What Does it Mean to be Black in North America? Interrogating Ethnic-Racial Identity in Context

by

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Dedication

For my childhood self, and all the little Black girls who grew up feeling unseen.

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It is quite incredible that three of my committee members are the literal reason I am now here, at the University of Michigan. Debbie put U of M on my radar, which prompted me to apply to the University of Windsor's PhD program because it was nearby. While at U Windsor, I met Jacquie at a conference where she suggested I apply to the Black Graduate Conference in Psychology (BGCP), which would take place at U of M that year. At the time, I didn't have the confidence to apply, so I decided preemptively my work wasn't good enough and missed the deadline. Jacquie's then-grad student, (now Dr.) Esohe Osai followed up with me to make sure I applied to the conference. After seeing me present my work at BGCP, Stephanie reached out to me and told me to apply to U of M to work with her—and the rest is history!

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Abstract

To fully understand what it means to be Black in North America, researchers must consider not only the experiences of multigenerational African Americans, but also the experiences of Black youth with foreign-born parents (i.e., immigrant-origin Black youth). This dissertation aims to illuminate the racialization experiences of immigrant-origin Black adolescents and emerging adults in North America, a population that is often overlooked in both ethnic-racial identity (ERI) and acculturation research. In doing so, the present dissertation draws from multiple theoretical frameworks, including social identity theory, the phenomenological variant of ecological systems theory, intersectionality, and multiplicity. Paper 1 highlights conceptual and methodological limitations in understanding the ERI of immigrant-origin Black youth. By drawing from acculturation literature, I propose associations between various dimensions of ERI and positive adjustment that have yet to be tested. Paper 1 closes with recommendations for researchers and practitioners. Paper 2 tests whether commonly used ERI measures function similarly for immigrant-origin Black adolescents and U.S.-origin Black adolescents when asked to report on their ethnicity. Results support scalar invariance for the EIS-B, and partial scalar invariance for the MIBI-T. In other words, immigrant-origin Black adolescents and U.S.-origin Black adolescents may be pooled together or compared when using the EIS-B. However, their mean levels on the modified MIBI-T constructs could not be compared with this study sample. Paper 3 examines the cultural orientations of immigrant-origin Black adolescents and emerging adults in Canada, as well as how their perceptions of their racial group's status (i.e., public regard) serve as an important link between cultural orientation and

psychological well-being. Consistent with prior research in the U.S., results demonstrate evidence of tridimensional acculturation in Canada. Further, whereas heritage culture orientation contributes directly to life satisfaction, the positive relation between mainstream White culture orientation and life satisfaction is indirect through public regard. These results suggest the importance of both ethnicity and race in the well-being of immigrant-origin Black youth and young adults. Given the detrimental impact of anti-Black racism on Black youth, this dissertation will unpack the processes through which those with immigrant origins develop more adaptive outcomes.

Chapter 1 Introduction

In a society where both anti-Black racism and xenophobia limit the opportunities of both Black people and immigrants, understanding what it means to be Black for Black youth and emerging adults with foreign-born parents is critical for their success. A large body of literature demonstrates that the meaning individuals make about ethnicity and/or race (i.e., their ethnic-racial identity or ERI) has important implications for their psychosocial and academic adjustment (Miller-Cotto & Byrnes, 2016; Rivas-Drake et al., 2014). What is less known is how these processes play out for immigrant-origin Black youth and emerging adults. Rather, in the public imagination, "Black" and "immigrant" tend to be mutually exclusive categories, despite the Black immigrant population representing millions of Americans (Anderson, 2015; Smith, 2014).

Statement of Problem and Significance

Investigating what it means to be Black in North America without taking immigrant-origin Black youth and emerging adults into consideration tells an incomplete story. When researchers use "Black" and "African American" interchangeably, while also defining "African American" as descended from enslaved Africans in the U.S., they inadvertently define "Black" as "not immigrant" and "immigrant" as "not Black." As a result, the experiences of millions of Black Americans and Canadians with recent immigrant heritage are left underrepresented. Both ERI literature (which speaks to race) and acculturation literature (which speaks to immigration) are limited in their understanding of immigrant-origin Black youth and emerging adults by separating race-related and immigration-related experiences.

The present dissertation asks the question of what it means to be Black in North America for Black youth and emerging adults with non-U.S. heritage. In doing so, this work aims to fill three gaps in the literature. The first is the lack of theoretical underpinning for the inclusion of immigrant-origin Black youth when considering Black youth's ERI. The second gap is the lack of empirical support for pooling immigrant-origin Black youth and U.S.-origin Black youth together when examining ERI. The third gap is the absence of considering racial identity in acculturation literature.

Paper 1 postulates theoretical differences in ERI between immigrant-origin Black youth and U.S.-origin Black youth, highlights current barriers to examining such differences, and provides recommendations for researchers. Paper 2 tests the validity of extant ERI measures across both groups. Paper 3 demonstrates the importance of both culture and race in the well-being of immigrant-origin Black adolescents and emerging adults. Taken together, the present dissertation contributes to the literature by considering both ERI and acculturation from a perspective that is inclusive of immigrant-origin Black youth and emerging adults. Integrating ERI perspectives with acculturation perspectives provides a richer understanding of the experiences of immigrant-origin Black youth.

Why the U.S. and Canada?

There are a number of important reasons to consider what it means to be Black in both a U.S. and Canadian context. Beyond simply being geographically close, the two countries are culturally similar, with Canada being heavily impacted by the U.S. due to economic interdependence, globalization, U.S. media, and U.S. dominance on the global stage (Cameron & Berry, 2008). Both countries have similar histories of Europeans colonizing Indigenous peoples as well as enslaving African peoples (Amadahy & Lawrence, 2009). Both countries are diverse

as a result of their histories, with the presence of Indigenous peoples, descendants of European colonizers and enslavers, descendants of enslaved Africans, and immigrants from all over the world.

With their diversity comes different demographics as well as differing approaches to addressing their diversity. Whereas immigrant-origin Black people comprise the overwhelming majority of Black people in Canada, they represent a smaller but growing share of Black people in the U.S. And whereas Canada maintains an official multiculturalism policy that encourages the retention of diverse cultures as part of the definition of being Canadian, the U.S. is often described as more of a "melting pot" (Berry, 2013).

In the U.S. and Canada, Blackness is associated with negative stereotypes, with a long history rooted in the dehumanization of African peoples to justify slavery (Dei, 2018; Williams, 2005). The consequences of such dehumanization continue to persist and negatively affect the lives of Black people living today. Examining the role of ERI in adjustment for immigrant-origin Black youth across both Canada and the U.S. provides a broader understanding of how these youth navigate their identities in both a multicultural and melting pot context.

Theoretical Frameworks

In the present dissertation, I draw from multiple interdisciplinary frameworks, each underpinned by social identity theory. Identity is broadly defined by psychologists as who we believe ourselves to be (Erikson, 1968) and reflects more than simply a collection of traits. It is a project: a sustained personal narrative about the self that is continually constructed throughout the lifespan and provides a script about what to do, how to act, and who to be (Barker, 2012; Hall, 1990). These scripts guide our thoughts, feelings, and behaviors, and have implications for our life outcomes (Erikson, 1968; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014).

Social identity theory proposes that, in addition to the portion of our identity based on our characteristics as individuals, we all construct social identities based on our membership in particular groups (Tajfel, 1974). For Black people living in a White supremacist 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, 2017). 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. 6), its power as a social construction is immeasurable. Historically, pseudoscience has tied race to personality, criminality, intelligence, and human dignity or worth, with Black people positioned as deficient in some way (Dei, 2018; Nisbett et al., 2012).

As a result, Black people in the U.S. and Canada been racialized into a political identity at the bottom of the social hierarchy (Galabuzi & Teelucksingh, 2010; Herberg, 1990) for the purposes of "social, economic, and political subordination" (Barker, 2012, p. 254). Previous researchers have distinguished between a racial identity—the feeling of *being* Black—and a racialized identity—the process of *becoming* Black (Dei & James, 1998). Understanding the ERI of immigrant-origin Black youth means first understanding the extent to which they are racialized into what Blackness means in North America. Second, we must understand the implications of navigating multiple national, ethnic, and racial identities. The theory of multiplicity further contends that immigrant-origin Black youth are not just racialized into Blackness, but they are by definition a part of it (Medford, 2019). Indeed, Medford (2019) argues that we must consider Black immigrants as contributing to the meaning of Blackness rather than positioning this group as outside the core meaning.

This positioning has important implications for immigrant-origin Black youth. Intersectionality posits that a person's social position on the basis of multiple marginalized (or privileged) identities results in a unique experience, rather than simply the additive effect of each identity (Crenshaw, 1989/1993). In addition to Blackness being stigmatized in society, immigrants have been stigmatized (Wei et al., 2019). In other words, immigrant-origin Black youth experience both anti-Black racism and xenophobia. By holding these two marginalized identities, immigrant-origin Black youth are positioned as outside the "core" identity of both Black people and immigrants, and thus experience intersectional invisibility due to having their unique experience ignored (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). This invisibility results in an inability to support these youth as they navigate their unique experience.

The meaning individuals make about their social position has a symbiotic relationship with their environment, with their environment contributing to identity development and their identity shaping their interpretation of their environment (Spencer et al., 2006). Thus, the present dissertation draws from the phenomenological variant of ecological systems theory (PVEST), which posits links between a person's identity and their context. In line with PVEST, immigrant-origin Black youth are informed by different contexts and may have different meaning-making processes around ERI compared to U.S.-origin Black youth because they are socialized by parents from contexts outside the U.S. As these youth and their parents are navigating U.S. and Canadian society, they are presented with the options of maintaining their heritage cultural markers, in addition to adopting the cultural markers of the mainstream White or European American culture, and the mainstream Black or African American culture (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2014; Medina et al., 2019).

Social identity theory suggests that individuals have a vested interest in maintaining a positive self-view based on ethnicity or race, and they may simultaneously define themselves as part of larger groups and smaller subgroups (Tajfel, 1982). Thus, individuals may define themselves in terms of membership in the larger racial group (i.e., Black), as well as specific cultural groups (e.g., Nigerian, West African). Given our desire to maintain positive self-views and the negative stereotypes associated with being Black in North America, it is necessary to understand the ways in which immigrant-origin Black youth negotiate their ethnic-racial identities, in addition to the implications. The present dissertation considers the intersection of race, ethnicity, and immigrant generation status as a unique social position for immigrant-origin Black youth.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

The present dissertation is composed of one theoretical paper and two empirical studies. In paper 1, I identify conceptual and methodological gaps in ERI literature among Black youth with respect to immigrant generation status. I provide a theoretical rationale for unique ERI development as well as different associations between ERI and adjustment for immigrant-origin Black youth, drawing from acculturation research. Based on previous theory and literature, I advance several hypotheses about the differential functioning of ERI for immigrant-origin Black youth. I close with recommendations for research and practice to be more inclusive of immigrant-origin Black youth.

In paper 2, I examine the extent to which generalized ERI measures function in the same way for immigrant-origin Black youth and U.S.-origin Black youth. I overview the measurement properties of the Ethnic Identity Scale-Brief as well as the theoretically universal components of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity-Teen. In this paper, I do not advance specific

hypotheses. Using a structural equation modeling framework, I explore the invariance of these measures across immigrant-origin and U.S.-origin Black youth, and close with implications for ERI research with Black youth.

In paper 3, I investigate interrelations among acculturation, racial identity, and well-being for Black Canadian adolescents and emerging adults with recent African or Caribbean heritage. In this paper I advance the following hypotheses: (1) Participants would be more oriented toward the mainstream Black culture than the mainstream White culture; (2a) White culture orientation and life satisfaction would be positively correlated; (2b) the positive relation between White culture orientation and life satisfaction would be indirect through public regard; (3a) heritage culture orientation and life satisfaction would be positively correlated; (3b) the positive relation between heritage culture orientation and life satisfaction would *not* be indirect through public regard; (4) Black culture orientation and public regard would be positively correlated.

Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation has five chapters. The first chapter was an introduction to the dissertation as a whole. Chapters 2 through 4 contain the three individual manuscripts, respectively. Paper 3 has already been published, and Papers 1 and 2 will be submitted for review shortly. Chapter 5 contains an integrative discussion.

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Chapter 2 Conceptual Paper

"Other People's Battles"? Toward an Integrative Model of Ethnic-Racial Identity for Immigrant-Origin Black Youth

> 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.
>
> - Chimamanda Adichie, *Americanah (Adichie, 2013)*

On July 4th, 2018, a Congolese-born Black woman named Therese Patricia Okoumou climbed up the Statue of Liberty to protest against the U.S. separating families at the border of the U.S. and Mexico (León, 2018). Her actions sparked a debate online about the role of race in the immigration discourse, and the role of immigration for some Black Americans. Some arguments stated that immigration was a Latinx fight in which Black people should not involve themselves and that her protest signified a larger problem of Black people taking on "other people's battles" (León, 2018). What these arguments failed to take into account was that some Black people living in the U.S. *are* foreign-born (Anderson & López, 2018) and therefore directly affected by immigration policy.

Such debates have implications for Black youth with foreign-born parents (i.e., immigrant-origin Black youth). Adolescence and emerging adulthood are important periods for thinking about the significance and meaning of ethnicity and race in our lives (i.e., ethnic-racial identity or ERI; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). ERI is a multidimensional construct that refers to what a person's ethnicity and/or race means to them, how important it is in the way they define themselves, and the

process through which a person develops that meaning and importance (Sellers et al., 1997; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). With scholars increasingly finding that the link between ERI and adjustment is context-dependent (Yip et al., 2019), the immigrant heritage of some Black youth is a context that can no longer be overlooked.

Black people in the U.S. and Canada experience high levels of racial discrimination and limited opportunities, resulting in health, wealth, and academic disparities (Chambers, 2009; Kochhar & Fry, 2014; Paradies et al., 2015). Caught between two worlds, immigrant-origin Black youth must navigate ERI development in the midst of family adaptation to a new society (i.e., acculturation), uniquely experiencing both anti-Black racism *and* xenophobia (Spencer et al., 2006). Despite the growing representation of immigrant-origin Black youth, Black ERI research is primarily conducted without consideration for non-U.S. origins. As a result, multi-generational African Americans define *de facto* normative Blackness, leaving our understanding of ERI incomplete.

The purpose of this paper is to explore conceptual gaps in the way ERI has been theorized among Black youth, identify methodological gaps in the way ERI has been measured, and to move toward a more integrated conceptualization of Black youth's ERI by providing a case for considering immigrant generation status. We argue that the current approach of pooling Black youth together results in a limited understanding of ERI for several reasons. First, Black identity is complex and multiplicious, yet American descendants of enslaved Africans are treated as the default. Second, ERI is informed by youth's lived experiences, and immigrant-origin Black youth have some differing experiences compared to U.S.-origin Black youth. Finally, ERI has important implications, which may vary depending on broader contextual factors of immigrant generation status. By conflating the two experiences, the extent to which ERI literature describes immigrant-origin Black youth is unclear, and potential generational differences among Black youth are impossible to examine.

To understand why ERI may differ among these youth, we draw from theories of intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989/1993; Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008), multiplicity (Medford,

2019), and the phenomenological variant of ecological systems (PVEST; Spencer et al., 2006). We then make connections between ERI and acculturation literatures to examine the ways in which ERI may operate in consideration of immigrant-origin Black youth. Finally, we close with recommendations for researchers studying ERI among Black youth.

A Note on Terminology

There is some debate over the use of the terms *race* and *ethnicity* and, by extension, the terms *racial identity* and *ethnic identity*. On one hand, race is often used to refer to a social construction that people have attempted to link to biological and phenotypic characteristics as well as ancestry (Hirschman et al., 2000). On the other hand, ethnicity refers to a group of people with a collection of common characteristics, such as culture, region, history, ancestry, or myth of common ancestry (Chandra, 2006). Whereas race is an ascribed social category that has historically been constructed to enact power relations, ethnicity generally denotes internal cultural characteristics, such as the positive aspects of group belonging (Barker, 2012; Johnston-Guerrero, 2016). Researchers have proposed the meta-construct ethnic-racial identity to account for the "considerable overlap" between the measurement of the two constructs in the U.S. (Rivas-Drake, Seaton, et al., 2014, p. 41). Johnston-Guerrero (2016) notes that the concepts of race and ethnicity are overlapping, "messy," and intersectional. Given this messiness, the current paper uses the term ERI.

