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**RACIAL AND CULTURAL IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT, ATTITUDES TO
ACCULTURATION STRATEGIES, AND NATIONAL IDENTITY AMONG
MINORITY CULTURE AUSTRALIAN ADOLESCENTS**

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October 2005

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the School of Psychology
James Cook University

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.....
ELSA R. GERMAIN

.....
DATE

DEDICATION PAGE

I dedicate this work to,

My father, Dr Elias Hermida-Gonzalez

(25/8/22 - 31/1/2000)

Forever my light house and my source of inspiration...

And to,

To my dear daughters Carmen and Daniella

My anchor and coastline...

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I would like to thank Paul for his help, patience and the love that saw us walk the same path for 14 years.

Finally, thanks must go to Gavin Charles for helping with the final printing of the work and for making sure that I kept my sanity through it all!

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ABSTRACT

The present study explored cultural identity in minority culture adolescents living in rural and remote regions of North Queensland Australia. Cultural identity can be defined as a process involving cognitive appraisal which results from self awareness achieved either through the *collective experience* within a membership group or the *individual perception* as we compare ourselves to a reference group. The present study focused particularly on the work by Jean Phinney and her colleagues (Phinney, & Devic-Navarro, 1995) who found that adolescents of minority cultures tend to undergo a process of self-discovery and exploration of their cultural and ethnic roots following self-challenging experiences such as racism. The authors proposed three distinct stages in the process of achieving an ethnic and/or cultural identity: (1) cultural identity is not an issue and therefore is *unexplored*; (2) increasing *awareness* about ethnicity likely to follow experiences of racism; (3) coming to terms with one's cultural identity (*acceptance*). The stage-wise nature of cultural identity construction and achievement was of particular interest in the present study, with a focus on clarifying whether minority culture Australian adolescents undergo a process such as that described by Phinney and her colleagues, when actively searching for and/or achieving cultural identification. It was argued that the experience of cultural identification involves a multifaceted and complex process that may not to be simply the outcome of collective negative experiences such as racism, as suggested by Phinney and her colleagues. Rather, it

is likely to be the result of a range of experiences, -of which racism may be one-, interacting over time (Alipuria, 2002). Another main objective in this study was to examine the predictive value of Berry's (1992) Attitudes to Acculturation Strategies Scale to explain differences if any in perceived Australian (national/civic) identity between Anglo-Australian (AA) and minority culture or culturally and linguistically diverse background (CLDB) Australian adolescents. Convenience samples of junior high school (year 8) and senior high school (year 12) adolescents were drawn from four different high schools located in regional and rural North Queensland, Australia. Approximately 415 students ranging from 12 to 19 years of age were asked to respond to a questionnaire during class time. One hundred and six of the participants were identified as of culturally and linguistically diverse background or CLDB (non-English-speaking migrants and indigenous Australians). The study included intra-group (between CLDB age samples) and inter-group comparisons (between CLDB and Anglo-Australian samples). The study involved a cross-sectional field survey including individual variables such cultural identity search (active exploration of cultural roots), identification with an original culture, incidence of racism, phenotypic characteristics of respondents, attitudes to acculturation, individual and collective self-appraisal, and *group-based* variables including parental variables, and socio-economic and geographical statuses. The present study found that Phinney et al's, (1992) predicted relationship between racism and identity, when mediated by active exploration of one's culture of origin was supported when phenotype was controlled for. A significant relationship

between active exploration of one's cultural origins and identification with that culture was found, but not for experiences of racism and active exploration of one's roots for minority culture adolescents overall. In turn, a relationship was found between racism and identification with an original culture for those CLDB adolescents who reported Caucasian phenotype. Therefore, it was concluded that Phinney's model succeeds in predicting racial identity, but not necessarily cultural identity. There were no differences with respect to the incidence of racism for girls and boys and across the age groups. However, youth who reported Asian and indigenous Australian features (phenotype) experienced racism significantly more than the Caucasian-looking CLDB youth. As expected visible ethnicity was a major factor in shaping cultural identification. Those children who described themselves as "Caucasian-looking" tended to identify themselves as "Australian". However, children who reported phenotypic characteristics as being consistent with those of Asian and Indigenous Australian background tended to report biculturalism rather than an "Australian" identity or original culture identification. Racism was not found to be the critical catalyst for cultural exploration as suggested by Marcia, (1980, cited in Bosma, Graafsma, Grotevan, & De Levita, 1994) and Phinney (1991), however, it was when visible ethnicity (phenotype) was controlled for. Interestingly, a large majority of CLDB participants reported experiencing racism, regardless of whether they were visibly ethnic or not. Moreover, those who perceived themselves to be Australian tended to report a lesser incidence of racism. This may indicate that there is pressure to conform to social norms and if youth do

not subscribe to the identity of the majority they may suffer discrimination and prejudice as a consequence. Moreover, while Indigenous Australian youth seem to have translated the term “Australian” to encompass being of Indigenous background also, migrant background children in contrast, appear to have experienced *role incongruence*; that is the overwhelming majority of them reported identifying with being “Australian” but less than half reported identifying with their culture of origin. Results indicated that racism is not necessarily a catalyst for cultural exploration and identification in some minority culture adolescents. Positive, in-group, identity-shaping experiences such as speaking a second language at home and partaking in social and cultural activities appear to be strongly associated with cultural identity achievement. There were no maturation effects for either identity search or cultural identity, with both early and late adolescents reporting similar patterns of responses. This outcome extended to situational identity also, with no age differences being found with respect to original culture identification at home, at school and with peers. Civic or national identity (the meaning of being Australian) yielded no age differences either; however, older adolescents tended to describe being Australian as an asset more so than their younger counterparts. Ego-identity stage at which respondents found themselves made a difference with respect to global self-esteem, with higher self-esteem being reported by those who reported being at the *moratorium* stage (being aware of one or more original cultures but not as yet committing to them). In contrast, those who were at the *diffused* stage (not yet aware of an identity)

reported lower self-esteem. Thus, for multicultural adolescents, being aware of two or more cultural realities/experiences may be conducive to higher self-esteem, than not being aware of them at all. Ego-identity stage had no effect on other self-appraisal indicators (coping, self-image and optimism for the future). A strong, positive association between individual and collective (in-group) perceptions was found. Attitudes to acculturation were not related to identity search, or cultural identity except for assimilated and integrated attitudes: the lower the search the lower the assimilation attitudes, while the higher the original identification the more integrated the attitudes. In addition, original culture identity was found to be positively linked to collective appraisal (in-group perceptions). With respect to parental variables, English speaking ability and family composition were not associated with identity search or original culture identification. There was no link between settlement time (whether parents were recent arrivals or established migrants) and cultural background of parents and youth's original culture identification. Similarly, neither parental employment status nor occupation appears to be associated with identity search or original culture identification. With respect to national or civic identity, CLDB youth were found to be six times more likely to report being "unsure" of being Australian than AA adolescents, regardless of age and sex. In addition, minority culture youth scored lower on the assimilated and marginalized attitude scales than the Anglo-Australians, as expected, with no differences between the two cultural groups for integrated and separated scores. In addition, younger youth tended to score higher on separated

and marginalized attitudes to acculturation sub-scales, with little difference in scores for integrated and assimilated scores for both age groups. Finally, girls scored significantly higher on integrated scores, but scored lower for assimilated, separated, and marginalized sub-scales. Thus, older youth, regardless of age, and girls overall show a more mature, more tolerant attitude than boys. Older youth and females reported a less positive self-image; however, older youth exhibited higher global self-esteem.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TITLE PAGE.....	i
DECLARATION.....	ii
DEDICATION.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
ACCESS TO THESIS.....	vi
ABSTRACT.....	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	viii
LIST OF TABLES.....	xx
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xxiii
INTRODUCTION: Self identity in minority culture adolescents.....	1
i. Cultural identity as a focus of empirical research.....	4
ii. Cultural identity research in Australia.....	6
iii. Study focus overview.....	7
CHAPTER ONE: Ecology of adolescent development: identity development, social and cultural transmission.....	11
1.1 Theories of identity development in adolescence.....	11
1.1.1 Cultural identity models: the developmental literature.....	14
1.1.1.1 Erikson's adolescent identity model.....	15
1.2 Psycho-social development in adolescents.....	16
1.2.1 Cultural identity and self-esteem.....	16

1.2.2	Situational cultural identity.....	19
1.3	Critique of identity development models.....	21
1.3.1	Cultural identity in response to positive experiences.....	21
1.4	A conceptual framework for cultural identity research.....	22
1.4.1	Identity development stages.....	23
1.4.2	Features of cultural identity.....	24
1.4.2.1	Self-identification: original culture identity.....	25
1.4.2.2	Perceived membership.....	25
1.4.2.3	Attitudes toward one's own cultural group.....	26
1.4.2.4	Involvement and participation.....	27
1.4.2.5	Additional features of cultural identity.....	27
1.4.2.5.1	Maturation effects.....	27
1.4.2.5.2	Language.....	28
1.4.2.5.3	Inter-personal relationships.....	29
1.4.2.5.4	Religious affiliation and practice.....	29
1.4.2.5.5	Community-based group activities.....	29
1.4.2.5.6	Political ideology and involvement.....	30
1.4.2.5.7	Geographical status.....	30
1.4.2.5.8	Culture-specific activities.....	30
1.4.2.6	Cultural identity correlates.....	31

1.4.3	Universal and culture-specific aspects of cultural identification.....	31
1.4.4	Cultural identity as a state: reliability of measures.....	32
1.4.5	Cultural identity as a process.....	33
1.5	Social and psychological transitions in adolescence.....	33
1.5.1	Key features of adolescent development.....	34
1.6	Cultural transmission in adolescence.....	36
1.6.1	Cultural transmission in minority groups.....	37
1.7	Child-rearing, socialisation and cultural transmission.....	37
1.7.1	Personality development in adolescents.....	39
1.7.2	Cultural identity in adolescence.....	40
1.7.3	Gender and role behaviours.....	40
1.7.4	Ethnic minority youth in crisis.....	42
1.7.5	Coping behaviours in adolescents.....	43
1.7.6	Inter-generational issues.....	45
1.7.6.1	Parenting behaviour patterns.....	46
1.7.6.1.1	Personal determinants of parenting.....	47
1.7.6.1.2	Contextual determinants of parenting....	49
CHAPTER TWO: Plural societies, inter-group contact and acculturation in ethnic minority youth.....		53
2.1	Sociological perspectives on the self: a focus on ethnic minorities....	53

2.2	National, cultural, and ethnic identities: Australian minority youth	54
2.2.1	Indigenous youth	55
2.2.2	Migrant background youth	56
2.3	Inter-cultural contact	58
2.3.1	Assimilation as policy	59
2.3.2	The culture clash model	61
2.4	Plural societies	64
2.4.1	Ethnic relations	65
2.5	Stereotypes	66
2.5.1	Attitudes	66
2.5.2	Discrimination and racism	67
2.6	Inter-group contact and prejudice: Allport's inter-group contact theory	68
2.6.1	Pettigrew's perspectives on contact theory	69
2.6.1.1	Learning about out-groups	69
2.7	Acculturation and re-socialisation	70
2.8	Cultural adjustment theories and models	72
2.9	Social identity and cultural adjustment in adolescents	72
2.9.1	Attitudes to acculturation	74
2.9.1.1	Acculturation strategies	75
2.10	Research goals and methods in cross-cultural psychology	76
2.10.1	Emic-etic orientations to research across cultures	77

2.10.2 Design considerations.....	78
2.10.2.1 Sampling.....	79
2.10.2.2 Research with pluralistic and multi-ethnic samples.....	80
2.10.2.3 Stratified-based versus community-based studies.....	80
2.11 Culture: a powerful psychological concept or intervening variable?.....	81
2.11.1 Cultural membership versus shared experiences within the research context.....	82
2.11.2 Culture, race, and ethnicity as psychological concepts.....	83
2.11.2.1 Race as a biological concept.....	84
2.11.2.2 Culture, ethnicity and race.....	86
2.11.2.3 Race and culture as <i>identity</i> terms.....	87
2.11.2.4 Ethnicity as a measure.....	88
CHAPTER THREE: Psychological theories of individual and collective self.....	91
3.1 Personality psychology.....	91
3.1.1 Theories of individual and collective self.....	92
3.1.2 Social identity theory.....	92
3.1.3 In-group/Out-group paradigms.....	93
3.1.4 Individualism-Collectivism.....	94

3.1.5 Allocentrism-Idiocentrism.....	95
3.1.6 When the out-group is also the in-group.....	96
3.2 Social realms of collective self.....	97
3.2.1 Psychological concomitants of nationalism.....	98
3.3 Cognitive appraisal in self-identification.....	100
3.3.1 Self-concept and self-esteem.....	101
3.4 Saliency of cognitive appraisal.....	102
3.5 Schema model of self concept.....	103
3.5.1 Self schemas.....	104
3.5.2 Self schema domains.....	105
3.5.3 Self concept clarity.....	106
3.6 The self as a culturally bound concept.....	106
3.6.1 Cultural constructions of identity.....	108
3.7 Socio-economic status or class as a feature of collective identity.....	110
3.8 Research focus.....	112
3.8.1 Intra-group hypotheses (CLDB sample).....	112
3.8.2 Research questions.....	113
3.8.3 Inter-group research questions (AA and CLDB samples).....	114
CHAPTER FOUR: Method.....	115
4.1 Participants.....	115
4.2 Materials.....	116

4.2.1	The research questionnaire.....	117
	Part 1: Demographics.....	117
	Part 2: Cultural identity development.....	119
	Part 3: Cultural adjustment: Attitudes to acculturation Strategies.....	123
	Part 4: Individual self-appraisal.....	125
4.2.2	Procedure.....	129
4.2.3		
CHAPTER FIVE: Results.....		132
5.1	Descriptive statistics.....	132
5.2	Reliability.....	139
	5.2.1 Attitudes to Acculturation Strategies Scale.....	139
	5.2.2 Hare's Self Esteem Scale.....	141
	5.2.3 Personal Attributes Inventory for Children.....	142
	5.2.4 A-Cope Scale.....	142
5.3	Intra-group hypothesis (CLDB sample).....	143
5.4.	Intra-group research questions.....	161
5.5	Inter-group research questions.....	165
CHAPTER SIX: Discussion.....		182
REFERENCE LIST.....		237

APPENDICES

- A Instrument
- B Target schools and correspondence
- C Validity and reliability results
- D Non-significant result tables
- E Responses to open-ended questions by individual case

LIST OF TABLES.....**xiii**

Table Title	Page
1. Local level demography for youth population residing in Townsville, Thuringowa, Hinchinbrook and the Burdekin.....	3
2. Survey instrument in table form.....	117
3. Summary of selected demographics for AA and CLD participants.....	133
4. Summary table of selected parental variables for the overall sample.....	137
5. Results of a principle component analysis of the AASS.....	141
6. Parameter estimates for Logit model of experiences of racism, cultural identity search and original culture identification.....	144
7. Frequencies and percentages of original culture identification by experiences of racism and cultural identity search.....	145
8. Composite Table for chi-square results for racism, search and original culture identification by phenotype.....	147

9. Parameter estimates for Logit model of experiences of racism, cultural identity search and original culture identification: Non-Caucasian samples	
10. ANOVA results for Global self-esteem scores and ego-identity stages for the CLDB sample.....	157
11. Composite ANOVA results for cultural identity search and Attitudes to Acculturation Strategies for the CLDB sample.....	159
12. ANOVA results of degree of original culture identification and Attitudes to Acculturation Strategies among CLDB: Integrated scores.....	160
13. Frequency and percent of reported degree of Australian identity in the CLDB and AA samples.....	166
14. Frequency and percent of reported degree of Australian identity by CLDB and AA boys and girls.....	166
15. Frequency and percent of reported degree of Australian identity by early and late adolescent CLDB and AA respondents.....	167
16. Frequency and percentages of responses to the question: " <i>What does it mean to be Australian?</i> " for CLDB and AA participants.....	168
17. Chi-square for responses to the question: " <i>What does it mean to be Australian?</i> " for early and late adolescent boys and girls.....	168
18. Means(SD) of four Attitudes to Acculturation Strategies for the CLDB and AA samples by age and gender.....	169
19. Simultaneous multiple regression results for Attitudes to Acculturation scores in the CLDB sub-sample.....	171

