a multidimensional model of racial

identity and has been used in both American and Canadian contexts to measure how

strongly Black people identify with their racial group (e.g., Lalonde, Jones, & Stroink,

2008). The present study used the 21-item MIBI-Teen, developed by Scottham, Sellers

and Nguyen (2008) to better capture the racial identity of adolescents, and tested the

MIBI-Teen on participants aged 12-16. Responses were given on 5-point Likert scales,

ranging from 1 (really disagree) to 5 (really agree), with each subscale including three

statements. For the present study, it was intended that participants would complete only

three of the MIBI-Teen subscales: centrality (e.g., "I have a strong sense of belonging to

other Black people"); private regard (e.g., "I am happy that I am Black"); and public

regard (e.g., "Most people think that Blacks are as smart as people from other races").

Cronbach's alphas for centrality, private regard, and public regard were .70, .75, and .81

respectively. The means for each subscale were calculated, with higher means indicating

a stronger sense of being Black, more positive feelings about being Black, and more

positive beliefs about the ways others view Black people.

The other four subscales on the MIBI-Teen measure nationalism, humanism,

assimilation, and oppressed minority. These ideology subscales were not pertinent to the

present study but were inadvertently included in the online survey and completed by

participants. Due to not having Research Ethics Board clearance to analyze these scales at

the time of analysis, they were excluded from the analysis.

Subjective Well-Being. Subjective well-being was assessed with two measures:

The Satisfaction with Life Scale (SLS) and the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule for

children (PANAS-C). The Satisfaction with Life Scale ($\alpha = .86$) is a five-item measure

that assesses individuals' overall evaluations of their lives on a 7-point Likert scale (1 =

strongly disagree; 7 = strongly agree; Diener et al., 1985; Appendix B – Life

Satisfaction). A sample item is: "In most ways my life is close to my ideal." Higher

scores indicate higher satisfaction with life.

The Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS-C) – (Laurent et al., 1999)

consists of 12 positive adjectives (e.g., "strong", "proud", "happy") and 15 negative

adjectives (e.g., "guilty", "scared", "gloomy"); participants were asked to rate from 1

(very slightly or not at all) to 5 (extremely) the extent to which they feel these emotions

in general. The PANAS-C is based on the 60-item PANAS-X (Watson & Clark, 1991).

Laurent and colleagues (1999) eliminated the words that their youth sample of fourth-to-fifth graders had difficulty understanding. The PANAS-C has convergent validity with self-report measures of child depression (Children's Depression Inventory; Kovacs, 1980-1981; Kovacs, 1992) and anxiety (State-Trait Anxiety for Children; Spielberger, 1973). The mean of the positive affect items was calculated ($\alpha = .91$), with higher scores indicating greater positive affect. Additionally, the mean of the negative affect items was calculated ($\alpha = .94$), with higher scores indicating greater negative affect.

Open-Ended Questions. Participants responded to seven open-ended questions located throughout the survey. Before they completed the Black Culture Orientation Subscale and the White Culture Orientation Subscale, participants were asked to reflect on how they define "mainstream Black" and how they define "mainstream White" respectively, as well as who they believe fits into these categories. They were also asked: "What do you think it means to be Black in Canada?", "How do you think other Black people feel about your ethnic or cultural group?" and "Is there anything you would like to add about your experience of being Black in Canada?".

The qualitative analysis was guided by the overarching research question: How do Black immigrants to Canada develop and define their racial identity? Braun and Clarke (2006) recommend thematic analysis for synthesizing a large body of data, particularly due to its flexibility and relative ease of use for even beginners to qualitative research. The author analyzed each open-ended question individually, with each participant's response to a particular question being one unit of analysis. Each unit of analysis was examined for topics or patterns, and the author tallied the number of instances of each topic for all the units. For example, if a unit of analysis had multiple topics, each topic

received one addition to its tally. After coding all the responses, the topics were

synthesized to create five or six overarching themes, and organized from the most

prevalent theme in the data to lesser prevalent themes. In addition to a list of themes,

word clouds were created by first using the program WORDij to analyze the most

frequently used words per question. Second, the author eliminated words that did not help

tell a story (e.g., the, to, and). Lastly, each list of words was run through the website

voyant-tools.org to create the world cloud, with larger words indicating more frequent

occurrence.

Procedure

The online questionnaire was reviewed by a small group of Black Canadian

immigrants who matched the sampling frame. This group identified items that were

difficult to understand, and these items were reassessed and modified or removed (see

Appendix B). Participants were recruited in five ways: 1) through the University of

Windsor Psychology Participant Pool; 2) with flyers posted on University of Windsor and

Ontario College of Art and Design campuses; 3) with flyers in Windsor, Ontario, and the

Greater Toronto Area (GTA), where large numbers of Black immigrants reside; 4)

through University of Windsor, University of Toronto, and York University[1]

undergraduate or administrative secretaries who shared the survey with their departments;

5) through social media (i.e., Facebook and Twitter), which is optimal for hard-to-reach

populations (King, O'Rourke, & Delongis, 2014; Oliveira, 2013).

---

[1] Although it is difficult to find student racial demographic data, the University of Toronto and York
University have the largest undergraduate populations in Canada (Universities Canada, n.d.), both are
situated in Toronto, where the majority of Black Canadians reside, both are commuter schools where many
of the students live at home with their parents and, based on the researcher's experience, both have large
numbers of racialized students.

A Facebook event page was created for the study, where participants could find information about the research and researcher, as well as a web link to the Fluid Surveys questionnaire (Appendix A). A Facebook event page was used because the pilot group indicated that young people are more likely to follow and like events rather than groups; moreover, the Facebook format enabled the researcher to provide updates to followers to remind them of the event. The event page contained a brief description of the researcher and her research goals and a link to the Fluid Surveys questionnaire. A photograph of the researcher as well as a brief description of her research goal was used with the intention of fostering trust with the participants that their data would be used positively. After clicking on the link to the Fluid Surveys questionnaire, participants were required to read the consent page and agree to continue. The event page was advertised on Facebook Canada-wide, to Canadians aged 16-30.

Participants were entered in a draw to win one of four $50 Amazon gift cards as incentive, but could withdraw from the study without penalty. To limit spambots from entering the draw multiple times in order to win the gift cards, participants entered a security code prior to entering the draw.

Results

Preliminary Data Analysis

The data were analyzed using statistical software SPSS with statistical significance determined using the a priori alpha of .05. Of the 235 surveys logged in Fluid Surveys, 18 were removed because the survey was terminated, either due to lack of consent, or to the participant not fulfilling the inclusion criteria. One of the inclusion criteria, heritage culture, was assessed further in two ways. The researcher first examined

participants' responses to the Heritage Culture Orientation Scale, where they wrote the heritage culture that has had the most influence on them. For participants who left that space blank, the researcher determined heritage culture by checking their parents' place of birth. An additional two participant surveys were removed because, although participants indicated that they identified as Black, Caribbean, and/or African, their responses to other survey items indicated that they were not of Black origin.

Little's MCAR test indicated that the data were missing completely at random, χ^2 (2761) = 2776.758, p = .413. Tabachnik and Fidell (2007) recommend removing cases that are missing data on multiple variables, so individuals who did not complete the scales past the acculturation orientation scales (which were the first scales of the survey) were removed. Ninety-five cases were removed because the participants did not complete the items beyond the acculturation orientation scales. Subsequent analyses were conducted on a sample of 120 participants, as described in Table 1 in the Method section.

With the remaining 120 participants, a missing values analysis was run at the item level. Little's MCAR test was not significant, χ^2 (5294) = 5305.16, p = .454, indicating that the data were missing completely at random. Since few participants had missing data, the missing values were not imputed. The means of each variable were calculated, with the response "6" coded as missing, for the Heritage Culture Orientation Scale (HCOS), the White Culture Orientation Scale (WCOS), the Black Culture Orientation Scale (BCOS), the White Cultural Incompatibilities Scale (WCIS), and the Black Cultural Incompatibilities Scale (BCOS). After calculating the means of the variables, Little's MCAR was still not significant, χ^2 (38) = 39.86, p = .387.

Some of the variables violated the assumption of normality. Public regard and negative affect were both positively skewed and thus log transformed. The transformed variables were normally distributed, but both were kurtotic. White Cultural Incompatibilities was negatively skewed, but after being reflected and log transformed, it was less skewed. Private regard was too negatively skewed to use for analysis because it had little variance (i.e., participants had uniformly high scores on private regard). The remaining variables met the assumption of normality. A complete descriptives table is provided (Table 2).

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics for Acculturation Orientation, Perceived Cultural Incompatibility, Racial Identity, and Subjective Well-Being

	Variables	N	Mean (SE)	SD	Variance	Skewness (SE)	Kurtosis (SE)
Acculturation Orientation Scale	HCOS	120	3.49 (.07)	0.82	.67	-.30 (.22)	-.53 (.44)
	WCOS	120	2.84 (.08)	0.84	.7	.21 (.22)	-.61 (.44)
	BCOS	117	3.54 (.09)	0.95	.91	-.32 (.22)	-.63 (.44)
Perceived Cultural Incompatibilities	BCIS	119	3.13 (.09)	0.93	.87	-.11 (.22)	-.43 (.44)
	WCIS	119	4.00 (.07)	0.79	.63	-1.22 (.22)	1.88 (.44)
Racial Identity	Centrality	120	3.64 (.09)	1.02	1.03	-.39 (.22)	-.75 (.44)
	Private Regard	120	4.54 (.06)	0.65	.42	-2.48 (.22)	8.63 (.44)
	Public Regard	120	2.28 (.09)	1.04	1.08	.75 (.22)	-.13 (.44)
Subjective Well-Being	SLS	120	4.56 (.13)	1.39	1.92	-.21 (.22)	-.71 (.44)
	Negative Affect	119	2.27 (.08)	0.92	.85	.61 (.22)	-.45 (.44)
	Positive Affect	119	3.38 (.07)	0.77	.59	-.36 (.22)	.23 (.44)

An independent samples t-test was conducted for each of the variables to examine whether African participants and Caribbean participants differed significantly on their scores. The 69 participants classified as African were more oriented toward mainstream

Black culture (M = 3.75, SD = .87) than the 51 Caribbean participants (M = 3.25, SD = 1.00). This difference, .50, 95% CI [.15, .84], was statistically significant $t(115)$ = 2.86, p = .005. African and Caribbean participants did not significantly differ on the other continuous study variables.

Next, an independent samples t-test was conducted for each of the study variables to determine whether participants from the GTA differed significantly on their scores. The 57 participants from the GTA were less oriented toward mainstream White culture (M = 2.65, SD = .76) than the remaining 63 participants (M = 3.02, SD = .87). This difference, .37, 95% CI [.07, .66], was statistically significant $t(118)$ = 2.45, p = .016. Participants from the GTA also perceived greater incompatibility with mainstream Black culture (M = 3.34, SD = .84) than did those not from the GTA (M = 2.94, SD = .98). This difference, -.40, 95% CI [-.73, -.06], was statistically significant $t(117)$ = -2.35, p = .021.

Lastly, an independent samples t-test was conducted for each of the variables to determine whether participants from Windsor/Essex County differed from the other participants. The 23 participants from Windsor/Essex County reported greater life satisfaction (M = 5.11, SD = 1.33) than the other 97 participants (M = 4.42, SD = 1.37). This difference, -.69, 95% CI [-1.32, -.06], was statistically significant $t(118)$ = -2.18, p = .031. It should also be noted that many of the participants who reported living in Windsor/Essex County were likely recruited through the University of Windsor Psychology Participant Pool, and that all of them had at least some university education.

Hypothesis 1

For Black Canadian immigrant youth, an orientation toward mainstream Black culture will contribute significantly to the variance in subjective well-being above heritage culture orientation and mainstream White culture orientation.

Hierarchical multiple regression analyses (MRAs) were used to determine whether mainstream Black culture orientation (BCOS) predicted each subjective well-being variable above and beyond heritage culture orientation (HCOS) and mainstream White culture orientation (WCOS). To determine possible covariates, the categorical variables were dummy coded to compare their means on life satisfaction (SLS), positive affect, and negative affect. Participants did not differ on any of these three variables based on religion (Christian or non-Christian), gender (female or non-female), generation status (born in Canada or not born in Canada), heritage culture (African or Caribbean), education (high school or postsecondary), or parental education (high school or postsecondary). Next, education was pared down to four ordinal categories to approximate a linear continuous variable: 1) No postsecondary education; 2) some postsecondary education; 3) postsecondary degree, certificate, or diploma; 4) Some postgraduate, including postgraduate degree, certificate, or diploma. As a linear continuous variable, father's education was significantly positively correlated with negative affect, $r^2 = .20$, $p = .033$, indicating that the higher father's education, the greater negative affect.

For the first hierarchical regression with Life Satisfaction (SLS) as the dependent variable, HCOS and WCOS were entered at the first step, and BCOS was entered at the second step. For the second hierarchical regression with Positive Affect as the dependent variable, HCOS and WCOS were entered at the first step, and BCOS was entered at the

second step. For the third regression with Negative Affect as the dependent variable, the truncated continuous variable of father's education was entered at the first step as a covariate, with HCOS and WCOS entered at the second step, and BCOS entered at the third step.

For MRA, Stevens (2009) recommends 15 observations for every predictor. Given three to four predictors (father's education, HCOS, WCOS, and BCOS), this places the recommendation for adequate sample size at 45-60 participants. Cases with missing data were excluded listwise, leaving an adequate sample size of 112-117. There were no outliers on y or x or influential observations. Tolerance values were well above .2 and VIF values were near 1, indicating the absence of multicollinearity and singularity. A visual inspection of the histograms and p-p plots indicated that normality had not been violated. Diagnostic analyses indicated that the residuals were independent. The independent variables were homoscedastic, and the relationships between the independent variables and dependent variables were linear.

Satisfaction with Life. The first regression tested whether the mainstream Black Culture Orientation Scale (BCOS) predicted Satisfaction with Life (SLS) above and beyond the Heritage Culture Orientation Scale (HCOS) and the mainstream White Culture Orientation Scale (WCOS) alone. The bidimensional model was statistically significant, $R^2 = .10$, $F(2,114) = 5.99$, $p = .003$. Heritage Culture Orientation (HCOS) accounted for 5% of the variance, $\beta = .22$, $p = .016$, and mainstream White Culture Orientation (WCOS) accounted for 6% of the variance, $\beta = .25$, $p = .006$. The tridimensional model of acculturation, including mainstream Black Culture Orientation (BCOS) with Heritage Culture Orientation and mainstream White Culture Orientation,

was also statistically significant, $R^2 = .10$, $F(1, 113) = 4.01$, $p = .009$. However,

mainstream Black Culture Orientation by itself did not predict Life Satisfaction above

and beyond heritage and mainstream White Culture Orientation ($\beta = -.04$, $p = .715$)

(Table 3). Hypothesis 1 was not supported for Life Satisfaction.