Black Identity is Complex and Multiplicious

Given that there are Black people outside of the U.S. (and thus, not American), it is important to recognize that a person may be Black, but not African American. For instance, a Black person with their entire family history in Africa who has only lived in Africa (or Europe, or Asia, etc.) would not be "African American" because, simply put, they are *not American*. Black people in both the U.S. and Canada have diverse origins, with immigrants primarily hailing from the Caribbean, Central, and South America, as well as African countries. In 2016, foreign-born individuals and their children constituted nearly 1 in 5 Black people in the U.S., and over 90% of the Canadian Black

population (Anderson & López, 2018; StatCan, 2019). Yet, it is not uncommon for the general U.S. public (including ERI researchers) to use "Black" and "African American" synonymously (Smith, 2014). To complicate matters, the term "African American" is inconsistently defined, with some using the term to refer to any Black person living in the U.S., and others using the term to refer exclusively to the descendants of enslaved Africans in the U.S. (Smith, 2014). The latter definition of "African American" would *not* include Therese Patricia Okoumou, the woman described in the introduction to this paper. The current paper thus uses the definition of African American to refer exclusively to descendants of U.S. enslavement of Africans, while recognizing that some Black people living in the U.S. who are *not* descendants also identify as African American.

There are additional conceptual and methodological issues that arise from conflating "Black" with "African American." First, when "Black" and "African American" are used interchangeably, some confusion arises about who is actually in the research samples. A recent study exemplified this issue, as the researchers intended to recruit African American college students to examine their racial socialization experiences (Davis Tribble et al., 2019); they used both "African American" and "Black" in their recruitment materials. Yet, through their screening process, they found that some of their participants identified as first- or second-generation immigrants from the Caribbean or Africa. Through talking with immigrant-origin participants, the researchers discovered that "some people with immigrant backgrounds adopt the ethnic label 'African American' in certain circumstances, even when they did not feel a deep connection to the group" (p. 4). They concluded that they needed a better screening process due to their desire to capture the specifically African American experience of racial socialization. In other words, even if a researcher intends to sample only the descendants of enslaved Africans in the U.S., without a clear definition and exclusion criteria, there is no way of knowing if the participants in Black ERI studies are Black more generally, or African American specifically.

Second, equating the ethnic group with the racial group positions African Americans as defining normative Black development and contributes to the erasure of immigrant-origin Black youth's experiences. Whereas ethnicity and race may be congruent identities for African Americans who have historically defined normative Blackness in North America (Medford, 2019), the two are distinct but intersecting identities for Black immigrants. For example, in the U.S., Mexican Americans and other Latinxs have been racialized, blurring the concepts of ethnicity and race for these groups, resulting in a need to use the meta-construct of ERI (Rivas-Drake, Seaton, et al., 2014; Vasquez, 2010). But imagine that Mexican Americans defined normative Latinx identity development for all Latinx people—this is akin to the current approach of Black ERI literature. Intersectionality theory tells us that belonging to multiple marginalized groups can mean having access to differing levels of resources and can result in conflicting political agendas if one's needs are not considered as central to the "core" identity (Crenshaw, 1989/1993). When being an American descendant of slavery is used to define normative Blackness in the U.S. and Canada, Black immigrants are positioned as outside the core identity of Blackness as well as the core identity of "immigrant" (Figure 2.1). As a result, Black immigrants are understudied in the broader discourse on race as well as the broader discourse on immigration, resulting in intersectional invisibility—the process through which a particular group with multiple marginalized identities is seen as outside the prototypical member of each group (Black, immigrant), and thus their unique experiences are not captured (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). With immigration issues positioned as outside of Black issues, such as was the case for Therese Patricia Okoumou, and anti-Black racism positioned as outside the realm of the immigrant experience, there is a risk of invalidating and ignoring immigrant-origin Black youth's particular experiences in both domains.

Third, conflating "Black" with "African American" contributes to a loss of culture for immigrant-origin Black youth. Losing one's connection to heritage culture has been linked to poorer psychological adaptation, suggesting that culture loss has a detrimental impact (Berry, 2007).

Whereas other youth of color, including those with immigrant origins, may be encouraged to retain their ethnic heritage, immigrant-origin Black youth find themselves forced to assimilate into a political identity of Blackness in the U.S. Dei and James (1998) refer to this process as *racialization* or "becoming Black." Medford (2019) argues that current assimilation theories, which frame Black immigrants as being the group changing from contact with African Americans, fail to acknowledge the ways in which Black immigrants contribute to American culture and, as a result, continue to center African Americans as the default Black experience. The theory of multiplicity argues that we must reconceptualize Blackness as multiplicious and complex rather than simply diverse, and that we must take this multiplicity as a starting point. Multiplicity acknowledges that cultural exchange is a reciprocal process—Black immigrants also shape the meaning of Blackness, rather than simply being a "*variety*" that deviates from the core meaning of Blackness (Kebede, 2019; Medford, 2019). Rather than framing "immigrant" as a qualifier or a separate experience of Blackness, being an immigrant or non-immigrant would be considered equally valid parts of the Black experience. An approach toward multiplicity would require that researchers consider the experiences of immigrant-origin Black youth as an equally valid Black experience, which is currently not the case.

Why Immigrant-Origin Black Youth May Differ from US-Origin Black Youth

A number of important factors contribute to ERI development. PVEST suggests that risk factors such as experiencing discrimination contribute to stress, and the ways in which youth cope with such stress inform their identity development; identity development, in turn, shapes these experiences (Spencer et al., 2006). Yet, not all Black people share the same experiences. As noted by Spencer et al. (2006), although multigenerational African Americans and African or Caribbean immigrants may have similar racial experiences based on skin color, they may have unique "culturally specific family experiences" (p. 634), resulting in divergent ERIs. Whereas some Black youth are socialized by families who have experienced the ongoing detrimental impact of European enslavement, segregation, and structural and interpersonal racism in a U.S. context, others are

socialized by families who arrived in the U.S. post-desegregation (Anderson, 2015). Thus, unique from their U.S.-origin counterparts, immigrant-origin Black youth experience acculturation, whereby they undergo the process of navigating cultural changes as a result of adapting to a new country (Berry, 2017).

Hailing primarily from majority Black countries where Black is not a meaningful social category and thus not a basis for discrimination (Faulkner et al., 2006), immigrant-origin Black youth may have different meaning-making processes around ethnicity and race. Children of immigrants are socialized by parents who chose to come to the U.S. or Canada, often for economic opportunities, and thus are more optimistic than U.S.-born Black Americans about their own opportunity for advancement (Rong & Brown, 2007). Compared to African Americans, African and Caribbean immigrants are more open to interacting with people from other groups, are less mistrusting of White people, and report less discrimination (Hunter, 2008; Phelps et al., 2001; Seaton et al., 2008). A qualitative study of Black students who were born and raised outside of the U.S found that they had difficulty understanding U.S. conceptualizations of race and racism, felt disconnected from African Americans' struggles with racism, and generally held colorblind attitudes while focusing on who they were as individuals (Fries-Britt et al., 2014). Even as they began to learn more about the U.S. context and race became more salient in their lives, "they continued to see their national identity and homeland affiliation as the primary lens for understanding broader issues of race" (p. 10).

This emphasis on optimism and individualism may color the lens through which immigrant-origin Black youth interpret their environment when they experience discrimination. Without such preparation, immigrant-origin Black youth are subject to contemporary discrimination based on race and immigrant status, without the coping tools that U.S. descendants of African enslavement have honed for generations, and without the support of research to validate their experiences. In other words, they are left vulnerable to the deleterious impact of both racism and xenophobia. Indeed, despite reporting similarly high levels of discrimination to their African American counterparts,

immigrant-origin Black youth appear to be more adversely impacted by it (Seaton et al., 2008). To build an evidentiary base on which to develop supports for the positive adjustment of immigrant-origin Black youth, we need to account for the ways in which they negotiate ethnic-racial identity development while adapting to a new society.

ERI in Consideration of Immigrant-Origin Black Youth

Researchers have theorized and measured Black youth's ERI in a number of ways, by considering both ERI content and ERI process. Whereas ERI content refers to the meaning people make about their own identities, ERI process refers to how that meaning is made (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Some models, such as Nigrescence theory, are culturally-specific models designed to capture the unique experiences of Black youth's identity development (Cross et al., 1991). Other models are designed to capture universal aspects of ERI development (Rivas-Drake, Seaton, et al., 2014).

Reviews of empirical studies have been somewhat mixed regarding whether or not components of ERI among Black youth, specifically, promote positive adjustment (e.g., lower depressive symptoms, greater school belonging) and protect against the harmful impact of racial discrimination (Neblett et al., 2012; Rivas-Drake, Seaton, et al., 2014; Yip et al., 2019). On the one hand, some aspects of ERI may be promotive or protective due to a strengthened self-concept and more adaptive coping mechanisms (Neblett et al., 2012); on the other hand, other aspects of ERI may heighten youths' vulnerability to stigmatizing experiences (Yip et al., 2019). To complicate matters, the extent to which immigrant-origin Black youth have similar ERI processes and content to U.S.-origin Black youth is unclear. Investigating the ways in which immigrant heritage may uniquely shape Black youth's ERI may help clarify these findings.

According to Umaña-Taylor et al. (2014), ERI development involves exploration of one's ethnic-racial group(s) and, subsequently, internalization of the group's values. In other words, ERI development involves some level of cultural transmission. There are two ways of thinking about

cultural transmission: active (which is typically the focus in developmental psychology) and passive (which is typically the focus in cultural psychology; C. L. Costigan, personal communication, July 4, 2018). Whereas ERI development is an active process through which values may be internalized, another way to internalize cultural values is through acculturation or cultural orientation. To be oriented toward a particular culture means to identify with and express the values of a particular culture, participate in behaviors that reflect a particular culture, and to feel a sense of belonging to a particular group (Berry, 2017); these aspects of cultural orientation align with multidimensional aspects of ERI. Indeed, researchers have noted that a cultural orientation toward a particular group aligns with the corresponding identity (Berry et al., 2006). For example, a heritage culture orientation is aligned with an ethnic identity. Given that both ERI and acculturation involve the transmission of cultural values, acculturation frameworks can shed light on ERI development for immigrant-origin Black youth. In the following sections, we draw from acculturation frameworks to outline some of these considerations.

"Becoming Black": Reference Group Orientations

Cross's Nigrescence theory is a combined process and content model that describes African American identity development, with its literal French translation meaning "to become Black" (Cross et al., 1991, p. 320). Cross et al. (1991) define nigrescence as a multistage (but not necessarily linear) process, with each stage resulting in specific beliefs about one's Black identity. The stages correspond with a reference group orientation, which refers to the social group a person feels that they most belong to (Vandiver et al., 2002).

Historically, researchers have examined the extent to which Black Americans have a reference group orientation toward White people or Black people, and the implications of such an orientation (Cross, 1985). Yet, Medford (2019) raises the question of whether Black immigrants should be compared to Black Americans or non-Black immigrants. When Black immigrants are compared to African Americans, the primary lens for understanding their reference group

orientations (if they appear to identify with Whiteness or reject racialization) is one of self-hatred or assimilation (Vandiver et al., 2002). If they resist assimilation into a U.S. version of Blackness, the predominant perspective has been that they are socially distancing themselves from African Americans to avoid being boxed into negative stereotypes about Black people (Smith, 2014). What these arguments fail to account for is that immigrant-origin Black youth have a third option for their reference group orientation: their heritage cultures. When Black immigrants are compared to other immigrants, acculturation frameworks provide an alternative explanation for their identity processes. Research has found that immigrant-origin Black youth may be oriented toward their heritage cultures, European American (or mainstream White) culture, African American (or mainstream Black) culture, or a combination of the three (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2014). Indeed, these youth are overwhelmingly bicultural or tricultural, indicating that an orientation toward White culture is not necessarily incompatible with either African American culture or one's heritage culture.

When Black immigrants are compared to other immigrants, we can see that a reference group orientation toward African Americans similarly reflects the process of acculturation in a way that it would not for U.S.-origin Black youth. Kebede (2019) argues that social distancing in such a "calculated" manner is not the only reason Black immigrants might want to retain their heritage cultures (p. 128). Rather, maintaining one's own culture is a positive attachment, given that heritage culture is important to an immigrant's sense of identity, particularly as immigrants continue to maintain close ties to home. Indeed, research among various immigrant groups has found psychological benefits to retaining one's heritage culture, with culture loss having a detrimental effect (Berry et al., 2006). Immigrant-origin youth who value and participate in their heritage cultures have higher self-esteem and greater life satisfaction than those who do not (Berry et al., 2006; Medina et al., 2019). By racializing immigrant-origin Black youth and contributing to culture loss, they lose this important cultural asset.

More research is needed to understand the implications of various reference group orientations for immigrant-origin Black youth. When race is salient, a Nigerian-born Canadian may consider her ingroup to be other Black people. When focused on ethnicity, that ingroup may shift to be other Black Africans, West Africans, or even Igbo people specifically. Despite these distinctions, current ways of measuring ERI make the reference group unclear for immigrant-origin Black youth. A sense of belonging to other Black people can contribute to feelings of solidarity and coalition-building, which in turn can disrupt oppressive social systems (Brown & Yaffe, 2014). Understanding the contexts in which immigrant-origin Black youth identify with a specific ethnic group or the broader racial group from an acculturation perspective prioritizes these youth's positive development and provides opportunities for solidarity rather than framing their identity development in opposition to African Americans.

ERI Process: Exploration and Resolution

Identity exploration, which involves striving to learn about and be exposed to one's ethnic-racial group, is a developmentally normative task in both adolescence and emerging adulthood (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). ERI exploration is followed by resolution, which involves a sense of clarity about what one's ethnicity or race means (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Exploration is linked to both positive and negative adjustment among Black youth. On the one hand, Black youth who explore what their ethnicity or race means to them tend to demonstrate higher academic achievement (Miller-Cotto & Byrnes, 2016). Further, exploration produces a more secure sense of self, higher grades, higher self-esteem, fewer depressive symptoms, and greater ERI resolution (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2018). On the other hand, exploration is linked to more experiences of discrimination (Pahl & Way, 2006), and exacerbates the negative effect of discrimination for Black youth (Yip et al., 2019).

When considering the experiences of immigrant-origin Black youth, it is possible that these youth may be at greater risk for the harmful effects of racial discrimination. Acculturation literature suggests that tricultural immigrant-origin Black youth report more exploration than to monocultural

youth; however, they also report experiencing more psychological distress (Ferguson et al., 2014). Navigating three reference group orientations rather than two potentially puts immigrant-origin Black youth at greater risk of the "double-edge sword" of exploration (Yip, 2018), and in need of greater support. More work is needed to examine the extent to which exploration promotes positive adjustment or exacerbates vulnerability for these youth.

As youth develop greater cognitive ability and are able to think about their ERI in more complex ways, they also gain more clarity around what their ethnicity or race means to them (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Indeed, empirical research has found that youth's resolution increases over time (Bañales et al., 2020). However, immigrant-origin Black youth may struggle more with resolution, having greater identity confusion and conflict, due to a mismatch between the values in the home and the values in U.S./Canadian society (Lui, 2015). Whereas the ERI development of U.S.-origin youth drives the way their families socialize them, the way immigrant-origin youth's families socialize them around ethnicity or race drives their ERI development (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2013). Thus, it matters that immigrant-origin Black youth are socialized by parents who come from different ethnic-racial contexts, as this socialization will drive their ERI development in a process that differs from U.S.-origin Black youth. For instance, immigrant-origin Black youth may be more likely to hear positive messages around ethnic identity but negative messages around racial identity from parents (Waters, 1994). The extent to which these messages are adaptive or maladaptive for immigrant-origin Black youth have been under-examined.

ERI Content: A Strong and Positive Group Attachment

Two key aspects of ERI content are centrality and ethnic-racial affect (also referred to as private regard or affirmation). Centrality describes the extent to which ethnicity or race is important to a person's core sense of self and their sense of belonging or attachment to the group; ethnic-racial affect describes a person's positive or negative feelings about belonging to the group as well as their feelings about in-group members (Sellers et al., 1997; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Both a strong

connection to the group and positive feelings about belonging to the group can contribute to positive adjustment for Black youth. Black youth who report their ethnicity or race is important to who they are receive more academic and emotional support from their peers (Hoffman et al., 2019), are better liked by their Black peers (Rock et al., 2011), are more likely to view school as important, and spend more time on homework (Byrd & Chavous, 2009), compared to those who report their ethnicity or race is less important. Furthermore, youth of color who feel good about belonging to their group have better positive development compared to youth who feel more negatively about belonging to the group (Miller-Cotto & Byrnes, 2016; Rivas-Drake, Syed, et al., 2014). Together, these findings indicate that a strong, positive connection to one's ethnic-racial group is a cultural asset.