20. Simultaneous multiple regression results for Attitudes to Acculturation scores in the AA sub-sample.....	173
21. Results of Chi-square analyses for the five items of the Ways of Coping Scale.....	174
22. Frequencies and percentages of responses for three items from the Ways of Coping Scale.....	175
23. Mean (SD) PAIC scores for the CLDB and AA samples by age and gender.....	176
24. ANOVA for PAIC scores.....	177
25. Means (SD) of four measures of self-esteem for the CLDB and AA samples by age and gender.....	178
26. Correlations between four measures of self-esteem.....	178
27. Multivariate ANOVA of three measures of self-esteem.....	179
28. 2-Way ANOVA optimism for future ratings by age and overall sample cultural background.....	180
29. Frequency and percentage results for future orientation categories in CLDB and AA respondents.....	181

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure Title	Page
1. Acculturation strategies based on two basic issues.....	76

INTRODUCTION

SELF-IDENTITY IN MINORITY CULTURE ADOLESCENTS

The present study explored cultural identity as a psychosocial phenomenon in minority culture youth living in a multicultural society. Self-identity as a cultural experience can be defined as a process involving cognitive appraisal which results from self awareness achieved either through the collective experience within a membership group or the individual perception as we compare ourselves to a reference group. An awareness of the rapidly increasing numbers of minority group members in Western countries like the USA, Canada, Great Britain, Germany, and Australia has sparked a resurgence of interest in the effects of pluralism on nationalism (Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2002), civic identity (Sussman, 2002), discrimination, and racism (Colic-Peisker, 2002) among social scientists. The bulk of the literature addresses mainly majority attitudes toward minority groups, usually from a dominant or reference group perspective (Tajfel, 1969, 1979; Jones, 1998; , 1989). To a lesser extent, the effect of minority culture membership as perceived by minority culture members themselves has also been the point of interest for many social researchers (see for example, , 1989; Marcia, 1980, cited in Bosma, Graafsma, Grotevan, & De Levita, 1994). In particular, perceived group membership, degree of original culture identification, the self as a cultural experience encompassing the cognitive (Karcher, 1997), social (Alipuria, 2002) and

physical selves (Jones, 1998) have been assiduously researched to produce a number of models that attempt to capture the essential elements of ethnic and cultural identification and their correlates. For example, coping and self-esteem have been highlighted as individual features that may be linked to original culture identification in youth (, 1990).

The present study explored cultural identity as a psychosocial phenomenon in early and late adolescent minority youth, given that adolescence is a critical period in the development of psychosocial identity. As the transition is made from child to adult, the adolescent is expected to reconcile childhood identifications with the emerging challenges of adulthood. The ultimate aim is to establish a sense of individuality in the larger society (Lerner & Galambos, 1998). The task of identity development becomes more complex when the young person forms part of a complex, multicultural social environment. Australia is an example of such an environment composed as it is of a large number of ethnic minority groups from each of the continents (DIMA 1997). It has been estimated that approximately 25% of Australians were born overseas, and of these, approximately 12% are of Non-English speaking background (NESB) (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1997a). A substantial 46% of all Australians is considered to be either of first or second generation migrant of NESB, and although there are larger concentrations of some groups in metropolitan areas (e.g., Vietnamese in Sydney, Greeks in Melbourne), representatives of all groups are to be found in each of the major cities, with each group's proportion of the total population being approximately the same from city

to city (Nesdale, Rooney, & Smith, 1997). In North Queensland, where this study was conducted, the population comprising minority culture groups or those of culturally and linguistically diverse background could be said to consist of two groups, indigenous (Aborigines, Torres-Strait Islanders and South Sea Islanders), and immigrants from non-English speaking background. This categorisation, although overly general, serves the purpose to describe the target population examined in this study.

The sample of interest in the present study was drawn from the cities of Townsville and Thuringowa, and the towns of Ingham (Hinchinbrook Shire) and Ayr (Burdekin Shire). The target population composition of local government representing these localities is indicated in Table 1.

Table 1

Local level demography for youth population residing in Townsville, Thuringowa, Hinchinbrook and the Burdekin

Age	Non-Indig. Australian born	Indig. Australian	English- speaking country	Non-English speaking country	Other	Total population
10-14 years	10256 (8.0%)	1169 (13.1%)	273 (2.8%)	268 (9.0%)	510 (7.8%)	12476 (7.8%)
15-19 years	10573 (8.3%)	940 (10.5%)	354 (3.6%)	484 (5.5%)	558 (9.9%)	12909 (8.0%)

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Census 1996 (ABS, 1996b)

Table 1 shows that approximately 15.8% of the total population in these localities is accounted for by youth aged between 10 and 19 years of age. The highest percentage of young people between ages 10 and 19 years is that of

indigenous Australians (23.6%), whilst the lower percentage is that of youth born overseas, in an English-speaking country (6.4%). The present study focused on these youth for a number of reasons; there is little or no research addressing identity development in minority culture youth residing in rural and remote areas of North Queensland (see for example Dawes, 1998); according to Erikson (1968), adolescents 12 years and older are a prime age-category to study for identity development, given that during that period they face the task of synthesising their past experiences, including those dictated by their cultural milieu, their present circumstances, and future possibilities into a clear sense of selfhood; little or no research has been carried out establishing the value of identity models in multicultural samples, as against racially distinct groups; and only a handful of studies (see for example, Phinney & Flores, 2002) address the inter-relationship of adolescent cultural identification and acculturation effects.

Cultural identity as a focus of empirical research

There is a plethora of studies addressing cultural identity as a focus of psychological and sociological research. Among the earlier works are those of Erikson (1968) and Marcia (1966), with a later wave of writers including Cross (1991), Kim (1981), Aitkinson, Morten, and Sue (1989), and Rotheram (1987), Marsella, DeVos, and Hsu (1985) in the USA, and Taft (1970, 1975, 1976, 1986), Feather (1994a, 1994b, 1995), Feather and Oberdan (2000), Feather, Boeckman, and McKee (2001), Keats (1986), Caltabiano (1984), Chen, Nurcombe, and Kennerly

(1999), and Beckett, Brendenkamp, Castle, Groothues, O'Connor, and Ruter(2002) in Australia. Unfortunately, there is a significant lack of consistency with respect to self-identity concepts and stages, which has resulted in a series of fragmented models of ethnic and cultural identity. Moreover, it has been observed that little or no empirical work addressing ethnic or cultural identity beyond childhood has been carried out (, 1989), although there has been a revitalised body of research since Erikson and others first wrote about cultural identity. The relatively recent work by Marcia (1989 as cited in Bosma, Graafsma, Grotevan & De Levita, 1994)), Cross (1991) and Rotheram (1987), (1989), and Chavira (1992), Alipuria (2002, 1990), Sussman (2002), Baden (2002), and Verkuyten and Pouliasi (2002) has made a significant contribution. In addition, most research has been carried out in discrete cultural ambits, targeting African-American and Hispanic American children (Judd, Park, Brauer, Ryan, & Kraus, 1995). Little or no work has been carried out with children from a mixed or diverse background such as second-generation immigrant or indigenous youth (, 1990; & Flores, 2002). Finally, apart from the work by Caltabiano (1984), Holt and Keats (1992), Vasta (1994), and more recently, Chen et al. (1999) and Clark (2000), little or no research has been carried out in Australia. Numerous research possibilities exist in multicultural societies like Australia that may assist us to unfold the experience of identity construction in minority youth. For example, (1993) has suggested that Berry, Dasen, Poortinga, and Segall's (1992) concept of cultural adjustment (attitudes to acculturation strategies), although not addressing identity development per se, is useful in that it sheds light on the role that the process of adjustment in minority individuals may play on how they construe an original culture and a national identity. Moreover,

Neill and Proeve (2000) have attempted to examine the link between self-esteem, coping styles, and ethnicity, however, identity as a construed experience for minority culture adolescents has not been addressed in Australian research.

Cultural identity research in Australia

One of the most significant and earlier contributors to the field of cross-cultural psychology, and indeed one of the pioneers in cultural identity research, has been Ronald Taft. Taft's (1970) early work was primarily concerned with the effect of social conditions of Aboriginal Australians. Later research focused on the effect of individual characteristics such as English language competence in bilingual adolescents (Taft & Bodie, 1980), as well as group characteristics (parental characteristics), on a range of behaviours and attitudes in minority culture adolescents (Taft, 1976). However, the most influential and relevant work undertaken by Taft was the extensive program of psychological research into the adaptation of immigrants to Australia that began in Western Australia in the early 1950s. This research laid the foundation for our understanding of the process of adjustment and re-socialisation (Taft, 1986). Concepts such as learning, skills, values, attitudes, and self-concept were used to explain the changes migrants undergo during the acculturation process. The resulting conceptual framework featured concepts such as adjustment, national identity, cultural competence, social absorption, and role acculturation.

Another contributor to the research investigating the link between individual and group characteristics has been Norm Feather who has examined; the effect or relationship between global self-esteem and attitudes in two distinct cultural groups (Feather et al., 2001); values and national identification (Feather, 1994a); values, national identification, and in-group favouritism (Feather, 1994b); in-group bias in majority and minority groups (Feather, 1995); and, the subjective evaluation of national achievement to personal and collective self-esteem (Feather, 1996). More recent research has investigated the reactions to penalties for an offence in relation to ethnic identity, responsibility, and authoritarianism (Feather & Oberdan, 2000), and ethnic identity and criminal history (Feather & Sauter, 2002).

According to another Australian author, much of the research addressing migrant youth identity issues focuses on the experiences of lower socio-economic groups (Vasta, 1994). It is suggested that researchers need to tap into the experiences of less disadvantaged groups, with a special interest in gender differences, refugee status youth, and inter-cultural comparisons involving mainstream adolescents.

Study focus overview

The present study followed the trends set by recent research and focused on the inter-relationship between perceived cognitive, social, and physical self and cultural identification in minority culture adolescents. It is argued that the experience of cultural identification involves a multi-faceted and complex process

that may not to be simply triggered by negative experiences such as racism, as suggested by and her colleagues. Rather, it is likely to be the result of a range of experiences, of which racism may be one, interacting over time (Alipuria, 2002). It is suggested in this study that the process of cultural identification is likely to be the result of the interaction of individual (e.g., maturation, phenotype, self-image, self-esteem, coping, and optimism for the future) and group-based variables (e.g., collective self-appraisal, acculturation, experiences of racism, parental variables), as well as socio-demographic experiences (e.g., geographical location, socio-economic background), all amply documented in the cross-cultural literature as influencing the manner in which one may experience culture. The study was organised into two sections, with the main objectives for the first section being: (1) to test 's model of ethnic identity with the view to clarify the role played by the experience of racism as a trigger for identity search and leading to achieved identity, and to clarify the role that phenotype may have on identity construction; (2) identify the effect that maturation may have on the *process* of identity development (identity search) and original culture identity achievement (identification with an original culture) or cultural identity as a *state* (, 1996); (3) the effect that Ego-identity stages may have on self-esteem, coping, and appraisal (Phinney & Alipuria, 1996); (4) investigate the relationship between socio-contextual variables and *identity development* and *achieved identity* as posited by Taft (1986) ; (5) establish whether cultural identity is positively related to individual and collective self-appraisal (Feather, 1996). Objectives for the second part of this study explored differences

between minority culture and Anglo-Australian adolescents regarding: (1) identification with and meaning of being Australian (national identity) (Feather, 1998); (2) whether national/civic identity, age, and sex influence attitudes to acculturation (Cramer & Anderson, 2003; Feather, 1998); and (3) investigate inter-group differences with respect to self-referent evaluations such as perceived ability to cope, self-image, self-esteem, and optimism for the future (Nesdale et al., 1997; Vasta, 1994).

Some of the most salient conceptual features of theories and models addressing cultural identity and related concepts have been explored in the literature review. This has been organised into three chapters. Chapter One presents a succinct summary of the ecology of adolescent development and cultural transmission. This section also introduces the concepts of racial, cultural and ethnic identities, and a critical overview of the models of ethnic and cultural identification. The second chapter explores the dynamics of inter-cultural contact, ethnic relations and the elements of the culture clash model within plural societies. Chapter Two deals also with acculturation, re-socialisation, cultural adjustment and coping. An overview of the critical points made in the literature review is presented in the final chapter, leading up to a testable model of cultural identification, of which expected outcomes have been articulated in hypotheses and questions.

The ideas presented in the literature review reflect, to an extent, North American models but an effort has been made, where possible, to cite Australian authors. This thesis has explored concepts from a number of disciplines, and

although it constitutes a definite social psychological study, reflects the work conducted by anthropologists, sociologists, and teachers. The conclusions and recommendations for future research made also followed a multi-faceted, multi-level approach in reaching explanations and conclusions for the questions posed by this study.

CHAPTER ONE

ECOLOGY OF ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT: IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL TRANSMISSION

This chapter examines concepts that constitute cultural identity as exposed by a number of theories and models and presents a succinct review of the foundation research by Marcia (1989 as cited in Bosma, Graafsma, Grotevan, & De Levita, 1994) and Erikson (1968) and the more recent work by Jean S. Phinney (1990, 1992; Phinney & Alipuria, 1996). The chapter also explores the social and psychological transitions experienced in adolescence, including socialisation and enculturation, and how these may help shape cultural identity. Parenting styles and correlates are also discussed within the context of cultural identity development.

1.1 Theories of identity development in adolescence

Cultural identity theories purport that in the process of identification, individuals usually begin with an unexamined racial or cultural identity (this must be devalued, denied, or is simply not salient). The individual is then challenged by experiences that make race or cultural identity personally problematic. To resolve the conflict, individuals initiate an exploration of their cultural or racial identity, immersing themselves in a culture specific to their race or cultural identity. This process

or *cultural identity search* (Phinney & Chavira, 1992) leads individuals to value their racial, cultural, or minority group membership and integrate it with other identities (e.g., culturality may become the most important identity or one of several). Theory suggests that this developmental cycle re-occurs during the lifespan (Parham, 1989) and stages may be better understood as ego statuses that, once differentiated, are world views for handling racial and cultural information (Frable, 1997).

The literature on racial, cultural, or cultural identity formation processes points to two main ideological positions. The first suggestion is that *nigrescence* (i.e., the process of becoming Black) changes reference group orientation variables (e.g., racial self-image, attitudes toward other blacks, types of organisational memberships, and racial frames of reference) from low to high salience, apolitical to political, and Eurocentric to Afrocentric (Cross, 1991; Cross et al., 1996, as cited in Frable, 1997).

The second influential perspective in the identity development literature is that presented by Jean Phinney (Phinney, 1990) in her model of cultural identity development which "captures identity development in all cultural groups" (Frable, 1997, p. 144). She developed a 14-item *Multigroup Cultural Identity* questionnaire designed to assess three common components of cultural identity; (i) positive cultural attitudes or a sense of belonging; (ii) cultural identity achievement; and, (iii) cultural behaviours and practices (Phinney, 1993). Phinney has been primarily interested in adolescents' development of identity among African Americans,

Hispanics, and Asian Americans. She found that adolescents of these backgrounds perceived cultural identity as more important than 'white' adolescents (see for example Phinney, 1989; Phinney & Alipuria, 1996. Moreover, cross-sectional and longitudinal interview and questionnaire studies support a developmental progression (Phinney, 1989, 1992; Phinney & Chavira, 1992; Phinney & Tarver, 1988). Cultural achievement is also associated with self-esteem and adjustment. However, the role of self-esteem as an outcome or precursor variable and its relation to other cultural identity components remains unclear (Phinney, 1989; Phinney & Alipuria, 1996; Phinney, Ferguson & Tate, 1997).