Table 3

Acculturation Orientation Predicting Satisfaction with Life

		b	SE B	β	p	95% Confidence Interval	Semi-Partial Correlations
Step 1	Constant	2.09	0.74		0.005	0.63, 3.55	
	HCOS	0.37	0.15	0.22	0.016*	0.07, 0.67	0.22
	WCOS	0.41	0.15	0.25	0.006**	0.12, 0.71	0.25
Step 2	Constant	2.18	0.78		0.006	0.64, 3.72	
	HCOS	0.40	0.17	0.24	0.02*	0.06, 0.73	0.21
	WCOS	0.42	0.15	0.25	0.006**	0.12, 0.71	0.25
	BCOS	-0.05	0.14	-0.04	0.715	-0.34, 0.23	-0.03

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

Positive Affect. The second regression tested whether BCOS predicted Positive

Affect above and beyond HCOS and WCOS alone. Paralleling the results reported for

Life Satisfaction, the bidimensional acculturation model including both Heritage Culture

Orientation and mainstream White Culture Orientation significantly predicted Positive

Affect, $R^2 = .08$, $F(2,113) = 4.93$, $p = .009$. However, although Heritage Culture

Orientation accounted for 8% of the variance ($\beta = .28$, $p = .002$), White Culture

Orientation was not a statistically significant predictor of Positive Affect, $\beta = .08$, $p =$

.385. Again, as was the case for Life Satisfaction, the tridimensional model was

statistically significant, $R^2 = .08$, $F(1,112) = 3.26$, $p = .024$. And, consistent with the

results for Life Satisfaction, mainstream Black Culture Orientation (BCOS) was not

significant ($\beta = .01$, $p = .939$), indicating that BCOS did not predict Positive Affect

above and beyond HCOS and WCOS (Table 4). Hypothesis 1 was not supported for

Positive Affect.

Table 4

Acculturation Orientation Predicting Positive Affect

		b	SE B	β	p	95% Confidence Interval	Semi-Partial Correlations
Step 1	Constant	2.24	0.41		0	1.43, 3.05	
	HCOS	0.26	0.09	0.28	0.002**	0.1, 0.43	0.28
	WCOS	0.07	0.08	0.08	0.385	-0.09, 0.24	0.08
Step 2	Constant	2.23	0.43		0	1.37, 3.09	
	HCOS	0.26	0.09	0.28	0.007**	0.07, 0.45	0.25
	WCOS	0.07	0.08	0.08	0.389	-0.09, 0.24	0.08
	BCOS	0.01	0.08	0.01	0.939	-0.15, 0.17	0.01

*p < .05 **p < .01

Negative Affect. The third regression tested whether mainstream Black Culture

Orientation (BCOS) predicted Negative Affect above and beyond HCOS and WCOS

alone. The bidimensional model was statistically significant, $R^2 = .10$, $F(2,108) = 3.85$, p

$= .012$, echoing the significant results reported for the life satisfaction and positive affect

analyses. Heritage Culture Orientation (HCOS) accounted for 4% of the variance ($\beta = -$

$.21$, $p = .030$) and was statistically significant, but mainstream White Culture Orientation

(WCOS) was not, $\beta = -.12$, $p = .201$. Similar to the results for Life Satisfaction and

Positive Affect, the tridimensional acculturation model was also significant, $R^2 = .10$,

$F(1,107) = 3.01$, $p = .021$, but BCOS was not, $\beta = .08$, $p = .464$ (Table 5). Hypothesis 1

was not supported for Negative Affect.

Table 5.

Acculturation Orientation Predicting Negative Affect

		b	SE B	β	p	95% Confidence Interval	Semi-Partial Correlations
Step 1	Constant	0.53	0.10		0	0.33, 0.72	
	Father's Ed	0.08	0.03	0.22	0.021	0.01, 0.15	0.22

Step 2	Constant	1.08	0.25		0	0.59, 1.57	
	Father's Ed	0.07	0.03	0.18	0.051	0, 0.13	0.18
	HCOS	-0.10	0.05	-0.21	0.03*	-0.19, -0.01	-0.20
	WCOS	-0.06	0.05	-0.12	0.201	-0.15, 0.03	-0.12
Step 3	Constant	1.04	0.26		0	0.53, 1.54	
	Father's Ed	0.06	0.03	0.17	0.07	-0.01, 0.13	0.17
	HCOS	-0.12	0.05	-0.24	0.023*	-0.22, -0.02	-0.21
	WCOS	-0.06	0.05	-0.12	0.194	-0.15, 0.03	-0.12
	BCOS	0.03	0.04	0.08	0.464	-0.06, 0.12	0.07

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

Taken together, the results of the three multiple regression analyses do not support the hypothesis that mainstream Black Culture Orientation has a significant impact on subjective well-being above Heritage Culture Orientation and mainstream White Culture Orientation. However, these analyses do provide support for the bidimensional acculturation model.

Hypothesis 2

Black Canadian immigrant youth with a tricultural pattern of integration will have greater subjective well-being than Black Canadian immigrant youth with other acculturation patterns.

In order to test hypothesis 2, the existence of a triculturally integrated group must first be established. A preliminary two-step cluster analysis (N = 117) revealed that there were only two clusters of acculturation patterns in the data. The number of clusters was determined by Schwarz' Bayesian Criterion. The first cluster (n = 61) represented 50.8% of all participants, and was typified by high scores on HCOS, low scores on the WCOS, and high scores on (BCOS). In other words, cluster 1 was biculturally integrated with Black culture. The second cluster (n = 56) represented 46.7% of all participants, and was typified by moderate-to-low scores on all three acculturation orientations, which may

indicate marginalization. Table 6 presents the means and standard deviations of the group

centroids.

Table 6.

Group Centroids of Acculturation Cluster Profiles

	HCOS		WCOS		BCOS	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Cluster 1	4.04	0.52	2.67	0.84	4.16	0.63
Cluster 2	2.89	0.66	3.04	0.82	2.86	0.76

Since a triculturally integrated cluster could not be identified, participants were

divided on the basis of a median-split, and coded as either higher than the median (high)

or lower than the median (low) on each acculturation orientation scale. The medians for

HCOS, WCOS, and BCOS were 3.58, 2.78, and 3.64 respectively. Next, participants

were manually coded into one of eight acculturation patterns based on the 2x2x2

grouping (e.g., individuals who scored high on HCOS, WCOS, and BCOS were coded as

triculturally integrated). Figure 2 depicts the distribution of patterns among participants,

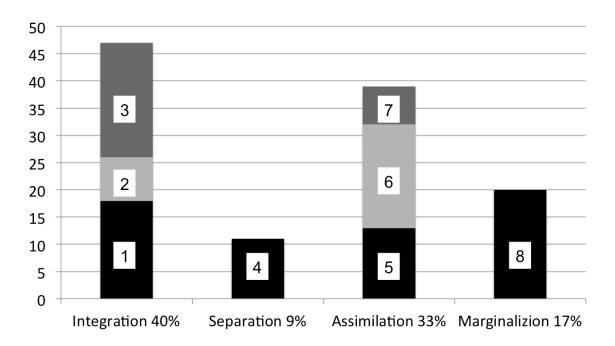and Table 7 presents the acculturation orientation means for each group.

Figure 2. Number of participants with each acculturation pattern.
1. Tricultural Integration (Heritage, White, Black)
2. Bicultural Integration (Heritage, White)
3. Bicultural Integration (Heritage, Black)
4. Separation (Heritage)
5. Assimilation (White, Black)
6. Upward Assimilation (White)
7. Downward Assimilation (Black)
8. Marginalization (None)

Table 7

Heritage Culture Orientation, Mainstream White Culture Orientation, and Mainstream Black Culture Orientation Means for Each Acculturation Pattern.

		HCOS		WCOS		BCOS	
	N	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Tricultural Integration	18	4.24	0.41	3.52	0.44	4.44	0.44
Bicultural Integration-White	8	4.11	0.4	3.38	0.32	2.85	0.53
Bicultural Integration-Black	21	4.22	0.44	2.01	0.46	4.39	0.44
Separation	11	4.04	0.24	2.05	0.36	2.81	0.74
Assimilation	13	2.86	0.63	3.57	0.44	4.04	0.39
Upward Assimilation	19	2.71	0.45	3.67	0.64	2.78	0.54
Downward Assimilation	7	2.92	0.36	2.27	0.38	4.36	0.46
Marginalization	20	2.84	0.57	2.3	0.39	2.63	0.62

A one-way multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted with acculturation pattern as the independent variable and the subjective well-being variables as the dependent variables. Stevens (2009) recommends at least 20 participants per group, and six of the eight groups have fewer than 20 participants. MANOVA assumes that all x variables, all y variables, and all linear combinations of x and y are normally distributed. Since it is difficult to test for multivariate normality, and univariate normality is a necessary but not sufficient condition for multivariate normality, the distributions of Life Satisfaction (SLS), Positive Affect, and Negative Affect were examined. The Shapiro-Wilk statistic indicated that normality was violated for SLS and Negative Affect, which means that multivariate normality is also violated. The assumptions of homogeneity of variance and covariance were satisfied for all the dependent variables. Due to the violation of multivariate normality, the small sample size, and the unequal group sizes, the results of the analyses must be interpreted with caution.

MANOVA. The one-way MANOVA was statistically significant, $V = .29$, $F(21,324) = 1.66$, $p = .035$, partial $\eta^2 = .097$, indicating that participants with different acculturation patterns differed significantly on Life Satisfaction, Positive Affect, and Negative Affect. Field (2014) recommends following up the MANOVA with discriminant function analysis, rather than multiple ANOVAs, due to the multivariate nature of the analyses.

Discriminant Function Analysis. Discriminant function analysis revealed three underlying dimensions that can explain the group differences. Together, these discriminant functions significantly differentiated among acculturation patterns, $\Lambda = .73, \chi^2(21) = 34.12, p = .035$. On the first function, 17% of the variation in scores

can be attributed to group membership, canonical R^2 = .16. After removing the first

function, the remaining two functions were not significant, and so were excluded from
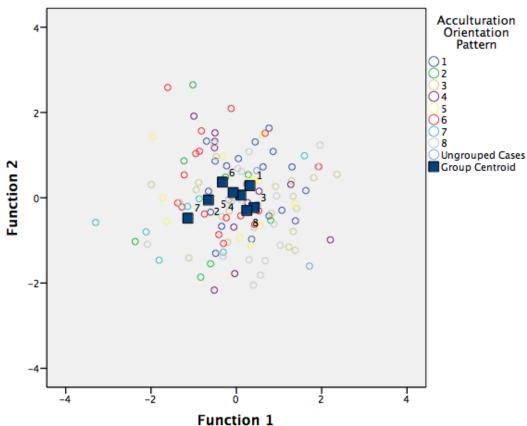
interpretation.

Life Satisfaction loaded on function 1, with a positive correlation, r = .45.

Positive Affect was highly positively correlated with function 1, r = .91, while Negative

Affect was highly negatively correlated with the function, r = -.72. Function 1 appears to

be typified by high levels of subjective well-being (high life satisfaction, high positive

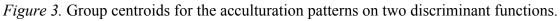affect, and low negative affect) (Table 8).

Table 8

Standardized Coefficients and Correlations of Subjective Well-Being with the Three
Discriminant Functions

	Standardized Canonical Discriminant Function Coefficients			Structure Matrix		
Function	1	2	3	1	2	3
SLS	-0.28	1.18	-0.46	0.45	0.80	-0.41
Positive Affect	0.85	-0.02	0.89	0.91	0.32	0.26
Negative Affect	-0.49	0.71	0.84	-0.72	0.10	0.69

The discriminant function plot showed that the first function did not discriminate

the triculturally integrated group from the other groups, and the coefficients confirmed

that the triculturally integrated group was not as characterized by the first function as

three other groups (Figure 3; Table 9). In fact, the biculturally integrated with Black

culture group (high heritage culture and high mainstream Black culture orientation) had

the highest positive correlation with function 1. Conversely, the downward assimilation

pattern (low heritage culture and high mainstream Black culture) and biculturally

integrated with White culture pattern (high heritage culture, high mainstream White

culture) were both strongly negatively correlated with function 1. The group centroids

indicate that both groups were differentiated from the other groups by low levels of

function 1, with downward assimilation being more defined by function 1.

Figure 3. Group centroids for the acculturation patterns on two discriminant functions.
1. Tricultural Integration
2. Bicultural Integration (White)
3. Bicultural Integration (Black)
4. Separation
5. Assimilation
6. Upward Assimilation
7. Downward Assimilation
8. Marginalization

Table 9

Functions at Group Centroids

	Function		
Acculturation Pattern	1	2	3
Tricultural Integration	0.32	0.28	-0.07
Bicultural Integration-White	-0.65	-0.05	-0.71

Bicultural Integration-Black	0.42	-0.23	0.11
Separation	0.10	0.06	0.07
Assimilation	-0.07	0.12	-0.02
Upward Assimilation	-0.33	0.37	0.18
Downward Assimilation	-1.14	-0.48	0.35
Marginalization	0.25	-0.30	-0.09

Although the findings fail to reject the null hypothesis, the model could only

correctly predict group membership 29.3% of the time (Table 10).

Table 10

Acculturation Pattern Group Classification Results for Subjective Well-Being

		Predicted Group							
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Actual Group	1	22.2*	5.6	27.8	0	0	33.3	0	11.1
%	2	25	25*	12.5	0	0	25	12.5	0
	3	4.8	0	57.1*	0	0	19	4.8	14.3
	4	9.1	0	45.5	0*	0	36.4	0	9.1
	5	15.4	0	38.5	0	0*	23.1	7.7	15.4
	6	10.5	10.5	21.1	0	0	42.1*	0	15.8
	7	14.3	0	14.3	0	0	28.6	42.9*	0
	8	15.8	0	31.6	0	0	21.1	5.3	26.3*
	Ungrouped	33.3	0	66.7	0	0	0	0	0

*Correct predictions
1. Tricultural Integeration
2. Bicultural Integration
3. Bicultural Integration
4. Separation
5. Assimilation
6. Upward Assimilation
7. Downward Assimilation
8. Marginalization

Taken together, these findings do not support Hypothesis 2. However, they do

suggest the importance of including mainstream Black Culture Orientation in an analysis

of immigrant Canadian Black youth acculturation and subjective well-being.

Hypothesis 3

For Black Canadian immigrant youth, perceived cultural incompatibility between heritage culture and mainstream White culture, as well as heritage culture and mainstream Black culture will be negatively correlated with subjective well-being.

A Multiple Regression Analysis (MRA) was conducted to test whether participants' perceptions of their heritage culture's cultural incompatibility with mainstream Black culture (BCIS) and their heritage culture's cultural incompatibility with mainstream White culture (WCIS) predicted each of the subjective well-being variables. Due to being positively correlated with Negative Affect, father's education was entered at the first step as a covariate for the regression with Negative Affect as the dependent variable. Since WCIS was reflected due to the negative skew, the beta-weights must be interpreted backward. The regressions met the assumptions of adequate sample size, absence of multicollinearity and singularity, normality, linearity, homoscedasticity, independence of residuals, and reliability of predictors. There were no outliers on y or influential observations; however, there was an outlier on x that, when removed, slightly changed the interpretation of the analyses. For this reason, one outlier on WCIS was Winsorized to have the same score as the next lowest score (Field, 2014).

Satisfaction with Life. The first regression analysis tested whether perceived mainstream Black cultural incompatibility (BCIS) and mainstream White cultural incompatibility (WCIS) predicted Life Satisfaction (SLS), and trended toward statistical significance, $R^2 = .04$, $F(2,115) = 2.48$, $p = .089$. Although greater perceived cultural incompatibility with White culture predicted lower SLS and accounted for 4% of the variance ($\beta = .20$, $p = .035$), BCIS was not statistically significant ($\beta = .11$, $p = .264$) (Table 11).

Table 11

Cultural Incompatibilities Predicting Satisfaction with Life

	b	SE B	β	p	95% Confidence Interval	Semi-Partial Correlations
Constant	-0.01	2.05		0.996	-4.07, 4.05	
BCIS	0.16	0.14	0.11	0.264	-0.12, 0.43	0.10
WCIS	2.28	1.07	0.20	0.035*	0.16, 4.39	0.20

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

Positive Affect. The second regression tested whether BCIS and WCIS predicted positive affect, and was significant, $R^2 = .05$, $F(2, 114) = 3.22$, $p = .043$. Although greater WCIS predicted lower positive affect ($\beta = .23$, $p = .015$) and accounted for 5% of the variance, BCIS was not statistically significant (Table 12).