A key factor that can undermine this cultural asset is an identity threat designed to invalidate a person's membership in the group (i.e., cultural invalidation; Durkee et al., 2019). Cultural behaviors to express an identity include eating particular foods, interacting with other people in the group, or speaking the group's language (Phinney & Ong, 2007), which can have implications for peer acceptance or rejection. One mechanism for the reinforcement or discouragement of certain behaviors are cultural invalidations such as the "acting White" accusation (Durkee et al., 2019). Black college students, for instance, report having been accused of "acting White" along a variety of dimensions, from how they speak or dress, to their social preferences, who they are friends with, and, to a lesser extent, for being academically successful (Durkee et al., 2019). The more frequently Black college students reported ever being accused of "acting White," the less likely they were to explore their ERI, the less positively they felt about their belonging to the group, and the less attached they felt to the group; even more, frequency of the accusation was associated with greater psychological distress (Durkee & Williams, 2015).

Peer socialization from other Black youth may have particularly important implications for immigrant-origin Black youth's identity development, whose Blackness may look different from their peers' expectations. When multigenerational African Americans set the standard for the Black

racial group, then any Black person from a given *ethnic* group who is behaving, dressing, or speaking in accordance with their own ethnic group may be subject to accusations of not being "Black enough" (i.e., encounter cultural invalidation). Immigrant-origin Black youth may have to contend with having their racial authenticity questioned if they identify strongly with their immigrant heritage cultures. Indeed, research has found that these youth may feel pressure to adopt the cultural markers associated with African Americans with regard to style of dress, speech patterns, or music in order to be accepted by their peers and avoid rejection (Waters, 1994).

Such pressure to assimilate contributes to culture loss, which hurts youth. Jamaican adolescents in the U.S. who are oriented solely toward African American culture—and thus, experience heritage culture loss—have worse academic outcomes and a more oppositional stance toward White people than youth with other acculturation strategies (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2014). On the surface, these findings seem to support previous claims that identifying with African American culture is harmful to youth (Portes & Zhou, 1993; Waters, 1994). However, the true issue may be culture loss. Rather, research indicates that identifying with African American culture can be adaptive for immigrant-origin Black youth, who are more likely than their U.S.-origin counterparts to associate "acting Black" with positive behaviors, such as being cool (Thelamour & Johnson, 2017). Ferguson and Bornstein (2014) argue that being oriented toward African American culture promotes "social/relational adaptation in the neighborhoods in which they often live" (p. 42). In other words, it allows these youth to fit in with their peers, and may provide them with the tools African Americans have developed to deal with racism (Joseph et al., 2013; Waters, 1994).

Drawing from the *integration hypothesis* in acculturation theory may provide a better understanding of the extent to which engagement with African American culture might be adaptive for immigrant-origin Black youth, and how best to support their positive development. The integration hypothesis 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, and is associated with academic, occupational, and relational success, in addition to psychological well-being (Berry, 2013; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). With high levels of integration found among immigrant-origin Black youth, and an orientation toward African American and heritage cultures each providing some benefit to these youth (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2014), we would expect to find the most beneficial outcomes for immigrant-origin Black youth when they are able to integrate *both* their ethnic and racial identities, rather than being forced to choose. In other words, immigrant-origin Black youth who feel a strong, positive connection to African Americans as well as people from their heritage cultures should have more positive adjustment than immigrant-origin Black youth who feel a weak or negative connection to one or both cultures.

A limitation of current ERI literature is the inability to identify when culture loss occurs for immigrant-origin Black youth, and when they are integrating their ethnic and racial identities. Even when Black youth appear similar to each other on ERI measures, identifying as African American has different meaning for immigrant-origin Black youth compared to U.S.-origin Black youth, given that it implies culture loss for one group but not the other. Further, a question remains regarding the extent to which the positive effects of having pride around being Black in a U.S. context may be hindered by shame around one's immigrant heritage in the face of xenophobia. Such nuances are currently underexamined in ERI literature.

ERI Content: Perceptions of Group Status

Another important consideration for immigrant-origin Black youth is the role of public regard. Public regard refers to a person's beliefs about the extent to which their group is viewed positively or negatively by society. Black adolescents and adults with more positive public regard have higher life satisfaction and report experiencing less discrimination than those with more negative public regard, suggesting that believing one's group is valued by society is adaptive (Medina et al., 2019; Sellers et al., 2006; Yap et al., 2011). However, being Black in the U.S. and

Canada is stigmatized, which undermines youth's public regard beliefs (Dei & James, 1998; Dei, 2018). Unsurprisingly, research has found that Black youth tend to report having more negative public regard (Seaton et al., 2014; Thomas et al., 2009). As a result, some studies suggest believing one's group is *not* valued by society may be adaptive, by protecting Black youth from discrimination (Sellers et al., 2006).

An understudied consideration is that Black people have differing access to social status based on heritage, and thus may differ in their public regard. For instance, some Afro-Caribbean immigrants believe that the larger society views their ethnic group more positively than their racial group (Joseph et al., 2013). Conversely, other immigrant groups may perceive their ethnic group is less valued than other Black ethnic groups. One qualitative study of Black African nurses found that they felt that people treated them poorly because they were African, rather than because of race, due to stereotypes of Africans being unsophisticated, unintelligent, and having little expertise (Showers, 2015). Given that many of these nurses worked in predominantly Black hospitals, they were acutely aware of their outsider status and low social standing based on ethnicity, rather than race. Whereas research has indicated that Caribbean adults view their ethnicity as an advantage, some Africans may view their ethnicity as a disadvantage.

From an acculturation standpoint, our understanding of public regard for immigrant-origin Black youth is limited in a number of ways. First, immigrant-origin Black youth have multiple group statuses to consider with regard to ethnicity and race, which contribute to their ERI development. Indeed, the more immigrant-origin Black youth and adults report that others view Black people positively, the more likely they are to engage with African American culture (Joseph et al., 2013). Second, the current approach to examining ERI among Black youth does not allow researchers to examine the potential intersectional effect of ethnic and racial public regard. Specifically, with a positive ethnic regard to draw from as a psychological resource, the impact of negative racial regard, including negative racial stereotypes, might be lessened for immigrant-origin Black youth. Third,

current approaches limit our ability to see how Black people across various ethnic groups view each other, prioritizing non-Black peoples' perceptions of Black people. With Black immigrants often settling in African American communities, it is necessary to understand how they feel valued by the established community.

Recommendations for Research and Practice

Having three reference group orientations complicates the noted intersectional nature of ERI for immigrant-origin Black youth. Current ERI measures, particularly when asked in surveys with diverse populations, ask youth to report on their ethnicity or race in a single measure. As a result, the extent to which researchers are capturing ethnic identity, racial identity, or the confluence of both is unclear. For instance, when Congolese-born Therese Patricia Okoumou is asked to report on her ERI, to what extent is she thinking about being Congolese or Black or Congolese-American, and so on? This intersection may result in different ERI implications for immigrant-origin Black youth, which are impossible to examine when they are pooled together with U.S.-origin youth prior to investigating potential differences. Examining the role generation status plays will advance our understanding of ERI. Extant theories have been tested by primarily considering African Americans, and generalized to all Black youth, despite immigrant-origin youth representing an increasing share of the Black population (Anderson, 2015). As a result, the extent to which Black ERI literature represents immigrant-origin Black youth is unclear.

Given these limitations, there are a number of ways that researchers and practitioners (e.g., school administrators) can assist in the inclusion of immigrant-origin Black youth. The first is to be intentional about the use of the term "African American"—when using this term, define it, and clarify if the sample refers to only American descendants of slavery or is more inclusive. If samples include immigrant-origin Black youth, this means also considering additional histories that might contribute to the literature review. When researchers and schools use "African American" to describe all Black youth irrespective of youth's ethnic origins, it contributes to the invisibility of immigrant-

origin Black youth. Second, researchers and practitioners must ask Black youth about immigrant generation status, ethnicity, and/or country of origin, in the same way that we ask of other racially minoritized groups. Without doing so, we are unable to determine whether immigrant-origin Black youth differ from their African American peers. Third, we need to describe Black samples in more detail: what is the percentage of foreign-born participants, or the percentage of those with foreign-born parents? Do some participants identify as Caribbean or African in addition to Black? Understanding that some Black people identify with additional ethnic labels recognizes the multiplicity of Blackness. Fourth, researchers must investigate how immigration-related phenomena inform Black youths' ERI. This means quantitative researchers must test for group differences among Black youth.

In the literature on Black youths' ERI, there is a methodological and conceptual gap in the way youth are sampled and surveyed, limiting the questions that researchers can answer. By examining ERI but implicitly defining Black identity as African American, immigrant-origin Black youth are pushed to the margins and positioned as outside of normative Black identity development. Without considering immigrant generation status, these youth are forced to assimilate, which results in poorer outcomes than if they retained their heritage cultures (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2014). Among immigrants, the experience of being Black is informed their heritage cultures. Little research has considered this distinction, and the implications of African American youth defining normative Black identity development. In a society in which anti-Blackness and xenophobia both pervade, identifying immigrant-origin Black youth's cultural strengths are key for success.

Conclusion

When Congolese-born activist Therese Patricia Okoumou climbed the Statue of Liberty to protest U.S. immigration policy, some took to Twitter to argue that immigration was not a Black issue, thus positioning immigrant-origin Black youth outside the core meaning of Blackness. As an increasing share of the Black population, immigrant-origin Black youth must be recognized as

having an equally valid Black experience. Yet as long as researchers continue to use "African American" and "Black" interchangeably, the ways in which ERI is developed among all Black youth will be obscured.

When they move to the U.S. and Canada, African-descent immigrants are racialized as Black and forced to adapt into a racially stratified society where they occupy the lowest rung. Although the first generation can draw on their ethnic identities and the sense of self they have formed prior to arriving in the U.S. and Canada, the second generation "must undergo the challenges of identity formation *at the same time* [emphasis in original] as they are experiencing cultural dissonance…so the normative challenges of identity formation are exacerbated by cultural dissonance for second-generation youth" (Spencer et al., 2006, p. 656). In other words, immigrant-origin Black youth who are raised in the U.S. or Canada must juggle the integration of multiple ethnic, racial, and national identities—a normative developmental task (Spencer et al., 2006). Whereas African American youth develop their racial identity in ways that are expected to be congruent with their ethnic identity, immigrant-origin Black youth are potentially navigating cultural conflict between their ethnic and racial identities. Increased cultural conflict between immigrant-origin Black youth and their parents may put them at greater risk of the detrimental effects of racial discrimination compared to their African American peers.

Important caveats must be noted—just as there is no one Black experience, there is no one Black immigrant experience (Medford, 2019). Indeed, Black immigrants themselves are socioeconomically diverse and may experience racialization to different degrees (Kebede, 2019). In addition to socioeconomic status, the experience of being a Black immigrant is complicated by other social identities, such as gender, documentation or refugee status, region, or language. Black immigrants from primarily English-speaking countries will not have the language barriers that are faced by Black immigrants from primarily Spanish-speaking, French-speaking, or other language countries. Further, the experience of immigrant-origin Black youth may differ depending on their

geographic region, and the extent to which there are large Black and/or immigrant populations. Lastly, Black immigrants arrive in the U.S. and Canada with their own histories of slavery and/or colonization prior to arrival, shaping their identity development and interactions in a U.S./Canadian context differently depending on national origin. We cannot know the extent to which these groups differ, the extent to which they are the same, and the process through which they become similar (i.e., racialized as Black) if we do not investigate potential differences. The current paper serves as conceptual grounding for considering immigrant-origin Black youth in ERI literature, but future researchers should continue to explore the myriad experiences Black youth navigate based on their positionality.

There are no data associated with this paper.

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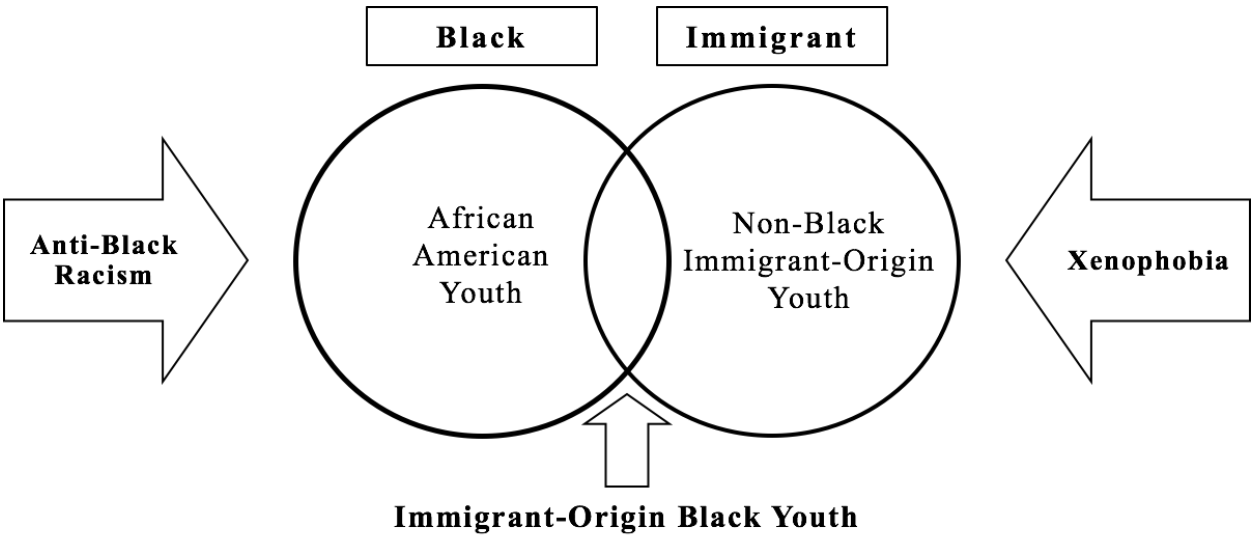
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Figure 2.1 *The Intersectional Invisibility of Immigrant-Origin Black Youth*



Chapter 3 Study 1

Ethnic-Racial Identity: An Examination of Measurement Invariance among Black Adolescents in the U.S.

Immigrant-origin Black youth—that is, those who have a parent born outside the U.S.—develop their identities in the midst of their families adapting to U.S. society (Spencer et al., 2006). Despite representing a rising share of the Black youth population (Anderson, 2017), the extent to which current mainstream concepts in ethnic-racial identity (ERI) research adequately reflect their experiences is unclear. ERI is a multidimensional construct that refers to the importance of ethnicity or race in one's core sense of self, one's feelings and beliefs about one's group membership, and the process through which these attitudes and beliefs develop (Sellers et al., 1997; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Amongst diverse youth, ERI is considered a cultural asset that promotes positive adjustment and protects against negative adjustment (Miller-Cotto & Byrnes, 2016; Rivas-Drake et al., 2014; Yip et al., 2019). To examine such processes across all youth, researchers use measures that capture universal aspects of ERI, making pan-ethnic comparisons by pooling all Black youth together (e.g., Douglass & Umaña-Taylor, 2016; Sladek et al., 2020). However, the extent to which immigrant-origin Black youth and U.S.-origin Black youth respond to generalized ERI measures in the same way is unknown, and knowing this could help inform decisions about whether they *can* be pooled together.

ERI development is a highly contextual process (see Verkuyten, 2016). Our identities provide a script for who we are and who we can be (Barker, 2012); for the children of

immigrants, this script is complicated by the cultural narratives of their parents' histories (Waters, 1994). Informed by multiple identity-shaping contexts outside the U.S. as a result of having foreign-born parents, immigrant-origin Black youth may experience unique stressors, and have different reactive coping processes; together, these differences may result in emergent identities that are distinct from U.S.-origin Black youth (Spencer et al., 2006). Despite these differences, researchers and the general public often consider "African American" and "Black" as synonymous, with multigenerational African Americans defining normative development (Medford, 2019; Smith, 2014).

Comparative research has found both differences (e.g., Thomas et al., 2009) and similarities (Pahl & Way, 2006) in ERI across immigrant-origin Black youth and U.S.-origin Black youth; however, potential differences or similarities are difficult to empirically establish without adequate attention to whether the measures used are appropriate across groups. To make such comparisons, researchers must first establish that the groups being compared are interpreting ERI survey questions in the same way by testing measurement invariance (Schmitt & Kuljanin, 2008). Thus, the goal of the current study was to examine the extent to which commonly-used universal ERI measures are invariant (equivalent) for Black youth with an immigrant parent relative to Black youth with U.S.-born parents. A measure is invariant if the relation of indicators to factors is equivalent across groups, the magnitude of the factor loadings is equivalent across groups, and the scaling of the response options is equivalent across groups. Without establishing measurement invariance, we cannot know if observed effects are true effects or confounded by systematic measurement error.