Phinney (1990) reviewed more than 70 articles from 1972 to 1989 on adolescent and adult identity development. She noted the inconsistent use of cultural identity terminology; some authors meant self-identification (self-definition, self-labelling), others emphasised attitudes and feelings (group belonging, commitment, and pride), while others stressed awareness (knowledge of cultural language, behaviour, values, involvement with group members and practices). The results of her review yielded an inconsistent pattern with unclear connections between self-identification, self-esteem, and adjustment. Phinney concluded that the most critical issues are the lack of a valid and reliable set of measures of cultural identity (and ideally measures that can be used generically across cultural contexts), a low number of experimental and longitudinal studies (most are descriptive or correlational), no accurate measures of cultural background, and the exclusion of contextual variables (such as socioeconomic

status). These issues remain current concerns and have been acknowledged in the current study.

1.1.1 Cultural Identity models: the developmental literature

Some conceptual clarity exists about how ethnic and cultural identities are measured in children and how the data may be interpreted (Phinney & Rotheram, 1987). Two influential North American strands of research have made scholarly contributions. William Cross's (1991) book *Shades of Black: Diversity in African American Identity* summarises the results of 181 empirical studies on black identity. Of the 45 studies that assessed both reference group orientation (e.g., race awareness, race esteem, race ideology) and personal identity self-concept (e.g., self-esteem, self-worth, self-confidence), 37 found no relation between the two constructs. Furthermore, the reference group orientation studies suggest that whereas black children's preferences have changed over time from white (1960-1969) to black (1968-1980), they actually exhibit a bicultural appreciation pattern (Cross, 1991). Another line of research worthy of note is that headed by Bernal, Knight, Garza, Ocampo, and Cota (1990), and Knight, Bernal, Garza, Cota, and Ocampo (1993). These researchers measured the multiple components of cultural identity (cultural self-identification, cultural constancy, cultural role behaviours, cultural knowledge, and cultural preferences) among Mexican-American children. In contrast with previous research, they assessed self-identification by means of objective measures, and their measures intercorrelated. Children's performance on

each cultural identity component was found to be positively related to age and to the use of a second language in the home. Other studies link family socialisation practices (teaching about Mexican culture, cultural pride, having Mexican objects in the home) to the child's development of a Mexican-American identity. This identity predicts the child's display of a co-operative and culturally specific behavioural style (Knight, Cota, & Bernal, 1993).

The child development literature points strongly to the need to understand the identities of non-white children in their own terms (Cramer & Anderson, 2003). Within-group differences, according to Frable (1997), are important in that when measured and compared, white children's responses are not taken as the standard response mode from which others deviate. Cultural identity models exist for Asian Americans (Kim, 1981), Latinos (Keefe & Padilla, 1987), European or white cultural groups (Helms 1990; Ponterotto 1988), bi-racial people (Poston 1990), and cultural minorities in general (Aitkinson, Morten, & Sue, 1989; Phinney, 1989). All of these models stem in one way or another from the principal works of Eric Erikson (1968) who, unlike his predecessor, Freud, recognised the decisive role of culture in the timing and dynamics of each stage in his psycho-social model of development.

1.1.1.1 Erikson's adolescent identity model

A comprehensive review of the studies addressing Erikson's model is beyond the scope of this thesis and so only a brief overview is presented here.

Wang (1996) has identified three types of studies addressing Eriksonian ideology and modes; those focusing on epigenetic sequential development across the lifespan to validate the universality of the theory; those studies highlighting the specific developmental stages to explore the particularity of Erikson's model; and, those focusing on specific issues to test the applicability of the theory in various contexts. For the purposes of this thesis, the latter two are addressed in some detail in the discussion of various identity models of relevance.

1.2 *Psycho-social development in adolescents*

According to Erikson (1968), sound psychosocial development must be based on support and nurture stemming from inter-relationships with significant others (Wang, 1996). Erikson states that "for a human being, in addition to having a body, is somebody, which means an indivisible personality and a defined member of a group" (1968, p. 285). He suggests that the successful resolution to each developmental stage's crisis will be accompanied by a capacity to negotiate and derive support from the adolescent's social environment. In Australia, the model of psychosocial development has been tested with favourable results (see for example Rosenthal, Gurney, & Moore, 1981; Viney & Tych, 1985).

1.2.1 *Cultural identity and self-esteem*

Self-esteem has been conceptualised into positive and negative experiences. This is consistent with a set of results across several studies utilising the

Rosenberg's Self-Esteem Scale and other self-esteem instruments (see Neasdale et al., 1997 for a comprehensive review). Negative and positive self-esteem are presumably two semi-autonomous processes operating in judgement about the self. That is, despite some overlap, positive items tap a process of self-evaluation of worth and efficacy whereas negative items reflect self-derogation and negative feelings about one's self (Addeo, Greene, & Geisser, 1994; Kaplan, 1986). According to Neasdale et al. (1997), positive self-esteem partly reflects self-worth and thus it should be related to cultural identity (i.e., pride in cultural group membership), while negative self-esteem is linked to psychological distress. In a study involving 270 Vietnamese adults, the authors found that identification with their cultural group was shown to be significantly related to migrants' sense of positive self-esteem. However, whereas cultural identification was significantly related to self-esteem, the results were not as strong as expected, as cultural identification accounted for 4% and 9% only of the variance in males and females, respectively. As discussed in the Introduction section of this thesis, it has been suggested that the primary motive for identifying with a particular social group is the enhancement of self-esteem. Moreover, unless the individual's social self-esteem is enhanced, then he/she will not continue to identify with a particular social group. This was not supported entirely by Neasdale et al.'s (1997) findings. They suggest the link between social identification and positive self- esteem in adults is more complicated than the theory implies. A thought provoking explanation for their findings has

been summarised in the following conclusions as these are considered of important for the present study.

1. *Cultural identity is linked to prejudice and stereotypes for certain cultural minorities.* The more culture minority individuals, such as Indigenous people or migrants, seek to maintain their cultural identity, the less they will be accepted and the more they will be the recipients of prejudice and stereotyping. Masson and Verkuyten (1993) found that prejudice and discrimination from the dominant culture increases as the minority culture individuals increase their cultural identification.

2. *Cultural distance between majority and minority cultures will have a buffering effect on the host country's negative reaction to a strongly identified cultural group.* In other words, migrant groups who share considerable cultural similarity with the majority culture may be accepted more than those groups whose culture differs markedly from the dominant culture. Australian authors (see for example Ho, Niles, Penny, & Thomas, 1994, in Neasdale et al., 1997), have supported these observations.

3. *Cultural identification and self-esteem might be expected to be influenced by any factors that accentuate the fact that individuals derive from a culturally distinct background.* The obvious factors here include physical appearance (phenotypic characteristics such as skin colour), language, and dress or overt behaviour (Crocker & Major, 1989). Again, and as Neasdale and colleagues (1997) point out, lack of acceptance of people who display different practices and appearance may

simply be a “reaction to what is strange or different, or it may well signify a concern that the stigmatised individual would prefer to maintain his/her cultural identity, rather than adopt that of the host culture” (p. 581). Neasdale et al. (1997) assert that the inverse relationship found between self-esteem and a sense of belonging in Australia for the Vietnamese women who participated in their study may be indicative of prejudice. For those who seek to participate and to belong to a new country, the effects of the lack of acceptance and discrimination on self-esteem are even greater.

In closing, Neasdale et al. (1997) conclude that the relationship between cultural identity and self-esteem may be dependent on the level of acceptance given to the migrant group by the host culture. Moreover, it appears that adult immigrants derive little self-esteem from their cultural identification, whereas the self-esteem of cultural adolescents has been reported to be positively related to their cultural identity (see for example Phinney, 1989). Of interest would be to analyse the extent to which parental self-esteem is linked to a sense of cultural identity, and how it affects second generation youth, particularly those who are visibly distinct to the dominant group.

1.2.2 *Situational cultural identity*

Ichiyama, McQuarrie, and Ching (1996) highlighted the lack of consistency in the definition of cultural identity. They suggested a two-fold definition of cultural identity. Firstly, it may be conceptualised as a descriptor of geographic

origin (country of birth or parental country of birth), as well as a clear indicator of membership into a distinct cultural group (Parham & Helms, 1981); and second, the attitudes and behaviours exhibited towards one's own group. In addition, the authors suggest that identity also be conceptualised as a dynamic, changing construct that is constantly being shaped by situational factors such as socio-political trends. Ichiyama et al. termed this process *situational culturality*. With the exception of a few studies, the effects of socio-political trends on cultural identification in minority groups have not been explored empirically. The analysis of, for instance, the effects of the majority culture perceptions on minorities would certainly help elucidate how minority individuals construe their identity in the face of the majority's perceptions. This is related to what Phinney (1990) has suggested, namely that an understanding of cultural identity may require determining the individual's relationship to the majority group. She emphasises that a critical area of study may be the extent to which cultural identity is affected when minority culture groups come into contact with majority groups (Ichiyama et al., 1996). These ideas are explored in some detail in the following paragraphs. Perhaps a fitting topic of review at this point is the critical analysis of principal theories and models that address and attempt to define conceptually the notion of culturality or cultural identity.

1.3 Critique of identity development models

In a critique of identity development models, Frable (1997) states that some of the models reflect a particular sociohistorical framework; treat individuals as passively reacting to environmental events, or assume Eurocentricity. Other models are not yet systematically developed or empirically tested (Sue, 1994 cited in Phinney & Alipuria, 1996) and only one model (see Phinney & Alipuria, 1996) accounts for multiple group memberships (Myers, Spight, Highlen, Cox, & Reynolds, 1991). Similarly, Phinney and Alipuria (1996) have identified problems in the literature with respect to definitions, conceptual clarity, conceptual frameworks that have not been tested, reliability of measures, and the generalizability of findings. The present study reflects awareness of these issues, which are addressed throughout this thesis.

1.3.1 Cultural identity in response to positive experiences

The cultural identification model purports that salient aspects of identity are usually generated in response to negative or unpleasant experiences that create internal incongruence and challenge the perceived reference group. It is suggested in this study that the relationship between the process of cultural identity formation and positive experiences has not been explored sufficiently in empirical studies. This may be due to the fact that the cultural identity literature has been largely based on theories highlighting inter-group conflict dynamics (see for example Cross, E., 1978) rather than on internal processes stemming from more benign

experiences such as learning about one's original culture. Moreover, cultural identity may also be thought of as shaped by positive and negative experiences that are related to certain developmental milestones such as physical maturation, social development, and a range of other psychosocial experiences, and thus occur naturally and may not necessarily be the product of a conscious decision.

1.4 *A conceptual framework for cultural identity research*

In her classic review of the cultural identity development literature, Phinney (1990) stated that a disproportionate number of the articles reviewed did not include a clear definition of the cultural identity construct, nor was it related consistently to a theoretical framework. Phinney concluded that researchers appear to share a broad, general understanding of cultural identity, but different aspects of the construct are emphasised in the literature. Phinney proposed that, based on the evidence at hand, researchers should; (1) consider cultural identity development as a stage-like process which best reflects its dynamic nature; (2) use a consistent definition of the features of cultural identity; and, (3) adopt a theoretical orientation that accommodates related experiences such as acculturation. The following paragraphs explore in some detail the first two facets. The last facet is explored in Chapter Two.

1.4.1 *Identity development stages*

The theory of ego-identity formation (Erikson, 1968) provides a useful developmental framework for the study of cultural identity acquisition. Erikson proposed that an achieved identity is the result of a period of exploration and experimentation taking place in adolescence and leading to a commitment in a range of areas such as religion, occupation, and political orientation. Marcia (1992, as cited in Bosma, Graafsma, Grotevan, & De Levita, 1994) suggests four ego identity statuses based on whether individuals have explored and/or have made a commitment to a given frame of reference: (1) A diffused status, whereby a person has not engaged in exploration nor made a commitment; (2) a foreclosure/fussed status, in which case individuals make a commitment without exploration and which is generally based on parental values; (3) a moratorium status, whereby individuals are in the process of exploration without having made a commitment; and, (4) an achieved identity status, where a firm commitment has been made following a period of exploration.

From an extensive literature review, Phinney (1990) propose three distinct stages of cultural identity. Firstly, culturality is not an issue and therefore is unexplored. This stage encompasses both of Marcia's diffused and foreclosed statuses. Second, increasing awareness about culturality, deriving from a significant experience that forces such awareness. This involves an often intense process of immersion in group activities such as active participation in cultural events, reading about one's culture, visiting museums, and so on. For some

individuals, this may involve rejecting the values of the larger culture. Third, coming to terms with cultural issues or acceptance of group membership. The latter is considered to be the internalisation of identity stemming from the resolution or coming to terms with two fundamental dilemmas faced by all cultural minorities; the reconciliation of cultural differences between their own group and the dominant group and the perceived lower or unequal status of their group in the larger context (Phinney, 1990). Naturally, socio-historical events and experiences will dictate that cultural identity acquires a different meaning in different individuals and groups. For example, an Indigenous Australian youth may be more likely to perceive his/her group as vastly different and of lower status than that of mainstream Australia whereas a British youth may see little difference between his/her cultural background to that of mainstream Australia and yet consider his/her cultural background as higher in status than that of mainstream Australia.

1.4.2 Features of Cultural Identity

As stated in a previous section in this chapter, cultural identity has been conceptualised as two-fold (Ichiyama et al., 1996), comprised of group and geographical memberships, as well as attitudes towards one's own group. This stems from the fact that what people may say they are (cultural identification) and what they do (cultural group behaviour) might not coincide. Breaking down these two larger concepts into features that can be conceptually defined, four elements

result; original culture identification, perceived membership, attitudes towards one's own cultural group, and participation and practices. These elements are now explored briefly.

1.4.2.1 *Self-identification: original culture identity*

As discussed in previous paragraphs, an achieved self-identification is the outcome of the process of cultural exploration or identity search with the following features: language, participation in cultural activities, attitudes to self and others in reference to cultural membership, and social networks (friendships, interpersonal relationships) (Phinney, 1990). Self-identification can also be determined by parental background (which may include more than one culture) or partly imposed by phenotypic characteristics (e.g., an Asian adolescent who looks Asian but feels strongly identified with the mainstream Anglo-Australian culture may be considered as "Asian" by the majority). Thus, selection of a given cultural label can be said to be a complex and dynamic process that may lead to identification with one or more cultures at a given point in time.

1.4.2.2 *Perceived membership*

A sense of belonging to a given group underlies the choice of a cultural label. Moreover, how individuals of a minority culture perceive those of the larger culture will have an effect on their own cultural identification. The perceived status of the minority group (for example, the size of the specific migrant community, its

status) held by the larger context will also influence one's own identification with our cultural background.

Inter- and intra-group perceptions may be also be related to cultural distance (Berry et al., 1992). According to Berry and colleagues (1992), cultural distance, or the degree to which one culture differs from another, can be expected to influence perceived membership in minority group individuals.

1.4.2.3 *Attitudes toward one's cultural group*

Perceived membership can itself be related to attitudes formed about one's own group. Phinney (1990) identified a range of positive and negative attitudes experienced toward one's own group that have been articulated in the literature. Positive attitudes include pride, pleasure, satisfaction, and contentment towards one's own group while negative attitudes usually relate to preference for other than the culture of origin (e.g., preference for White values as against Black values of the original culture) or assigning negative characteristics to members of the original culture. The role of group-identity in self-concept can be explored through the following questions. Does strong identification with the group promote a positive self-concept or self-esteem? Conversely, is identification with a group that is held in low esteem by members of the majority culture likely to lower one's self-esteem? Further, is it possible to hold negative views about one's own group and yet feel good about one's self?

1.4.2.4 *Involvement and participation*

According to Phinney (1990), the indicators of cultural involvement that are generally evaluated in identity studies include "language, friendship, social organisations, religion, cultural traditions and politics" (p. 505). To these four features shaping identification, maturation can be added. Phinney (1989) suggests that with increasing age, youth may exhibit a greater degree of identity search and, consequently, achieved culturality. Some of these indicators require further elaboration.

1.4.2.5 *Additional features of cultural identity*

Additional elements contributing to the formation of an identity refer to individual and group processes identified in the literature (Phinney, 1990; Durnham, 1999).