Table 12

Cultural Incompatibilities Predicting Positive Affect

	b	SE B	β	p	95% Confidence Interval	Semi-Partial Correlations
Constant	0.76	1.137		0.504	-1.49, 3.01	
BCIS	0.004	0.08	0.00	0.963	-0.15, 0.16	0.00
WCIS	1.466	0.592	0.232	0.015*	0.29, 2.64	0.23

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

Negative Affect. The third regression tested whether perceived mainstream Black cultural incompatibility (BCIS) and mainstream White cultural incompatibility (WCIS) predicted Negative Affect, and was significant, $R^2 = .19$, $F(2,109) = 8.70$, p < .001. Although greater WCIS predicted increased negative affect and accounted for 14% of the variance ($\beta = -.40$, $p < .001$), BCIS was not statistically significant ($\beta = -.06$, $p = .499$) (Table 13).

Table 13

Cultural Incompatibilities Predicting Negative Affect

	95% Confidence	Semi-Partial

		b	$SE\ B$	β	p	Interval	Correlations
Step 1	Constant	0.52	0.10		0	0.33, 0.72	
	Father's Ed	0.08	0.03	0.21	0.024	0.01, 0.14	0.21
Step 2	Constant	3.12	0.62		0	1.9, 4.35	
	Father's Ed	0.05	0.03	0.14	0.122	-0.01, 0.11	0.13
	BCIS	-0.03	0.04	-0.06	0.499	-0.11, 0.05	-0.06
	WCIS	-1.37	0.31	-0.40	0**	-1.98, -0.76	-0.38

*p < .05 **p < .01

The results lend partial support to the hypothesis that perceived cultural incompatibility is negatively correlated with subjective well-being, with White cultural incompatibility significantly predicting Life Satisfaction, Positive Affect and Negative Affect.

Hypothesis 4

For Black Canadian immigrant youth, perceived cultural incompatibility between heritage culture and mainstream Black culture, and perceptions that the public views Black people positively will be negatively correlated.

A Pearson r correlation was conducted to test the relationship between the Black Cultural Incompatibilities Scale (BCIS) and public regard.

There was no significant relationship between public regard and BCIS, $r = -.04$[-.24, .15], $p = .679$. Follow-up exploratory analyses found significant relationships between public regard and the White Cultural Incompatibilities Scale (WCIS), as well as the Acculturation Orientation Scales; however, when a Bonferroni correction was applied to account for the increase in Type I Error ($\alpha < .0125$), only two variables were statistically significant: WCIS had a negative relationship with public regard, $r = .27$[.07, .45], $p = .003$, and WCOS had a positive relationship with public regard, $r = .24$[.06, .42], $p = .010$. Additional exploratory analyses found statistically significant relationships between centrality and HCOS as well as BCOS, after a Bonferroni correction ($\alpha < .01$).

Increased centrality was significantly correlated with increased participation in heritage culture (r = .375[.20, .54], p <.001) and Black culture (r = .48,[.34, .62], p < .001). (Table 14)

Table 14

Racial Identity, Cultural Incompatibility, and Acculturation Orientation Correlations

		Cultural Incompatibility		Acculturation Orientation		
		BCIS	WCIS	HCOS	WCOS	BCOS
Racial Identity	Public Regard	-0.04	0.27**	0.198*	0.239**	0.193*
	Centrality	-0.14	-0.19*	0.375**	-0.23*	0.484**

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

Hypothesis 5

Black Canadian immigrants of African origin will perceive greater cultural incompatibility with mainstream Black culture than Black Canadian immigrants of Caribbean origin.

An independent samples t-test was conducted to determine whether African participants and Caribbean participants differed significantly on Black cultural incompatibility (N = 119). G*Power determined that 210 participants were needed to test this hypothesis. Although the small sample size increases the risk of Type II error, a t-test was conducted because fewer participants were needed compared to an analysis of covariance.

African participants did not find Black culture more incompatible than did Caribbean participants (African M = 3.13, SD = .93; Caribbean M = 3.12, SD = .95). This difference, .006, 95%CI[-.34, .35], was not significant, $t(117)$ = .03, p =.973, and the results fail to support Hypothesis 5.

Qualitative Analysis

Defining Culture

One of the limitations in acculturation research is that culture is often not defined for participants. Participants are typically asked about their participation in various cultures, and it is assumed that they are all referring to the same set of characteristics, values, beliefs, and norms. This methodology introduces the possibility that participants are responding to a set of stereotypes they believe the researcher is looking for, rather than their own phenomenological understanding of culture.

The overarching research question guiding the qualitative analysis was: How do Black Canadians with recent Caribbean and/or African origin develop and define their racial identity? Participants were asked to contemplate how they conceptualize mainstream White culture prior to completing the White Culture Orientation Scale, and mainstream Black culture prior to completing the Black Culture Orientation Scale. Toward the end of the questionnaire, they were asked to describe their experiences of being Black in Canada. Of 235 surveys returned, 18 cases were removed due to being terminated by Fluid Surveys, either because of lack of consent or failure to fulfill the recruitment criteria. Two additional cases were removed due to not fulfilling the recruitment criteria. Each question was coded individually by the researcher with thematic analysis to determine underlying themes prevalent in participants' responses. Since each question was coded individually, and many participants dropped out partially through the survey, there are more participants in the earlier open-ended questions than there were for the quantitative analysis. A visual representation of participants' heritage cultures is provided in Figure 4 and descriptive statistics for responses to each question are provided in Table 15.

Figure 4. Qualitative participants' countries of origin.
Note: Larger words indicate higher frequency.

Table 15

Descriptive Statistics for Qualitative Participants

		Question						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	N	133	132	114	115	97	98	81
Gender	Female	84	80	80	80	77	79	63
	Male	15	15	15	14	15	15	15
	Other	3	3	3	3	3	3	2
	No Response	31	34	16	18	2	1	1
Heritage	African	76	73	67	65	55	57	47
	Caribbean	57	59	47	50	42	41	34
Generation	1st	28	26	22	23	20	20	19
	1.5	32	32	27	29	25	25	20
	2nd	73	74	65	63	52	53	42

What does mainstream White culture mean to you?

For many participants, mainstream White culture was difficult to define, and some responded that they were unsure what it means. Six major themes emerged from the data (Table 16).

Table 16

Participants' Definitions of Mainstream White Culture

Theme	Example
Systems of Oppression	"power with impunity, exclusion, sameness, and suppression" "White only…with the occasional bone thrown to other races"
Norm or Standard	"its the way of life so i have to go with the flow" "normalizes whiteness"
Means Nothing vs. Means Everything	"mainstream white culture means no culture"/"meat and potatoes" "everything Canadian" "Anyone can enjoy Starbucks and ugg boots"
North American vs. European	"The customs of North America" "European/colonist views" "Canadian and American… not European"
Liberal Ideology, Freedom, and Individuality	"very open-minded...democracy, freedom of speech" "focused more on fulfilling self gratifications"
Ignorance of Other Cultures	"Disregard and ignorance" "no knowledge of the world outside of where they are" "They don't spend much time thinking about race"

Note: All quotations from participants are as they appear in their written text.

The most prevalent theme was that, for this sample of Black Canadians, mainstream White culture was defined by various systems of oppression, privilege, and dominance, such as cultural appropriation, racism, and patriarchy. Some participants voiced that mainstream White culture meant exclusion and retaining purity and consequently devaluing other cultures.

The second theme that emerged was mainstream White culture as the norm or standard in both the media and in society. For many participants, this standard was imposed, and not something they agreed with personally.

The third theme was mainstream White culture as meaningless vs. meaningful. Some participants questioned the existence of mainstream White culture because it was "bland" or a blend of other cultures. For these participants, mainstream White culture "means nothing." On the other hand, some participants felt that mainstream White culture

was globalized, and everywhere, defined by everything from outdoor activities, Starbucks, hockey, and the Uggs brand, to consumerism, popular media, and various types of music. With mainstream White culture being 'everywhere,' many participants felt this ubiquity was restrictive, and appeared to resent certain things being associated with mainstream White culture. One participant asked: "Why is starbucks associated with white people? Surely, anyone can enjoy coffee???" Another further stated, "any time someone does anything, they get called 'white washed,' because non-white people are put into such a small box."

The fourth theme that emerged was mainstream White culture as Canadian, American, or European. Some participants defined mainstream White culture as distinctly Canadian, American, or North American, exclusionary of Europeans. Others felt that mainstream White culture included both North Americans and Europeans, and others still felt that mainstream White culture was European culture.

The fifth theme defined mainstream White culture by its liberal ideology, and tenets such as independence, individuality, and freedom. For some participants, mainstream White culture meant open-mindedness, and being open to other cultures.

The sixth and final theme defined mainstream White culture as egocentric or Eurocentric. Some participants voiced that, for them, mainstream White culture meant ignorance of other cultures.

Figure 5 is a visual representation of common words participants used to describe what mainstream White culture means to them.

Figure 5. Words participants used to describe mainstream White culture.
Note: Larger words indicate higher frequency.

Which individuals or groups do you consider mainstream White?

Although a few participants were either unsure or felt that no individual or group

could be considered "mainstream White" due to Whiteness as a construction, six major

themes emerged from the data (Table 17).

Table 17

Individuals and Groups Participants Defined as Mainstream White

Theme	Example
Undifferentiated	"White people in general" "If you have caucasian skin tone and identify with being white" "Literally anybody who's white"
North American vs. European	"Canadian, American, British (some)" "Caucasians from America or Canada" "Europeans (mostly British, Polish, and Irish)"
Canadians	"That all around "prefect preppy patriotic Canadian kid"" "Canadian, American, those whose ancestors are truly from North America"

	"Typical hockey boys and typical white girls who wear Uggs[…]"
Public Individuals/Institutions	"Teachers, politicians, bureaucrats, jounalist/reporters" "CNN, Fox News, MSNBC, CBC, CTV, pretty much all Canadian TV/Entertainment stations" "Trump"
Whiteness-Identifying	"Non-black people of colour who--wittingly or unwittingly--aspire to constructed whiteness, and subscribe to the values of constructed whiteness." "Asians"
Exclusiveness	"Pure Caucasians" "White anglo saxon protestants[…] excludes Caucasian groups from Eastern Europe[…] and Mediterranean Europeans" "white people who live in the suburbs (usually in upper-middle class)"

Note: All quotations from participants are as they appear in their written text.

For a large number of participants, individuals and groups they would consider as mainstream White were undifferentiated. For them, all White people, characterized as European-descent with particular physical features such as light skin tone, can be defined as mainstream White.

Conversely, there were participants who believed mainstream Whiteness was a construct reserved for more specific groups. For example, some participants felt that mainstream White referred solely to peoples in North America, such as White Canadians and White Americans, whereas others associated mainstream White with Europeans.

The third prevalent theme was of the quintessential Canadian being mainstream White. Many individuals classified third generation or multigenerational Canadians as being mainstream White. Furthermore, individuals who engaged in activities that were identified in question one as being part of mainstream White culture, such as hockey players and girls who drink Starbucks, were considered mainstream White.

Participants identified many public figures and institutions that they would consider mainstream White. These included people in positions of power, such as

politicians and "boards of directors," Canadian and American media outlets, such as Fox and CTV, and celebrities such as Justin Bieber and Taylor Swift.

Interestingly, for several participants, mainstream White was not restricted to White people. The fifth theme was that anyone who identifies with or subscribes to constructed Whiteness may be considered mainstream White, including people of colour or "POC" who reject their heritage cultures. As one participant states:

I'd consider 2nd or third generation Canadians of European background mainstream white so long as the majority of their ties to their original European cultures have been lost. Although by this definition, I might include 2nd or third generation of other heritages so long as their cultural ties are also lost and for the most part the adhere solely to north american cultural practices.

On the other hand, the final theme was exclusivity. Some participants expressed that they would consider a very select subgroup of White people as mainstream White. For these participants, mainstream Whiteness was associated with middle-to-upper class individuals of very narrowly-defined lineage.

Figure 6 provides a visual representation of common words participants used to describe which individuals or groups they consider mainstream White.
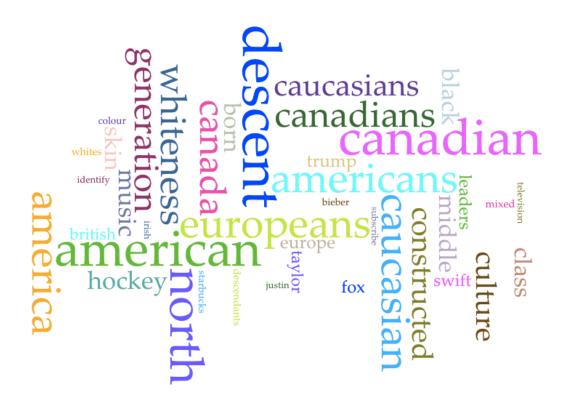
Figure 6. Words participants used to describe mainstream White people.
Note: Larger words indicate higher frequency.

What does mainstream Black culture mean to you?

Several participants expressed having difficulty answering this question.

Although many were still exploring what "mainstream Black culture" means, six broad

themes emerged from the data (Table 18).

Table 18

Participants' Definitions of Mainstream Black Culture

Theme	Example
American	"[...]Black americans[...] when addressing other people[...] when talking to my family black culture would mean Jamaican"
	"most canadian's who identify as black, aren't. Because most are immigrants who still have strong ties to their culture. "
Entertainment	"Reggae, hip-hop, rap"
	"BET and world star hip hop"
Meaningful vs. Meaningless	"diasporic black peoples have so many different cultures that i don't like just homogenizing them altogether"

	"Self love , unity, consciousness"
Civil Rights Activism and Empowerment	"Black lives matter"/"Resistence" "Resilience, soul, struggle"
Creativity and Authenticity	"Black culture is pervasive (AAVE, hairstyles, fashion, nails etc) and influential worldwide" "Innovative…fashion-forward" "Authenticity. Different. Uniqueness"
Profitable	"An over simplified interpretation of African American culture which evolved out of minstrel shows developed by media companies for white audiences"

Note: All quotations from participants are as they appear in their written text.

For the majority of participants, mainstream Black culture was defined by and specific to American Black culture, from African American Vernacular English (AAVE) and southern U.S. soul food, to American entertainment and media. As one participant states:

> The only mainstream black culture I am surrounded by is through music, film and humour -- and it is exported directly from the US, focusing on the black-American experience NOT the African or Caribbean immigrant experience which is far more relevant in GTA.

Additionally, some participants identified that what is "mainstream" is largely a set of stereotypes associated with Black people, and the image of Black culture is often controlled by White people. On the other hand, many participants identified that, in a Canadian context, mainstream Black culture is embracing your African or Caribbean heritage culture.

The second most prevalent theme was mainstream Black culture as entertainment. Many participants associated musical genres such as hip hop and R&B, as well as

African American media outlets such as BET and World Star Hip Hop, with mainstream

Black culture.

The third theme was mainstream Black culture as meaningful vs. meaningless.

For many participants, mainstream Black culture was diverse and diasporic, with

emphasis on family and community based on shared experiences. Conversely, some

participants felt that there was no such thing as mainstream Black culture *because* it was

composed of so many diverse cultures, or that it doesn't exist in Canada.

The fourth theme was that civil rights activism and empowerment define

mainstream Black culture. Participants identified oppression, negative stereotypes, and

underprivilege as elements of mainstream Black culture, but also "universal struggle"

against oppression and negative stereotypes.