Why Establishing Measurement Invariance Matters

To assess universal dimensions of ERI, researchers often use the Ethnic Identity Scale (EIS; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004) and the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI; Sellers et al., 1997) and their derivatives. Achieving measurement invariance (i.e., equivalence) is necessary to ensure that observed differences (or similarities) between groups reflect a true difference (or similarity) in the population. To be used across groups in the same way (and thus pooled or compared), these measures should have configural, metric, and scalar invariance (Dimitrov, 2010). *Configural invariance* establishes that the relation between the items on the scale and the factors of the scale are the same for both groups. In other words, the scale has the same number of factors across groups, and the same items load on the same factor across groups. *Metric invariance* demonstrates that, in addition to configural invariance, the unstandardized pattern coefficients or factor loadings are the same across groups. Without metric invariance, the association between these measures and other measures cannot be compared. *Scalar invariance* indicates that, in addition to configural and metric invariance, the unstandardized item intercepts are the same across groups. Without scalar invariance, mean levels of the construct cannot be compared, as the response options mean something systematically different based on group membership. To unpack why Black youth may differ depending on immigrant generation status, we first turn to the theory.

The phenomenological variant of ecological systems theory (PVEST) is a risk and resilience framework that illuminates links between the person's environment and their own meaning-making experiences about their environment (Spencer et al., 2006). Adolescents are faced with both risks and protective factors based on their social position (i.e., net vulnerability), which then determine their challenges and supports (i.e., net stress). In response to stress, adolescents may have adaptive or maladaptive coping responses, which in turn shape their

identity development. Spencer et al. (2006) note that, on one hand, multigenerational African Americans and African-descent immigrants experience similar racial treatment. On the other hand, the youth in these families have unique cultural experiences that might differentially shape their ERI. For instance, research indicates that Black immigrants are more optimistic about their and their children's economic prospects than multi-generational African Americans and may downplay racial discrimination (Rong & Brown, 2007). Such messaging could be harmful for immigrant-origin Black youth, who may consequently be less prepared to deal with racial discrimination than U.S.-origin Black youth. Indeed, empirical research has found that, at high levels of racial discrimination, Caribbean American adolescents report more psychological distress than African American adolescents (Seaton et al., 2008).

Further, research with Jamaican adolescents in the U.S. has found that they negotiate their adaptation to European American culture and African American culture, in addition to the retention of their own heritage cultures (Ferguson et al., 2014). Triculturalism (i.e., psychological adaption to all three cultures) was associated with greater identity exploration, but also greater distress (Ferguson et al., 2014). A recent meta-analysis shows that ERI exploration can exacerbate distress due to discrimination (Yip et al., 2019). Negotiating three cultures may put immigrant-origin Black youth at greater risk of the downsides of exploration.

Qualitative research has also identified generational differences in the way Black youth conceptualize their racial identity. When these youth were asked to define what it means to "act Black" in the fall semester of seventh grade, both groups described a set of behaviors associated with performing one's race (Thelamour & Johnson, 2017). However, for the immigrant-origin youth, behaviors associated with "acting Black" were more likely to be perceived as "cool" and something to admire. In addition, the U.S.-origin youth—but not their immigrant-origin

counterparts—defined "acting Black" as a set of ideologies and beliefs such as racial pride. By the end of eighth grade, the immigrant-origin youth began to include ideologies or beliefs in their definition, though to a lesser extent, suggesting convergence with their U.S.-origin peers.

Additional research supports some convergence, as these youth are racialized into the meaning of Blackness in the U.S. (Smith, 2014; Waters, 1994). For example, Census data reveal that, over time, second-generation Nigerian-Americans may drop their ethnic label to identify simply as "Black" (Emeka, 2019). Given the significant ethnic variability that exists within the Black population in the U.S., with qualitative findings suggesting nuances in meaning-making across generation status (e.g., Thelamour & Johnson, 2017), it is imperative to ensure that quantitative ERI measures are statistically invariant to fully explicate their experiences.

Examining Generalized Measures of ERI

Ethnic Identity Scale (EIS)

The EIS was developed to assess the universal process through which individuals develop an ERI (i.e., exploration and resolution), as well as the affect or attitudes they have about their ethnic-racial group membership (i.e., affirmation; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004). Exploration refers to learning about one's ethnicity; resolution is the sense of clarity one feels about the personal meaning of their ethnic background for their identity; affirmation describes feeling positively or negatively about one's ethnic group membership (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004).

The EIS was created for ethnically/racially diverse samples and validated in both a college and high school sample. In the study reporting the scale's psychometrics (see Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004), participants self-reported their ethnic background, which the researchers then grouped into larger ethnic-racial categories. Of the 615 college students, 49 were Black; of the 231 high school students, 46 were Black. The full 46-item scale was administered to the

college students and reduced to 17 items based on exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses. The reduced scale had strong reliability ($\propto$ = .86 for affirmation, $\propto$ = .91 for exploration, $\propto$ = .92 for resolution). The 17-item scale was then administered to the high school students, also demonstrating strong reliability ($\propto$ = .84 for affirmation, $\propto$ = .89 for exploration, $\propto$ = .89 for resolution). Among the ethnic minority students in both samples, exploration and resolution were highly positively correlated; affirmation was also positively correlated to the other two variables, though to a lesser extent.

The EIS was then reduced to three items per scale using data from a Latinx adolescent sample (EIS-B; Douglass & Umaña-Taylor, 2015). The authors validated the reduced scale among ethnically/racially diverse college students. Of the 9,492 participants, 894 identified as Black, which included African American, Afro-Caribbean, and Black African participants. The EIS-B had strong reliability for Black participants ($\propto$ = .76 for affirmation, $\propto$ = .83 for exploration, $\propto$ = .85 for resolution). The authors found that both the EIS and the EIS-B exhibited scalar invariance across ethnic-racial groups, with Black participants pooled into a single group. Research with additional samples has supported that the EIS-B is equivalent across a pooled sample of Black youth in different geographical regions (Sladek et al., 2020); whether there are generational differences has yet to be examined. Although the EIS-B is theoretically universal, immigrant-origin Black youth may experience greater dissonance between ethnicity and race compared to U.S.-origin Black youth, and thus a question remains regarding the extent to which there may be generational differences when asked to report on their "ethnicity."

Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI)

The MIBI assesses the importance and meaning Black people attach to their ERI (i.e., ERI content; Sellers et al., 1997). Whereas the EIS was developed for use with diverse samples,

the MIBI was designed specifically for African Americans. When using the MIBI with racially diverse samples, researchers typically draw exclusively on the dimensions derived from universal constructs of collective identity: centrality and regard. Although the ideology subscales of the MIBI are specific to the sociohistorical context of African Americans and thus not appropriate for use with diverse samples (Sellers et al., 1998), it is generally recognized that the centrality and regard dimensions are theoretically applicable to any group (e.g., Schwartz et al., 2014). Indeed, centrality (the importance of group membership to one's sense of self) was derived from the universal construct of "identity importance" and public regard (the extent to which individuals believe others view their group positively or negatively) was derived from the universal construct of "public esteem" (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Sellers et al., 1998).

The MIBI was adapted for Black *adolescent* participants (i.e., MIBI-T; Scottham et al., 2008). Support for the validity of the MIBI-T emerged in a sample of 489 middle and high school students who were identified as "African American" by their school records. According to the participants' self-reports, 81.2% were Black/African American, 17% were mixed heritage with African American and additional groups, and 1.8% specified "another ethnic background, such as Black/African" (Scottham et al., 2008, p. 300). Findings indicated that the measure was generally invariant across grade level and gender. However, whether the measure is invariant across immigrant generation status remains an unanswered question. Additional research using the MIBI (Scott, 2003) or MIBI-T (Leath et al., 2019; Scottham et al., 2008; Stevenson & Arrington, 2009) with African-descent adolescents has generally found weaker to acceptable levels of reliability for both centrality (αs .52 - .76) and public regard (αs .65 - .70), and factor loadings between .49 and .70 when assessed using confirmatory factor analysis.

When collecting data in diverse settings about ERI, there is a pragmatic need to use the words "ethnicity" or "my ethnic group" to be universally applicable and to have consistency in the measures. By changing the reference group from "Black people" to "my ethnicity" or "people from my ethnic group" (e.g., Fuligni et al., 2005; Rivas-Drake et al., 2009), the centrality and regard subscales have successfully been used, with adequate reliabilities, among diverse samples. However, whereas U.S.-origin Black youth may feel their ethnic and racial identities are more congruent, immigrant-origin Black youth may feel differently about their ethnic identity compared to their racial identity. For instance, when Black youth and adults of Caribbean descent were asked about both their ethnic public regard and their racial public regard, participants believed that society views people of Caribbean descent more positively than Black Americans in general (Joseph et al., 2013). These nuances may introduce variance in how these youth interpret ERI survey questions referencing their ethnicity.

The Current Study

The current study examined the measurement properties of the EIS-B and the MIBI-T to test if the factor structures, path coefficients, and intercepts were equivalent for immigrant-origin Black adolescents and U.S.-origin Black adolescents. The current study assessed only the centrality and public regard subscales of the MIBI-T, given that centrality and regard are the only dimensions theorized to be universal, and private regard conceptually overlaps with the affirmation subscale of the EIS-B. Previous research has established scalar invariance for the EIS-B and partial scalar invariance for the MIBI-T when examining Black youth across geographic regions (Sladek et al., 2020). Yet, some empirical quantitative and qualitative research has found that immigrant-origin Black youth apply different meaning to their racial identity compared to their ethnic identity (Joseph et al., 2013), and, unlike their African

American counterparts, negotiate non-U.S. cultures (Ferguson et al., 2014). On one hand, these differences may result in a different interpretation of ERI items that reference "ethnicity" when compared to U.S.-origin Black youth. On the other hand, research also suggests a racialization process that may result in similarities (e.g., Emeka, 2019). Thus, we explored the extent to which two widely-used measures (Schwartz et al., 2014) were invariant among these groups. Establishing invariance is important for providing empirical evidence to pool Black youth together irrespective of generation status.

Method

Participants and Procedure

Data were drawn from Wave 1 of a larger longitudinal study of ethnically/racially diverse English-speaking high school students (N = 3,191). Data were collected from one diverse high school (Simpson's index = .72) in the Southwest region of the U.S. (n = 2,136) and an equally diverse high school (Simpson's index = .70) in the Midwest region (n = 1055). All students were invited to participate in the school-wide survey examining ERI, ethnic-racial experiences, psychosocial functioning, and academic functioning. A passive consent process with an "opt-out" option was used for the survey. Two weeks prior to survey administration, opt-out consent forms were delivered to the school and distributed by teachers. This letter explained to parents that their child's participation in the study was voluntary and that they could refuse to have their child participate at any time before or during survey administration (Wave 1 opt-out rate = <1% within each site). Students whose parents did not opt-out received a survey with assent information on the first page, including reminders that they could choose not to participate, or to end their participation at any time. The Southwest site had a participation rate of 87.7%, and the

Midwest site had a participation rate of 73.66%. The study was approved by the authors' institutional review board at their respective institutions.

Participants were asked which ethnic background they identified with and to "choose all that apply." Subsequently, participants were asked which ethnic background they identified *most* with and were asked to choose only one. Participants were classified as Black if they selected "Black/African American" as their sole or most important ethnic background, or if they wrote in an option that could be classified as Black (e.g., "West African"). Across both sites, 767 (24.0%) participants identified as Black/African American, 26 (0.8%) as AMENA (Arab, Middle Eastern, or North African), 88 (2.8%) as American Indian/Native American, 367 (11.5%) as Asian or Asian American, 604 (18.9%) as Latino or Hispanic, 1,238 (38.8%) as White, 72 (2.3%) as multiracial, and 10 (0.3%) as another ethnic background. Nineteen participants (.6%) did not report an ethnic-racial background.

For the current study, the analytical sample included 767 Black students (52.8% girls or women) recruited from the Southwest (n = 574) and Midwest (n = 198) schools. Participants were 14 to 19 years old (M = 16.28, SD = 1.12). Participants were asked where they, each parent, and each grandparent were born. Twenty-seven participants were born outside the U.S., arriving in the U.S. from 1 to 16 years of age (M = 7.71, SD = 5.17). Participants were classified as "immigrant-origin" if at least one parent was born outside the U.S. (n = 127) and "U.S.-origin" if both parents were born in the U.S. (n = 634). Eleven participants did not report on their parents' country of origin. In the Southwest sample, 12.2% were immigrant-origin, whereas in the Midwest sample, 29.6% were immigrant-origin. Immigrant-origin youth were a greater proportion of the Midwest sample compared to the Southwest sample, $\chi^2(1) = 31.61, p < .001$. The majority of immigrant-origin adolescents (73.2%) had at least one parent who was born in a

country or region where more than 70% of the population is Black. This was more likely in the Midwest (n = 51) sample compared to the Southwest (n = 42) sample, $\chi^2(2) = 11.82, p = .003$.

Participants reported similar levels of their mothers' education across immigrant generation status, $\chi^2(1) = .70, p = .40$. Of the 102 immigrant-origin participants who reported their mother's education, 48.0% attained at least a 4-year postsecondary degree. Of the 503 U.S.-origin participants who reported mother's education, 43.5% attained at least a 4-year degree. Conversely, immigrant-origin adolescents reported higher levels for father's education, $\chi^2(1) = 4.36, p = .037$. Of the 100 immigrant-origin participants who reported their father's education, 42.0% attained at least a 4-year degree. Of the 487 participants with U.S.-born parents who reported father's education, 31.2% attained at least a 4-year degree.

Measures

Ethnic Identity Scale-Brief

The EIS-B (Douglass & Umaña-Taylor, 2015) measured exploration, resolution, and affirmation. Each subscale comprised three items measured on a 1 (*Does not describe me at all*) to 4 (*Describes me very well*) scale. Exploration measured the extent to which a person actively learns about their ethnicity (e.g., "I have attended events that have helped me learn more about my ethnicity"). Higher average scores indicated more exploration. Exploration was reliable for both U.S.-origin ($\propto$ = .80) and immigrant-origin ($\propto$ = .74) participants. Resolution measured the extent to which a person feels clarity about the meaning of their ethnicity (e.g., "I know what my ethnicity means to me"). Higher average scores indicated a greater sense of clarity. Resolution was reliable for both U.S.-origin ($\propto$ = .84) and immigrant-origin ($\propto$ = .77) participants. Affirmation items (e.g., "I feel negatively about my ethnicity") were reverse coded and scored to reflect the extent to which a person feels happy or proud to belong to their ethnic group.

Affirmation was reliable for U.S.-origin participants (∝ = .71), but had relatively weaker reliability for immigrant-origin participants (∝ = .62).

Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity-Teen

The current study examines the centrality and public regard subscales of the MIBI-T (Scottham et al., 2008). Each subscale comprises three items measured on a 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly agree*) scale. Each item was modified for use with all ethnic groups by replacing references to "Black people" with "my ethnicity" or "my ethnic group." Centrality measures a person's feelings of group belonging and identification (e.g., "I feel close to other people of my ethnic group"). Higher average scores indicate a closer bond to the group. Centrality was reliable for both U.S.-origin (∝ = .69) and immigrant-origin (∝ = .70) participants. Public regard measures the extent to which a person believes that others view their ethnic group positively or negatively (e.g., "Most people think that people of my ethnic group are as smart as people of other ethnic groups"). Higher average scores indicate that participants believe other people view their group positively. Public regard was reliable for both U.S.-origin (∝ = .74) and immigrant-origin (∝ = .70) participants.

Data Analysis Plan

Data were analyzed using *Mplus* Version 8.1 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2017), and estimated using maximum likelihood with robust standard errors. Missing data for each item ranged from 3.3-6.3% for the U.S.-origin youth, and 1.6-3.9% for the immigrant-origin youth. We used full information maximum likelihood (FIML) to account for missing data. To test measurement invariance, we used a structural equation modeling (SEM) framework with multiple-groups (multi-group) analysis (Putnick & Bornstein, 2016).

Following guidelines illustrated by Putnick and Bornstein (2016), confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was conducted to assess goodness of fit for the 3-factor structure of the EIS-B and the 2-factor structure of the MIBI-T. Goodness of fit was assessed using a combination of indices, including χ^2, root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA), comparative fit index (CFI), Tucker-Lewis index (TLI), and standardized root mean square residual (SRMR; Hu & Bentler, 1999). A significant χ^2 value indicates a poor-fitting model; however, χ^2 is a sensitive indicator, and may incorrectly specify a poor model fit with larger sample sizes (Kline, 2016). Our criteria for acceptable model fit were RMSEA < .08, CFI ≥ .90, TLI ≥ .90, and SRMR < .08, whereas our criteria for excellent model fit were RMSEA < .06, CFI ≥ .95, TLI ≥ .95, and SRMR < .06 (Hu & Bentler, 1999; Kline, 2016; MacCallum & Austin, 2000). Given that each fit index is based on its own set of factors and that they do not always all agree, best practice advises that no decision be made based on a single index (Hu & Bentler, 1999).