1.4.2.5.1 *Maturation effects*

The research that has included different age groups with regards to cultural identity search and achieved identity is not conclusive. Nonetheless, earlier studies (see for example Aboud, 1987 cited in Phinney & Rotheram, 1987; Jahoda, Thomson, & Bhatt, 1972) revealed that while preference for the dominant culture declines with age, pre-schoolers demonstrate a preference for the dominant culture over their own (Cramer & Anderson, 2003; Phinney, 1989). Thus, it may be

reasonable to assume that age might influence both cultural identity search and the commitment to a cultural identity and should be considered in research.

1.4.2.5.2 *Language*

Communication and language constitute essential elements for the development, maintenance, and transmission of culture. Moreover, language has been considered the single most important component of cultural identity (Phinney, 1990; Hartman, 1999). Culture and language share an intimate relationship in that culture influences the structural and functional use of language and, as such, can be considered a manifestation of culture (Matsumoto, 1996).

According to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (cited in Berry et al., 1992), speakers of different languages think differently and they do so because of the differences in their languages. Thus, individuals who speak two or more languages may be said to experience more than one cultural reality. According to Matsumoto (1996), immigrant bilinguals will tend to affiliate themselves with the values and beliefs of the culture associated with the language in which they currently operate. However, when the language is switched, so are the cultural values with which they affiliate? Recent studies (see for example Watkins & Gerong, 1999), however, do not confirm this prediction. The evidence points to the ability to accommodate the values of one culture while speaking the language of another. It has also been argued that immigrant bilinguals will tend to self-identify as members of a cultural minority group and adopt the behavioural stereotypes assigned to them by the

majority culture when operating in the language of their minority group (Matsumoto, 1996). This was partially supported by Ladegaard (1998).

1.4.2.5.3 *Inter-personal relationships*

Some studies have considered the meaning of relationships with members of the original culture as a strong feature of achieved identity (Andersen & Chen, 2002; Garcia, 1982). Phinney (1990) points out, however, that only a few studies including black youth explored same-culture background relationships.

1.4.2.5.4 *Religious affiliation and practice*

This feature of cultural identity simply refers to the culture-specific traditions pertaining to religious orientation. For instance, in studies involving Latino-American participants, partaking in Catholic ceremonies and activities were considered valid indicators of active identification. Phinney (1990) points out that religious affiliation has not been extensively explored in studies involving a range of participants.

1.4.2.5.5 *Community-based group activities*

The term community-based group activities refer to whether individuals belonged to a social group or organisation that facilitated culture-specific activities. Again, Phinney (1990) found few studies addressing cultural participation at this level.

1.4.2.5.6 *Political ideology and involvement*

Partaking actively in political activities, such as lobbying for minority culture causes, was also considered by some researchers as an indicator of cultural identification (Ichiyama et al., 1996).

1.4.2.5.7 *Geographical status*

According to Phinney (1990), area of residence and geographical region were also indicators of cultural identification in some studies. Presumably, choices regarding social and cultural composition with respect to place of residence reflect an aspect of cultural identification. This could be disputed since place of residence may not necessarily mean choice of residence, as Allen and Stevenson (1992) pointed out. They found that many immigrants arriving in Australia had no real choice in place of settlement. Availability of employment, affordability, and migration status (either voluntary or involuntary) largely determined ultimate settlement place.

1.4.2.5.8 *Culture-specific activities*

The term culture-specific activities refers to activities such as maintaining ceremonial activities (Chinese New Year, Ramadan, and other ceremonies), dancing, cooking, reading newspapers in an original language, and other activities indicating an interest in active participation in the original culture (Berry et al., 1992; Phinney, 1990).

1.4.2.6 Cultural identity correlates

In addition to socio-historical factors contributing to the manner in which individuals and groups construe their identity, factors such as parental attitudes, social class, and youth's self-esteem and adjustment are also suggested by a number of authors (for example Neasdale et al., 1997) as crucial in determining the meaning of group and individual identity. These are discussed in Chapter Two. Discussion of the culturally-relative and universal aspects of cultural identification is still required.

1.4.3 Universal and culture-specific aspects of cultural identification

Phinney (1990) has asked the fundamental question pertaining to the apparently assumed universality of the process of cultural identification in cultural identity studies. She has pointed out that these studies have only involved one or a small number of cultural groups and therefore may have yielded culture-specific results. She goes on to suggest that researchers should not only consider studying cultural identification as a *state* and as a *process* within each unique set of contextual variables specific to each culture/group, but also take into consideration the universal aspect of the process of group membership. This recommendation is consistent with that of Ichiyama et al. (1996) who, as described earlier, suggested the term situational culturality as a more fitting one reflecting the dynamic nature of the process involved.

Phinney (1990) suggests that researchers focus on common identity elements that permit comparisons across groups and allow for valid conclusions. Further, the developmental model of cultural identification presented earlier postulates that "all cultural group members have the option to explore and resolve issues related to their culturality, although they may vary in the extent to which they engage in this process" (Phinney, 1990, p. 507). To this one could add that individuals may also vary in the degree of achieved identity. In other words, so called "achieved identity" may in fact be a degree of commitment to a specific identity at a given point in time (Hong, Bennet-Martinez, Chiu, & Morris, 2003). Phinney has suggested a measure aimed at assessing common aspects of cultural identity.

1.4.4 Cultural identity as a state: reliability of measures

Specific measures pertaining to identity as a state versus a process have used a range of features or indicators. In her review, Phinney (1990) found variable reliability across these measures (Alpha coefficients ranging from .35 to .90) and no reliability measures in a proportion of the studies. Moreover, different measures were used across studies and so comparison of results between different samples was not possible. Test-retest reliability was not a feature of any of the studies investigated. The author concludes that a reliable measure of cultural identity is clearly essential.

1.4.5 Cultural identity as a process

The analysis of cultural identity development, or the *stages* of identification, presents quite a different and complex set of problems to the analysis of identity as a *state*. Phinney (1990) found that only a few of the reviewed studies addressed the individual changes in cultural identity over time (Ponterotto, 1988). Furthermore, the reliability reported in these studies was low (Alpha coefficients of .59 to .69), thus making it very difficult to summarise or arrive at conclusions on cultural identity as a process.

Factor analyses involving the identified essential components of cultural identity have yielded widely discrepant results. For instance, Garcia and Lega (1979) found a single factor of cultural identity. In contrast, Constantinou and Harvey (1985) found two factors, while others (see for example, Caltabiano, 1984; Driedger, 1975) found four or more factors.

Due to the practical problems in conducting longitudinal studies involving test-retest procedures and a diverse set of samples for comparison purposes, the use of a cross-sectional design involving two age groups and including different cultural samples is a viable and appropriate alternative.

1.5 Social and psychological transitions in adolescence

The period of adolescence has been described as "a phase of life beginning in biology and ending in society" (Lerner & Galambos, 1998, p. 144). Adolescence may be defined as the period within the life-span when most of a person's

biological, cognitive, psychological, and social characteristics are changing from what is considered consistent with childhood to what is considered to be consistent with adulthood (Lerner & Spanier, 1980 as cited in Lerner & Galambos, 1998). Challenges imposed upon the adolescent require adjustment to changes in the manner in which the individual relates to the self, family, peer group, and the larger social context of community or institutions. The latter may involve simply changing school settings from primary to high school, to the context of work, university, or family life, or, in more unfortunate cases, to the context of unemployment, vagrancy, marginality, or imprisonment.

1.5.1 Key features of adolescent development.

According to Bonfenbrenner (1979; see also Lerner & Galambos, 1998), the contextual setting for human development is composed of multiple, integrated levels of organisation including the biological, individual-psychological, social-interpersonal, institutional, cultural, and historical. No one level has more effect than the other does, or acts as the prime mover of change (Lerner & Galambos, 1998). Nonetheless, the experience of transitions in adolescence can be made more complicated by critical life events such as immigrating or being born into a disadvantaged social context. Much has been written about the biological changes occurring during the process of adolescence. This topic, while important, will be discussed only briefly.

The period of adolescence is characterised by rapid physical transitions in such characteristics as height, weight, and body proportions. Hormonal changes are also part of this development but not primarily responsible for the psychological and social developmental shifts taking place (Finkelstein, 1993; Petersen, 1993). In fact, the reverse may be the case in that the quality and timing of hormonal or other biological changes influence and are influenced by psychological, social, cultural, and historical contexts (Elder, 1980). In an intriguing study addressing the relationship between sexual maturation and delinquency, Caspi, Lynam, Moffitt, and Silva (1993) found that the biological changes of early puberty were linked to delinquency in adolescent girls, but only among those who attended mixed-sex schools. Thus, although significant, biological changes during adolescent development may not be as influential in determining behaviour as once thought.

The period of time called adolescence extends from the beginning of sexual maturity to the achievement of independent adult status. In pre-industrial, traditional societies, the adolescent transition from childhood to adulthood typically lasts a few days or weeks (Baumeister, Heatherton, & Tice, 1986). For these adolescents, adult status is bestowed, rather than progressively achieved, at the time of sexual maturation and is often marked by an initiation ceremony.

1.6 Cultural transmission in adolescence

Cultural transmission, a term introduced by Cavalli-Sforza and Feldman (1981, as cited in Berry et al., 1992), parallels that of biological transmission to indicate the process of perpetuation of certain behavioural features among subsequent generations through teaching and learning mechanisms. Unlike biological transmission, which can only have a vertical direction, cultural transmission can be *vertical, oblique, or horizontal*. The first term, vertical transmission refers to parental input and the handing down of cultural values, skills, beliefs, and motives to their offspring. In this case, it is difficult to differentiate between biological and cultural transmission. In the case of horizontal transmission, offspring learn from peers during the course of development from birth to adulthood. In the case of oblique transmission, offspring learn from other adults and institutions (e.g., schooling), either in the child's original culture or in a foreign culture. If cultural transmission takes place entirely in the original culture, the processes of enculturation and socialisation are said to take place (Berry et al., 1992). If the process derives from contact with another culture, acculturation and re-socialisation take place. With respect to socialisation, Eric Erikson (1968) stated that humans face a series of stages in life and each of these stages is characterised by its own psychosocial task. During early childhood, children deal with issues of trust, then autonomy, then initiative. In a later stage, children aged between 7 to 11 years develop a sense of industry or achievement, a sense that they are competent and productive human beings. For adolescents 12 years and older, the task is to

synthesise their past experiences, including those dictated by their cultural milieu, their present circumstances, and future possibilities into a clear sense of selfhood.

1.6.1 Cultural transmission in minority groups

All cultural groups use culturally prescribed patterns to transmit particular social heritage, values, roles, and beliefs to succeeding generations. The move to a new country for individuals or families does not signal the leaving behind of cultural scripts or patterns of behaviour. Sometimes cultural scripts are transmitted in their entirety but it is more likely that original scripts will be integrated with those of the receiving country. A more complex picture may apply for indigenous peoples who experience colonisation. While efforts may be made to retain cultural scripts and transmit them from generation to generation, dominant culture policies and institutions may in fact actively discourage these processes.

1.7 Child-rearing, socialisation, and cultural transmission

The study of the relationship between child rearing and culture has a long and productive history not only in the field of psychology but also in other social sciences. In the 1950's, the research mostly reflected a culture-personality connection that aimed to typify cultures with regards to their child-rearing techniques (Joshi & MacLean, 1997). Studies that are more recent have focused on contemporary child-rearing techniques within the explicit or implicit goals of the given society (Bornstein & Cote, 2003; Le Vine, 1991).

It has been stated that cultures differ from one another in the types of competence that adults encourage their children to have, the age at which they expect certain skills to be in place, and the degree of proficiency they want their children to achieve (Hess & Richards, 1999). Bornstein (1991) has pointed out that although many aspects of child-rearing behaviours re-occur across cultures, cultures do differ in these behaviours. An attempt to understand these differences has posed a major challenge for researchers. A theoretical framework that has been used in trying to elucidate inter-cultural similarities and differences is that of individualism/collectivism (Hofstede, 1991). Individualistic cultures have been described as valuing autonomy, emotional independence, and individual initiative in comparison to the value placed by collectivist cultures on emotional dependence, sharing, duties, and obligation (Hofstede, 1984). In a study addressing maternal expectations in Japan, England, and India, Joshi and MacLean (1997) investigated whether maternal expectations relate to individualism-collectivism orientations. The authors hypothesised that Japanese and Indian mothers would have similar expectations, being from so called collectivist-oriented societies. However, they found that Japanese and English mothers had greater similarity with regards to expectations. In this case, the authors suggest, it is likely that the similar status of the Japanese and English affluent economies might have had more influence on maternal patterns than social and group orientations. Thus, factors other than those culturally prescribed, such as economic development in a society, may be more influential than culturally linked patterns of behaviour. Further research is

needed in order to establish whether factors such as economic development are of value in parental expectations across cultures. Many authors have already suggested the link between wealth, individualism, and modernity (see for example Inkeles & Smith, 1974; Triandis, 1995 Sinha & Kao, 1994). Others have suggested cognitive and individual characteristics as influencing similarities across cultural groups (Cote & Bornstein, 2003)

1.7 Personality development in adolescents

In a comprehensive review of the personality literature by Mischel and Shoda (1998), the authors focused on the two main approaches to personality, state-trait, that have divided opinion in the field. The state-focused approach defines personality as “construed as a system of mediating units (e.g., encoding, expectancies, goals) and psychological processes of cognitive-affective dynamics, conscious and unconscious, that interact with the situation” (p. 230). The focus espoused by this view of personality is primarily the person’s psychological functioning with respect to the mediating processes that underlie stable individual differences in social behaviour across situations. The theory aims at characterising individuals with respect to an all encompassing but finite set of stable invariant dispositions, stable across situations that lend an individual unique personal behaviour style.

1.7.2 Cultural identification in adolescence

The impact of cultural elements in the formation of identity is complex and uncertain according to Rosenthal (1985, as cited in Phinney & Rotheram, 1987). Rosenthal suggests that to facilitate unravelling the contribution that culture makes in adolescent development, it may be useful to explore the *meaning* of the adolescent's cultural background as he/she strives to achieve a sense of self. Although class and gender identity have "important psychological and behavioural consequences for adolescent development, the impact of cultural identity is especially relevant in societies that are heterogeneous in nature, where one or more minority groups exist alongside a dominant social group" (Rosenthal et al, 1981, p. 156).

1.7.3 Gender role behaviours

It is commonly understood that while sex is biologically determined, gender is socio-culturally prescribed (Segall, Dasen, Berry & Poortinga, 1990). Gender behaviours, although of importance, have not been addressed here. Rather, the brief review in this sub-section focuses on behaviour differences in adolescents of both sexes because of culturally prescribed child-rearing practices.

Sex differences across cultures have been well documented in previous research (Barry, Bacon, & Child, 1975; Munroe & Munroe, 1975; Murdoch, 1992; Van Leeuwen, 1978) and present research (Feather, 1998; Kashima et al, 1995; Mukai, Kamhera, & Sasahi, 1998). The common denominator in previous and

current research has been two main findings, namely that there are modal sex differences in behaviour in every society, and every society has some division of labour by sex. Moreover, boys and girls are socialised differently in different cultures. Girls tend to be more socialised to be nurturing, responsible, and obedient, while boys tend to be raised to be more independent, self-reliant, and achieving. These socialisation patterns are themselves linked to other factors such as social stratification and ecological factors such as subsistence economy and population density (Berry et al., 1992).

A newborn has sex but not yet gender. Sex is decided on the basis of biology, while culturally prescribed experiences, feelings, and behaviours that are associated with adult male and female behaviours give individuals their gender. In a study involving thirty countries, Williams and Best (1982) found that while females tend to be described in very different terms within every culture, they were also described in very similar terms across cultures. Berry et al. (1992) examined these findings and suggested that original biological differences may give rise to cultural practices, differential male-female task assignment, and child rearing, rendering males and females everywhere psychologically different. Gender stereotypes, they conclude, "are merely an accurate perception of [biological] differences" (p. 62). On the other hand, it can be observed that stereotypes based on gender may be the result of sex role ideology that specifies how men and women should act. This in turn may lead to differential cultural practices and to distorted perceptions of what males and females are like (Berry et al., 1992).