The fifth theme was that mainstream Black culture means creativity and

authenticity. From fashion to slang, participants felt that mainstream Black culture was

pervasive and influential. Consequently, participants felt that mainstream Black culture is

profitable, and for White consumption. One participant described mainstream Black

culture as: "Easily digestible bits of our culture that the whites can take and participate in

without repercussion."

Figure 7 provides a visual representation of common words participants used to

describe what Black culture means to them.

Figure 7. Words participants used to describe mainstream Black culture.
Note: Larger words indicate higher frequency.

Which individuals or groups do you consider mainstream Black?

Although responses were diverse, five major themes emerged from the data (Table 19). Similar to individuals or groups that participants considered mainstream White, many participants considered "mainstream Black" people to be an undifferentiated category. For these participants, anyone with African ancestry, anyone who identifies as Black, and anyone with particular skin tones, including those with partially non-Black heritage, could be considered mainstream Black.

The second theme was that mainstream Black refers solely to African Americans, or Black people in the U.S. This is consistent with the common theme that mainstream Black culture refers to African American culture. For many participants, media outlets such as BET and World Star Hip Hop define mainstream Black culture and are thus what they would consider as mainstream Black individuals or groups.

Table 19

Individuals and Groups Participants Defined as Mainstream Black

Theme	Example
Undifferentiated	"Those with melanin tones and identify as being black" "Anyone who identifies as black minus Rachael Dolezal" "people of African or Caribbean decent at some point in their ancestry"
African American/Black American	"African Americans (Key word, American)" "I guess what "mainstream" black would be considered is most likely black American's"
Africans, Caribbeans, and Black Canadians	"Individuals born (or have parents who were born) in Caribbean or African countries" "Americans, Carribeans and Mixed people... Africans are excluded from "mainstream Black" category" "Black-Canadians (who lived in Canada for generations)"
Celebrities and Public Figures	"social activists such as the Black Lives Matter organization, bell hooks, Angela Davis, Michelle Alexander…" "Beyonce. Jay Z. Kanye West. Rihanna. Chris Brown" "Rappers, singers, some actors. Mostly Black Americans"
Identification with Mainstream Blackness or Black Stereotypes	"People that shape their identity to fit with in popular mainstream television reserved as Black" "Those who display 'ratchet' tendencies and love 'trap' music"

Note: All quotations from participants are as they appear in their written text.

The third theme was that mainstream Black people could include Africans,
Caribbeans, and other Black Canadians; however, some participants felt that mainstream
Black specifically did not refer to Africans. Some participants felt that, although Africans
were excluded from being "mainstream Black," they were still racialized Black. For
example, one participant states:

African Americans (Key word, American). Who are the descendants of those

who were brought to the U.S. as slaves or the generations of those who

immigrated and have lost ties to their African culture and adhere to black cultural

norms. In this sense, there could be many Canadian African's and Caribbeans

who adhere to black cultural norms simply because they immigrated here young,

and were "told" they were black. I would not consider these people "Mainstream

Black".

Fourthly, participants listed a number of celebrities and public figures they

consider mainstream Black, such as Tyler Perry, Drake, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and

President Obama. With few exceptions (e.g., Drake, Rihanna), the majority of celebrities

mentioned were American. No Black Canadian non-celebrity public figures were

mentioned.

Lastly, some participants asserted that they would consider individuals who

identify with mainstream Blackness or Black stereotypes propagated in the media as

mainstream Black. Similar to individuals whom participants considered mainstream

White, this was not always unique to Black people. As one participant states, "I could not

even identify myself as mainstream Black because I do not fit the   stereotype that the

hip-hop culture promotes."

Figure 8 provides a visual representation of common words participants used to

describe which individuals or groups they consider mainstream Black.

Figure 8. Words participants used to describe mainstream Black people.

Note: Larger words indicate higher frequency.

What do you think it means to be Black in Canada?

Although some participants were still exploring what being Black in Canada means to them, there were five main themes that emerged from the data (Table 20). For the majority of participants, being Black in Canada means experiencing multiple forms of racism, from stereotypes and microaggressions to prejudice and discrimination. This shared experience results in both racialization and double consciousness. First, many participants expressed feeling racialized in a way that they did not experience in their heritage countries, and struggling with distinguishing themselves from the prevalent African American narrative of what it means to be Black. Moreover, due to being homogenized and negatively stereotyped, participants described feeling that they have to constantly represent all Black people, or all people of their heritage culture. Second, several participants expressed a feeling of double consciousness, or having to switch their identity depending on the context. This double consciousness involved feelings of having to perform Blackness, by behaving in ways others (Blacks and non-Blacks alike) deemed 'acting Black.'

Table 20.

How Participants Described What it Means to Be Black in Canada

Theme	Example
Experiencing Forms of Racism	"To be Black in Canada means that we supposedly have equal opportunities, but hidden are racist values the have been the building blocks of Canadian society ." "…being a token and oppressed in different manners" "being othered and exoticized"
Racialization/Double Consciousness	"...have to wear multiple identity (code switching, changes of social positionality to fit in) not just in white spaces, but all cultural spaces just to fit in" "other races do not see us as any different, they will still treat us all

	the same weather in a good way or bad way"
	"having to differentiate and affirm ourselves as separate from African-Americans"
	"I feel "black" here in a way that never crosses my mind in [my heritage country]"
Positivity vs. Negativity	" live freely and openly in a multicultural nation. With no judgment or discrimination"
	"you're still going to face adversity but it is significantly less than that of the US"
	"to be stereotyped under the guise of "multiculturalism""
Awareness of Low Social Standing	"I think ppl dont see us as Canadain outside of Windsor, ppl always want to know where I'm from"
	"To be the lowest on the totem pole"
Resistance	"Urging yourself to keep fighting to make the world a better place…"
	"To struggle against silent racism and micro aggressions but still standing strong and proud"
	"constantly trying to validate your experience in a country where you are... made invisible"

Note: All quotations from participants are as they appear in their written text.

One participant describes the pressure by stating:

> Being black in Canada mean you represent the country your family originates
>
> from, and whether you are able to successfully portray your culture determines
>
> how "black" you are. Having behaviors/mannerisms that others recognize as
>
> "black" also counts towards how "black" people think you are. People who are
>
> not black can apparently judge blackness as well. As a result, if acting black does
>
> not come naturally to you, you will constantly feel pressure to try and act in a way
>
> that will help you meet those standards.

Many participants described their experience of being Black in Canada as a

positive one, especially when compared to the U.S. Many participants expressed that

Canada's multiculturalism and diversity, as well as opportunity, made it a great country

in which to be Black. Conversely, some participants felt that Canada was multicultural on paper but not in practice.

The fourth most prevalent theme that emerged from the data was that participants were aware of the low social standing associated with being Black. Many participants expressed that to be Black in Canada was to be a minority, to be excluded, to be made invisible, and to be under-supported by the government. Many participants felt that Black Canadians are different from other Canadians, and some participants felt that other racialized people in Canada were institutionally and privately treated better than Black Canadians. Moreover, some participants expressed that to be Black in Canada is to have your Canadian identity questioned and invalidated by people asking where you are from, and expecting the answer to be outside of Canada.

Lastly, participants felt that to be Black in Canada was to be strong, resisting and struggling against oppression. Participants felt that, despite challenges and despite adversity, being Black in Canada means to be proud of one's heritage and celebrating one's roots, while proving negative stereotypes wrong.

How do you think other Black people feel about your heritage cultural group?

Participants identified both positive and negative aspects other Black people associate with their heritage culture. For participants of African descent, many felt that other Black people view them positively, particularly now that Africans have increased visibility in the mainstream (e.g., famous Nigerian authors, President Obama, Lupita Nyong'o). Conversely, many participants of African descent felt that other Black people view their heritage cultures negatively, as they try to distance themselves from the negative stereotypes North Americans have about Africans. One participant states, "Some

black people of the diaspora would rather not associate themselves with anything

african."

Some African participants expressed that they felt other Black people thought

Africans think they are better than Caribbeans, and that this sometimes leads to rivalry

between heritage cultures. Additionally, some African participants, particularly of East

African descent, felt that other Black people question their Black identity:

Well I'm east african and alot of other black people i grew up with said I wasn't

"black". They said this because they felt that because a lot of east africans have

arab roots (although it's very distant) and "nice hair" (which i think it's subjective

and more importantly racist) that I could not identify as black. It frustrated me

because I still faced all the discrimination and prejudice that they did and just

because my hair wasn't [kinky] I couldn't be black???? I don't think it helped that

my own heritage wanted to distant themselves from being black because of their

own history of antiblackness and shadeism.

For Caribbean participants, other Black people have a love/hate relationship with

their heritage culture. Many participants expressed feeling that others love, admire,

accept, and support their Caribbean heritage, and that others mimic their culture, both in

the Toronto area and in the media. By the same token, some participants felt that,

although other people emulated Caribbean culture, they did not respect it. Several

participants felt that there was rivalry among Black people, and that Africans look down

on Caribbeans. Many participants expressed feeling that Africans attribute negative Black

stereotypes to Caribbeans.

My heritage group has be stereotyped and disgraced [by] […] other black people

looking for a scapegoat for why blacks are viewed negatively in this country. […]

I hear a lot of people say things like "oh, the Jamaicans are criminals that haven;t

taught their children to be productive in society", but we are a community based

on hardwork and education.

Both Africans and Caribbeans felt other Black people view them positively in

some ways and negatively in others, and both Africans and Caribbeans felt that there was

conflict or rivalry among Black Canadians.

Is there anything you would like to add about your experience of being Black in

Canada?

Participants had several additional comments about their experiences of being

Black in Canada. Preliminary themes included navigating the Whiteness of Canadian

institutions (e.g., the public school system), navigating stereotypes, feeling racialized

Black, belief in being an individual first and foremost, and difficulty finding a place to

belong or feeling fully Canadian. Although "being black in Canada is way better than

being black in America," and many participants are proud and happy to be Canadian, for

others, being Black in Canada means experiencing racism, racial insensitivity, frustration

and loneliness. The responses to this question indicated that there is great diversity in the

Black Canadian experience that deserves further exploration.

Discussion

The focus of the present study was to examine the relation between social

identity, acculturation and psychological well-being among Black Canadian immigrant

youth. Research on Black racial identity has focused primarily on African Americans,

who have been in the U.S. for many generations. In order to bridge the racial identity literature for Black Canadians, researchers should also consider how ethnocultural heritage may play a role in racial identity development (or racialization), as the majority of Black Canadians are of recent Caribbean or African heritage. Moreover, as immigrants adapting to a new society, Black Canadian immigrants and their children face the choices of whether to acculturate to Canadian society, and whether to retain their heritage cultures. Complicating the acculturation process for Black Canadian immigrants is the fact that they are also racialized Black and may therefore also face the choice of whether to acculturate to pre-existing Black ethnocultural groups in North America.

The first hypothesis was that for the young immigrants to Canada from Africa and the Caribbean in this sample, an orientation toward mainstream Black culture would contribute significantly to the variance in subjective well-being (life satisfaction, positive affect, negative affect) over and above heritage culture orientation and mainstream White culture orientation. The multiple regression analysis supported the bidimensional model (heritage and mainstream White culture orientation) for life satisfaction, positive affect, and negative affect. The results of the MRA for the tridimensional model were also significant for life satisfaction, positive affect, and negative affect, but the regression analysis for mainstream Black culture orientation by itself was not significant for any of the three subjective well-being measures. Overall, when examining the role of a mainstream Black culture orientation in subjective well-being for Black Canadian immigrant youth, it appears that participating in mainstream Black culture does not predict life satisfaction, positive affect, or negative affect, above and beyond heritage and mainstream White cultural participation (the bidimensional model).

The tridimensional model was significant for each of the three subjective well-being measures, but the univariate analyses results suggest that a heritage culture orientation may be more important than a mainstream White or mainstream Black culture orientation in predicting variance in positive and negative affect, a finding consistent with previous literature that finds strong ethnic identification provides psychological benefit (e.g., Ferguson & Bornstein, 2014; Jurcik et al., 2013). It should also be noted that the use of a univariate technique to test a multivariate model was not ideal and dictated by the relatively small sample size. Future research could test the models using structural equation modelling.

The second hypothesis was that Black Canadian immigrant youth with a tricultural pattern of integration (strong heritage culture orientation, strong mainstream Black culture orientation, strong mainstream White culture orientation) would have greater subjective well-being than Black Canadian immigrant youth with other acculturation patterns. Analyses related to this hypothesis revealed that mainstream Black culture is an important destination culture for African and Caribbean immigrants to Canada and supported the utility of a tridimensional model of acculturation. Cluster analysis revealed that bicultural integration with Black culture (strong heritage culture orientation, strong mainstream Black culture orientation, weak mainstream White culture orientation) was the most prevalent cluster in the sample, and discriminant function analysis indicated that this bicultural integration with Black culture was associated with the best well-being outcomes. Conversely, bicultural integration with White culture (strong heritage culture orientation, weak mainstream Black culture orientation, strong mainstream White culture orientation) was associated with poor well-being outcomes.

Third, discriminant function analysis showed that the downward assimilation pattern was associated with the worst well-being outcomes; Ferguson and Bornstein (2014) also found that the downward assimilation pattern was associated with poor outcomes for Jamaican immigrant youth in the U.S.

Although the results of the discriminant function analysis are limited due to the use of a median split, rather than having groups that truly scored high or low along the acculturation dimensions, these results support the value of using a tridimensional rather than a bidimensional model of acculturation. Within a bidimensional framework, integration with mainstream Black culture would be interpreted as separation/segregation (strong heritage culture orientation, weak host culture orientation), integration with mainstream White culture would be interpreted as integration (strong heritage culture orientation, strong host culture orientation), and downward assimilation would be interpreted as marginalization (weak heritage culture orientation, weak host culture orientation). The results of each of these orientation strategies for subjective well-being would not have been consistent with existing research. Adding a dimension that acknowledges the presence and influence of another dominant host culture significantly increases the explanatory scope of the acculturation model.

The third hypothesis was that perceived cultural incompatibility between heritage culture and mainstream White culture, and between heritage culture and mainstream Black culture, would be negatively correlated with subjective well-being. This hypothesis was supported for mainstream White culture but not for mainstream Black culture. The more participants felt that their heritage cultures were incompatible with White culture, the lower their life satisfaction and positive affect, and the higher their negative affect.

However, perceived cultural incompatibility between heritage and mainstream Black culture did not predict any facet of subjective well-being. Given that mainstream White culture is the dominant culture in Canada, and most Canadians must interact with mainstream White culture in order to fully participate in Canadian society, it is not surprising that perceived conflict would have a negative impact on well-being.

The fourth hypothesis was that perceived cultural incompatibility between heritage culture and mainstream Black culture would be positively correlated with perceptions that the public views Black people negatively. This hypothesis was not supported; perceptions of heritage culture-mainstream Black culture incompatibility were not associated with perceptions of public regard. However, a significant correlation did exist between perceptions of heritage culture-mainstream White culture incompatibility and perceived public regard. The more incompatible the participants believed their heritage cultures were with White culture, the more they thought that others viewed Black people negatively. Additionally, the more participants thought that others viewed Black people positively, the more likely they were to engage in mainstream White culture. These findings suggest that Black Canadian immigrants' perceptions of what other people think of them impact their identification with White culture. Although 'others' were not defined for participants, there is a high likelihood that participants were thinking of what White people thought of Black people. These findings illustrate the need for reciprocity in immigrants' acculturation, as the ability to integrate relies on the attitudes and behaviours of the host country's citizens (Berry 2006).