We assessed configural invariance by examining the fit of a multi-group CFA (0 = U.S.-origin and 1 = immigrant-origin). A good-fitting multi-group model where factor loadings and item intercepts are free to vary indicates that the same factor structure is appropriate for both groups (Schmitt & Kuljanin, 2008). Metric and scalar invariance were assessed by comparing a series of increasingly constrained nested models where the unstandardized path coefficients were constrained equal across groups (i.e., metric invariance) in addition to the unstandardized item intercepts being constrained equal (i.e., scalar invariance). Comparing the metric model against the configural model, and the scalar model against the metric model, we examined whether the model significantly worsened with additional constraints (Schmitt & Kuljanin, 2008). A significant χ^2 difference value and CFI decrease greater than .01 indicated a significant decrement in fit (Cheung & Rensvold, 2002). In the event that metric or scalar invariance could

not be achieved, we tested for partial invariance by examining whether specific path coefficients or intercepts could be constrained to be equal (Schmitt & Kuljanin, 2008).

Results

Descriptive Statistics and Bivariate Correlations

Descriptive statistics for the pooled sample across study variables are provided in Table 3.1, and bivariate correlations are provided in Table 3.2. Adolescents reported high levels of affirmation ($M = 3.86$, $SD = 0.38$), moderate-to-high levels of exploration ($M = 2.77$, $SD = 0.89$), high levels of resolution ($M = 3.41$, $SD = 0.68$), moderate levels of centrality ($M = 3.77$, $SD = 0.85$), and moderate levels of public regard ($M = 2.87$, $SD = 0.91$).

Ethnic Identity Scale-Brief

In support of configural invariance, the multi-group model fit the data well: χ^2 (48) = 120.96, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .06 (95% CI [.05, .08]), CFI = .95, TLI = .92, SRMR = .04. Comparing nested models indicated that there was no statistically significant change with increasingly constrained parameters (Table 3.3). Scalar invariance was supported for the EIS-B.

With a scalar model achieved, we compared correlations and means across groups. Correlations could be constrained to be equal without resulting in a significant decrement of fit ($\Delta\chi^2 = 4.33$, $p = .23$). Affirmation was positively related to resolution for both immigrant-origin ($\beta = .23$, $p = .012$) and U.S.-origin ($\beta = .24$, $p < .001$) adolescents. Exploration was strongly correlated with resolution for both immigrant-origin ($\beta = .65$, $p < .001$) and U.S.-origin ($\beta = .61$, $p < .001$) adolescents. Affirmation was unrelated to exploration for both immigrant-origin ($\beta = .08$, $p = .105$) and U.S.-origin ($\beta = .09$, $p = .065$) adolescents. The groups did not differ on exploration or resolution, but immigrant-origin adolescents reported lower affirmation than U.S.-origin youth, $\beta = -.22$, $p = .028$.

Multidimensional Model of Black Identity-Teen

In support of configural invariance, the multi-group model fit the data well: χ^2 (16) = 47.43, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .07 (95% CI [.05, .10]), CFI = .96, TLI = .93, SRMR = .04. Comparing the metric model to the configural model indicated that there was no statistically significant change. However, scalar invariance was not supported (Table 3.3).

We then tested partial scalar invariance by sequentially releasing individual item intercepts to freely vary (Table 3.3). With all item intercepts on the centrality subscale free to vary, and an item from the public regard subscale free to vary, the partial scalar model was not significantly worse than the metric model, indicating that only two item intercepts from public regard can be constrained equal across groups.

With a metric model achieved, we examined the correlation between centrality and public regard for each group. The correlation could be constrained equal ($\Delta\chi^2 = 0.05, p = .83$). Centrality was positively correlated with public regard for both immigrant-origin ($\beta = .26, p < .001$) and U.S.-origin ($\beta = .27, p < .001$) adolescents. Lack of scalar invariance indicates that group means cannot be compared.

Discussion

With the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, the U.S. Black demographic shifted to include an increasing proportion of people with immigrant origins directly from the Caribbean or Africa (Anderson, 2017; FitzGerald & Cook-Martín, 2015). Today, immigrants and their children represent 18% of the U.S. Black population, bringing with them their own histories and their own experiences (Anderson & López, 2018). Despite this demographic shift, immigrant-origin Black youth are largely excluded from the larger conversation surrounding Black youth's ERI development (but see Thornton et al., 2017 for an exception).

The current study examined the extent to which commonly used ERI measures are equivalent across immigrant generation status for Black youth. Previous literature has demonstrated that immigrant-origin Black youth may be socialized in any combination of their parents' heritage cultures as well as the cultures of the settlement society. For instance, Caribbean-origin adolescents in the U.S. tend to be bicultural (e.g., psychologically adapted to both their parents' heritage culture and one dominant U.S. culture) or tricultural (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2014). Not surprisingly, Black children of immigrants choose a number of ethnic-racial labels to describe themselves, including "Black," or a hyphenated version of their identities (Ferguson et al., 2014). Given the confluence of these multiple identities, and greater theoretical overlap between ethnicity and race for African American youth (see Author, under review), we explored whether a theoretically universal ERI measure (i.e., the EIS-B) and a theoretically universal adaptation of the MIBI-T would be equivalent for immigrant-origin Black youth and U.S.-origin Black youth. We found that whereas the EIS-B achieved scalar invariance, the MIBI-T demonstrated partial scalar invariance. These results fill a methodological gap in the literature, providing researchers with empirical support for either combining or comparing immigrant-origin and U.S.-origin Black youth in analyses regarding ERI.

The EIS-B was developed for use across diverse ethnic-racial groups and validated by comparing pan-ethnic categories (e.g., Black, Latinx, White; Douglass & Umaña-Taylor, 2015). However, given the diversity within the Black population, the current study aimed to illuminate whether Black youth of recent immigrant-origin and Black youth with U.S.-born parents interpret the questions in the same way. The data supported scalar invariance for the EIS-B, which is in line with previous findings across pan-ethnic groups. Given these findings, Black youth with immigrant origins and Black youth with U.S. origins may be compared on

associations between EIS-B variables and other study variables, as well as mean levels of exploration, resolution, and affirmation, when asked to report on their "ethnicity."

Unlike the EIS-B, the MIBI-T was developed for a specific group: African American adolescents. Although Scottham et al. (2008) do not define African American in their paper, the authors appear to use the term to be inclusive of all Black people in the U.S. As such, the original MIBI-T items are specific to "Black people" rather than all ethnic groups more broadly (e.g., "I feel good about Black people;" p. 306). Despite being developed for Black Americans, the original MIBI was derived from universal constructs of collective identity, such as "identity importance" (i.e., centrality) and "public esteem" (i.e., public regard; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Sellers et al., 1998). Thus, previous researchers have argued that some MIBI constructs are appropriate to examine amongst other groups by replacing the phrase "Black people" with "people of my ethnic group/ethnicity" (see Schwartz et al., 2014). The current study reveals that, despite the conceptual universality of the MIBI-T constructs of centrality and public regard, the subscales were not fully invariant across immigrant generation status for Black youth in our sample, and thus, mean levels of the constructs could not be compared. Future researchers may need to first check the MIBI-T for invariance before pooling or comparing immigrant-origin and U.S.-origin Black youth. This is important because, in some research that includes both multigenerational African American and West Indian (i.e., Caribbean) adolescents, no significant differences in mean levels of exploration or affirmation, change over time, or predictors of change have been found, and this has led researchers to conclude that the two groups could be categorized together (Pahl & Way, 2006). However, it is not clear what conclusions to draw about such mean level comparisons between immigrant- and U.S.-origin Black youth in the absence of information about scalar invariance.

A lack of differences between immigrant-origin Black youth and U.S.-origin Black youth may speak to a broader process of racialization at play. Immigrant-origin Black youth share phenotypic characteristics with U.S.-origin Black youth and are thus racialized into what Blackness means in the U.S. (e.g., Emeka, 2019; Smith, 2014; Waters, 1994). Although these youth may have some different experiences that shape their identities, the shared experience of anti-Black racism may result in more similar interpretations of generalized ERI measures. More research is needed to examine the process through which immigrant-origin Black youth are racialized. For instance, it is possible that the process dimensions of ERI (e.g., exploration, resolution) are equivalent across generation status due to the implicit nature of understanding one's ethnicity within a racialized social structure (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Conversely, differences may arise for ERI content as immigrant-origin Black youth consider their group belonging and status, due to ethnic and racial groups being discrete but overlapping categories. Future research should examine the equivalence of the centrality and public regard intercepts prior to comparing immigrant-origin and U.S.-origin Black youth when using the modified MIBI-T that refers to one's ethnic group or ethnicity.

Limitations and Future Directions

Although we compared Black youth with recent immigrant origins to Black youth with two U.S.-born parents, this comparison does not account for the ways in which some immigrant-origin groups (e.g., Caribbean, Afro-Latinx, African) may negotiate their ERI. Specifically, some immigrant-origin youth in the sample may be classified as immigrant-origin even if their immigrant parent is not Black. The current study focuses on whether Black adolescents interpret ERI survey questions the same way across immigrant generation status, given that immigrant-origin youth are informed by the social contexts of their parents' heritage cultures. It is likely

that having an immigrant parent who shares one's racialized identity (i.e., Black) may result in unique negotiation of ethnicity or race compared to having an immigrant parent who does not share one's racialized identity. In particular, when Black African or Afro-Caribbean youth are asked to report on their "ethnicity," *what* they are reporting on is not always clear (e.g., their Blackness or their heritage culture identity). Despite finding measurement equivalence to some degree across the ERI measures for immigrant-origin and non-immigrant-origin Black youth, further research is needed to examine the qualitative meaning of ethnicity for youth with Black immigrant parents specifically.

A second limitation is that data were collected in two distinct geographic locations in the U.S. Although this approach promotes greater generalizability than a single-site approach, the sample size limitations precluded the possibility of examining invariance among immigrant and U.S.-Black youth in each location. Being of immigrant-origin may carry distinct meaning and implications for Black youth in the Midwest and the Southwest U.S. Larger and nationally representative samples would be helpful to more definitively clarify the intersection of geographic and immigrant-origin experiences that may contribute to ERI formation differently across Black youth.

Conclusion

In a society that devalues Blackness and limits Black people's opportunities, finding ways to promote a positive sense of self among Black youth is critical. To examine ERI as a cultural asset among diverse youth, researchers commonly assess universal processes of ERI development, along with universal content dimensions (Schwartz et al., 2014). Currently, the majority of studies that include Black youth have not accounted for potential variation in their samples due to immigrant generation status, either due to necessity (e.g., sample size) or the

assumption of homogeneity among such youth. Consequently, they are pooled together and compared with other ethnic-racial groups without consideration for potentially systematic variation among Black youth. Without establishing measurement invariance, we cannot know whether systematic measurement error needs to be taken into account in ERI research with Black adolescents. The present findings contribute new insight into potential measurement issues that could arise when examining within-group variation in ERI among Black adolescents.

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Table 3.1 *Descriptive Statistics and Factor Loadings of Study Variables for Black Adolescents of Immigrant-Origin and Non-Immigrant Origin*

Latent variable/indicators	*N*		*M*		*SD*		% Missing		Skewness		Kurtosis		Stand. Loading		SE	
EIS-B: Affirmation																
	Non-immigrant IIC = .47; *M* = 3.87; *SD* = .36 Immigrant IIC = .35; *M* = 3.79; *SD* = .45															
1. I feel negatively about my ethnicity. (Reverse coded)	609	***124***	3.83	***3.72***	0.51	***0.63***	3.90	***2.40***	-3.38	***-2.44***	12.07	***5.84***	0.65	***0.90***	0.06	***0.33***
2. I wish I were of a different ethnicity. (Reverse coded)	607	***124***	3.87	***3.82***	0.46	***0.60***	4.30	***2.40***	-4.22	***-3.84***	19.44	***14.77***	0.69	***0.39***	0.07	***0.31***
3. I dislike my ethnicity. (Reverse coded)	604	***122***	3.92	***3.84***	0.36	***0.58***	4.70	***3.90***	-5.39	***-4.23***	32.00	***17.97***	0.73	***0.42***	0.09	***0.30***
EIS-B: Exploration																
	Non-immigrant IIC = .58; *M* = 2.75; *SD* = .90 Immigrant IIC = .50; *M* = 2.81; *SD* = .86															
4. I have attended events that have helped me learn more about my ethnicity.	611	***125***	2.71	***2.82***	1.04	***0.98***	3.60	***1.60***	-0.22	***-0.21***	-1.14	***-1.12***	0.78	***0.77***	0.03	***0.07***

5. I have read books/magazines/newspapers or other materials that have taught me about my ethnicity.	610	***123***	2.76	***2.73***	1.06	***1.12***	3.80	***3.10***	-0.37	***-0.24***	-1.10	***-1.33***	0.67	***0.57***	0.03	***0.09***
6. I have participated in activities that have taught me about my ethnicity.	604	***123***	2.80	***2.88***	1.07	***1.06***	4.70	***3.10***	-0.37	***-0.42***	-1.15	***-1.11***	0.84	***0.79***	0.02	***0.07***
EIS-B: Resolution																
	Non-immigrant (IIC = .63; *M* = 3.40; *SD* = .69) Immigrant (IIC = .53; *M* = 3.47; *SD* = .67)															
7. I am clear about what my ethnicity means to me.	613	***124***	3.38	***3.46***	0.76	***0.73***	3.30	***2.40***	-1.04	***-1.22***	0.42	***0.96***	0.70	***0.71***	0.03	***0.09***
8. I know what my ethnicity means to me.	595	***123***	3.44	***3.49***	0.77	***0.81***	6.20	***3.10***	-1.41	***-1.59***	1.59	***1.79***	0.86	***0.72***	0.03	***0.14***
9. I have a clear sense of what my ethnicity means to me.	606	***123***	3.37	***3.50***	0.83	***0.79***	4.40	***3.10***	-1.25	***-1.77***	0.87	***2.76***	0.86	***0.78***	0.03	***0.10***
MIBI-T: Centrality																
	Non-immigrant (IIC = .45; *M* = 3.75; *SD* = .85) Immigrant (IIC = 45; *M* = 3.84; *SD* = .87)															

1. I feel close to other people of my ethnic group.	604	***123***	3.96	***3.89***	0.96	***1.01***	4.70	***3.10***	-0.81	***-0.74***	0.54	***0.33***	0.80	***0.74***	0.04	***0.10***
2. I have a strong sense of belonging to people from my ethnic group.	599	***123***	3.83	***3.98***	1.02	***1.06***	5.50	***3.10***	-0.60	***-0.72***	-0.11	***-0.42***	0.76	***0.87***	0.04	***0.09***
3. If I were to describe myself to someone, one of the first things that I would tell them is my ethnicity.	603	***124***	3.47	***3.66***	1.25	***1.22***	4.90	***2.40***	-0.38	***-0.40***	-0.81	***-0.96***	0.47	***0.44***	0.05	***0.09***
MIBI-T: Public Regard																
	Non-immigrant (IIC = .49; *M* = 2.85; *SD* = .91) Immigrant (IIC = .44; *M* = 3.03; *SD* = .91)															
4. Most people think that people of my ethnic group are as smart as people of other ethnic groups.	604	***123***	2.61	***2.67***	1.10	***1.14***	4.70	***3.10***	0.40	***0.24***	-0.37	***-0.52***	0.83	***0.57***	0.04	***0.10***
5. People of other ethnicities think that people of my ethnicity have made important contributions.	602	***123***	3.17	***3.26***	1.04	***1.12***	5.00	***3.10***	-0.08	***-0.17***	-0.23	***-0.49***	0.58	***0.57***	0.04	***0.09***
6. People think that people of my ethnicity are as good as people from other ethnicities.	594	***122***	2.77	***3.14***	1.20	***1.20***	6.30	***3.90***	0.27	***0.02***	-0.72	***-0.83***	0.69	***0.81***	0.04	***0.11***

Note. EIS-B = Ethnic Identity Scale-Brief. MIBI-T = Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity-Teen. Stand = standardized. SE = standard error. IIC = inter-item correlation.

Bold/italicized are for immigrant-origin sample.

Table 3.2 *Bivariate Correlations for U.S.-Origin and Immigrant-Origin Black Adolescents*

	1	2	3	4	5
1. EIS-B: Affirmation	--	.07	.18**	.23**	.05
2. EIS-B: Exploration	-.03	--	.53**	.35**	.00
3. EIS-B: Resolution	.19*	.45**	--	.52**	.06
4. MIBI-T: Centrality	.38**	.29**	.48**	--	.21**
5. MIBI-T: Public Regard	.02	.17	.09	.11	--

Note. EIS-B = Ethnic Identity Scale-Brief. MIBI-T = Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity-Teen. U.S.-origin above the diagonal, immigrant-origin below.