A thoroughly documented phenomenon linked to sex differences in behaviour is that of aggression. It has been found that, in general, adolescent males consistently commit more aggressive acts than do females (Naroll, 1983) Segall et al. (1990) considered the possibility of a sex-linked hormone difference as a plausible explanation for boys and girls differential rates of aggression. However, Konner (1988, as cited in Berry et al, 1992, p. 67) pointed out that while humans are "already primed for sex differences, cultures can dampen or exaggerate [these]".

1.7.4 Ethnic minority youth in crisis

Many minority culture adolescents world-wide face the challenges and crises of violence, drug and alcohol abuse, unsafe sex, poor nutrition, and the sequelae of persistent and pervasive poverty (Lerner & Galambos, 1998). Opportunities that many of these adolescents may have had are squandered by school failure, underachievement, school drop out, crime, teen pregnancy and parenting, lack of job preparedness, and health related problems associated with risk behaviours (Lerner & Galambos, 1998).

A substantial amount of research has been dedicated to elucidate clinical risk factors associated with psychiatric morbidity in youth. In the past several years demographic risk factors have been added to the picture based on the premise that socio-contextual variables can have a substantial impact on the adolescent's capacity to manage stress. For example, Hoberman and Garfinkel (1988) found a connection between depression and completed suicide and suicidal ideation (see

also Harter, Marold, & Whitesell, 1992), depression and alcohol abuse (e.g., Pfeiffer, Newcorn, Kaplan, Mizruchi, & Plutchik, 1988). Other researchers found a relationship between depression and conduct disorder, anger and aggression, and disturbed family functioning (e.g., King, Segal, Neilor, & Evan, 1993; King, Raskin, Gdowski, Butkus, & Opiari, 1990). Moreover, social, cultural, and contextual factors such as ethnicity, media portrayal of ethnic minorities, access to methods of suicide, geographical status, and degree of social support have been identified as being linked with psychological distress including depression and suicide behaviours. In a review of the literature, Hovey and King (1996) analysed the relationship between acculturative stress, depressive symptoms, and suicidal ideation and found a relationship between cultural factors and depression in a sample of immigrant and second-generation Latino-American adolescents. They found critical levels of depression and suicidal ideation among a large percentage of first and second generation immigrant adolescents. Following Durkheim's (1897, as cited in Hovey & King, 1996) conclusions, the authors concluded that an individual is at higher risk for suicide when the accustomed relationship between the individual and his/her society is shattered.

1.7.5 Coping behaviours in adolescents

Little research has been carried out addressing minority culture adolescents' coping styles. Nonetheless, it has been stated that ethnic identification is considered of enormous importance in the process of adjustment, providing

migrants with personal and external resources that enable them to cope with the stresses and demands of a new culture and minimise psychological distress (Zhou & Bankston, 1994, as cited in Neasdale, et al., 1997).

Coping has been defined as a set of behaviours involving constant change at both cognitive and overt behaviour levels in response to specific external and internal demands that are appraised as taxing or exceeding the resources of the individual (Lazarus & Folkman, 1986). The definition is based on the assumption that coping is a consequence of the relationship between the person and the environment where the person is constantly appraising and re-appraising a stressful encounter in order to manage it. Four main features characterise the behaviours that constitute coping; coping is seen as a process where thoughts and overt behaviours are in constant change; coping is aimed at the management rather than the mastery of a given situation; coping does not assume a priori judgement about the quality of coping processes; and, a distinction is made between coping and automatic adaptive behaviour where coping refers to automatic responses that require effort whereas automatic adaptive behaviours result from constant usage, eventually becoming habitual. Coping strategies utilised by ethnic youth are of critical importance in that these may facilitate or hinder the functional management of acculturative stress. Specifically, coping behaviour is likely to depend on the nature of the experience or context highlighting or requiring cultural adjustment. For example, a young Chinese girl is likely to respond differently in a situation where her Chinese origin is celebrated (e.g., she is asked by the teacher to tell her

classmates about her original country of origin), than when being ridiculed (e.g., mocking her physical features).

Lazarus and Folkman (1986) advocate what has been coined the *contextual* approach to coping and argue that coping strategies are not necessarily habitual as people tend to respond differently to different situations. They also state that such coping styles may be predictive of only long-term outcomes. The contextual approach emphasises that the changing nature of situation-based factors influence an individual's choices of coping responses. In this model, coping is determined by cognitive appraisal and re-appraisal of the stressful situation. Additionally, coping behaviours are process-oriented highlighting three features; coping emphasises what a person thinks or does in a stressful situation; coping behaviour is perceived within a specific context; and, coping is a shifting process where thoughts and acts change as the stressful encounter unfolds. The present study did not focus in any depth on the plethora of theories addressing coping, but rather emphasised the dynamic nature of coping as a process shaped by context and by the nature of stressors encountered (in this case within the experiences of acculturation).

1.7.6 *Inter-generational issues*

Inter-generational conflict resulting from a clash of values between offspring and parents within cultural minorities has been amply documented (James, 1998; Rumbaut, 1994). These authors have pointed out that conflict occurs because of the fundamental differences between what migrant adolescents may want for

themselves and what their parents want for them. Moreover, many parents resist their children's acculturation (James, 1998). Parents often perceive their children's attempt to separate from the original family as a sign of rejection of the family and its values. Migrant and Indigenous youth may ultimately achieve a level of acculturation that renders their behaviours and values quite different from those that may be expected within their original cultural milieu (James, 1998).

1.7.6.1 Parenting behaviour patterns

The interest in parenting styles across different cultural contexts and their effects on child and adolescent behaviours is not new. Archival data contained in the Human Relations Area Files (HRAF) pertaining to child-rearing practices around the world assisted in the compilation of major dimensions of variation in these practices. Further, field studies (for a summary see Cooper & Denner, 1998) helped elucidate maternal response patterns to a series of factors including warmth (frequency of praise, closeness), responsibility training (doing the right thing by the family), aggression training directed by the mother (highly punitive when child becomes angry), aggression training directed by peers (reward for retaliation), and mother care time (time spent with child). Nonetheless, parenting styles of immigrants are usually judged by the standards of the dominant culture. According to Foss (1996), there seems to be an underlying assumption by service providers and others that characteristics of the typical "American family" are the ideal or most optimal and thus the "universally correct" way to bring up offspring.

In the concluding comments in her article highlighting the parenting behaviour in immigrant populations, Foss accuses social researchers of ignoring the often devastating effects of immigration on parental style and parent-child interactions when analysing the link between adverse conditions and children's development.

The contextual determinants of parenting in immigrant populations, she states, are complex and need to be evaluated by individuals such as health service providers.

In Australia, the literature addressing the effects of cultural minority individuals' parenting styles on their offspring is scant (Beautrais, 1998a). However, the handful of studies that do exist indicate that the effect of the psychological state and coping ability of parents and/or significant others will have a significant effect on how well children and adolescents develop resilience and coping strategies of their own.

In closing, research is needed to examine the relationship between the personal and contextual determinants of parenting and the effects that immigration and colonisation have on the former. In particular, there is a need to investigate the link between enculturation, acculturation stress and parental depression, domestic violence, and other manifestations of parental psychological distress that ultimately affects their offspring.

1.7.6.1.1 *Personal determinants of parenting*

There is a large body of literature supporting the relationship between maternal altered affect and negative consequences with respect to a child's growth

and development. In studies concerning sources of social support for mothers from a variety of American cultural heritages, family members and spouses provide an overwhelming amount of support. It has been found, however, that it is the fit between support received and support expected that predicts maternal depression (Longsdon, McBride, & Birkimer, 1994; see also Levett, Coffman, Guacci-Franco & Loveless, 1993; Knoiak-Griffin, 1993).

Reports linking negative life events as predictors of maternal depression are mixed (Hammen, 1993; Pianta & Egeland, 1994). However, antecedents for maternal depression in Nigerian, British, and Greek societies have been shown to include adverse life events and a lack of expected spousal, family, or social support.

Maternal competence is another variable related to personal well-being in adolescence. The culturally determined meaning of the maternal role influences the development of one's maternal identity and maternal competence (Koniak-Griffin, 1993). Moreover, for women who have experienced forced migration (i.e., refugees) with associated experiences of violence and death of family and children, the meaning attached to the birth of an infant in the host country influences how the maternal role is interpreted (Foss, 1996).

A salient parental personal characteristic is that of parental cultural identity. A parent's cultural identity influences his/her role as parent, perceived physical and mental health status, and overall quality of life. Parental cultural identity can be a determining feature in parenting style. Parenting responses are also largely shaped by infant characteristics. Features such as infant temperament, health status

(including the absence or presence of a disability), and gender, all influence the maternal-infant interaction and the development of parenting behaviours (Bornstein & Cote, 2003; Koniak-Griffin, 1993).

1.7.6.1.2 *Contextual determinants of parenting*

Contextual factors shaping parenting styles in the case of migrant minority cultures can include pre-migration, migration and post-migration experiences, culturality, and the social and economic environment (Jayasuriya, Sang, & Fielding, 1992)

Although all migrants experience many of the same problems when coping with a new culture, the results of violence and resulting traumas before and during the migration process increases the duration and intensity of stress-related responses. Traumatic events can include combat, displacement from home and community, physical injury from war, torture, rape, famine, and separation from spouse and family due to displacement or death.

Major predictors of successful coping after migration include the ability to speak the language, attain financial security, master living skills, and maintain physical and mental health. Migrants from non-English speaking background lose the ability to interact socially. This limits their chances of becoming employed and of developing social networks. Norwegian researchers have found that recent negative life events in the host country, along with chronic family separation, were two of four significant predictors of psychopathology in a community-based sample of Vietnamese refugees (Hauff & Vaglum, 1995). In another community-

based study involving a community-wide sample of Afghan adolescent and young adult refugees, Mghir, Freed, Raskin, and Katon (1995) found that the combination of a history of traumatic events combined with the mother's non-English speaking abilities and her present feelings of distress strongly predicted the incidence of post traumatic stress disorder or major depression in the adolescents.

The development and maintenance of cultural identity depends largely on the host nation's acceptance and nature of the interaction with the immigrant culture. For instance, the maintenance of cultural identity outside one's own cultural milieu has significance for mother-child interactions in two ways (Jackson, 1993). Firstly, lower self-esteem and increased level of depression reported in girls who do not maintain their identity could negatively affect the maternal-infant relationship when these girls eventually become mothers. Second, parents will socialise their infants and children to relate to society in a way that is consistent with their own culturally-prescribed ideas of how to best avoid potential harm from perceived discriminatory attitudes from the receiving country. Thus, the nature of the maternal-child interactions may differ from the expected "normal" interactions, which in turn may bring about discrimination. Variables that influence the kind and degree of culturality experienced by different groups include the length of time lived in the host society, the degree of perceived discrimination experienced, geographic location, professional status of the family when immigrating, and gender (Rumbaut, 1994; Kim & Rew, 1994; Lipson & Miller, 1994; Waters, 1995; Jayasuriya et al., 1992).

Another important contextual determinant of parental adjustment to a new culture is the social and economic environment which the migrating family enters. This environment includes factors such as available and accessible educational and health care resources (Germain & Gupta, 1997), the presence or absence of social support, the political environment of the resettlement country (Rogler, 1994), and, most importantly, the presence or absence of cultural and religious traditions. Many community organisations have been created to provide immigrants social support. These organisations, such as the Migrant Resource Centres around Australia, provide a bridge between the minority groups and the bureaucracy. Many of the workers in these community organisations are themselves co-nationals (Germain & Gupta, 1997).

In a highly innovative study involving migrant women from four major Australian cities (Melbourne, Sydney, Perth, and Brisbane), Allen and Stevenson (1992) used the term locational disadvantage to describe "the disadvantage arising primarily as a result of geographical location in gaining physical access to services or opportunities" (p. 2). The authors observe that locational disadvantage may interact with, and exacerbate, other circumstances such as poor English skills or lack of recognition of overseas qualifications.

The health care environment has been found to be less than accessible for migrants and minority culture individuals living in an isolated location. For instance, in a community-based study investigating the experiences of migrant

women in the process of accessing health and mental health services in northern Australia, Germain and Manktelow (1996) found that migrant women were not accessing vital mental and other health services, although the latter were in place. Germain and Heart (1999) also found that service providers such as medical practitioners often do not understand the ways in which migrants expressed their symptoms, or how migrants are likely to respond to treatment. Conversely, older migrant women tended to report not being able to understand the medical system or some service providers.

To summarise, this chapter has addressed the major features characterising adolescent change and transitions. The main aspects of cultural transmission and child-rearing practices in multicultural societies and how these may shape youth's attitudes and behaviours about the self and their cultural affiliation were also examined. Parental and significant other characteristics that include pre-migration and post-migration variables were also discussed in order to clarify the social dynamics within which adolescent cultural or ethnic identity develops.

The following chapter explores in more detail inter-group contact in plural societies and the process of acculturation.

CHAPTER TWO

PLURAL SOCIETIES, INTER-GROUP CONTACT AND ACCULTURATION IN ETHNIC MINORITY YOUTH

By definition, ethnic, cultural, or racial identities are only salient in a situation where two or more culturally distinct groups establish contact. That is to say, in a homogenous society, cultural, ethnic, or racial identities are meaningless (Phinney, 1990). Thus, it is reasonable to consider acculturation as the process underlying racial, cultural, or ethnic identification. Briefly, acculturation refers to the changes in attitudes, values, and behaviours that result from contact with different cultures (Berry, et al, 1992). A comprehensive analysis of the concept of acculturation is presented later in this chapter. At this point, it is necessary to contextualise the process of youth cultural identity within the social frame in which it unfolds.

2.1 Sociological perspectives on the self: a focus on ethnic and cultural minorities

The notion of ethnic or cultural minority refers to a category of people who are defined by physical (ethnicity) or cultural traits (culture) and are socially disadvantaged. The Commonwealth defines people from culturally and linguistically diverse background (CLDB) as those residents of Australia who may

face barriers of race, culture, religion or language, including Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and children of parents with non-English speaking backgrounds". Ethnic and cultural minorities are characterised by two features. They have a distinctive identity and they are stratified and subordinated to the majority system in a multicultural society. This is certainly the case in Australia. Through immigration from all continents, the population of Australia has undergone constant changes since the 1940's. Presently, Australia continues to experience an increase in its overseas-born population and consequently the native tongue and cultural background of Australians can be enormously varied. Since the advent of multiculturalism as a philosophy and as a policy and with it a rise in awareness of social justice issues, special attention has been paid to the problems faced by minority culture Australians, in particular, those of CLDB and indigenous Australians.

2.2 National, cultural, and ethnic identities: Australian minority youth

The plight of minority culture youth has been made evident in a number of world-wide studies addressing psychological dysfunction in this sector of the population. For example, Beauvais (1998a) found that young Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander youth, particularly males, may be identified as a group at high risk for suicidal behaviour. Moreover, Australian and international studies generally suggest that migration increases risk of suicide, and that while initial rates for young migrants resemble those of their country of origin,

with time the suicide rates of migrant groups tend to converge to those of the host country (Ferrada-Noli, 1997; Johansson et al., 1997).

2.2.1 Indigenous youth

The experiences of minority indigenous youth around the globe have been explored by many social scientists. For example, Gewertz and Errington (1996) addressed the relationship between global processes of nationality and local realities in an attempt to identify the experiences and construction of what the Chambri in Papua New Guinea East Sepik province define as traditional and modern. The authors found that nuclear families primarily were crucial in shaping and re-shaping youths' subjectivities in determining the choices young people would make in many aspects of their lives. The less important the traditional practices and beliefs had become, the less they were considered as guides to conduct, belief, and feeling at the individual level. Nonetheless, the traditional had remained highly relevant as sources of contemporary, albeit often diffused, collective identities. This was deemed to have created enormous conflict, confusion, and contradiction that often resulted in psychological dysfunction. Similarly, it has been established that Indigenous youth including American and Alaskan (Weaver, 1996), Maoris in New Zealand (Beautrais, 1998b; Bruce, Curtis, & Johnston, 1998), Aboriginal Australians (Beautrais, 1998a) and Inuits in Canada (Zimmerman, Ramirez-Valles, Washienko, Walter, & Dyer, 1996) are all reported to have higher rates of behavioural and emotional problems than majority group

peers. In Australia, Beauvais (1998a) has documented the grim profile of troubled Indigenous adolescents experiencing depression, anxiety, attempted and completed suicide, substance abuse, delinquency, general health problems, and educational failure and school drop out. The author pointed out that in the struggle to adjust to changes imposed by the experience of rapid social change (such as that imposed by colonisation), individuals may find themselves 'lost' in the process of psychological adjustment. When groups of individuals from different cultures come into contact, the process of acculturation takes place (Minde & Minde, 1995), bringing changes at both group and individual levels. The latter pertains to the psychological changes required to resolve incongruence that may result from inter-cultural contact.