In general, participants felt good about being Black, as indicated by the high scores with little variation on private regard. Due to the scores on private regard having

little variation, it was excluded from analysis. However, the more participants felt that

being Black was an important aspect of their identity (i.e., centrality), the more they

engaged in both their heritage culture and mainstream Black culture. Given the

established links between public regard, centrality, and the acculturation orientations,

future study should investigate the relationships between racial identity and acculturation

for Black Canadian immigrants.

Participants feeling good about being Black sheds some light on the meaning of

marginalization for this group. Whereas some research suggests marginalization leads to

the most negative outcomes of all the acculturation orientations (Berry, 1997), the present

study failed to replicate these findings within a tridimensional framework. The results of

the present study suggest that, although many Black Canadian immigrants may feel they

do not belong to any particular culture, marginalization is not a driving force in the

different levels of subjective well-being. Since participants had high private regard, there

may be other factors to consider when thinking about marginalization, such as resilience.

The fifth hypothesis was that Black Canadian youth of African origin would

perceive greater cultural incompatibility with mainstream Black culture than Black

Canadian youth of Caribbean origin. This hypothesis was not confirmed; both groups

had virtually identical scores on the measure of perceived cultural incompatibility. In

fact, African participants were more oriented toward mainstream Black culture than were

Caribbean participants. Given the unexpected relationship and the small sample size,

these findings should be explored further.

In addition to testing five hypotheses using quantitative measures, the present

study invited participants to define what they mean by mainstream White and mainstream

Black cultures. Overall, participants' responses were diverse, exemplifying a range of experiences. However, the analysis of participants' responses to these questions revealed a number of themes related to how Black Canadians of recent African and Caribbean origin conceptualize their experiences of being Black in Canada.

Notably, most participants recognized that mainstream White culture was the dominant White culture in Canada and the U.S., and defined mainstream White culture by systems of oppression, being the norm or standard, being meaningless but also meaning everything, referring mainly to North America, exemplifying liberal ideology, freedom and individuality, and characterized by ignorance of other cultures. For some participants, all White people could be referred to as 'mainstream White.' Others specified that mainstream White people referred to North Americans, Europeans, or Canadians specifically. Others still felt that mainstream White was even more exclusive, referring only to White Anglo-Saxon Protestants with no other heritage. Participants indicated that many mainstream media outlets were mainstream White. Lastly, some participants felt that Whiteness was a construct that anyone could belong to and identify with, irrespective of a person's 'race.'

Conversely, participants mostly defined mainstream Black culture as African American culture, particularly with regard to entertainment, civil rights activism, celebrities, and public figures. For some participants, mainstream Black culture was meaningful and, for others, it was meaningless due to Black people having so many different cultures. Many participants defined mainstream Black culture by creativity and authenticity and, consequently, as profitable for White people. For some participants, all Black people, including those of mixed race, could be considered 'mainstream Black.'

For many, mainstream Black referred solely to African Americans/Black Americans. Other participants took a more Canadian approach by defining mainstream Black people as Africans, Caribbeans, and/or Black Canadians. Lastly, some participants felt that Blackness was a construct that anyone could belong to or identify with.

When describing what it means to be Black in Canada, participants reported experiencing both positive and negative experiences. On one hand, some participants expressed that they felt good about living in Canada, and that they felt it is better to be Black in Canada than in the U.S. On the other hand, many participants felt that being Black in Canada meant also experiencing racism, discrimination, prejudice, and microaggressions. Additionally, some felt that they were racialized Black and had to juggle multiple identities. Participants were aware of the low social standing of Black people in Canada, and felt that resisting negative stereotypes and racism is part of what it means to be Black in Canada.

Participants also reported tension or conflict between other Black ethnocultural groups. Both African participants and Caribbean participants reported feeling that, although other Black ethnocultural groups may sometimes view them positively, there were still stereotypes and prejudices that other Black ethnocultural groups ascribed to their own group. Some African participants felt that other Black people try to distance themselves from 'Africa' by looking down on them, whereas some Caribbean participants felt Africans in Canada negatively stereotype and look down on *them*. It is clear that more research is needed to investigate the relationships among the multiple social identities associated with being Canadian, Black, and of African or Caribbean heritage.

Although an attempt was made to recruit adolescents and individuals outside of postsecondary institutions, the overwhelming majority of participants were highly educated young adults. In general, participants appeared to have high levels of subjective well-being (particularly, low negative affect) and academic success. It is important in future research to study what it means to be Black in Canada from an adolescent perspective, and the implications for the acculturation choices elementary and secondary school age students make.

Moreover, both the quantitative and qualitative results must be understood within a larger sociopolitical context. The rise of social media use and social media activism has given birth to social movements that encourage conversations among Black Canadians and among the population at large. One such movement, founded by three queer Black women, is Black Lives Matter. #BlackLivesMatter started as the social media response not only to anti-Black violence and racism (e.g., police brutality), but also to public perceptions of anti-Black violence and racism (Garza, n.d.). Although a U.S.-led initiative, Black Lives Matter has trickled into Canadian consciousness, with an official chapter in Toronto, and rallies held across Canada (CBC Radio, Ottawa Morning, 2016). A second social movement that may have an impact on Black identity is the Natural Hair Movement. The Natural Hair Movement is the growing community of Black women who have embraced their natural hair and, in turn, their Black identity (Ellington, 2004; Luter, 2014; Thompson, 2008). Despite participants not explicitly mentioning the Natural Hair Movement, it may be the case, given that the majority of participants were women, that these online conversations about Black women's hair have had an impact on the way they think about their Blackness.

Being Black in Canada involves navigating negative ethnocultural as well as racial stereotypes, resulting in sometimes-conflicting identities. For some Black youth, buying into such stereotypes can have a detrimental impact (Manzo & Bailey, 2005). Although Canada's multiculturalism policy encourages participation in both one's ethnocultural heritage and Canadian culture, little attention is paid to the way racialization complicates many interactions Black Canadians have. The present study highlights the idea that Black Canadian immigrant youth have multiple identities to reconcile.

Limitations, Implications, and Future Directions

The focus of the present study was young Black Canadians of recent African or Caribbean origin. In order to recruit as many participants as possible, the study employed a snowball sampling method. Snowball sampling limits generalizability, as standard error estimates cannot be measured. However, even with snowball sampling and online recruitment, the researcher was not able to recruit the number of participants necessary to conduct some of the statistical analyses that she would have preferred to use. Future research could expand the participant pool by changing the inclusion criteria, for example, including a wider age range or inviting third generation immigrants to participate, or including Black immigrants from European-dominant countries (e.g., England, Australia). However, increasing the diversity of the participant pool introduces new issues with regard to the interpretation of the results.

Even in the present study, there was a tension between the need to recruit a sufficient number of participants and the dangers of minimizing diversity. In the present study, Black Canadian immigrants were categorized as belonging to two groups:

Caribbean-origin and African-origin. The researcher recognizes that there is great diversity within each of these regions, but chose to define the sample as two groups in order to maximize statistical power. This study represents a nascent step toward conceptualizing Blacks living in Canada as diverse and heterogeneous by investigating how racial identity may differ for those of recent Caribbean or African origin. Future studies should compare racial identity development and acculturation processes for immigrants from different regions of Africa, for example.

The present study focused on subjective well-being as a measure of successful adaptation; however, future research could investigate the links between cultural orientation framed within a tridimensional model of acculturation and other measures of successful adaptation, such as occupational success, self-esteem, or academic outcomes. Using a tridimensional model, researchers could also examine whether other racialized groups in Canada (and around the world) report orientations toward more than one destination culture.

Conclusion

Canada's current global position as a destination country for many cultural groups and its policy of multiculturalism provide a unique setting within which to examine acculturation processes in plural societies with multiple host cultures. The immigrant Black Canadian population is growing at a faster rate than the overall Canadian population, and the different acculturation orientations of Black immigrants have a number of implications for their successful adaptation in Canadian society. Although many studies tend to regard people of African origin across the diaspora as homogeneous ("Black"), it is necessary to recognize that, with over 60 countries of origin, a vast

diversity exists within this population, in the same way that Asian and European groups are regarded as diverse. These cultural differences may impact successful adaptation to Canadian society in ways that a bidimensional model of acculturation fails to capture.

Bidimensional models of acculturation suggest that an integrated pattern of acculturation (own heritage culture and dominant culture) is most adaptive; however, a Bidimensional model challenges what it means to actually feel integrated. Berry (2013a) considers marginalization the least adaptive acculturation strategy with the worst outcomes; however, the findings of this study support Ferguson and Bornstein's (2014) work that show that downward assimilation was the least adaptive orientation for Black immigrants. The process of downward assimilation to the 'inner city' may explain some of the variance in scores of the outcome measures that are typically used to determine successful adaptation (e.g., self-esteem, grades, psychological well-being), and that have been categorized simply as 'marginalization' in research using the bidimensional model.

Immigrant families have larger discrepancies between parental values and adolescent values than non-immigrant families, and "larger intergenerational family values discrepancies are associated with more parent-adolescent conflict" (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012, p. 168). Having to choose among three possible cultures may be a source of greater conflict for Black Canadian immigrants than previously thought, and it is important for mental health professionals, policy makers, school administrators, and teachers to be aware of the implications of this possibility.

The findings of the present study also support the need to address how racial identity is influenced by ethnocultural heritage, racialization, and acculturation, as well as a need to reconceptualize acculturation in Canada from a truly multicultural standpoint.

Acculturation models have the power to inform policy regarding successful immigrant adaptation, and in multicultural societies that have more than one destination culture, a bidimensional model may no longer be adequate.

References

Abada, T., Hou, F., & Ram, B. (2009). Ethnic differences in educational attainment

among the children of Canadian immigrants. *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, *34*(1),

1–28.

Adichie, C. N. (2013). *Americanah*. Toronto, ON: Vintage Canada.

Bailey, B. (2001). Dominican-American ethnic/racial identities and United States social

categories. *The International Migration Review, 35*(3), 677-708.

Baldwin, J. A. (1984). African self-consciousness and the mental health of African-

Americans. *Journal of Black Studies, 15*(2), 177-194.

Baldwin, J. R., Faulkner, S. L., & Hecht, M. L. (2006). A moving target: The illusive

definition of culture. In J. R. Baldwin, S. L. Faulkner, M. L. Hecht, & S. L.

Lindsley (Eds.), *Redefining culture: Perspectives across the disciplines* (pp. 3-26).

Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Banting, K., & Kymlicka, W. (2010). Canadian multiculturalism: Global anxieties and

local debates. *British Journal of Canadian Studies*, *23*(1), 43–72.

http://doi.org/10.3828/bjcs.2010.3

Bazargan, M., & Charles, R. D. (1996). Self-reported sleep disturbance among African-

American elderly: The effects of depression, health status, exercise, and social

support. *International Journal of Aging & Human Development, 42*(2), 143-160.

Benet-Martinez, V., Leu, J., Lee, F., & Morris, M. W. (2002). Negotiating biculturalism:

Cultural frame switching in biculturals with oppositional versus compatible cultural

identities. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *33*(5), 492–516.

doi:10.1177/0022022102033005005

Berry, J. W. (1980). Acculturation as varieties of adaptation. In A. Padilla (Ed.),

    Acculturation: Theory models and some new findings (pp. 9–25). Boulder:

    Westview.

Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology*,

    46(1), 5–34. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1464-0597.1997.tb01087.x

Berry, J.W. (2006). Contexts of acculturation. In D. L. Sam & J.W. Berry (Ed.), *The

    Cambridge handbook of acculturation psychology* (pp. 27–42). Cambridge:

    Cambridge University Press.

Berry, J. W. (2008). Globalisation and acculturation. *International Journal of

    Intercultural Relations*, *32*, 328–336. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2008.04.001

Berry, J. W. (2013a). Research on multiculturalism in Canada. *International Journal of

    Intercultural Relations*, *37*(6), 663–675.

    http://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2013.09.005

Berry, J. W. (2013b). Integration as a mode of immigrant acculturation. In E. L.

    Grigorenko (Eds.), *U.S. immigration and education: Cultural policy issues across

    the lifespan* (41057). New York, NY: Springer Publishing Co.

Berry, J. W., & Kalin, R. (1995). Multicultural and ethnic attitudes in Canada: Overview

    of the 1991 survey. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science, 27*, 301–320.

Berry, J. W., Kalin, R., & Taylor, D. (1977). *Multiculturalism and ethnic attitudes in

    Canada*. Ottawa, ON: Ministry of Supply and Services.

Berry, J. W., Kim, U., Power, S., Young, M., & Bujaki, M. (1989). Acculturation

    attitudes in plural societies. *Applied Psychology*, *38*(2), 185–206.

    doi:10.1111/j.1464-0597.1989.tb01208.x

Berry, J. W., Phinney, J. S., Sam, D. L., & Vedder, P. (2006). Immigrant youth:

Acculturation, identity, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An International Review, 55*(3), 303-332.

Bianculli, D. (2014, March 7). 'Americanah' author explains 'learning' to be Black in the U.S. *National Public Radio*. Retrieved from

http://www.npr.org/2014/03/07/286903648/americanah-author-explains-learning-to-be-black-in-the-u-s

Boatswain, S. J., & Lalonde, R. N. (2000). Social identity and preferred ethnic/racial labels for Blacks in Canada. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *26*(2), 216–234. doi:10.1177/0095798400026002006

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*(2), 77-101.

Brown, B. B., & Larson, J. (2009). Peer relationships in adolescence. In R. M. Lerner & L. Steinberg (Eds.), *Handbook of adolescent psychology* (pp. 74-103). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.

Bryc, K., Durand, E. Y., Macpherson, J. M., Reich, D., & Mountain, J. L. (2015). The genetic ancestry of African Americans, Latinos, and European Americans across the United States. *The American Journal of Human Genetics*, *96*(1), 37–53. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.ajhg.2014.11.010

Cameron, J. E., & Berry, J. W. (2008). True patriot love: Structure and predictors of Canadian pride. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, *40*(3), 17–42.

Çapri, B., Gündüz, B., & Akbay, S. E. (2013). The study of relations between life

satisfaction, burnout, work engagement and hopelessness of high school students.

International Education Studies, 6(11), 35-46.

CBC Radio Ottawa Morning. (2016, August 24). Rallies, protests, campaigns taking

place across Canada, 1 month after Abdirahman Abdi's death. *CBC News*.

Retrieved from http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/ottawa/blm-abdirahman-abdi-

events-aug-24-1.3733533

Chavous, T. M., Bernat, D. H., Schmeelk-Cone, K., Caldwell, C. H., Kohn-Wood, L., &

Zimmerman, M. A. (2003). Racial identity and academic attainment among African

American adolescents. *Child Development, 74*(4), 1076–1090.

Chavous, T. M., Rivas-Drake, D., Smalls, C., Griffin, T., & Cogburn, C. (2008). Gender

matters, too: The influences of school racial discrimination and racial identity on

academic engagement outcomes among African American adolescents.

Developmental Psychology, 44(3), 637–654. doi:10.1037/0012-1649.44.3.637

Chen, S. X., Benet-Martínez, V., & Bond, M. H. (2008). Bicultural identity, bilingualism,

and psychological adjustment in multicultural societies: Immigration-based and

globalization-based acculturation. *Journal of Personality, 76*, 803-838.

Cheung, P. (1995). Acculturation and psychiatric morbidity among Cambodian refugees

in New Zealand. *International Journal of Social Psychiatry, 41*, 109–119.

Cheung, B. Y., Chudek, M., & Heine, S. J. (2010). Evidence for a sensitive period of

acculturation: Younger immigrants report acculturating as a faster rate.