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

Table 3.3 *Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) and Measurement Invariance for Black Adolescents*

Measure	Model	χ^2 (*df*)	CFI	Model Comparison	$\Delta\chi^2(\Delta df)$	ΔCFI	Decision
EIS-B	Baseline CFA	59.57(24)***	0.969				
	Configural Invariance	120.96(48)***	0.946				Accept
	Metric Invariance	114.51(54)***	0.955	Configural	2.31(6)	.009	Accept
	Scalar Invariance	119.69(6)***	0.956	Metric	4.18(6)	.001	Accept
MIBI-T	Baseline CFA	27.24(8)***	0.976				
	Configural Invariance	47.43(16)***	0.962				Accept
	Metric Invariance	53.64(20)***	0.959	Configural	5.81(4)	-.003	Accept
	Scalar Invariance	70.75(24)***	0.943	Metric	18.16(4)**	-.016	Reject
	Partial Scalar Invariance 1	68.80(23)***	0.944	Metric	16.78(3)**	-.015	Reject
	Partial Scalar Invariance 2	61.42(22)***	0.952	Metric	8.27(2)*	-.007	Reject
	Partial Scalar Invariance 3	61.42(22)***	0.952	Metric	8.27(2)*	-.007	Reject
	Partial Scalar Invariance 4	56.30(21)***	0.957	Metric	2.65(1)	-.002	Accept

Note: EIS-B = Ethnic Identity Scale-Brief. MIBI-T = Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity-Teen. Baseline CFA is across the entire sample. Satorra-Bentler scaled chi-square different test used to calculate differences between nested models. Partial Scalar Invariance 1 released the constraint on the MIBIT6 item intercept, with each partial scalar invariance model releasing an additional constraint in the following order: MIBIT4, MIBIT2, and MIBIT1.

$^{**}p < .01$. $^{***}p < .001$.

Chapter 4 Study 2

Race Matters for Black Canadians: The Intersection of Acculturation and Racial Identity in Emerging Adulthood[1]

Whereas Americans tend to emphasize race as one of the most important social identities, Canadians tend to emphasize culture. This emphasis is reflected in the Canadian census "population group" rather than "racial" categories, in Canada's dearth of race-based statistics, and in Canada's official multiculturalism policy (Berry, 2013; Statistics Canada, 2015). Each perspective—race or culture—tells a partial story for Caribbean and African immigrants who, in addition to adapting to a new society, acquire the political identity of Blackness in North America (Dei & James, 1998). Research suggests that immigrants who participate in and value the mainstream White culture in addition to their heritage cultures experience greater levels of well-being than immigrants who do not (Berry, 2013); however, racism and discrimination pose barriers to Black people feeling fully integrated into Canadian society, requiring a more nuanced view of Black immigrant acculturation (Environics Institute for Survey Research, 2017). The purpose of this paper is to investigate the acculturation and racial identity of Black Caribbean and African Canadian immigrants in emerging adulthood and the implications for their psychological well-being.

Navigating Ethnocultural and Racial(ized) Identities

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As a powerful social construction, race is often a salient and inescapable aspect of Black Canadians' social identities (Smedley & Smedley, 2005; Tajfel, 1974). Despite race and racism having serious ramifications for Black Canadians (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2017), the resulting racial identity that may develop and its implications are understudied. Racial identity is a multidimensional construct that broadly describes the importance and meaning individuals assign to race in their self-definition (Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998). Dimensions of racial identity include salience (the relevance of race to one's self-definition in a particular moment), centrality (the importance of race in one's normative self-definition), regard (a person's feelings and judgment about belonging to the group), and ideology (a person's expectations about group norms; Sellers et al., 1998). Researchers have extended this model to include a combined ethnic-racial identity, arguing the two are deeply intertwined in the U.S. (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014).

However, it is important to distinguish between "ethnic" (i.e., ethnocultural) and racial identities for Black Canadians. Ethnicity generally refers to a group of people with a common culture (e.g., religion, language), a myth of common ancestry, actual common ancestry, common region of origin, and/or common history (Chandra, 2006). Race, on the other hand, has historically referred to biological and phenotypical characteristics, as well as ancestry, and can subsume ethnic categories (Hirschman, Alba, & Farley, 2000). Although the terms "Black" and "African American" are sometimes used synonymously, this paper adopts Sellers and colleagues' (1998) definition of "African American" as the specific ethnocultural group in the U.S. that is descended from enslaved Africans. Since approximately 90% of Black Canadians are first- and second-generation immigrants, mainly from the Caribbean and Africa, most Black Canadians are not "African American" (Milan & Tran, 2004). Empirical research has found that

Black Canadians use various ethnocultural labels to define themselves (e.g., Jamaican), but that "Black" is the most preferred label (Boatswain & Lalonde, 2000). Consistent with Statistics Canada classifications, the present paper uses the racial identifier "Black" to refer to all peoples of acknowledged African descent, and describes recent immigrants from Africa or the Caribbean more specifically.

Despite having academic, social, and psychological implications (Sellers et al., 1998), the concept of race has no biological basis (Glenn, 2000; Witzig, 1996) and is context-dependent. Whereas the hypodescent or "one drop" rule in North America dictated that any trace of African origin made a person Black, variations in African and European ancestry are not defined as a binary everywhere (e.g., the Dominican Republic: Bailey, 2001; Khanna, 2010). Additionally, in majority Black countries, the racial category "Black" may be redundant because of the absence of a non-Black out-group (Faulkner, Baldwin, Lindsley, & Hecht, 2006). Consequently, many Caribbean and African immigrants feel as though they "become Black" when they come to North America, acquiring a *racialized* identity (Dei & James, 1998). As a result, Black Canadians may define themselves as part of their heritage ethnocultural group (e.g., Igbo, Nigerian, West African), the larger, racial(ized) group (i.e., Black), or both. With both culture and race salient, addressing only one of these social identities does not tell the whole story.

Moving Toward a Tridimensional Model of Acculturation

Acculturation refers to the cultural changes (e.g., beliefs, values, behaviors) that occur when multiple groups have continuous contact (Berry, 2008). Accordingly, an individual oriented toward a particular culture participates in and values that culture. The bidimensional framework of acculturation suggests that it is possible to be oriented simultaneously toward one's heritage culture and the dominant culture of the settlement country, which Berry (1980)

defines as *integration*. Integration is widely considered the most adaptive acculturation strategy (Berry, 2013), and is preferable to separation (retaining heritage culture and not participating in the larger society), assimilation (cutting ties with heritage culture while participating in the larger society), and marginalization (lack of connection to either culture).

In both Canada and the U.S., the dominant culture is generally defined as a single, European-descent culture (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2014). However, so-called "visible minorities" comprise over 19% of the Canadian population, with higher (and increasing) percentages in metropolitan cities like Toronto (47%) and Vancouver (45%; Statistics Canada, 2011a; Statistics Canada, 2011b). Segmented assimilation theory in sociology posits that immigrants from particular ethnocultural backgrounds may assimilate into ethnocultural enclaves in addition to adopting the values of the dominant mainstream society (Satzewich & Liodakis, 2007). Further, structural factors determine the culture(s) to which immigrants acculturate (Portes & Zhou, 1993). Since new Caribbean and African immigrants arrive with few resources, live closer to existing low-income Black communities than other communities, look phenotypically similar to other Black people, and experience similar racial treatment from others, they may assimilate into existing Black enclaves *and* adopt the values of the mainstream society. The tridimensional acculturation model suggests, therefore, that Black immigrants interact with their heritage cultures, European American (White) culture, and African American (Black) culture (Ferguson, Bornstein, & Pottinger, 2012). Empirical research has found that Jamaican immigrants in the U.S. are more likely to be oriented toward African American culture than to European American culture, challenging what it means for Black immigrants to feel integrated (Ferguson, Iturbide, & Gordon, 2014).

There are challenges to defining Canadian culture, whether it is "White culture" or "Black culture." Canada's multiculturalism policy encourages Canadians to keep their heritage culture identities, values and practices, resulting in a *tossed salad* of many cultures, rather than the proverbial American *melting pot* (Berry, 2013). Further, Canadian culture is highly influenced by American culture, mass media, and globalization, making it difficult to define exactly what makes something distinctly Canadian (Cameron & Berry, 2008). Despite stereotypes associated with "acting Black," there is not a single Black culture in Canada (Manzo & Bailey, 2005). Rather than hard definitions of culture, what is important for this study is the phenomenological understanding of what each culture means for each person. For these reasons, it is more appropriate to refer to "mainstream White culture" and "mainstream Black culture" in North America than "European Canadian culture" and "African Canadian culture."

Cultural Orientation and Life Satisfaction

An extensive body of literature indicates that retaining one's heritage culture while also participating in the larger society results in high levels of well-being (see meta analysis: Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). A large, multinational study found that immigrant youth who adopted integration or separation as acculturation strategies had greater life satisfaction than those who were assimilated or marginalized (Sam, Vedder, Ward, & Horenczyk, 2006). However, the study did not include African or Caribbean immigrants in North America.

Although youth oriented toward the mainstream White culture and their heritage culture have higher life satisfaction than those who are not, it may be for potentially different reasons (Paterson & Hakim-Larson, 2012). Paterson and Hakim-Larson (2012) speculate that aligning with dominant cultural values is important for adjustment in the public domain, but few have examined the link between White culture orientation and life satisfaction empirically.

Conversely, immigrants oriented toward heritage culture experience less cultural conflict at home and perceive more family support, which contribute to higher levels of life satisfaction (Edwards & Lopez, 2006). Given few researchers have examined the role of Black culture orientation, it is unclear how Black culture orientation is related to overall life satisfaction. Ferguson and Bornstein (2014) suggest that, for Jamaican immigrants in the U.S., participating in the mainstream Black culture promotes greater social/relational adaptation, especially since they often live in neighborhoods with African Americans (Portes & Zhou, 1993). In Canada, the relationship is not as clear, given that, even in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), where nearly half of all Black Canadians reside, Black Canadians are most likely to live in neighborhoods where they are a minority (Environics Institute for Survey Research, 2017). Further, given the diversity of the Black Canadian population, it is possible that differing definitions of mainstream Black culture would result in different outcomes.

Aspects of racial identity might explain the relationship between White culture orientation and life satisfaction. Public regard is a component of the *regard* dimension of racial identity that describes how positively or negatively a person thinks other people feel about their racial group (Sellers et al., 1998). Believing one's group is valued contributes positively to self-concept (Rivas-Drake, 2011; Tajfel, 1974). African Americans who believe others view Black people positively report experiencing less discrimination and have higher life satisfaction than those who believe others view Black people negatively (Yap, Settles, & Pratt-Hyatt, 2011).

Intergroup contact theory suggests positive intergroup contact reduces prejudice, especially for members of dominant groups (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). Black Canadians oriented toward the mainstream White culture may have more positive intergroup contact and perceive less discrimination than those who are not, resulting in more positive public regard.

Public regard, rather than a White culture orientation alone, may explain the higher life satisfaction among those oriented toward White culture.

When they arrive in North America, Caribbean and African immigrants see negative stereotypes, reinforced through mass media, that associate Blackness with "evil, criminal, disorderly and guilty" (Dei & James, 1998, p. 95). Afro-Caribbeans in the U.S. report that, since Whites treat them better as Afro-Caribbeans than they treat African Americans, Afro-Caribbeans may preserve their ethnocultural identities as a way of distancing themselves from the "African American" label (Waters, 1994). Not surprisingly, Caribbean immigrants in the U.S. who believe others view Black people positively are more likely to participate in African American culture, suggesting a link between Black culture orientation and public regard (Joseph, Watson, Wang, Case, & Hunter, 2013).

Purpose of Study and Hypotheses

Drawing from the tridimensional framework of acculturation, the current study examines the potential indirect effect of White culture orientation on life satisfaction through racial public regard, in a sample of first- and second-generation Black Caribbean and African Canadians. We focus on late adolescence and emerging adulthood, which are both critical periods for exploring one's identity with increased cognitive maturity (Arnett, 2015; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Emerging adulthood, the period between adolescence and adulthood, is marked by the delayed transition into major life milestones that signal adulthood (e.g., getting married, having kids, entering the workforce; Arnett, 2015). However, the experience may differ depending on intersections of race, ethnicity, and class (Syed & Mitchell, 2013). A study in Québec found that, whereas independence from parents signaled adulthood for young White Canadians, reciprocity

and obligation to parents signaled adulthood for young African immigrants (Mondain & Lardoux, 2013).

Acculturation, in particular, is marked by intergenerational conflict and unique family structures (García Coll & Pachter, 2002) and thus youth must adapt to stress both within and outside the family (Cheah & Nelson, 2004). Research has found important age differences in acculturation, with younger immigrants acculturating to the dominant culture faster (Cheung, Chudek, & Heine, 2010). Research has also found age differences among Black Canadians (Environics Institute for Survey Research, 2017). Compared to older Black Canadians who are more likely to be Caribbean-born, young Black Canadians are increasingly African- and Canadian-born, and thus, more diverse. Black Canadians in emerging adulthood are also less likely to have mostly Black social networks, and more likely than their older counterparts to identify stereotypes and racism as the biggest challenges the Black community faces (Environics Institute for Survey Research, 2017).

Given our review of the literature, we advance the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: We expected to replicate Ferguson and colleagues' (2014) finding that Black immigrants are more oriented toward the mainstream Black culture than the mainstream White culture.

Hypothesis 2a: Consistent with previous empirical findings, we expected a positive relation between White culture orientation and life satisfaction.

However, few researchers have empirically examined the underlying mechanism between White culture orientation and life satisfaction. Although some researchers postulate that participating in and valuing the dominant culture promotes psychological adaptation, others note that, for immigrants to integrate with the larger society, the larger society must also have more

positive attitudes toward immigrants (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). **Hypothesis 2b:** Given that experiences of racial prejudice, discrimination, and racism can undermine quality of life (e.g., Yap et al., 2011), we hypothesized that the relation between White culture orientation and life satisfaction is indirect through racial public regard.

Hypothesis 3a: Consistent with previous empirical findings, we expected a positive relation between heritage culture orientation and life satisfaction.

Hypothesis 3b: Since public regard describes beliefs about how out-group members view one's own racial group and heritage culture orientation involves participating in one's in-group culture, we hypothesized that the relation between heritage culture orientation and life satisfaction is not indirect through racial public regard.

Hypothesis 4: Given motivations for positive self-views and the distancing that occurs when one's group is perceived as having low status, we expected to find a positive relation between Black culture orientation and racial public regard.

Due to the dearth of past literature linking Black culture orientation to psychological outcomes, in addition to the potential for differing definitions of mainstream Black culture to result in different outcomes, analyses pertaining to the relationship between Black culture orientation and life satisfaction were exploratory. The tridimensional framework may provide new insight in investigating the link between acculturation and psychological outcomes. Support for study hypotheses would suggest that heritage culture orientation and racial identity contribute to quality of life assessments.

Method

Participants

To be eligible to participate in this study, participants had to identify as Black, be 16 to 30 years old, live in Canada, and either be born in the Caribbean or Africa or have at least one parent who was born in the Caribbean or Africa. Participants were recruited through snowball sampling techniques (listservs, Facebook, and Twitter), printed flyers in the Greater Toronto Area and Windsor, Ontario, and the participant pool of a diverse, midsize university. Participants were invited to complete an online questionnaire and were eligible to enter a draw to win one of four $50 Amazon gift cards.

Participants were 187 English-speaking Black adolescents and emerging adults (M_{age} = 21.18, *SD* = 3.54), and were first (*n* = 41), second (*n* = 109), or one and one half (*n* = 37) generation immigrants from Africa (*n* = 104) or the Caribbean (*n* = 83). First generation immigrants were born outside of Canada and came to Canada after the age of 12; one and half generation immigrants were born outside of Canada and arrived at age 12 or younger; second generation immigrants were born in Canada with one or both parents born outside of Canada (Rojas, 2011). Of the 116 participants who reported gender, 95 identified as female, 18 as male, and 3 as non-binary. Forty-four percent of participants were from the Greater Toronto Area. Of the 116 participants who reported their education level, 85.3% reported at least some postsecondary education.

Participants were first asked which racial/ethnic group(s) they identified with, and to "check all that apply." At this stage, 137 participants (73.3%) identified as Black. Of this group, 19 identified *only* as Black, 11 as Black, Caribbean, and African, 60 as Black and Caribbean, and 47 as Black and African. Thirty-eight participants identified as African alone, 12 as Caribbean alone, and 29 as multiracial. Participants were also asked to name the heritage culture outside of Canada that was most influential for them. Participants who explicitly indicated a Caribbean or

African culture were coded as either Caribbean or African on that basis. Participants who specified a non-Caribbean or African origin (e.g., French) or did not respond were categorized as either Caribbean or African on the basis of their own and their parents' birthplaces as well as the race or ethnicity they identified at the beginning of the survey.