2.2.2 *Migrant background youth*

Vasta (1994) pointed out that interest in migrant youth issues, particularly the second generation, is relatively recent in Australia. Vasta suggests that this may be the result of the cumulative increase in migrant background children in the Australian education system. Most of these children were born in Australia but belong to families where parents or grandparents are of foreign background. Thus, a young person born in Australia who speaks English and largely identifies with the majority culture of Australia is nonetheless likely to be perceived as of second or third generation migrant background, particularly if the he/she is non-Western, non-Anglo-Celtic, Anglo-Saxon or has Non-Caucasian phenotype. This carries important consequences for the development of ethnic and national identities in a

young person. For example, Vasta suggests that the inter-relationship between ethnicity, gender, class, and inter-generational changes be considered in order to understand how youth of non-Anglo-Australian immigrant roots construe their social and individual realities. She also states that class differences within and between migrant groups need closer analysis, as do gender based differences, in the resulting process of identity formation among the young.

The terms ethnicity or ethnic identity reflect subjective and objective features of how individuals may be defined with respect to their cultural realities. The subjective definition of cultural identity is based on the nature of the experiences undergone by a person. For instance, ethnicity may refer to the experience of having migrated to Australia, or belonging to a family where some or all family members were born overseas and now reside in Australia. Subjectively, the term may also mean that a person shares some or most of the cultural practices, such as original language use, which maintains the reality of a cultural membership. In contrast, an objective definition of ethnicity and ethnic identity may be the construction of a dominant group with the ultimate aim to draw boundaries and to marginalise or exclude individuals of minority cultures from actively participating in the larger community. A number of scholars have proposed that, in Australia, we are in a prime situation to analyse more closely the underlying dynamics that lead young people of minority culture to perceive and find themselves as marginalised in response to the social forces of the dominant majority. For example, Kalantzis and Cope (1987) urge social scientists to unpack the features of

marginalisation in the education system where inequities are most evident for the minority culture youth. They propose that multicultural education be strengthened to increase participation and access.

2.3 Inter-cultural contact

The process of acculturation when two or more distinct groups come into contact is influenced by several group-level factors. These include whether acculturation is voluntary or involuntary, attitudes of the receiving country/culture, social and economic status, and discrimination. While some groups facing acculturation may have chosen to make contact with another culture and therefore to engage in acculturation (as in the case of sojourners or voluntary migrants), others may have been forced to take part in it (as in the case of refugees and indigenous people). On the other hand, psychological or individual level changes in the process of acculturation involve selecting a specific course of action in dealing with inter-cultural contact. Depending on the so called *acculturation strategy* (Berry et al., 1992) selected, the individual will either, achieve assimilation to the majority culture largely at the expense of the preservation of the original culture, successfully retain his/her cultural practices and values within the context of the dominant society and still actively and effectively participate in the latter, choose to reject the majority culture in favour of the original culture, or opt for the ultimate rejection of both traditional and host culture values and practices. Berry et al. (1992) have suggested that the process of acculturation is quite dynamic and

depending on context and time since the initial contact with another culture, the choice of acculturation can vary. When acculturation experiences overwhelm the individual, creating what can be perceived as insurmountable problems, social displacement, acculturative stress, and psychopathology may be experienced (Berry & Sam, 1997).

Multicultural or bi-cultural adolescents experience the interaction of two or more cultures at home and the conflicts that minority group members experience in a dominant society. At the same time, some (see for example LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993) have found that multicultural youth, such as those of migrant background, are considered to be more competent in coping with new cultural contexts. Some studies have described behaviour and academic problems as well as identity conflict in multicultural adolescents (see for example Kvernmo & Heyerdahl, 1998), while others present the picture of well-adjusted and self-confident multicultural youth (Bornstein & Cote, 2003). Thus, the significance of multi-ethnic parentage is not yet clear. Phinney and Flores (2002) found that gender and educational differences in sex role attitudes may lead to acculturation conflicts brought about by contrasting views of gender roles.

2.3.1 Assimilation as policy

Early this century Park and Thomas (cited in Castles, 1990) at the Chicago School in the United States developed assimilation as an ideology and a solution to the problem of rapid heterogeneous population growth. According to Castles

(1990), Park and Thomas' work addressed the need to maintain social order and cohesiveness in rapidly expanding cities in large scale settlements of people from different cultural backgrounds. Briefly, Park and Thomas assumed that migrants have been socialised in different contexts and normative behaviour, which is likely to be different to that of mainstream North American behaviour. However, it does not necessarily follow those traditions and norms brought by migrants are inappropriate and incongruous with the host societies. Any group hostilities that may arise are not seen as racism on the part of the host or majority population, but rather as maladaptation of the newcomers. Re-socialisation into majority values, a principal component in the ideology of assimilation, is then a justified aim of the dominant culture.

Assimilation ideologues failed to consider the dynamic nature of the experience of culture, assuming that once a given minority group existed within the socio-political and demographic confines of a host culture, its members would "progress" through the stages of initial contact, conflict, accommodation, and finally, assimilation. It was believed that the maintenance of ethnic cultures would lead to separatism and ghettos that may threaten social cohesion.

The melting pot theory of assimilation proposed and fervently applied by the political system in place from early in the century to the 70's was interpreted as openly favouring an Anglo-Australian structural and cultural stance (Vasta, 1993). Teachers who encouraged children to speak English only at school echoed this message. The home reality appears to have been quite different to that assumed by

those who believed that assimilation had been achieved. In fact, and in spite of all concentrated and systematic efforts to achieve otherwise, assimilation failed (Vasta, 1994). Many immigrants maintained their cultural practices at home and a link between the first and second generation was created. Even for those youngsters who resisted parental rules and impositions to speak the mother tongue retained a modicum of cultural awareness and as adults were able to relate to both the dominant culture and their parental culture of origin.

2.3.2 The culture clash model

As a way of justification for assimilationist strategies, the explanatory framework of the culture conflict model was used extensively and carelessly (Blaney, 1984). The model proposed that conflict between two or more cultures could be overcome if migrant parents and their children discarded their language and traditional practices and assimilated into the Anglo-Australian way of life. The settlement policy of the 1970's was guided by the inter-cultural conflict premise. According to Blaney (1984), traces of the model's discourse remained well after settlement practices were re-considered.

The culture clash premise provided an unfair portrayal of the effects of inter-cultural contact in that it laid the blame for conflict squarely on interacting minority groups rather than on the intolerance manifested by majority culture policies. For example, Martin (1978) documents that in 1970, in response to reports indicating that children of immigrant background were experiencing problems, the Federal

Government established the Child Migrant Education Program (CMEP). The program was premised on the assumption that most problems experienced at school by these children were linked to shortcomings in communication due to language deficits. The logical solution was then to focus on teaching these children English. However, the problems experienced were broader than this. Children were actually undergoing a kind of 'tug of war' experience where two sets of values and realities were being inculcated at home and at school, including two or more languages. The resulting dissonance may have inadvertently produced a confused sense of identity (Vasta, 1994). Schools in Australia were less than prepared to receive and respond sensitively to large numbers of immigrant children arriving to Australia between the 1950s and 1970s. According to Vasta (1993), the curriculum priorities at the time were to prepare children for an Anglo-Australian reality. Teachers changed foreign names and surnames, particularly in the case of Chinese and other Asian background children, to more 'convenient' names without considering the emotive challenges that this may have brought. Foreign accents and dress styles also set immigrant children apart from the mainstream in the eyes of teachers and other children. In most cases, this unpleasant situation often resulted in the active rejection of parental values and a concentrated effort from the child to embrace the majority culture at any cost.

Many first generation immigrants resisted the restrictive ideology of assimilation and distanced themselves from the Anglo-Australian community and its values (Martin, 1978). The result was detrimental for the second generation in

that children born in Australia of immigrant parents were genuinely torn between two or more cultures. Evidence points to the fact that non-English background children generally tend to assimilate quickly into the Anglo-Australian system (Martin, 1978). This has brought positive consequences in as much as it does facilitate full participation. However, negative consequences such as inter-generational conflict and discord resulted from what some parents may have perceived as too rapid a change (Germain, 1992). This was particularly evident in the manner in which girls reacted to parental rules and sanctions with the advent of puberty and the transition from childhood to adulthood. For instance, Italo-Australian girls were faced with restrictions related to Italian family honour where a woman's chastity was very important (Huber, 1985, as cited in Vasta, 1994). In addition, girls were not particularly encouraged to follow on to secondary education or to pursue a professional career (Taft, 1975). This picture may not be the norm presently. More recent studies have confirmed that children of immigrants, both girls and boys, tend to do better at school than Anglo-Australian children (Birrell, 1995) and are more successful in tertiary education (Birrell, 1995; Hartman, 1999; Vasta, 1994). This shift in trends may be linked to the more inclusive policies of the past 20 years and the changing immigration picture in Australia. For example, an increase in the number of Asian and Eastern European immigrants who have been more successful academically than Anglo-Australians (Lamperd, 1995; Roysmith & Germain, 1999).

In spite of what one may consider as inherent sexism in some of the attitudes of migrant parents, migrant women have successfully encouraged and supported their daughters' aspirations. The experience of living in a country other than their own has also provided the opportunity to relax the restrictions that prevented them, and women in general, from gaining independence and life choices.

Under different policies, the Australian states have contradicted cultural identity priorities (Collins, 1988). While assimilation devalued the adherence to and celebration of minority culture practices, the philosophy of multiculturalism of the late 1970's and 1980's encouraged and promoted the participation of minorities in socio-cultural activities. In spite of the achievements of immigrants in Australia, and notwithstanding the vast improvement in current social policy that in theory provides opportunities for all, many minority culture youngsters will not achieve the same occupational status as their Anglo-Australian peers (Castles, Alcorso, Rando, & Vasta, 1992; Collins, 1988).

2.4 Plural societies

Plural or multicultural societies are made up of several distinct groups that differ in terms of their ethnic origins. Berry et al. (1992) have defined these groups as *ethno-cultural* groups. The authors refer to characteristics that these groups must have in order to constitute ethno-cultural groups. These are an identifiable number of individuals who observe a social structure and follow certain norms, shared ethnicity through descent (biologically transmitted) although variations in

behaviour from generation to generation are expected, the presence of ethnicity or a sense of identification with the group, and a contribution in maintaining and transmitting its cultural repertoire.

Pluralistic societies, while bringing diversity and vitality to a social context, can also pose numerous problems in relation to cohesiveness (Bollen, 1998; Hoghson, 1999). Multiculturalism as a philosophy and a policy has attracted much attention in largely cosmopolitan countries such as Australia, Canada, Britain, Israel, and the US. Briefly, the term refers to the idea that several cultural groups of diverse background can, by adjusting and functioning within the larger context, co-exist harmoniously and exist in a dominant receiving country while retaining original cultural values and practices including language, religion, and other culture-specific activities. Both minority cultural groups and majority culture are sensitive to each other's values and principles and mutual respect is promoted and observed. At the heart of multiculturalism resides tolerance and acceptance of other's diversity. The principles of multiculturalism can be applied not only to ethnic and cultural minorities but also to other minorities such as the disabled, the aged, gay and lesbians, and women.

2.4.1 Ethnic relations

The core concepts that apply to the understanding and resolution of problems and conflict that arise in culturally plural societies can be coined as ethnic relations. There is a vast body of research addressing ethnic relations (see for

example Kitson, 1999). The main categories addressing ethnic relations discussed here are stereotypes, attitudes, and discrimination.

2.5 Stereotypes

In spite of the negative connotation associated with stereotypes, they have been said to constitute "normal psychological processes" (Berry et al., 1992, p. 299). More specifically, these have been defined as "...Cognitive categories that are necessary to bring order to diversity" (Berry et al, 1992, p. 299). In an attempt to understand the mechanisms that give rise to stereotypic thinking, psychological research has flourished in the field of inter-group relations. In a comprehensive review, Hilton and von Hippel (1996) argue for the *context-dependent functionality* of stereotypical behaviour. They state that stereotyping emerges in various contexts to serve particular functions required by those contexts. Nonetheless, and notwithstanding the fact that much of categorisation is in fact benign, stereotyping can lead to overgeneralisation and often negative evaluations (Berry, 1970; Pettigrew, 1998b; Shih, Pittinsky & Ambady, 1999).

2.5.1 Attitudes

A consistent feature of plural societies is that ethnic attitudes are likely to exist between in-group and out-group members. According to Berry et al. (1992), these may be quite independent of ethnic stereotypes. Nonetheless, Berry and Kalin (1995) found there were consistent tendencies toward ethnocentrism (own

group ratings always being higher than other group ratings), a high degree of commonality (tendency to share a view of the position of each group in the plural society), and a moderate degree of reciprocity of balance in mutual evaluations.

2.5.2 Discrimination and racism

Some intergroup attitudes can be negative in nature, or that they draw on discrimination attitudes. Critics of multiculturalism as a policy have argued that the policy discriminates by separating and differentiating individuals on the basis of their cultural background (Vasta, 1994). To a certain extent, there is logic behind this argument in that it is possible that members of ethnic minorities are encouraged to maintain their differences in order to be excluded from day-to-day participation in the economic, political, and educational life of the society. This danger has been recognised by many observers of multiculturalism and has been identified by Jayasuriya (1984) as the possibility of one's lifestyle limiting one's life chances in Australian society. Discrimination may be said to exist not only in practices that exclude minorities, but also in inclusive practices that force minorities to participate at the expense of cultural or ethnic identity. The latter has been the premise for some of the most influential of Cowlishaw's (1988) work. In her now classic book entitled *The White the Black and the Brindle*, Cowlishaw presents a specific account of the process of racial differentiation embodied in racism in a fictitious town called Brindleton in the 1960s. She concludes her book with a quote from Wolfe (1976). "A culture is [thus] better seen as a series of processes that

construct, reconstruct and dismantle cultural materials, in response to identifiable determinants" (p 387).

2.6 Inter-group contact and prejudice: Allport's Inter-group Contact theory

Inter-group contact analysis and theory flourished after World War II (Pettigrew, 1998a). The most influential theory was that of Allport (1954) who outlined four situational conditions for inter-group contact to reduce prejudice. Firstly, the status of each group coming into contact must be equal. Second, members of the two or more groups must hold the same or common goals. Third, the groups do not stand in competition with one another (consistent with holding common goals). Finally, the identification and acceptance of the same authority source for all groups in cases where social sanction is required.

Pettigrew (1998a) has pointed out a number of problems associated with extensions of the concepts outlined in Allport's theory. For instance, there are too many factors added to the original hypothesis that may in fact weaken the predictive power of the theory. Pettigrew suggests that many researchers have confused mediating processes with what Allport coined essential conditions. Pettigrew concluded that the many factors suggested for optimal positive contact may not be essential but may in fact simply facilitate positive contact. Another criticism that Pettigrew levelled at Allport's theory is that it does not explain how contact changes attitudes and behaviour, and in what context. The original theory

predicts only when contact will lead to positive change but does not address the effect of contact as context is varied.

2.6.1 Pettigrew's Perspectives on Contact Theory.

According to Pettigrew (1998a), inter-group contact, like prejudice, involves both cognition and affect. For example, Esses and Zanna (1995) explored the relationship between mood and the expression of ethnic stereotypes. The authors found that mood strongly influences the interpretation of stereotypes, with negative affect being linked to negative stereotype attributions. Moreover, researchers have recently identified four inter-related processes operating through contact which mediate attitude change; learning about the out-group, changing behaviour, generating affective ties, and inter-group reappraisal.