Psychological Science, 22(2), 147-152.

David, E. J. R., Okazaki, S., & Saw, A. (2009). Bicultural self-efficacy among college

    students: Initial scale development and mental health correlates. *Journal of*

    Counseling Psychology, *56*(2), 211–226. doi:10.1037/a0015419

Diener, E., Emmons, R. A., Larsen, R. J., & Griffin, S. (1985). The satisfaction with life

    scale. *Journal of Personality Assessment, 49*(1), 71-75.

Diener, E. & Ryan, K. (2009). Subjective well-being: A general overview. *South African*

    Journal of Psychology, 39(4), 391-406.

Diener, E., Scollon, C. N., & Lucas, R. E. (2009). The evolving concept of subjective

    well-being: The multifaceted nature of happiness. In E. Diener (Ed.), *Assessing*

    well-being: The collected works of Ed Diener (pp. 67-100). New York, NY:

    Springer.

Donovan, R. A., Galban, D. J., Grace, R. K., Bennett, J. K., & Felicie, S. Z. (2012).

    Impact of racial macro- and microaggressions in Black women's lives: A

    preliminary analysis. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *39*(2), 185–196.

    http://doi.org/10.1177/0095798412443259

Ellington, T. N. (2014). Social networking sites: A support system for African-American

    women wearing natural hair. *International Journal of Fashion Design, Technology*

    and Education, 8(1), 1-9. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17543266.2014.974689

Ellis, E. M., Orom, H., Giovino, G. A., & Kiviniemi, M. T. (2015). Relations between

    negative affect and health behaviors by race/ethnicity: Differential effects for

    symptoms of depression and anxiety. *Health Psychology, 34*(9), 966-969.

Ellwood, C. A. (1910). *Sociology and modern social problems*. New York, NY:

    American Book Company.

Erikson, E. H. (1994). *Identity: Youth and crisis.* New York: WW Norton & Company.

Faulkner, S. L., Baldwin, J. R., Lindsley, S. L., & Hecht, M. L. (2006). Layers of
meaning: An analysis of definitions of culture. In J.R. Baldwin, S. L. Faulkner, M.
L. Hecht, & S. L. Lindsley (Eds.), *Redefining culture: Perspectives across the
disciplines* (pp. 27-52). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Field, A. (2009). *Discovering statistics using SPSS 3rd ed*. Sage: Thousand Oaks, CA.

Ferguson, G. M., & Bornstein, M. H. (2012). Remote acculturation: The
"Americanization" of Jamaican Islanders. *International Journal of Behavioral
Development*, *36*(3), 167–177. doi:10.1177/0165025412437066

Ferguson, G. M., & Bornstein, M. H. (2014). Tridimensional (3D) acculturation: Culture
and adaptation of Black Caribbean immigrants in the USA. In R. Dimitrova, M.
Bender, & F. van de Vijver (Eds.), *Global perspectives on well-being in immigrant
families. Advances in immigrant family research.* (pp. 31–51). New York: Springer
Science + Business Media. doi:10.1007/978-1-4614-9129-3.

Ferguson, G. M., Bornstein, M. H., & Pottinger, A. M. (2012). Tridimensional
acculturation and adaptation among Jamaican adolescent–mother dyads in the
United States. *Child Development*, *83*(5), 1486–1493.
http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2012.01787.x

Ferguson, G. M., Iturbide, M. I., & Gordon, B. P. (2014). Tridimensional (3D)
acculturation: Ethnic identity and psychological functioning of tricultural Jamaican
immigrants. *International Perspectives in Psychology: Research, Practice,
Consultation*, *3*(4), 238–251.

Fish, J. M. (2011). A scientific approach to understanding race and intelligence. In J. W.

Fish (Eds.), *Race and intelligence: Separating science from myth* (1-30). Mahwah,

NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Fujimoto, W. Y., Bergstrom, R. W., Boyko, E. J., Chen, K. W., Kahn, S. E., Leonetti, D.

L., ... Wahl, P. W. (2000). Type 2 diabetes and the metabolic syndrome in Japanese

Americans. *Diabetes Research and Clinical Practice, 50*(2), S73–S76.

Garza, A. (n.d.). A herstory of the #BlackLivesMatter Movement. *Black Lives Matter*.

Retrieved from http://blacklivesmatter.com/herstory/

Gaynes, B. N., Burns, B. J., Tweed, D. L., & Erickson, P. (2002). Depression and health-

related quality of life. *Journal of Nervous & Mental Disease, 190*(12), 799-806.

Gilkinson, T., & Sauvé, G. (2010). *Recent immigrants, earlier immigrants and the

Canadian-born: Association with collective identities*. Report to CIC.

Glenn, E. N. (2000). The social construction and institutionalization of gender and race:

An integrative framework. In M. M. Ferree, J. Lorber, & B. B. Hess (Eds.),

Revisioning gender (pp. 3-43). Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Grant, P. R. (2007). Sustaining a strong cultural and national identity: The acculturation

of immigrants and second-generation Canadians of Asian and African descent.

Journal of International Migration and Integration, *8*(1), 89–116.

http://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-007-0003-2

Guglani, S., Coleman, P. G., & Sonuga-Barke, E. J. (2000). Mental health of elderly

Asians in Britain: A comparison of Hindus from nuclear and extended families of

differing cultural identities. *International Journal of Geriatric Psychiatry, 15,*

1046–1053.

Gupta, A., Leong, F., Valentine, J. C., & Canada, D. D. (2013). A meta-analytic study:

The relationship between acculturation and depression among Asian Americans.

American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, *83*(2), 372–385.

http://doi.org/10.1111/ajop.12018

Herberg, E. (1990). The ethno-racial socioeconomic hierarchy in Canada: Theory and

analysis of the new vertical mosaic. *International Journal of Comparative

Sociology*, *31*(3-4), 206–221. Retrieved from

http://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/brill/ijcs/1990/00000031/f0020003/art000

05

James, C. E. (2012). Students "at risk": Stereotypes and the schooling of Black boys.

Urban Education, *47*(2), 464–494. doi:10.1177/0042085911429084

Joseph, N., Watson, N. N., Wang, Z., Case, A. D., & Hunter, C. D. (2013). Rules of

engagement: Predictors of Black Caribbean immigrants' engagement with African

American culture. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *19*(4), 414–

23. http://doi.org/10.1037/a0032659

Jurcik, T., Ahmed, R., Yakobov, E., & Solopieieva-Jurcikova, I. (2013). Understanding

the role of the ethnic density effect: Issues of acculturation, discrimination and

social support. *Journal of Community Psychology*, *41*(6), 662–678.

http://doi.org/10.1002/jcop

Kalin, R., & Berry, J. W. (1996). Interethnic attitudes in Canada: Ethnocentrism,

consensual hierarchy and reciprocity. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science*,

28(4), 253–261. http://doi.org/10.1037/0008-400X.28.4.253

Khanna, N. (2010). "If you're Black, you're just Black": Reflected appraisals and the

persistence of the one-drop rule. *The Sociological Quarterly, 51*, 96-121.

King, D. B., O'Rourke, N., & Delongis, A. (2014). Social media recruitment and online

data collection: A beginner's guide and best practices for accessing low-prevalence

and hard-to-reach populations. *Canadian Psychology/Psychologie Canadienne*,

55(4), 240–249.

Kovacs, M. (1980-1981). Rating scales to assess depression in school-aged children. *Acta

Paedopsychiatria, 46*, 305-315.

Kovacs, M. (1992). *Children's Depression Inventory (CDI) manual*. North Tonawanda,

NY: Multi-Health Systems.

Kramsch, C. (1998). *Language and culture*. Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Kruusvall, J., Vetik, R., & Berry, J. W. (2009). The strategies of inter-ethnic adaptation

of Estonian-Russians. *Studies of Transition States and Societies, 1*, 3–24.

Lalonde, R. N., Jones, J. M., & Stroink, M. L. (2008). Racial identity, racial attitudes, and

race socialization among Black Canadian parents. *Canadian Journal of

Behavioural Science*, *40*(3), 129–139. doi:10.1037/0008-400X.40.3.129

Lam, V., & Smith, G. (2009). African and Caribbean adolescents in Britain: Ethnic

identity and Britishness. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *32*(7), 1248–1270.

doi:10.1080/01419870802298421

Laurent, J., Catanzaro, S. J., Joiner Jr, T. E., Rudolph, K. D., Potter, K. I., Lambert, S., ...

& Gathright, T. (1999). A measure of positive and negative affect for children:

scale development and preliminary validation. *Psychological Assessment, 11*(3),

326.

Lebedeva, N., & Tatarko, A. (2012). Immigration and intercultural interaction strategies in post-Soviet Russia. In E. Tartakovsky (Ed.), *Immigration: Policies, challenges and impacts.* New York: Nova Science Publishers.

Lorenzo-Blanco, E. I., & Cortina, L. M. (2013). Towards an integrated understanding of Latino/a acculturation, depression, and smoking: A gendered analysis. *Journal of Latina/o Psychology*, *1*(1), 3–20. http://doi.org/10.1037/a0030951

Lorenzo-Blanco, E. I., Unger, J. B., Baezconde-Garbanati, L., Ritt-Olson, A., & Soto, D. (2012). Acculturation, enculturation, and symptoms of depression in Hispanic youth: The roles of gender, Hispanic cultural values, and family functioning. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *41*(10), 1350–1365. http://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-012-9774-7

Luter, C. (2014, June 20). The history of natural Black hair, plus how 2014's Afro has a whole new meaning. *Bustle*. Retrieved from http://www.bustle.com/articles/27404-the-history-of-natural-black-hair-plus-how-2014s-afro-has-a-whole-new-meaning

Manzo, J. F., & Bailey, M. M. On the assimilation of racial stereotypes among Black Canadian young offenders. *The Canadian Review of Sociology, 42*(3), 283-300.

Mechanic, D., McAlpine, D., Rosenfield, S., & Davis, D. (1994). Effects of illness attributionand depression on the quality of life among persons with serious mental illness. *Social Science & Medicine, 39*(2), 155-164.

Milan, A., & Tran, K. (2004). Blacks in Canada: A long history. *Statistics Canada*, *11*(008), 2–7.

Morrison, M. A. (2013). *Are Black immigrants a model minority? Race, ethnicity and social mobility in the United States* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from Sociological Abstracts. (201413321)

Nguyen, A. D., & Benet-Martínez, V. (2013). Biculturalism and adjustment: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *44*(1), 122–159. http://doi.org/10.1177/0022022111435097

Nguyen, L., & Peterson, C. (1993). Depressive symptoms among Vietnamese-American college students. *The Journal of Social Psychology, 133*, 65–71.

Oliveira, M. (2013, April 29). How do you compare? New report reveals stats about social media usage in Canada. *The Canadian Press*. Retrieved from http://www.mtm-otm.ca/press.asp

Parkin, A., & Mendelsohn, M. (2003). *A new Canada: An identity shaped by diversity*. Montréal: Centre for Research and Information on Canada.

Pasupuleti, S., Allen, R., Lambert, E. G., & Cluse-Tolar, T. (2009). The impact of work stressors on the life satisfaction of social service workers: A preliminary study. *Administration in Social Work, 33*(3), 319-339. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03643100902988141

Paterson, A. D., & Hakim-Larson, J. (2012). Arab youth in Canada: Acculturation, enculturation, social support, and life satisfaction. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, *40*(4), 206–215. http://doi.org/10.1002/j.2161-1912.2012.00018.x

Patterson, B., Kyu, H. H., & Georgiades, K. (2013). Age at immigration to Canada and

the occurrence of mood, anxiety, and substance use disorders. *Canadian Journal of

Psychiatry*, *58*(4), 210–217.

Phelps, R. E., Taylor, J. D., & Gerard, P. A. (2001). Cultural mistrust, ethnic identity, and

self-esteem among ethnically diverse black university students. *Journal of

Counseling & Development*, *79*(2), 209–216. http://doi.org/10.1002/j.1556-

6676.2001.tb01962.x

Phinney, J. S., Horenczyk, G., Liebkind, K., & Vedder, P. (2001). Ethnic identity,

immigration, and well-being: An interactional perspective. *Journal of Social Issues*,

57(3), 493–510. doi:10.1111/0022-4537.00225

Portes, A., & Zhou, M. (1993). The new second generation: Segmented assimilation and

its variants. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*,

530, 74–96.

Rauh, A. J. (2014). *Essays on Black immigrants in the US* (Doctoral dissertation).

Retrieved from EconLit. (1470928)

Reitz, J., & Banerjee, R. (2007). Racial inequality, social cohesion and policy issues in

Canada. In K. Banting, T. J. Courchene & F. L. Seidle (Eds.), *Belonging?

Diversity, recognition and shared citizenship in Canada.* Montreal, QC: Institute

for Research on Public Policy.

Rojas, L. B. (2011, April 7). Introducing the cultural mashup dictionary: Our first term,

1.5 generation. *Southern California Public Radio*. Retrieved from

http://www.scpr.org/blogs/multiamerican/2011/04/07/7099/introducing-the-

cultural-mashup-dictionary-our-fir/

Roshanaei-Moghaddam, B., Katon, W. J., & Russo, J. (2009). The longitudinal effects of depression on physical activity. *General Hospital Psychiatry, 31*(4), 306-315.

Rowley, S. A. J., Sellers, R. M., Chavous, T. M, & Smith, M. A. (1998). The relationship between racial identity and self-esteem in African American college and high school students. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 74*(3), 715-724.

Ryder, A. G., Alden, L. E., & Paulhus, D. L. (2000). Is acculturation unidimensional or bidimensional? A head-to-head comparison in the prediction of personality, self-identity, and adjustment. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 79*(1), 49-65. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.79.1.49

Ryder, A. G., Alden, L. E., Paulhus, D. L., & Dere, J. (2013). Does acculturation predict interpersonal adjustment? It depends on who you talk to. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *37*(4), 502–506. doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2013.02.002

Sarmiento, I. A., & Cardemil, E. V. (2009). Family functioning and depression in low-income Latino couples. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy, 35,* 432– 445. doi:10.1111/j.1752-0606.2009 .00139.x

Satzewich, V. & Liodakis, N. (2007). *'Race' and ethnicity in Canada: A critical introduction*. Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Sayegh, L., & Lasry, J. C. (1993). Immigrants' adaptation in Canada: Assimilation, acculturation, and orthogonal cultural identification. *Canadian Psychology/Psychologie Canadienne*, *34*(1), 98–109. doi:10.1037/h0078777

Scottham, K. M., Sellers, R. M., & Nguyên, H. X. (2008). A measure of racial identity in African American adolescents: the development of the Multidimensional Inventory

of Black Identity--Teen. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *14*(4), 297–306. http://doi.org/10.1037/1099-9809.14.4.297

Sefa Dei, G. J. Race and the production of identity in the schooling experiences of African-Canadian youth. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education, 18*(2), 241-257).

Sefa Dei, G. J., & James, I. M. (1998). "Becoming Black": African Canadian youth and the politics of negotiating racial and racialised identities. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 191–108. doi:10.1080/1361332980010107

Sellers, R. M., Copeland-Linder, N., Martin, P. P., & Lewis, R. L. H. (2006). Racial identity matters: The relationship between racial discrimination and psychological functioning in African American adolescents. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 16*, 187–216. doi:10.1111/j.1532- 7795.2006.00128.x

Sellers, R. M., Rowley, S. A. J., Chavous, T. M., Shelton, J. N., & Smith, M. A. (1997). Multidimensional inventory of Black identity: A preliminary investigation of reliability and construct validity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *73*(4), 805–815. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.73.4.805

Sellers, R. M., Smith, M. A., Shelton, J. N., Rowley, S. A., & Chavous, T. M. (1998). Multidimensional model of racial identity: A reconceptualization of African American racial identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *2*(1), 18–39. http://doi.org/10.1207/s15327957pspr0201_2

Sharpe, B. (1986). Ethnography and a regionalism system: Mental maps and the myth of states and tribes in north-central Nigeria. *Critique of Anthropology, 6*(3), 33-65.