Indicators of Latent Constructs

Latent constructs of the corresponding items were created to examine the validity of each factor structure, and structural equation modeling (SEM) was used to analyze the relationships among the latent constructs.

Cultural Orientation. Participants completed three subscales: heritage culture orientation, mainstream White culture orientation, and mainstream Black culture orientation. Each subscale measured behaviors, attitudes, and values that aligned with the respective culture, with higher scores indicating a stronger cultural orientation. For each item, participants responded on a 1 (none or not at all) to 5 (very much or always) scale, with 6 (unsure/does not apply) as an additional option that was coded as missing. The subscales used in the present study were derived from the 34-item Acculturation Rating Scale for Jamaican Americans (ARSJA; Ferguson et al., 2012), and the 20-item Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA; Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000). Items from both scales that were relevant for a Black Canadian sample were retained; irrelevant or redundant items were not included. Each proposed scale item was reviewed by a small group of Black Canadians who matched the sampling frame and identified items that were difficult to understand; these items were reassessed and modified or removed.

The final version of the subscales used in the study (see Appendix) included parallel items, with an additional item on the Heritage Culture Orientation Scale about speaking heritage culture language or dialect. A sample item is: "It is important for me to maintain or develop

mainstream White cultural practices," with an analogous item for Heritage Culture Orientation and Black Culture Orientation.

All three scales had strong reliability: 12-item White Culture Orientation Scale, α = .91; 13-item Heritage Culture Orientation Scale, α = .90; and 12-item Black Culture Orientation Scale, α = .92.

Racial Public Regard. Public Regard (α = .81) was assessed with a three-item 5-point scale (1 = really disagree; 5 = really agree) that measures the individual's perceptions of how positively or negatively others view Black people (Scottham, Sellers, & Nguyên, 2008). A sample item is: "Most people think that Blacks are as smart as people from other races." Higher scores indicate participants believe others view Black people more positively.

Life Satisfaction. The Satisfaction with Life Scale (α = .87) 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, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985). Higher scores indicate a more favorable quality of life assessment and greater life satisfaction. A sample item is: "In most ways my life is close to my ideal."

Data Analysis Plan

Little's test indicated the data were missing at random, χ^2 (2278) = 2342.38, p = .170. Data were analyzed with full information maximum likelihood (FIML) in Mplus Version 8 (Muthén & Muthén, 2017), which uses every data point available (Diemer & Li, 2012). The weighted least squares, mean, and variance adjusted (WLSMV) estimator was used because it is robust to deviations from normality (Kline, 2015). We used Diemer and Li's (2011) conservative criteria for each fit statistic: chi-square (a larger value and significant p indicate a poorer fit), comparative fit index (CFI; cut-off $\geq .95$), Tucker-Lewis index (TLI; cut-off $\geq .95$), root mean

square error of approximation (RMSEA; cut-off ≤. 05), and weighted root mean residual (WRMR; cut off < 1; Hu & Bentler, 1999; MacCallum & Austin, 2000).

Measurement Model. The measurement model was tested using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). Including all latent variables in a single model resulted in a poor fit, so three measurement models were tested separately: one CFA each for mainstream White culture orientation, heritage culture orientation, and mainstream Black culture orientation. All measurement models included the latent constructs public regard and life satisfaction. The modification indices from the initial CFAs recommended that the error terms of some items should be correlated; upon inspection, the items with correlated errors were similar in meaning (e.g., "I like to interact with people from my heritage culture" and "I enjoy social activities with people from the same heritage culture as myself"). Thus, correlated error terms were estimated in the final CFAs and subsequent analyses.

Including covariates (e.g., heritage culture, generation status) in the model worsened model fit, likely because of the parsimony principle (Kline, 2015). Since few differences were accounted for by including the covariates, the key findings were the same with or without them, and the model fit better when they were excluded, no covariates were included in the final model.

Structural Models. Two structural models were tested to evaluate which model fit better for each cultural orientation. Model 1 (the hypothesized model for White culture orientation) included both the direct relation from cultural orientation to life satisfaction, and the indirect path from cultural orientation to life satisfaction through public regard. Model 2 (the hypothesized model for heritage culture orientation) tested the relation between each cultural orientation and

life satisfaction, as well as public regard and life satisfaction, with no indirect effect; thus the relation between cultural orientation and public regard was constrained to zero.

Results

Preliminary Analysis

Descriptive statistics and bivariate correlations among the latent variables are provided in Table 4.1. As hypothesized, a paired samples t-test revealed that participants were significantly more oriented toward Black culture than they were to White culture, mean difference = .77, $t(134) = 7.09$, $p < .001$. Participants were also significantly more oriented toward heritage culture than they were toward White culture, mean difference = .69, $t(159) = 6.95$, $p < .001$. The mean difference between heritage culture orientation and Black culture orientation was not statistically significant. As hypothesized, participants with greater White culture orientation reported higher life satisfaction ($r = .26$, $p = .005$), as did those with greater heritage culture orientation ($r = .19$, $p = .028$) and more positive public regard ($r = .33$, $p = .001$).

White Culture Orientation

> ***H2b****: The relation between White culture orientation and life satisfaction is indirect through public regard.*

The measurement model for White culture orientation had an adequate fit to the data: $\chi^2(147) = 255.84$, CFI = .95, TLI = .94, RMSEA = .07 [95%CI .05, .08], WRMR = .87. Although chi-square, TLI, and RMSEA did not meet the recommended conservative cut-offs, aside from item 2 on the White Culture Orientation Scale, each item loaded well on its corresponding factor. A potential reason item 2 ("My friends, while I was growing up, were White") did not load well on the factor is that it asks about past behavior, whereas the remaining items ask about the present. Since item 2 had an unstandardized factor loading of .21, it was

removed to improve the validity of the scale. For a more detailed description of factor loadings, contact the first author.

Structural models and indirect effects for White culture orientation are provided in Table 4.2. Model 1, the direct path from White culture orientation to life satisfaction, and the indirect path from White culture orientation to life satisfaction, through public regard (Figure 4.1), had the same fit statistics as the CFA. Effect sizes were estimated with standardized coefficients (β). Since SEM accounts for more measurement error than multiple regression, standardized coefficients in SEM are typically smaller (Diemer & Li, 2011). A standardized coefficient less than .10 is considered a small effect, .30 is a medium effect, and .50 is a large effect (Kline, 2010). Although the bivariate correlations indicated that White culture orientation and life satisfaction were significantly related, this direct relationship was no longer statistically significant when public regard was included in the model (β= .18, p = .076). Additionally, there was a medium effect (β= .32, p < .001) of White culture orientation on public regard. Public regard, in turn, significantly predicted life satisfaction (β= .27, p = .009). Indeed, the indirect path from White culture orientation to life satisfaction through public regard was statistically significant (p = .034).

As expected, Model 2 did not fit the data as well as Model 1, with none of the fit indices meeting their respective cut-offs: $\chi^2(148) = 255.84$, CFI = .92, TLI = .91, RMSEA = .08 [95%CI .07, .10], WRMR = 1.19. Further, the chi-square difference test indicates that the difference between Model 2 and Model 1 is statistically significant ($\Delta\chi^2 = 53.74$, $\Delta df = 1$, $p < .001$). Consistent with hypothesis 2b, Model 2 was rejected, suggesting that the path from White culture orientation to life satisfaction is indirect through public regard.

Heritage Culture Orientation

***H3b**: The relation between heritage culture orientation and life satisfaction is not indirect through public regard.*

The measurement model for heritage culture orientation fit the data well: $\chi^2(185)$ = 281.38, CFI = .97, TLI = .96, RMSEA = .05 [95%CI .04, .07], WRMR = 0.88. Although chi-square did not meet the recommended cut-off, each item loaded well on its corresponding factor.

Structural models and indirect effects for heritage culture orientation are provided in Table 4.3. Fit statistics for Model 1 were identical to the CFA. However, heritage culture orientation was neither directly related to life satisfaction nor public regard. Although public regard had a medium effect on life satisfaction (β= .31, p = .003), the indirect relationship between heritage culture orientation and life satisfaction was not statistically significant.

In support of our hypothesis, Model 2 also fit well: $\chi^2(186)$ = 274.17, CFI = .97, TLI = .96, RMSEA = .05 [95%CI .04, .06], WRMR = 0.96. The chi-square difference test revealed that Model 2 fit the data better than Model 1, ($\Delta\chi^2$ = -7.21, Δdf = 1, p = .007). In Model 2, both heritage culture orientation (β= .20, p = .024) and public regard (β= .34, p = .001) directly predicted life satisfaction (Figure 4.2). Taken together, the results of the structural models support the hypothesis that the relation between heritage culture orientation and life satisfaction is not indirect through public regard.

Exploring Black Culture Orientation

Bivariate correlations indicated that Black culture orientation was not related to life satisfaction, and contrary to hypothesis 4, was not significantly correlated with public regard. However, Black culture orientation was positively correlated with heritage culture orientation (r = .40, p < .001). The measurement model of Black culture orientation, public regard, and life satisfaction had an adequate fit to the data, with each item loading well on its corresponding

factor: $\chi^2(164) = 285.71$, CFI = .97, TLI = .97, RMSEA = .06 [95%CI .05, .08], WRMR = 0.83. In both structural models, Black culture orientation was neither directly nor indirectly related to life satisfaction (Table 4.4).

Discussion

The current study investigated the relations among cultural orientation, public regard, and life satisfaction in a sample of Black Canadian emerging adults with recent Caribbean or African heritage. The results indicated, consistent with a tridimensional model of acculturation, that Black Canadians report participating in the mainstream Black culture in addition to their heritage cultures and the mainstream White culture. Although White culture and heritage culture orientations were both related to life satisfaction, Black culture orientation was not. Finally, public regard was positively associated with life satisfaction, providing a mechanism for the White culture orientation-life satisfaction relation.

The Tridimensional Model

Results supported the tridimensional model, with participants indicating moderate to high orientation toward all three cultures. Further, participants indicated higher endorsement of Black culture orientation than White culture orientation, replicating previous findings (Ferguson et al., 2012). Previous literature within the bidimensional framework has found that Caribbean and African Canadian immigrants tend to be either integrated or separated (e.g., Souiden & Ladhari, 2011). If Black Canadians oriented toward the mainstream Black culture are evaluated using a bidimensional framework which prioritizes White culture, they may be categorized as separated or marginalized, despite the fact that they are clearly interacting with *a* North American culture. Indeed, Ferguson and colleagues (2012) found that Black immigrants in their U.S. sample were

overwhelmingly integrated and, when they were, they were often highly oriented toward all three cultures.

The results also underscore the complex ways in which cultural orientation reflects societal factors as well as personal choice or preference. Despite Canada's multiculturalism ideal, national surveys show that Canadians view those of European background more favorably than those of non-European background (Berry, 2013; Herberg, 1990). Racial stratification poses challenges to acculturation for immigrants who have more difficulty being seen as part of the Canadian in-group. Consistent with segmented assimilation theory (Portes & Zhou, 1993), Black Canadian immigrants in particular may begin to identify with mainstream Black culture based on receiving similar racial discrimination treatment from the larger society. Empirical research supports this notion, as the Black Experience Project in the Greater Toronto Area found that shared experiences of racism, racial stereotypes, and racial discrimination served as unifying forces among ethnoculturally diverse Black Canadians (Environics Institute for Survey Research, 2017).

Cultural Orientation and Life Satisfaction

Mainstream White culture orientation was positively associated with higher life satisfaction, but this relationship was only indirect through public regard. Previous researchers have postulated that participating in the dominant culture of the settlement society is critical for navigating daily life and increasing the chance of occupational success, which contribute to life satisfaction (e.g., Ferguson & Bornstein, 2014). However, few researchers have examined the underlying mechanisms that drive the relation between a White culture orientation and life satisfaction. Furthermore, few researchers have investigated the role of racial identity for Black immigrants navigating Canadian society. As Afro-Caribbean and African immigrants are

racialized Black, believing that others view Black people positively is important for their self-concept and life satisfaction when interacting with White people.

Conversely, heritage culture orientation was directly positively related to life satisfaction. The results of the present study suggest that, although public regard promotes life satisfaction among Black Canadian immigrants, it is not the underlying mechanism driving the relation between heritage culture orientation and life satisfaction. Rather, previous research suggests feeling a sense of belonging to one's heritage culture promotes psychological well-being and affirms one's sense of self (Smith & Silva, 2011).

Being oriented toward the mainstream Black culture was not related to life satisfaction or, more surprisingly, public regard. Some researchers suggest participation in mainstream Black culture can promote relational well-being (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2014). Additionally, Caribbean immigrants in the U.S. with positive public regard are more likely to participate in the mainstream Black culture (Joseph et al., 2013). One explanation for the non-significant findings in the present study is that there are a variety of possible definitions of "mainstream Black culture," and outcomes may depend on how a person defines and interacts with it. For some, it may hinder life satisfaction if participation in Black mainstream culture exposes them to the reality of racialization and discrimination. For others, it may promote life satisfaction if, through an increased sense of community and identity, the negative effects of prejudice and discrimination are buffered (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999).

Whether mainstream Black culture orientation relates to life satisfaction or not, one thing is certain: including Black culture orientation changes the implications of various acculturation strategies. Specifically, Black immigrants who interact with the mainstream Black culture may be considered separated or marginalized within a bidimensional framework, which disregards

potentially important interactions. In the U.S., Black immigrant youth who assimilate into inner-city African American subculture may take on an oppositional stance to the mainstream White culture as a reaction to discrimination, which in turn can result in negative outcomes (Waters, 1994). Ferguson and Bornstein (2014) found that Jamaican boys in the U.S. who were solely oriented toward mainstream Black culture had lower grades compared to girls, and their peers with other acculturation strategies. Previous work suggests the protective nature of a heritage culture orientation (e.g., Neblett, Rivas-Drake, & Umaña-Taylor, 2012), highlighting the possibility that the combination of heritage and mainstream Black culture orientations, rather than either culture alone, may provide important insight into the successful adaptation of Black Canadian immigrant youth.

Limitations and Future Directions

One limitation of the present study is the small sample size; approximately one million people in Canada identified as Black in the National Household Survey in 2011, so the emerging adult sample was drawn from a relatively small, hard-to-reach population (Statistics Canada, 2011c). To maximize the sample size, the study employed a snowball sampling method in addition to other sampling methods, contributing to participant homogeneity. Interpretation of the results is also somewhat limited by the decision, in order to maximize statistical power, to group participants using pan-ethnic terms—Caribbean-origin and African-origin. Future researchers should explore whether there are ethnocultural differences between or within Black Caribbean and African Canadians.

Second, due to gender being asked at the end of the survey and attrition, over a third of the sample did not report gender. Of participants who did, the majority reported that they identified as women. It is unclear whether men were less likely to participate in the study, and/or

less likely to complete the study. Future researchers should investigate whether there are gender differences in the relationships among cultural orientation, public regard, and life satisfaction.

A third limitation is that the data are cross-sectional, so claims cannot be made about the direction of the reported effects. Although individual choice and preferences may underlie an immigrant's cultural orientation, the ability to integrate is also dependent on the attitudes and policies of the larger society (Berry, 2013). To orient toward White culture, immigrants must also feel welcome in it. It is possible that Black immigrants who believe others view Black people positively are more likely to participate in the mainstream White culture (Branscombe et al., 1999; Phinney, Berry, Vedder, & Liebkind, 2006). Future research should investigate longitudinally whether White culture orientation precedes public regard, public regard precedes White culture orientation, or the relationship is bidirectional.

Although the findings are most relevant to relatively well-educated, urban, young adult Black Canadian immigrants, the sample resembles the emerging adult Black population. Nearly half of participants reported living in the GTA, which is comparable to the actual proportion of Black Canadians who live in the GTA. Further, Canada ranks highest among OECD countries in percentage of the adult population with postsecondary education (Charbonneau, 2014). Over 74% of all Canadians enroll in postsecondary education by the age of 21, with higher percentages for first- and second-generation immigrants (Statistics Canada, 2011d). Black Canadians access postsecondary education at similar rates as other Canadians (Environics Institute for Survey Research, 2017).

Despite some limitations, the present study takes an important step toward understanding the role of racial identity in the relation between acculturation and life satisfaction for young Black Canadians. In particular, this is the first study to use a tridimensional framework of

acculturation with Black immigrants in a Canadian context. Additionally, the study supports previous literature that highlights the importance of both racial and ethnocultural identities for Black immigrants (e.g., Waters, 1994). Lastly, the results provide empirical evidence for public regard as a mechanism that drives the relation between White culture orientation and life satisfaction.

For young Black Canadian immigrants, racial public regard appears to be a more direct path to life satisfaction than simply being oriented toward the mainstream White culture. As Canadians continue to define themselves by their openness to other cultures, they must not forget the significance of race in Black Canadians' daily lives.