2.6.1.1 Learning about out-groups

When new learning corrects negative views of an out-group, contact should reduce prejudice. Novel situations require conforming to novel expectations. Pettigrew (1998b) argues that if these expectations include acceptance of out-group members, this behaviour has the potential to produce attitude change. Dissonance between old prejudices and new behaviour can be resolved by revising attitudes (Aronson & Patnoe, 1997). This process is revitalised or strengthened with repeated contact and across a variety of settings/contexts. Repetition appears to make inter-group encounters comfortable and “right”. Repetition in itself can lead to liking

(Zajonc, 1968) and positive reinforcement derived from the new behaviour enhances the positive effects further.

2.7 Acculturation and re-socialisation.

According to Berry et al. (1992), the term acculturation refers to the process that individuals undergo (usually later in life) in response to a changing "cultural context" (p. 271). Acculturation is only one form of culture change, namely that due to contact with other cultures. Several characteristics in the process of acculturation have been highlighted; the fact that cultural groups in contact are different, they come into contact continuously, and all groups in contact experience change in the original culture patterns.

Acculturation can take place at the individual, or psychological level, and group-level. The distinction is necessary, according to Berry et al. (1992), in that the effects of culture contact can be quite distinct in the individual and the group. At the group level, changes may occur in social structure, economic base, and political organisation (Segall et al., 1990). At the individual level, the changes are in such phenomena as identity, values, and attitudes (Berry et al., 1992). Clear, if contrasting, examples of individual and group level changes as a result of culture contact are those observed in the different pictures of acculturating migrant and Indigenous Australians. In the case of voluntary migrants, the decision to emigrate is usually based on previous knowledge about the receiving country, for business reasons, or because family members already live in the receiving country. Upon

contact, the person may undergo a range of experiences that may pose a challenge and test his/her coping capabilities, but eventually adjustment may take place successfully. A vastly different picture is presented by Indigenous Australians in that they have not left their country and yet they experience a dislocation of culture brought about by the dominant, colonising group which arrived uninvited.

Whether through colonisation, displacement, or voluntary immigration, individuals from ethnic minorities face the challenge of adjusting to the mainstream social norms and conditions. Rotheram-Borus and Petrie (1996) examined whether similar ethnic, age, and gender patterns existed among children of the dominant and nondominant ethnic groups in another country. Specifically, they examined whether indigenous minority youth (Maori) and European children demonstrated similar patterns of social expectations. They found that high independence and deference were associated with better adjustment of Maori children. Moreover, they state that social expectations appeared to have less impact on peer relationships and children's self-concept and as the Maori children become more like their European counterparts, their self-concept became more positive. This is inconsistent with data available from North American studies (for example Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990; Phinney, 1990), and from studies in the Netherlands (see for example, Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2002).

Rotheram-Borus and Petrie (1996) have pointed out the significance of "shared social expectations" (p. 576) which provide shortcuts for everyday life. These shortcuts become even more significant for individuals who enter other than

their own cultural milieu through immigration or when one is imposed upon them and have to learn rapidly how to navigate their social environment. Although there may be some general consensus regarding behaviour patterns and routines within a culture, expectations in everyday life social encounters often vary with an individual's social identity (Rotheram-Borus & Petrie, 1996).

2.8 Cultural adjustment theories and models

Berry and Kim (1988) and Williams and Berry (1991) present a conceptual framework for studying acculturation and its effects on groups and mental health of individuals. Their model identifies cultural and psychological factors that may govern the relationship between acculturation and mental health. The model also highlights variables that may act or serve as buffers in the reduction of acculturative stress. These factors include social support within the new community, the family and the immediate social environment, socio-economic status (SES), cognitive attributes such as expectations and attitudes towards acculturation, and degree of tolerance and acceptance for cultural diversity.

2.9 Social identity and cultural adjustment in adolescents.

Cultural adjustment or acculturation refers to the changes in cultural attitudes, values, and behaviours that result from contact between two distinct cultures (Berry & Blondel, 1982). Ethnic identity may be thought of as an aspect of

acculturation in which the concern is with individuals and the focus is on how they relate to their own group as a subgroup of the larger society.

Cultural identity can also be defined as "... the ethnic or cultural component of social identity: that part of an individual's self concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group or groups together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel, 1981, p.255). Two major models of social identity can be identified within the acculturation theory literature. The linear model suggests that as individuals strengthen their identity in the new culture, they weaken their identity in the original culture (the melting pot). Individuals face having to make a selection or choice of cultures and those distinct cultural identities are mutually exclusive. The two-dimensional model suggests that the individual's ties to the original culture and to the new culture are independent dimensions. The option here is to be able to perceive oneself as belonging to two or more cultures. The essence of this model is captured by the term biculturalism (see for example Ramirez, 1984; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980, both cited in Frable, 1997). Components of bicultural competence are proposed by LaFromboise et al. (1993) who conceptualised identity and behaviour as separate identity dimensions from which several bicultural styles can be described (see for example Birman & Tyler, 1994).

Research methodologies in social identity studies vary across researchers depending on the focus of interest. For instance, some ask participants to choose reference group labels (e.g., original culture identified, bicultural, mainstream

identified) and then establish links between labels chosen and attitudes to acculturation (Rotheram-Borus, 1990). Others ask participants to complete acculturation measures in which identity and ethnic pride constitute one component (Keefe & Padilla, 1987). Some studies show that ethnic identity and pride remain high across generations, whereas ethnic knowledge and cultural practices decrease (Keefe & Padilla, 1987).

2.9.1 Attitudes to acculturation

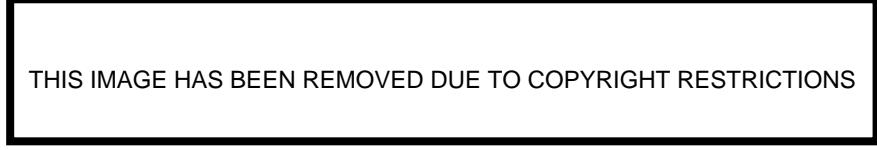
Three distinct approaches to attitudes held during culture contact appear in the literature; inter-group relations, psychological modernity, and acculturation attitudes. The latter two categories attempt to understand how an individual is oriented toward social and cultural change. The goals of change may not necessarily be oriented toward modernity, but there can be preference for continuity for one's heritage culture or toward various kinds of changes. The goal of change as articulated by the dominant society in their policy statements may not be the preferred course among the leaders or individuals in the acculturating group. In Australia for instance, an attempt was made to identify the attitudes held by Aboriginal Australians with respect to their relationship to the dominant society by the government of the day. In spite of a strong direction toward self-determination by respondents, assimilation was chosen (Cowlishaw, 1988).

2.9.1.1 Acculturation strategies

Acculturation strategies refer to the way acculturating individuals wish to relate to the dominant society (Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989). Two central issues underlie acculturation strategies; the degree to which one wishes to remain culturally constant (e.g., language, identity, lifestyle), as opposed to giving it all up to become part of a larger society; and, secondly, the extent to which one wishes to have day-to-day interactions with members of the other groups in the larger society as opposed to turning away from other groups and relating only to those of one's own group. According to Berry and his colleagues (1989), when these two central issues are posed simultaneously, a conceptual framework (Figure 1) is generated. The framework posits four acculturation outcomes, namely assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalisation. Berry et al. (1992) stipulate that each of these outcomes or strategies can be responded to on a continuum, rather than simply identifying a given strategy as *the* preferred strategy.

Assimilation exists when an acculturating individual does not wish to maintain culture and identity and seeks daily interaction with the dominant society. In contrast, when there is value placed on holding onto one's original culture and a wish to avoid interaction with others, then the separation alternative is defined. If there is interest in the maintenance of both one's original culture and in daily interaction with others, integration is the outcome. In this strategy, a degree of cultural integrity is maintained while still managing to participate as an integral

part of the larger social network. Integration, according to Berry et al. (1992), "is the strategy that attempts to make the best of both worlds" (p. 279). Finally, when there is little possibility or interest in maintaining one's original culture (often due to enforced cultural loss) and there is little possibility or interest in relations with others (often for reason of exclusion or discrimination), then marginalisation is said to be the outcome.



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Figure 1. Four varieties of acculturation, based upon orientations to two basic issues

(Source: Berry, et al., 1992 pp 278)

2.10 Research goals and methods in cross-cultural psychology

In general, the major goal of cross-cultural psychology is to test how psychological theories and knowledge generalise across different groups of people (Berry, et al., 1992). Given the main aim of the present study, namely to establish the value of Phinney's (1993) model of cultural identification to predict cultural identity development in minority culture Australian adolescents, a succinct review

of research goals and methods employed in cross-cultural and trans-cultural psychology is presented in the following paragraphs.

According to Segall et al. (1990), cross-cultural psychology research is carried out primarily to examine the universal validity of psychological theories. This approach has been coined the *transport and test goal* (Berry & Dasen, 1974). Berry and Dasen suggest that an additional goal in cross-cultural research is to discover behavioural variations across different groups and to identify those phenomena that may apply exclusively to one group. A third goal identified by Berry et al. (1992) is to integrate the results obtained from research carried out in an attempt to achieve the first two goals into a broad-based or universal psychology, applicable to a range of cultures.

2.10.1 Emic-etic orientations to research across cultures

Pike (1954, as cited in Segall et al., 1990), a social anthropologist, introduced the terms "emic-etic" to distinguish between phonemics (language sounds with unique meanings in a given language) and phonetics (the study of sounds which are universal or present in all languages, regardless of meaning). Cross-cultural psychology researchers have borrowed these neologisms to identify two different viewpoints for the study of human behaviour (Segall et al., 1990). Pike stated that "the etic view point studies behaviour as from outside a particular system, and as an essential initial approach to an alien system; and the emic view point which results from studying behaviour as from inside the system" (as cited in Segall et al.,

1990, p. 54). A number of alternatives suggest that a combined emic-etic approach be used in order to avoid an imposed etic approach yet maintain a focus on possible universal artefacts of behaviour.

2.10.2 Design considerations

Cross-cultural inquiry commences with certain questions regarding differences or similarities in a given behaviour across a number of groups. Generally, studies driven by theory will identify the variables consistent with theoretical concepts and will measure these across a range of groups. In this case, the notion of culture is interpreted as condition or treatment (Strodbeck, 1964, as cited in Berry et al., 1992).

According to Berry et al. (1992), the preferred research paradigm for many psychologists has been the controlled experiment. However, this is rarely available in cross-cultural psychology. In traditional psychological research independent (conditions) and dependent (set of responses) measures are identified within the experimental paradigm. In addition, control or mediating variables may be considered in the experiment as can the random assignment of participants in order to rule out plausible alternative explanations if an antecedent-consequence relationship between the variables is found. In the study of *in vivo* situations, such as is the case in cross-cultural studies, an array of variables with potential effects on the dependent variables may exist and cannot be controlled for. Thus, it is virtually impossible to rule out alternative explanations in cross-cultural research. The issue

of experimental control merits further attention. This has been done in later paragraphs in this chapter. At this point, however, it is necessary to address issues of sampling.

2.10.2.1 Sampling

Three levels of sampling have been identified by cross-cultural researchers (see Berry et al., 1992; Matsumoto, 1997; Segall et al., 1990); the cultural groups which are to be included in the study, whether the selection should be narrowed within the groups to certain sub-groups (e.g., women, youth), and finally, the manner in which each potential participant will be selected. According to some (Matsumoto, 1997), viable strategies to address sampling issues can include the choice of only a few cultures that may already present behaviour differences (e.g., greeting patterns, child-rearing practices) or selecting a sample of cultures that may be considered representative of all the cultures in the world (Berry et al., 1992). The latter has been criticised as ethnocentric in that, generally speaking, the aim is to show behaviour variability stemming from biological differences that determine behaviour. This can be misused to conclude that some cultural groups are better or superior to others.

Another problem arising from cross-cultural research is that of level of analysis of culture. The choice of level of analysis hints at the question, how should 'culture' be defined? Should researchers make a distinction across the six cultural areas proposed by Murdoch (1967, as cited in Berry et al., 1992) which pertain to

biological/phenotypical based differences? Berry and his colleagues (1992) have argued vigorously that there are as many or more differences within these groups as there are between the groups. Thus, the selection of a sample based on these categories would be rather futile in most instances.

2.10.2.2 Research with pluralistic and multi-ethnic samples

It could be said that plural societies exist in every corner of the world. The social world has never been contained in neat, discrete categories of homogenous groups of people clearly demarcated by geographical boundaries. Rather, each nation of the world contains, to a lesser or greater extent, a heterogeneous society as a result of socio-historical and political events including immigration, colonisation, and the formation of new nations. In the cross-cultural psychology literature, the term pluralistic or multicultural therefore tends to be interpreted as descriptive of those nations with the highest number of minority groups incorporated into the receiving country. An example of a country where minority groups are low is Japan, while multicultural or pluralistic nations include Australia, Canada, and USA.

2.10.2.3 Stratified sample-based versus community-based studies

Cross-cultural psychology researchers have favoured population-level investigations, typified by community-based studies, over the more rigid methods of epidemiological and clinical investigations. Jayasuriya et al. (1992) for instance

have stated that community based studies offer a more naturalistic picture of psychological phenomena in that context variables such as the social, cultural, and ecological factors influencing behaviour are taken into account. Moreover, clinical and more experimentally controlled investigations not only tend to focus somewhat artificially on a cross-section of cultures (usually samples of convenience), but also narrow the range of stimuli shaping the behaviour(s) of interest. It is preferable to limit observations to the group(s) under study rather than to miss out altogether on investigating psychological phenomena simply because, for instance, the population size does not permit random selection.

2.11 *Culture: a powerful psychological concept or intervening variable?*

Based on the assumptions made by cross-cultural research prescriptions (see for example Beckett et al., 2002; Berry et al., 1992; Feather & Sauter, 2002), culture is described as a set of characteristics that shape peoples' behaviours. Culture is also assumed to be somewhat stronger than individual freedom of choice and consistently resistant to external influences (for example modernisation). It is also assumed that the greater the cultural distance between two or more cultures in contact, the more resistant to change they will be. Fallacies such as these about cultural membership are amplified when applied to minorities living in a multicultural context. This point can be understood within the context of the so-called Galton's problem. Little attention has been given to a commonly occurring problem in cross-cultural sampling that is now addressed. Galton's problem

(Naroll, 1983; Naroll, Michik, & Naroll, 1980, cited in Berry et al., 1992) refers to the exchange of knowledge and the spreading (diffusion) of cultural characteristics through contact between groups to the point where certain behaviours are the same. It has been suggested that in order to avoid this problem, groups that live in distinct geographical locations should be considered in comparative studies. Thus, it can be said that cultures that are in constant contact (such as in multi-ethnic or pluralistic societies) are less likely to remain unchanged and will tend to blend in with the social norms and prescriptions of other minority and the mainstream cultures. One could conclude that in cross-cultural investigations within pluralistic societies it may be fallacious to consider that variability across groups is in fact an artefact of cultural differences alone. Researchers would do better considering other than culture as the all-important independent variable of choice. Common denominators across pluralistic societies may be shared experiences such as that of migration or the experience of being female in a male dominant society, to give but two examples.

2.11.1 Cultural membership versus shared experiences within the research context

The present study proposes that shared experiences such as migration should be the focus of research, taking into account cultural background as a potential intervening variable rather than as the criteria for subject allocation.

In addition, it is suggested that selection be made based on length of migration or time since arrival into the host country. Two distinct types of samples can then be used in cross-cultural research; newcomers and sojourners (where the effects of cultural differences are of interest); and, well established, settled migrants (where the effects of the nature of shared experiences are of interest). Ultimately, studies addressing the effects of a process (migration, colonisation) as against a set of complex but modifiable traits (culture) on individuals' behaviour place the onus of responsibility on the forces shaping that given process rather than what may be viewed as indelible individual characteristics dictated by cultural membership.