Smedley, A., & Smedley, B. D. (2005). Race as biology is fiction, racism as a social

problem is real: Anthropological and historical perspectives on the social

construction of race. *American Psychologist, 60*(1), 16-26.

Spielberger, C. D. (1973). *Preliminary manual for the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory for

Children ("How I Feel Questionnaire")*. Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists

Press.

Statistics Canada. (2011a). *NHS profile, Canada, 2011*. Retrieved from

http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/dp-

pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=PR&Code1=01&Data=Count&SearchTe

xt=Canada&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=01&A1=All&B1=All&Custom=&T

ABID=1

Statistics Canada. (2011b). *Study: Projections of the diversity of the Canadian

population.* Retrieved from http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-

quotidien/100309/dq100309a-eng.htm

Statistics Canada. (2011c). *Visible minority population and top three visible minority

groups, selected census metropolitan areas, Canada, 2011*. Retrieved from

http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/as-sa/99-010-x/2011001/tbl/tbl2-

eng.cfm

Statistics Canada. (2015). *Immigration and ethnocultural diversity in Canada*. Retrieved

from https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/as-sa/99-010-x/99-010-x2011001-

eng.cfm

Stevens, J. P. (2009). *Applied multivariate statistics for the social sciences*, 5th Ed. New

York: Routledge.

Suldo, S. M., & Huebner, E. S. (2004). Does life satisfaction moderate the effects of

stressful life events on psychopathological behavior during adolescence? *School

Psychology Quarterly, 19*(2), 93-105.

Tabachnick, B. G. & Fidell, L. S. (2007). *Using multivariate statistics,* 5th ed. Toronto:

Allyn and Bacon.

Tajfel, H. (1970). Experiments in intergroup discrimination. *Scientific American, 223*(5),

96-102.

Tajfel, H. (1974). Social identity and intergroup behaviour. *Social Science

Information, 13*(2), 65–93.

Tajfel, H. (1982). Social psychology of intergroup relations. *Annual Review of

Psychology, 33*,1-39.

Takeuchi, D. T., Chung, R. C. Y., Lin, K. M., Shen, H., Kurasaki, K., Chun, C. A., &

Sue, S. (1998). Lifetime and twelve-month prevalence rates of major depressive

episodes and dysthymia among Chinese Americans in Los Angeles. *American

Journal of Psychiatry, 155*, 1407–1414.

Tatum, B. D. (1997). *"Why are all the Black kids sitting together in the cafeteria?" And

other conversations about race*. New York: Basic Books.

Taylor, D. M. (2002). *The quest for identity: From minority groups to Generation Xers*.

Westport: Greenwood.

Thompson, E. (2006). *The problem of "race as a social construct"*. Retrieved from

http://www.understandingrace.org/resources/pdf/rethinking/thompson.pdf

Thompson, C. (2008). Black women and identity: What's hair got to do with it?

Michigan Feminist Studies, 22(1). Retrieved from

http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.ark5583.0022.105

Tyson, K., Darity, W., & Castellino, D. R. (2005). It's not "a black thing": Understanding

the burden of acting white and other dilemmas of high achievement. *American

Sociological Review, 70*(4), 582-605.

Universities Canada. (n.d.). *2015 full-time and part-time fall enrolment at Canadian

universities.* Retrieved from http://www.univcan.ca/universities/facts-and-

stats/enrolment-by-university/

Ward, C., & Masgoret, A. M. (2008). Attitudes toward immigrants, immigration, and

multiculturalism in New Zealand: A social psychological analysis. *International

Migration Review, 42*, 222–243.

Waters, M. C. (2000). *Black identities: West Indian dreams and American realities*.

Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Watson, D., & Clark, L. A. (1991). *Preliminary manual for the PANAS-X: positive and

negative affect schedule-expanded form*. Southern Methodist University, Dallas.

Witzig, R. (1996). The medicalization of race: Scientific legitimization of a flawed social

construct. *Annals of Internal Medicine, 125*(8), 675-679. doi:10.7326/0003-4819-

125-8-199610150-00008.

Wolpe, H. (1986). Class concepts, class struggle and racism. In J. Rex & D. Mason

(Eds.), *Theories of race and ethnic relations* (110-130). New York, NY: Cambridge

University Press.

Wong, J. Y., Tran, K. K., Kim, S. H., Kerne, V. V. H., & Calfa, N. A. (2010). Asian

Americans' lay beliefs about depression and professional help seeking. *Journal of*

Clinical Psychology, 66, 317– 332.

Yap, S. C., Settles, I. H., & Pratt-Hyatt, J. S. (2011). Mediators of the relationship

between racial identity and life satisfaction in a community sample of African

American women and men. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology,*

17(1), 89.

Appendix A - Questionnaire

Inclusion Criteria and Geographic Location

1. What is your current age in years?
   • Continuous scale from 1-100 [skip logic – if 15 or younger, or 26 or older, participants will not be able to continue]

2. Which racial/ethnic group(s) do you identify with? Check all that apply. (*Modified categories from the 2006 Canadian Census*)
   a) Black
   b) Caribbean
   c) African
   d) White
   e) Latin American
   f) Asian
   g) Arab
   h) Other [skip logic – if Black, Caribbean, or African is not selected, they can't continue]

3. Were you born in Canada?
   a) Yes
   b) No.
[Display logic, if no]

3a. Where were you born? [blank space]

3b. How old were you when you moved to Canada? [list of 0-100]

4. Was your mother born in Canada?
   a) Yes
   b) No.
   c) I don't know
[Display logic, if no]
4a. Where was your mother born? [blank space]

5. Was your father born in Canada?
   a) Yes
   b) No.
   c) I don't know
[Display logic, if no]
5a. Where was your father born? [blank space]

[Skip logic – individuals who say yes to all three previous questions may not participate]

6. Have you ever lived in the Greater Toronto Area? (e.g., Toronto, Durham Region, Halton Region, Peel Region, York Region)
a) yes
b) no

[Skip logic if 'yes']

6a. Do you live in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) now?
a) yes
b) no

[Skip logic if 'yes]
6a1. How long have you lived in the GTA? [drop down menu for years and months]

[Skip logic if 'no']
6a2. How long did you live in the GTA? [drop down menu for years and months]

[Skip logic if they select 'no' or make no selection to question 6]

6b1. Where do you live?

[Skip logic if they select 'no' or make no selection to question 6a]

6b2. Where do you live now?

Acculturation Rating Scale for Black Canadians
Modified from Ferguson et al., 2012 and Ryder, 2000

Ferguson, G. M., Bornstein, M. H., & Pottinger, A. M. (2012). Tridimensional
        acculturation and adaptation among Jamaican adolescent-mother dyads in
        the United States. *Child Development, 83*(5), 1486-1493. doi:
        10.1111/j.1467-8624.2012.01787.x

Ryder, A. G., Alden, L. E., & Paulhus, D. L. (2000). Is acculturation unidimensional or
        bidimensional? A head-to-head comparison in the prediction of personality, self-
        identity, and adjustment. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 79*(1), 49-
        65. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.79.1.49

Please answer each question as carefully as possible using the following scale.

1 = none or not at all
2 = a bit or at times
3 = moderate(ly)
4 = much or often
5 = very much or always
6 = unsure/does not apply

Heritage Culture Orientation Subscale

The following questions will refer to your heritage culture, meaning the culture where you or your parents were born outside of Canada. If there are several such cultures, pick the one that has influenced you most.

Please write your heritage culture in the space provided: _____

1. I speak my heritage culture language/dialect (including pidgin English, Patois, etc.).
2. I like to interact with people from my heritage culture.
3. My friends, while I was growing up, were my heritage culture.
4. My friends now are my heritage culture.
5. I often participate in my heritage culture traditions.
6. I enjoy social activities with people from the same heritage culture as myself.
7. I am comfortable working with people of the same heritage culture as myself.
8. I enjoy entertainment (e.g., TV, movies, music) from my heritage culture.
9. I often behave in ways that I associate with my heritage culture.
10. It is important for me to maintain or develop the practices of my heritage culture.
11. I believe in the values of my heritage culture.
12. I enjoy the jokes and humour of my heritage culture.
13. I am interested in having friends from my heritage culture.

White Culture Orientation Subscale

The following questions will refer to White culture or White people. When thinking about White culture or White people, think of what is mainstream White culture in North America.

  Open-ended
1. What does mainstream White culture mean to you? [space provided]
2. Which individuals or groups do you consider mainstream White? [space provided]

1. I like to interact with White people.
2. My friends, while I was growing up, were White.
3. My friends now are White.
4. I often participate in mainstream White cultural traditions.
5. I enjoy social activities with mainstream White people.
6. I am comfortable working with mainstream White people.
7. I enjoy entertainment (e.g., TV, movies, music) from mainstream White culture.
8. I often behave in ways that I associate with mainstream White culture.
9. It is important for me to maintain or develop mainstream White cultural practices.
10. I believe in mainstream White values.
11. I enjoy mainstream White jokes and humour.
12. I am interested in having mainstream White friends.

Black Culture Orientation Subscale

The following questions will refer to Black culture or Black people. When thinking about Black culture or Black people, think of what is mainstream Black culture in North America.

     Open-ended
1. What does mainstream Black culture mean to you? [space provided]
2. Which individuals or groups do you consider mainstream Black? [space provided]

1. I like to interact with mainstream Black people.
2. My friends, while I was growing up, were mainstream Black.
3. My friends now are mainstream Black.
4. I often participate in mainstream Black cultural traditions.
5. I enjoy social activities with mainstream Black people.
6. I am comfortable working with mainstream Black people.
7. I enjoy entertainment (e.g., TV, movies, music) from mainstream Black culture.
8. I often behave in ways that I associate with mainstream Black culture.
9. It is important for me to maintain or develop mainstream Black cultural practices.
10. I believe in mainstream Black values.
11. I enjoy mainstream Black jokes and humour.
12. I am interested in having mainstream Black friends.

Perceived Cultural Compatibility

Cultural Incompatibilities Scale
Modified from Grant, 2007

Grant, P. R. (2007). Sustaining a strong cultural and national identity: The
      acculturation of immigrants and second-generation Canadians of Asian and
      African descent. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, *8*(1), 89–
      116. http://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-007-0003-2

The following questions will refer to Black culture or Black people. When thinking about Black culture or Black people, think of what is mainstream in North America.

Please rate your agreement with the following statements.

1 = strongly disagree
2 = somewhat disagree
3 = neither agree nor disagree
4 = somewhat agree
5 = strongly agree
6 = unsure/does not apply

1. I feel like a different person when I am with my mainstream Black friends compared to when I am with friends from my heritage culture group.
2. I feel that mainstream Black family values are NOT compatible with the family values of my heritage culture.
3. I feel that the way mainstream Black people raise their children is NOT compatible with the way children are raised in my heritage culture.
4. The way young mainstream Black women dress is NOT compatible with the customs in my heritage culture.
5. Mainstream Black people do not share their wealth and possessions with their family as much as people from my heritage culture.
6. I feel that my heritage culture's values and beliefs are rejected by mainstream Black culture.

The following questions will refer to White culture or White people. When thinking about White culture or White people, think of what is mainstream in North America.

Please rate your agreement with the following statements.

1 = strongly disagree
2 = somewhat disagree
3 = neither agree nor disagree
4 = somewhat agree
5 = strongly agree
6 = unsure/does not apply

1. I feel like a different person when I am with my White friends compared to when I am with friends from my heritage culture group.
2. I feel that White family values are NOT compatible with the family values of my heritage culture.
3. I feel that the way White people raise their children is NOT compatible with the way children are raised in my heritage culture.
4. The way young White women dress is NOT compatible with the customs in my heritage culture.
5. White people do not share their wealth and possessions with their family as much as people from my heritage culture.
6. I feel that my heritage culture's values and beliefs are rejected by mainstream White culture.

The Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity—Teen
Scottham et al., 2008

Please rate your agreement with the following statements.

1 = really disagree
2 = kind of disagree
3 = neutral

4 = kind of agree
5 = really agree

Centrality

1. I feel close to other Black people.
2. I have a strong sense of belonging to other Black people.
3. If I were to describe myself to someone, one of the first things that I would say is that I'm Black.

Private Regard

4. I am happy that I am Black.
5. I am proud to be Black.
6. I feel good about Black people.

Public Regard

7. Most people think that Blacks are as smart as people of other races.
8. People think that Blacks are as good as people from other races.
9. People from other races think that Blacks have made important contributions.

Nationalism
10. Black parents should surround their children with Black art and Black roots.
11. Whenever possible, Blacks should buy from Black businesses.
12. Blacks should support Black entertainment by going to Black movies and watching Black TV shows.

Humanism
13. Being an individual is more important than identifying yourself as Black.
14. Blacks should think of themselves as individuals, not as Blacks.
15. Black people should not consider race when deciding what movies to go see.

Assimilation
16. It is important that Blacks go to White schools so that they can learn how to act around Whites.
17. I think it is important for Blacks not to act Black around White people.
18. Blacks should act more like Whites to be successful in this society.

Oppressed Minority
19. People of all minority groups should stick together and fight discrimination.
20. There are other people who experience discrimination similar to Blacks.
21. Blacks should spend less time focusing on how we differ from other minority groups and more time focusing on how we are similar to people from other minority groups.

Subjective Well-Being

The Satisfaction with Life Scale

Diener, E., Emmons, R. A., Larsen, R. J., & Griffin, S. (1985). The satisfaction with life
         scale. *Journal of Personality Assessment, 49*(1), 71-75.

Please rate your agreement with the following questions.

1 = strongly disagree
2 = disagree
3 = slightly disagree
4 = neither agree nor disagree
5 = slightly agree
6 = agree
7 = strongly agree

1. In most ways my life is close to my ideal.
2. The conditions of my life are excellent.
3. I am satisfied with my life.
4. So far I have gotten the important things I want in life.
5. If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.

The Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS)

Laurent, J., Catanzaro, S. J., Joiner, T. E., Rudolph, K. D., Potter, K. I., Lambert, S., …
         Gathright, T. (1999). A measure of positive and negative affect for children: Scale
         development and preliminary validation. *Psychological Assessment*, *11*(3), 326–
         338.

This scale consists of a number of words that describe different feelings and emotions.
Read each item and then select the appropriate answer for each word. Indicate to what
extent you generally feel this way (how you feel on the average).