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Table 4.1 *Descriptive Data and Bivariate Correlations*

	M	*SD*	*IIC*	1	2	3	4	5
1. WCOS	2.8	.85	.52	--	-0.17*	0.03	0.32***	0.26**
2. HCOS	3.50	.83	.42		--	0.40***	0.16	0.19*
3. BCOS	3.56	.93	.52			--	0.16	0.11
4. Public Regard	2.29	1.05	.57				--	0.33**
5. Life Satisfaction	4.54	1.39	.57					--

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

Table 4.2 *Structural Models for White Culture Orientation: Direct and Indirect Effects*

	Latent variables	Unstandardized estimate	*SE*	Unstandardized estimate/*SE*	Standardized estimate
Model 1	Direct effects				
	Life satisfaction ON				
	Public regard	0.28	0.12	2.42*	0.27**
	White culture orientation	0.19	0.11	1.73ns	0.18ns
	Public regard ON				
	White culture orientation	0.34	0.11	3.26**	0.32***
	Indirect effects				
	White culture orientation --> public regard --> life satisfaction	0.10	0.05	2.02*	0.09*
Model 2	Direct effects				
	Life satisfaction ON				
	Public regard	0.37	0.13	2.93**	0.33**
	White culture orientation	0.30	0.12	2.54*	0.27**

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

Table 4.3 Structural Models for Heritage Culture Orientation: Direct and Indirect Effects

	Latent variables	Unstandardized estimate	*SE*	Unstandardized estimate/*SE*	Standardized estimate
Model 1	Direct effects				
	Life satisfaction ON				
	Public regard	0.33	0.12	2.72**	0.31**
	Heritage culture orientation	0.16	0.10	1.63ns	0.15ns
	Public regard ON				
	Heritage culture orientation	0.16	0.10	1.67ns	0.16ns
	Indirect effects				
	Heritage culture orientation -->	0.05	0.03	1.59ns	0.05ns
	public regard --> life satisfaction				
Model 2	Direct effects				
	Life satisfaction ON				
	Public regard	0.37	0.12	3.02**	0.34**
	Heritage culture orientation	0.22	0.10	2.15*	0.20*

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

Table 4.4 *Structural Models for Black Culture Orientation: Direct and Indirect Effects*

	Latent variables	Unstandardized estimate	*SE*	Unstandardized estimate/*SE*	Standardized estimate
Model 1	Direct effects				
	Life satisfaction ON				
	Public regard	0.34	0.12	2.93**	0.32**
	Black culture orientation	0.06	0.10	0.64ns	0.06ns
	Public regard ON				
	Black culture orientation	0.16	0.10	1.63ns	0.16ns
	Indirect effects				
	Black culture orientation -->	0.05	0.04	1.45ns	0.05ns
	public regard --> life satisfaction				
Model 2	Direct effects				
	Life satisfaction ON				
	Public regard	0.36	0.12	3.02**	0.33**
	Black culture orientation	0.12	0.11	1.12ns	0.11ns

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

Figure 4.1 *Hypothesized Model (Model 1) for White Culture Orientation*

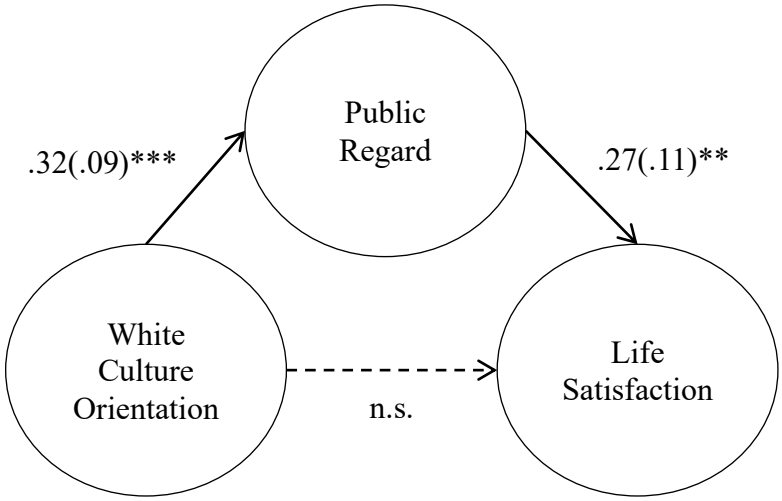
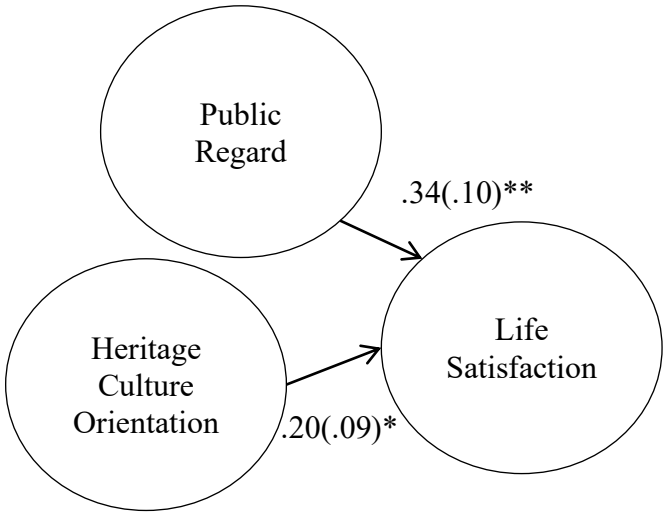


Figure 4.2 *Hypothesized Model (Model 2) for Heritage Culture Orientation*



Appendix

A = Items adapted from the ARSJA (Ferguson et al., 2012); V = Items adapted from the VIA (Ryder et al., 2000)

Heritage Culture Orientation Scale

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.). (A)
2. I like to interact with people from my heritage culture. (A)
3. My friends, while I was growing up, were my heritage culture. (A)
4. My friends now are my heritage culture. (A)
5. I often participate in my heritage culture traditions. (V)
6. I enjoy social activities with people from the same heritage culture as myself. (V)
7. I am comfortable working with people of the same heritage culture as myself. (V)
8. I enjoy entertainment (e.g., TV, movies, music) from my heritage culture. (V)
9. I often behave in ways that I associate with my heritage culture. (V)
10. It is important for me to maintain or develop the practices of my heritage culture. (V)

11. I believe in the values of my heritage culture. (V)

12. I enjoy the jokes and humour of my heritage culture. (V)

13. I am interested in having friends from my heritage culture. (V)

Mainstream White Culture Orientation Scale

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.

1. I like to interact with White people. (A)

2. My friends, while I was growing up, were White. (A)**

3. My friends now are White. (A)

4. I often participate in mainstream White cultural traditions. (V)

5. I enjoy social activities with mainstream White people. (V)

6. I am comfortable working with mainstream White people. (V)

7. I enjoy entertainment (e.g., TV, movies, music) from mainstream White culture. (V)

8. I often behave in ways that I associate with mainstream White culture. (V)

9. It is important for me to maintain or develop mainstream White cultural practices. (V)

10. I believe in mainstream White values. (V)

11. I enjoy mainstream White jokes and humour. (V)

12. I am interested in having mainstream White friends. (V)

**This item was removed to improve scale validity.

Mainstream Black Culture Orientation Scale

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.

1. I like to interact with mainstream Black people. (A)
2. My friends, while I was growing up, were mainstream Black. (A)
3. My friends now are mainstream Black. (A)
4. I often participate in mainstream Black cultural traditions. (V)
5. I enjoy social activities with mainstream Black people. (V)
6. I am comfortable working with mainstream Black people. (V)
7. I enjoy entertainment (e.g., TV, movies, music) from mainstream Black culture. (V)
8. I often behave in ways that I associate with mainstream Black culture. (V)
9. It is important for me to maintain or develop mainstream Black cultural practices. (V)
10. I believe in mainstream Black values. (V)
11. I enjoy mainstream Black jokes and humour. (V)
12. I am interested in having mainstream Black friends. (V)

Chapter 5 Discussion

For Black youth in the U.S. and Canada, who have been told their entire lives who they can and cannot be due to their racial group membership, finding ways to develop a healthy sense of self is critical. Our identities are the stories we tell about who we are, and these stories are powerful shapers of our lived realities (Barker, 2012). For the children of immigrants, they must construct these stories while they and their families are navigating a new society (Spencer et al., 2006). The purpose of this three-manuscript dissertation was to illuminate the ethnic-racial experiences of immigrant-origin Black youth and young adults and to investigate potential adaptive mechanisms by drawing on their cultural assets.

Paper 1 explored the reasons why researchers should consider immigrant generation status when investigating Black youth's ERI and unpacked the ways acculturation literature can inform ERI research. By drawing from several theoretical frameworks, I found both conceptual and methodological gaps in our current understanding of Black youth's ERI. These gaps include our lack of knowledge regarding the potential interactional effects of ethnic identity and racial identity for immigrant-origin Black youth, and a conflation of the terms "African American" and "Black" that hinders our ability to more deeply and meaningfully document potential ethnic group differences among Black youth. Given these gaps, I recommended that researchers and practitioners not only clarify their use of the terms "African American" and "Black," but also obtain more information about Black youth's immigrant generation status and non-U.S. heritage. Further, I recommended that researchers investigate the potential impact of immigration-related

phenomena on Black youth's ERI, including implications for the link between ERI and adjustment.

Paper 2 investigated the extent to which immigrant-origin Black youth and U.S.-origin Black youth interpreted universal measures of ERI in the same way. I examined the affirmation, exploration, and resolution subscales of the Ethnic Identity Scale-Brief (EIS-B), as well as the centrality and public regard subscales of the modified Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity-Teen (MIBI-T). In all measures, youth were asked to report on their ethnicity or ethnic group, which allowed a diverse sample to complete the survey. Consistent with prior research (Douglass & Umaña-Taylor, 2015), the EIS-B demonstrated scalar invariance across groups. However, the MIBI-T demonstrated partial scalar invariance, indicating that group means on this measure cannot be directly compared. In other words, when examining immigrant-origin Black youth and U.S.-origin Black youth, researchers may not be able to make direct claims about the degree of one group's centrality or public regard compared to the other due to systematic measurement error. Such error may derive from experiences that have differential implications for how each group develops the content of their ERI.

Paper 3 investigated tridimensional acculturation in a sample of Black Canadians aged 16 to 30 with African or Caribbean parents, and the extent to which racial public regard explained their positive adjustment. Paper 3 found evidence of tridimensional acculturation, with participants endorsing all three cultural orientations at moderate-to-high levels. Further, heritage culture orientation and mainstream Black culture orientation were only moderately correlated, suggesting the uniqueness of ethnicity and race for immigrant-origin Black youth and emerging adults. Consistent with prior research (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2014), participants were more oriented toward mainstream Black culture than mainstream White culture. In addition,

orientations toward mainstream White culture and heritage culture were both related to higher life satisfaction. However, whereas heritage culture orientation was directly related to life satisfaction, the relation between White culture orientation and life satisfaction was fully explained by public regard. In other words, the more participants were psychologically adapted to mainstream White culture, the more likely they were to believe other people view Black people more positively; this positive belief contributed to greater life satisfaction. The longer-term implications as well as potentially context-specific aspects of this finding merit further consideration, as previous studies with African American youth samples have shown that having a more negative, rather than positive, public regard helps to prepare them for racial discrimination in ways that may be protective.

Contributions

The present dissertation fills important gaps in the literature. Together, the three manuscripts provide theoretical and empirical support for investigating unique ethnic-racial processes for immigrant-origin Black youth. With some exceptions (Pahl & Way, 2006; Thomas et al., 2009), ERI research has not typically considered potential ethnic group and generational differences among Black youth. However, Paper 1 provided a theoretical foundation for examining such differences and postulated several specific hypotheses that can be empirically tested in future research.

Of researchers who have examined ERI differences, the extent to which generalized ERI measures can be appropriately used for both groups is unknown. Although generalized ERI measures are necessary in order to examine ERI with diverse samples, different groups interpret ERI measures differently (Sladek et al., 2020). Paper 2 examined the measurement properties of two widely-used measures. The results provide empirical support for pooling these youth

together or comparing them when using the EIS-B. They also suggest that researchers should be cautious when using generalized versions of the MIBI-T with Black youth and should test for invariance in their samples.

Prior acculturation research has failed to account for mainstream Black culture as a possible destination culture for Black Canadian immigrants and has claimed the importance of a mainstream White culture orientation for immigrants' well-being. Paper 3 provided an alternative explanation for the well-being of Black Canadians with recent African or Caribbean heritage. Rather than the importance of a White culture orientation, these results suggest the importance of heritage culture orientation in addition to aspects of racial identity.

Together, these papers complicate the current narrative of Black identity by illuminating the experiences of immigrant-origin Black youth. Rather than a partial story of ethnicity or race alone, the present dissertation takes Black multiplicity as a starting point and centers a population that is typically rendered invisible. In doing so, the present dissertation provides a stepping stone for investigating the ERI of immigrant-origin Black youth and young adults.

Future Directions

Given the theoretical intersection of ethnicity and race for immigrant-origin Black youth, asking these youth about ethnic identity and racial identity separately would allow researchers to examine the extent to which these identities overlap or interact, and the association between these interactions and positive adjustment. By comparing Black youth based on immigrant generation status and examining potential changes in identity over time, researchers would be able to empirically demonstrate the process of racialization. By examining these questions in both the U.S. and Canada, researchers would also be able to illustrate the effect of a multicultural society compared to a melting pot society on racialization. Paper 1 provides a framework for

testing these interactions, and Paper 2 suggests that, along some dimensions, immigrant-origin Black youth and U.S.-origin Black youth can be compared.

Paper 3 investigated the special role of racial public regard on participants' well-being. Public regard matters because it communicates value (Sellers et al., 1998). Specifically, public regard asks how does a person feel their racial group and—by extension—*they* are valued by society? The present findings indicate that feeling valued based on race is important for the well-being of Black Canadians. However, societal value is highly subjective and prone to change. In recent history, Black people in the U.S. and Canada were considered as chattel (Green & Gooden, 2016). To this day, Black people continue to fight for an acknowledgement of our intrinsic value through declarations such as "Black lives *matter*" (McCoy, 2020).

The present dissertation has focused on aspects of identity that involve our own perceptions (who I say I am) and others' perceptions (who others say I am). However, for many Black individuals, there is a third aspect of identity this dissertation has not addressed: who God says I am. The majority of Black people in the U.S. engage in religious or spiritual life (Mattis et al., 2019). Indeed, Mattis et al. (2019) note that nearly 80% of Black Americans identify as Christian, and "only 1% identify as atheist or agnostic" (p. 657). Previous researchers have theorized inextricable links between Black people living in urban spaces and religiosity or spirituality, and religiosity and spirituality are linked to positive development for Black youth and adults (Mattis et al., 2019). A fundamental Christian belief is that humans are made in the image of God and thus inherently have value (Piper, 1971); such beliefs are likely to be protective and promotive, and they may also be a strongly related aspect of Black identity.

Anti-Blackness persists globally, having implications not just for who Black people believe they are and who they believe they can be, but also for who Black people are told they

are not and who they are told they cannot be. When you know yourself, nobody can tell you who you are. For many Black people, religious and spiritual beliefs speak to one's core sense of being. In the same way that we see some components of ERI protect Black youth and young adults against the negative impact of racial discrimination (Yip et al., 2019), we might expect to see a relationship with God having similar protective and promotive benefits for coping with racism. In addition to the intersections of ethnicity and race that I plan to explore, I hope to consider the role of young people's beliefs about God, religion, and spirituality in my future work.

Conclusion

The present dissertation demonstrates limitations in acculturation and identity research for immigrant-origin Black youth and combines the two for a richer story. The stories we tell about who we are provide a script for who to be. In the 2001 book *Life of Pi* by Canadian author Yann Martel, readers are taken through a fantastical story about a boy named Pi who survives a shipwreck with ferocious animals. When relaying his story to government officials, naturally, they do not believe him. He then retells a more plausible story with all the animals as human characters. When Pi asks which story they prefer, they prefer the story with the animals. In a 2005 interview, Martel summaries the book in three sentences: "1) Life is a story. 2) You can choose your story. 3) A story with God is the better story" (Renton, 2005).

The story of what it means to be Black in North America involves ethnic-racial discrimination—along with other forms of trauma—and its profound impact on developing youth (Benner et al., 2018). Yet, much like Pi, immigrant-origin Black youth can choose to tell a story that enriches their lives in spite of the realities of racism and xenophobia. As they navigate the ever-changing pressures of society based on their ethnic and racial identities, what remains

constant is their God-given value. Understanding youth's relationship with their core sense of being in addition to their ERI will allow researchers to better support their positive development.

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