1 = very slightly or not at all
2 = a little
3 = moderately
4 = quite a bit
5 = extremely

   1. Interested
   2. Sad
   3. Frightened
   4. Excited
   5. Ashamed
   6. Upset

  7. Happy
  8. Strong
  9. Nervous
  10. Guilty
  11. Energetic
  12. Scared
  13. Calm
  14. Miserable
  15. Jittery
  16. Cheerful
  17. Active
  18. Proud
  19. Afraid
  20. Joyful
  21. Lonely
  22. Mad
  23. Disgusted
  24. Delighted
  25. Blue
  26. Gloomy
  27. Lively

1. What do you think it means to be Black in Canada? [space provided]
2. How do you think other Black people feel about your heritage cultural group? [space provided]
3. Is there anything you would like to add about your experience of being Black in Canada? [space provided]

<u>Demographic Questions</u>

1. What is your gender?
   a) Male
   b) Female
   c) Other: [open field]

2. What is your highest level of education?
   a) Some high school or less
   b) High school diploma, GED, or equivalent
   c) Some college
   d) College, CEGEP, or non-university certificate or diploma
   e) Some university
   f) Bachelor's Degree (including LL.B)
   g) Certificate or diploma above Bachelor level
   h) Some postgraduate
   i) Master's Degree

j) Degree in medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine or optometry
k) PhD
l) Other

3. What is your mother's highest level of education?
a) Some high school or less
b) High school diploma, GED, or equivalent
c) Some college
d) College, CEGEP, or non-university certificate or diploma
e) Some university
f) Bachelor's Degree (including LL.B)
g) Certificate or diploma above Bachelor level
h) Some postgraduate
i) Master's Degree
j) Degree in medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine or optometry
k) PhD
l) Other

4. What is your father's highest level of education?
a) Some high school or less
b) High school diploma, GED, or equivalent
c) Some college
d) College, CEGEP, or non-university certificate or diploma
e) Some university
f) Bachelor's Degree (including LL.B)
g) Certificate or diploma above Bachelor level
h) Some postgraduate
i) Master's Degree
j) Degree in medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine or optometry
k) PhD
l) Other

5. What religion were you raised in?

a) Roman Catholic
b) Other Christian
c) Muslim
d) Other
e) Non-religious

6. What religion are you in now?
a) Roman Catholic
b) Other Christian
c) Muslim
d) Other
e) Non-religious

Participant Screening

The data from this page will not be connected to the data from your questionnaire.

1. Did you register for this study through the University of Windsor Psychology Participant Pool?

    a) yes
    b) no

[Display logic if 'yes]

1b. Please provide your name to receive 1 bonus point for your participation.
First name: [blank space]
Last name: [blank space]

[Display logic if 'no']

1b. Please provide your contact information to be entered in a draw for a chance to win one of four $50 Amazon gift cards.

Appendix B - ARSBC

Full ARSJA Items

1. I speak Jamaican Patios.
2. I enjoy speaking Jamaican Patois.
3. I associate with Black Americans.
4. I associate with White Americans.
5. I associate with Jamaicans and/or Jamaican Americans.
6. I enjoy listening to Jamaican music.
7. I enjoy listening to White American music.
8. I enjoy listening to African American music.
9. I enjoy Jamaican TV/movies.
10. I enjoy African American TV.
11. I enjoy African American movies.
12. I enjoy White American TV.
13. I enjoy White American movies.
14. I enjoy reading Jamaican books/newspapers/magazines.
15. I enjoy reading White American books/newspapers/magazines.
16. I enjoy reading African American books/newspapers/magazines.
17. I write (letters, emails, and other correspondence) in Jamaican Patois.
18. My thinking is done in Jamaican Patois.
19. How much contact have you had with Jamaica?
20. How much contact have you had with Black America?
21. How much contact have you had with White America?
22. My father identifies/identified himself as Jamaican.
23. My mother identifies/identified herself as Jamaican.
24. My friends, while I was growing up, were of Jamaican origin.
25. My friends, while I was growing up, were of White American/European American origin.
26. My friends, while I was growing up, were of Black American/African American origin.
27. My family cooks Jamaican foods.
28. My friends now are of White American/European American origin.
29. My friends now are of Black American/African American origin.
30. My friends are now of Jamaican origin.
31. I like to identify myself as Black American/African American.
32. I like to identify myself as White American/European American.
33. I like to identify myself as Jamaican American.
34. I like to identify myself as Jamaican.

Full VIA Items

1. I often participate in my heritage cultural traditions.
2. I often participate in mainstream North American cultural traditions.

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

Rationale for including/excluding above items on the Acculturation Rating Scale for Black Canadians

Heritage Culture Orientation Subscale

Scale	#	Item	Included	Comment
ARSJA	1	I speak Jamaican Patios.	Modified	Although there is no corresponding question for the other subscales, speaking a language or dialect is an important component of culture (Kramsch, 1998). Modified to include all heritage cultures. "I speak my heritage culture language/dialect (including pidgin English, Patois, etc.)."
ARSJA	2	I enjoy speaking Jamaican Patois.	No	There is no corresponding question for the other subscales.
ARSJA	5	I associate with Jamaicans and/or Jamaican Americans.	Modified	Ferguson et al. (2014) dropped this item from the African-American Orientation Scale to improve scale reliability. A group of informants indicated that they did not understand what "associate with" meant. Modified to include all heritage cultures.

				"I like to interact with people from my heritage culture."
ARSJA	6	I enjoy listening to Jamaican music.	No	The VIA includes a comprehensive question regarding "entertainment" that was used instead.
ARSJA	9	I enjoy Jamaican TV/movies.	No	The VIA includes a comprehensive question regarding "entertainment" that was used instead.
ARSJA	14	I enjoy reading Jamaican books/newspapers/magazines.	No	The VIA includes a comprehensive question regarding "entertainment" that was used instead.
ARSJA	17	I write (letters, emails, and other correspondence) in Jamaican Patois.	No	There is no corresponding question for the other subscales. Additionally, a question like this may be highly dependent on who the email is intended for and for what purpose.
ARSJA	18	My thinking is done in Jamaican Patois.	No	There is no corresponding question for the other subscales.
ARSJA	19	How much contact have you had with Jamaica?	No	A group of key informants indicated that it is unclear what is meant by "contact" (e.g., telephone, Internet, in person?) and unclear with whom (other people in Canada of one's heritage culture or people in one's heritage country).
ARSJA	22	My father identifies/identified himself as Jamaican.	No	There is no corresponding question for the other subscales.
ARSJA	23	My mother identifies/identified herself as Jamaican.	No	There is no corresponding question for the other subscales.
ARSJA	24	My friends, while I was growing up, were of Jamaican origin.	Modified	Modified to include all heritage cultures. "My friends, while I was growing up, were my heritage culture."
ARSJA	25	My family cooks Jamaican foods.	No	There is no corresponding question for the other subscales.
ARSJA	30	My friends are now of Jamaican origin.	Modified	Modified to include all heritage cultures. "My friends now are my heritage culture."
ARSJA	33	I like to identify myself as Jamaican American.	No	Boatswain & Lalonde (2000) found that, for a sample of Black Canadian students, it was uncommon for them to self-identify with a combined ethnic label such as "Jamaican Canadian" or "Afro-Canadian." Canadian

				identity is such that Canadians do not feel the need to hyphenate, since being "Canadian" can include other nationalities, thanks to the official multiculturalism policy (Gilkinson & Sauvé, 2010). This question would be more relevant for American participants.
ARSJA	34	I like to identify myself as Jamaican.	No	Participants are asked to identify the most influential heritage culture on themselves or their families at the beginning of this subscale.
VIA	1	I often participate in my heritage cultural traditions.	Yes	
VIA	3	I would be willing to marry a person from my heritage culture.	No	It is unclear whether this question refers to other Canadians of one's heritage culture, or a person of one's heritage culture who has never left the heritage country.
VIA	5	I enjoy social activities with people from the same heritage culture as myself.	Yes	
VIA	7	I am comfortable working with people of the same heritage culture as myself.	Yes	
VIA	9	I enjoy entertainment (e.g., movies, music) from my heritage culture.	Modified	Modified to include TV as an example of entertainment. "I enjoy entertainment (e.g., TV, movies, music) from my heritage culture."
VIA	11	I often behave in ways that are typical of my heritage culture.	Modified	A group of informants flagged the word "typical" as forcing participants to think of stereotypes. "I often behave in ways that I associate with my heritage culture."
VIA	13	It is important for me to maintain or develop the practices of my heritage culture.	Yes	
VIA	15	I believe in the values of my	Yes	

Scale	#	Item	Included	Comment
		heritage culture.		
VIA	17	I enjoy the jokes and humor of my heritage culture.	Yes	
VIA	19	I am interested in having friends from my heritage culture.	Yes	

*Items from the VIA that reference "North American" culture were used for both the White Culture Orientation Subscale and the Black Culture Orientation Subscale

White Culture Orientation Subscale

Scale	#	Item	Included	Comment
ARSJA	4	I associate with White Americans.	Modified	Ferguson et al. (2014) dropped this item from the African-American Orientation Scale to improve scale reliability. A group of informants indicated that they did not understand what "associate with" meant. Modified from "White Americans" to "White people". "I like to interact with White people."
ARSJA	7	I enjoy listening to White American music.	No	The VIA includes a comprehensive question regarding "entertainment" that was used instead.
ARSJA	12	I enjoy White American TV.	No	The VIA includes a comprehensive question regarding "entertainment" that was used instead.
ARSJA	13	I enjoy White American movies.	No	The VIA includes a comprehensive question regarding "entertainment" that was used instead.
ARSJA	15	I enjoy reading White American books/newspapers/magazines.	No	The VIA includes a comprehensive question regarding "entertainment" that was used instead.
ARSJA	21	How much contact have you had with White America?	No	The corresponding question for the heritage culture orientation subscale was not used.
ARSJA	25	My friends, while I was growing up, were of White American/European	Modified	Modified "White American/European American origin" to "White." "My friends, while I was growing up, were

		American origin.		White."
ARSJA	28	My friends now are of White American/European American origin.	Modified	Modified "White American/European American origin" to "White." "My friends now are White."
ARSJA	32	I like to identify myself as White American/European American.	No	Individuals must identify as Black to participate in the study.
VIA	2	I often participate in mainstream North American cultural traditions.	Modified	Modified "White American/European American origin" to "White." "I often participate in mainstream White cultural traditions."
VIA	4	I would be willing to marry a North American person.	No	The corresponding question for the heritage culture orientation subscale was not used.
VIA	6	I enjoy social activities with typical North American people.	Modified	A group of informants flagged the word "typical" as forcing participants to think of stereotypes. Instead of "typical North American," "mainstream White" was used because participants are asked to define for themselves what "mainstream White" means. "I enjoy social activities with mainstream White people."
VIA	8	I am comfortable working with typical North American people.	Yes	Modified "North American" to "mainstream White" and use of the word "typical". "I am comfortable working with mainstream White people."
VIA	10	I enjoy North American entertainment (e.g., movies, music).	Modified	Modified "North American" to "mainstream White." Included TV as an example of entertainment. A group of informants indicated that the term "White entertainment" was misleading, since much of what is popular, particularly in music, is derived from elements of mainstream Black culture. Consequently, the item was reworded to reflect who is creating the entertainment, rather than taking a political stance about to whom the intellectual property belongs.

Scale	#	Item	Included	Comment
				"I enjoy entertainment (e.g., TV, movies, music) from mainstream White culture."
VIA	12	I often behave in ways that are 'typically North American.'	Modified	A group of informants flagged the word "typically" as forcing participants to think of stereotypes. Modified "North American" to "White." "I often behave in ways that I associate with mainstream White culture."
VIA	14	It is important for me to maintain or develop North American cultural practices.	Modified	Modified "North American" to "mainstream White". "It is important for me to maintain or develop mainstream White cultural practices."
VIA	16	I believe in mainstream North American values.		Modified "North American" to "White". "I believe in mainstream White values."
VIA	18	I enjoy typical North American jokes and humor.	Modified	Modified "typical North American" to "mainstream White". "I enjoy mainstream White jokes and humour."
VIA	20	I am interested in having North American friends.	Modified	Modified "North American" to "mainstream White". "I am interested in having mainstream White friends."

Black Culture Orientation Subscale

Scale	#	Item	Included	Comment
ARSJA	3	I associate with Black Americans.	Modified	Ferguson et al. (2014) dropped this item from the African-American Orientation Scale to improve scale reliability. A group of informants indicated that they did not understand what "associate with" meant. Additionally, modified from "Black Americans" to "mainstream Black people." The distinction of "mainstream Black" was made because Canadians of African and Caribbean descent also identify as "Black" (Boatswain &

				Lalonde, 2000). However, some individuals may or may not feel that their heritage cultures would be categorized as part of the dominant Black group in North America. The open-ended questions prior to this subscale would shed light on what participants mean when they answer this question. "I like to interact with mainstream Black people."
ARSJA	8	I enjoy listening to African American music.	No	The VIA includes a comprehensive question regarding "entertainment" that was used instead.
ARSJA	10	I enjoy African American TV.	No	The VIA includes a comprehensive question regarding "entertainment" that was used instead.
ARSJA	11	I enjoy African American movies.	No	The VIA includes a comprehensive question regarding "entertainment" that was used instead.
ARSJA	16	I enjoy reading African American books/newspapers/magazines.	No	The VIA includes a comprehensive question regarding "entertainment" that was used instead.
ARSJA	20	How much contact have you had with Black America?	No	The corresponding question for the heritage culture orientation subscale was not used.
ARSJA	26	My friends, while I was growing up, were of Black American/African American origin.	Modified	Modified from "Black American/African American origin" to "Black." Participants are instructed at the start of the scale to think of what is mainstream in North America, and to define it explicitly. "My friends, while I was growing up, were Black."
ARSJA	29	My friends now are of Black American/African American origin.	Modified	Modified from "Black American/African American origin" to "Black." "My friends now are Black."
ARSJA	31	I like to identify myself as Black American/African American.	No	Individuals must identify as Black to participate in the study. Boatswain & Lalonde (2000) found that Black people in Canada were unlikely to identify as "African Canadian" or "Afro-Canadian", and a singular dominant Black culture in

				Canada is not as clearly defined as African American culture is in the United States. This question refers to identifying as part of a specific dominant ethnocultural group in the U.S., which is not quite defined in Canada.
VIA	2	I often participate in mainstream North American cultural traditions.	Modified	Modified from "North American" to "Black." "I often participate in mainstream Black cultural traditions."
VIA	4	I would be willing to marry a North American person.	No	The corresponding question for the heritage culture orientation subscale was not used.
VIA	6	I enjoy social activities with typical North American people.	Modified	A group of informants flagged the word "typical" as forcing participants to think of stereotypes. Modified "typical North American" to "mainstream Black." "I enjoy social activities with mainstream Black people."
VIA	8	I am comfortable working with typical North American people.	Modified	Modified "North American" to "mainstream Black" and use of the word "typical." "I am comfortable working with mainstream Black people."
VIA	10	I enjoy North American entertainment (e.g., movies, music).	Modified	Modified "North American" to "mainstream Black." Included TV as an example of entertainment. Reworded the item to be equivalent to the wording on the White Culture Orientation Subscale. "I enjoy entertainment (e.g., TV, movies, music) from mainstream Black culture."
VIA	12	I often behave in ways that are 'typically North American.'	Modified	A group of informants flagged the word "typically" as forcing participants to think of stereotypes. Modified "North American" to "Black." "I often behave in ways that I associate with mainstream Black culture."
VIA	14	It is important for me to maintain or	Modified	Modified "North American" to "mainstream Black".

		develop North American cultural practices.		"It is important for me to maintain or develop mainstream Black cultural practices."
VIA	16	I believe in mainstream North American values.	Modified	Modified "North American" to "Black." "I believe in mainstream Black values."
VIA	18	I enjoy typical North American jokes and humor.	Modified	Modified "typical North American" to "mainstream Black". "I enjoy mainstream Black jokes and humour."
VIA	20	I am interested in having North American friends.	Modified	Modified "North American" to "mainstream Black." "I am interested in having mainstream Black friends."

Vita Auctoris

NAME: Abunya C. Medina

PLACE OF BIRTH: Makurdi, Nigeria

YEAR OF BIRTH: 1989

EDUCATION: Heart Lake Secondary School, Brampton, ON, 2007

                           York University, B.A., Toronto, ON, 2012

                           University of Windsor, M.A., Windsor, ON, 2016