2.11.2 Culture, race, and ethnicity as psychological concepts

The terms race and ethnicity are terms commonly used in medical and psychological research. Of interest for the medical analysts are population differences in disease rates, treatment response, and patterns of service utilisation. Within psychiatry for instance, reports of higher rates of schizophrenia among second generation Afro-Caribbeans in the UK (Singh, 1997) have given fresh impetus to the study of ethnicity. Research data are now routinely stratified by ethnic groups. However, few studies provide explicit definitions of the terms used to delineate ethnic categories and even fewer justify the use of such categories.

In an attempt to isolate causative factors in studies where cultural background, ethnicity, and race are considered significant to the focus of a study, almost any chosen population group is defined by composite *quasi* variables that

are confounded. According to Singh (1997), researchers need to unpack these variables and clarify the meaning of concepts such as ethnicity and race by isolating the underlying shared biological, cultural, and social influences of aetiological importance.

2.11.2.1 Race as a biological concept

The term race has been used to describe geographically separated populations (such as the African race), cultural groups (Jews), nationality (North Americans), and even humankind in general (Human race). The idea that humanity can be divided into distinct races is not a new one. However, the notion of race as a biologically based feature that can be used to differentiate across groups of people has been hotly disputed (Singh, 1997). Human diversity is self-evident and is confirmed by simple visual appraisal of human beings around the world. However, grouping visible phenotypic differences such as skin, hair, and eye colour, which are polygenic in nature, does not yield valid taxonomic categories of race. Skin colour is not a genetic marker for other genetic differences between population groups. As Molnar (1992, as cited in Singh, 1997) eloquently stated humans are not colour-coded. Skin colour is a continuous variable that is often used as if categorical in nature (Singh, 1997). People of similar skin colour can differ from each other in several characteristics. For example, Tamils, Masai, and Australian Aborigines are all dark skinned, but they would not be considered of the

same race, even by those who consider skin colour as an adequate measure of racial classification.

Populations do differ biologically with respect to traits and inheritance such as blood groups, abnormal haemoglobins, human lymphocyte antigen system, taste sensitivity etc., and traits of complex inheritance such as body form, maturation rates, and skin pigmentation. However, there are no racial typologies based on groupings such as traits. Classifications based on one particular trait break down when other traits are included (Berry et al., 1992).

Many population differences such as haemoglobin abnormalities in malaria endemic zones or darker skin pigmentation in areas with high solar radiation demonstrate the adaptive significance of human diversity. Biological variations between populations are the traces of our evolutionary past, but all humanity has descended from a single evolutionary unit since the ice age (Berry et al., 1992). In addition, population genetic studies have confirmed there exists more genetic/phenotypic variation within 'racial' groups than between them, and no population group has a discrete package of genes (Lewontin, 1972). It is now accepted that racial classifications based on traits such as skin colour are scientifically invalid (Berry et al., 1992; see also Molnar, 1992, as cited in Singh, 1997).

2.11.2.2 Culture, ethnicity, and race

Like race, culture and ethnicity have plural, sometimes, ambiguous meanings, overlapping with political concepts of nationality and immigration status. Culture involves all shared characteristics of a society such as traditions, language, social roles, and other behaviours that are transmitted across generations by non-biological means. It can be said that an ethnic group refers to a group of people who share language, customs, and, some may argue, a common ancestry (Singh, 1997). Ethnicity encompasses both biological and non-biological differences between groups. These include physical appearance, self-identification, sense of belonging, values and attitudes, language, behaviour, and knowledge of ethnic group history. There is therefore a complex interrelationship between race, culture, and ethnicity. Race is socially perceived as permanent and biologically determined, while culture is considered changeable with assimilation and ethnicity is considered partially changeable (Fernando, 1991).

Moreover, Huxley and Haddon (1935, as cited in Singh, 1997) first suggested that the term 'race' should be replaced by ethnicity since the latter was devoid of the political connotations of racial differences. This, they suggested, would allow human diversity to be studied in a neutral, value-free manner. After World War II consensus was reached among social scientists with respect to social inequality, rather than biology, as the reason for population and group differences. Ethnicity replaced race in socio-political discourse and increasingly in medical and psychological research.

Further, the idea of cultural pluralism and multi-ethnicity gained prominence in contrast to that of homogeneous nation states. However, when faced with group differences, the same old-fashioned attitudes of discrimination come to light, even if one term had been replaced with another. Ongoing conflict in Northern Ireland, Angola, the former Yugoslavia, and, more recently, East Timor show how ethnic identification can be as malevolent as racial notions of biological superiority. Cultural conflict has replaced race wars. Implicit in the immigration policies of several countries, including those with large multicultural populations like Australia and Canada, is the notion that people of similar culture are more deserving of citizenship than others. This is cultural racism untainted by biology. Debates about ethnicity now have the same socio-political salience as race in an earlier time.

In multicultural Australia, Asians, East and West Europeans, South Americans, Middle-Easterns, and Indigenous Australians are considered the main ethnic groups. Anglo-Celtics of British extraction, although immigrants themselves, are not considered part of a given ethnic group as they are not socially perceived as of a different race to that of mainstream Australia.

2.11.2.3 Race and culture as *identity terms*

The term race is used by social scientists to refer to distinctions drawn from physical appearance (skin colour, eye shape, physiognomy) and ethnicity is used to refer to distinctions based on national origin, language, religion, food, and other

cultural features. Race has a quasi-biological status among psychologists and its use as a variable has been debated (Betancourt & Lopez, 1993, as cited in Singh, 1997). In countries like the USA and Australia, race is also a socially defined, politically oppressive categorisation that individuals have to endure in the process of coming to terms with their identities. At the risk of contravening a certain consensus about the meaninglessness of the use of biologically prescribed terms, three distinct racial groups can be said to exist in Australia, namely Asian, black, and white. The racial and ethnic identity terms are often used inappropriately in psychology. For instance, while the term Asian may be used to describe an Australian-born individual based on his/her skin colour and phenotypic characteristics, his/her ethnic identity may be strongly Anglo-Australian. The present study takes into account this distinction and differentiates both phenotypic characteristics and subjective perceptions or internal representations of a given racial, cultural, or ethnic group identity.

2.11.2.4 Ethnicity as a measure

The subjective, imprecise, and fluid nature of ethnicity makes it difficult to define and measure (Matsumoto, 1997). Nonetheless, the literature points to common, if questionable, measures of ethnicity. For example, ethnicity indicators in psychiatric research include; (i) physical attributes plus place of birth (Dunn & Fahy, 1990); (ii) place of parents birth (McKenzie, van Os, & Fahy, 1995); (iii) hospital notes and health staff impressions; (Sugarman & Crauford, 1994); (iv)

country of birth (Davies, Thornicroft, & Leese, 1996); and, (v) self-assigned ethnicity (Germain & Manktelow, 1997). According to Singh (1997), measures of ethnicity based simply on physical appearance highlight the racial foundation of the ethnic facade. Nonetheless, current methodological practices indicate that ethnicity, unfortunately, is being translated into "socially perceived race" (Singh, 1997 p. 307).

In psychological research, self-defined ethnicity is beginning to become the norm as it appears to eliminate observer bias (Segall et al., 1990). However, in assigning oneself an ethnic identity, one is forced to pigeonhole oneself in usually artificial constructs and ignore the problem of classifying individuals with mixed cultural background. Nonetheless, it needs to be stated that self-assigned ethnicity is changeable over short periods of time (Leech, 1989, as cited in Singh, 1997) and there is a decline in ethnic group identification in later generations descended from migrants. Migrant communities may assimilate well enough to consider themselves as culturally mixed, particularly when the only link to the country of origin may be phenotypic characteristics. Additionally, self-assigned ethnicity may vary depending upon context. Singh (1997) provides a fitting example: "Sikhs in Britain may consider themselves 'black' to identify their experiences of racism, think of themselves as 'Asian' to distinguish themselves from other geographical regions, and as 'Sikhs' for their religious identity" (see Smaje, 1995, as cited by Singh, 1997).

In summary, the concept of ethnicity has been poorly defined and measured therefore diminishing its value as a research variable. Researchers can correct this

by simply asking what is being measured in the name of ethnicity, how will it be measured, and why is it being measured. Socially assigned ethnicity may be a valid measure in research into social issues such as stigma (Germain & Heart, 1999). According to Singh (1997), while one can use broad ethnic categories in a pilot study to test a hypothesis, this should lead to further testable hypotheses, shifting the focus from ethnicity to shared socio-historical or environmental influences.

This chapter has dealt with the contextual variables in which the process of youth ethnic identity unfolds. A brief overview of the nature of plural societies, ethnic relations, and some of the dynamics underlying inter-group contact were presented. The crucial topics of acculturation and attitudes to acculturation were explored in some depth with a discussion of the effects of acculturation in minority culture Australian youth. The last section of the chapter explored critical methodological and research issues as well as relevant definitions of concepts applied in this study.

CHAPTER THREE

PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES OF INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF

The behaviour of young people reflects the social conditions in which they live. According to Hartup and van Lieshout (1995), the developmental paths during childhood and adulthood are complex and involve the contribution made by the individual, genetic predispositions, variations in child and adolescent development traceable to social and structural variables, and the sequences linking social events to other social events and to individual variations. Both theoretical and methodological issues describing the process of personality formation in children and adolescents were of particular interest for this study. A conceptual framework for cultural identity research is proposed and the present study's focus is introduced to ease the reader into the methodological aspects of this thesis.

3.1 Personality psychology

The study of personality is concerned with behaviour that is assumed specific to an individual and different to the behaviour of others. Personality can be said to be the result of a lifelong process of interaction between the person and his/her physical and social environments (Berry et al., 1992). Thus, it seems reasonable to pursue the study of behaviour dispositions across different groups of individuals. A distinction can be made between individual behaviour

predispositions and the predispositions and behaviours of groups. The following paragraphs address this distinction by way of theories of *individual self* and *collective self*, referring in particular, where possible, to youth processes.

3.1.1 Theories of individual and collective self

According to Erikson (1968), we tend to act in tune with our own self-concept. Each of us has an implicit theory of our own personality and its effect on our behaviour. Our self-concept therefore guides our actions. Similarly, Jacobson (1964) suggested that self-cognitions of possessing particular aptitudes lead to the expenditure of efforts to realise those aptitudes. Similar conclusions have been reached with respect to occupational roles (Rosenberg, 1965). Rosenberg observed a direct effect of self-perceptions of competency and efficacy in college seniors. During adolescence there is an increased use of information about peers' performance to draw comparisons with one's own performance. Adolescents engage in intense self-watch which reflects the preoccupation with how others may perceive and react to him/her.

3.1.2 Social Identity Theory

Social identity theory suggests that social identity is achieved when an individual is aware of belonging to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance attached to the group membership (Tajfel, 1968). Abrams, Thomas, and Hogg (1990) have pointed out that social identity theory

"assigns a central role to the process of categorisation which partitions the world into comprehensible units" (p.2). Categorisation of stimuli involves the psychological accentuation of differences between categories and the attenuation of differences between objects within categories (Rumbaut, 1994). These effects are more pronounced when the categories or groups concerned are relevant or important to the perceiver. Similarly, Poortinga (1989) differentiated between internal and external constraints, each of which involves culturally transmitted values and beliefs within a given context. It has been proposed that the concept of values refers to that which is important, while beliefs refer to that which is considered true (Bond & Smith, 1996). While it is acknowledged that these two concepts are significant in shaping the behaviour of individuals, they will not be discussed specifically but rather, inferred within the various realms of information presented in this thesis.

3.1.3 In-group-Out-group paradigms

Social identity theory draws on Festinger's (1957) social comparison theory and proposes that individuals have an upward directional drive which leads them to compare themselves with others who are similar or slightly better than themselves on relevant dimensions. In addition, during adolescence, the locus of significance in terms of a social milieu shifts from parents and significant others to peers. Thus, the adolescent is likely to enter situations that force a choice between social groups, peers, and family (Mischel, 1973) which can lead to (inner) conflict.

Such a shift from the family necessitates support from peer groups. Without such support, there can be a decrease in self-concept.

3.1.4 Individualism-collectivism

The terms individualism and collectivism were first introduced by Hofstede (1984) who, in a comprehensive research project involving fifty different countries and sixty-six different nationalities, found a significant difference in values cross-culturally. The construct of individualism-collectivism (I-C) has long been of interest to a range of disciplines. In an extensive literature review of I-C, Triandis (1995) summarised four defining attributes; (i) collectivists define themselves as parts of a group, whereas individualists focus on self-concepts that are autonomous from groups (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, as cited in Cooper & Denner, 1998); (ii) collectivists have personal goals that overlap with the goals of their in-groups and consider it natural that one should subordinate personal to group goals, whereas individualists have personal goals that overlap with the goals of their in-groups and consider it expected for personal goals to take priority over group-goals; (iii) social behaviours of collectivists are influenced by social norms, duties, and obligations (Bontempo & Rivero, 1992; Miller, 1994), but social behaviours of individualists are dictated by individual attitudes, preferences, and interests; and, (iv) collectivists value relationships and harmony even if the cost of doing so exceeds individual benefits, while individualists treat relationships instrumentally

and dispose of them when the cost exceeds the benefits (Chen, Meindl, & Hunt, 1997).

A particularly poignant discussion is that of the notion of I-C in terms of self-other relations. Crandall (1980, as cited by Chen et al., 1997) defined *social interests* as transcendence of the limits of the self to identify with the needs and concerns of others. The term “others” can be taken to mean individual members of an in-group, a collectivity to which one belongs, or the human race in general (Perloff, 1987; Spence, 1985).

3.1.5 Allocentrism-Idiocentrism

The terms allocentrism and idiocentrism were first used by Triandis (1995) to distinguish individual-level behaviours (including attitudes) from group-level behaviours. The argument behind the distinction is that values are different for individuals and groups, since the former is influenced by the social system as well as personality factors. Berry et al. (1992) suggest that the measurement of individual values requires more comprehensive assessment than is possible using the few items per value employed by Hofstede (1984).

Triandis (1992) focused on the close relationship of the self to the in-group and on the greater distance of the self from the out-group. He hypothesised that cultural collectivism leads its members to make more social responses on the *Who Are You* test. Triandis defined culture-level collectivism as a cultural syndrome encompassing a broad range of behaviours. Triandis has also developed measures

of the corresponding individual's level construct, allocentrism-idiocentrism, both within and across cultures (Triandis, Dunnette, & Hough, 1993). In contrast, Markus and Kitayama (1991, as cited in Cooper & Denner, 1998) focused on the sense of interdependence that characterises the experience of self in collective cultural systems. According to Kagitcibasi (1995, as cited in Bond & Smith, 1996), such a socially shared, normative construction of the self has challenging implications in a number of areas such as developmental, social, and personality psychology. Research addressing the interdependent and independent features of the self has yielded an orthogonal, rather than bipolar, picture. From these findings, it may be concluded that persons from collectivist cultures report feeling more interdependence, and interdependent peoples in all cultures endorse values such as restrictive conformity, prosociality, and security. Individuals from individualistic cultures feel more independence and independent people in all cultures tend to endorse self-direction (Gudykunst et al, 1994, as cited in Bond & Smith, 1996).

3.1.6 When the out-group is also the in-group

Many adolescents of bicultural or multicultural background who have not yet explored their identity may experience problems upon becoming aware of negative in-group perceptions of an out-group, the latter which in reality may be an in-group for them as well. For example, a young Asian girl may define her in-group social realms as school and home. However, she may eventually have to face

the challenge of identifying her cultural group as the out-group as a result of racism at school. Two issues can be identified in this case; her own individual perception of herself, and the perception of others of her. Her individual self-perception may be consistent with that of the majority culture but others may perceive her as an out-group member. Indeed, authors such as Phinney (1990) suggest that a young person of minority background or distinct racial/cultural background is not quite aware of his/her true membership until an external event brings about a realisation of belonging to an out-group. Presumably, this event marks the beginning of cultural identity search in the young person's life. Identity exploration in turn leads to either acceptance of his/her original culture or its rejection (Phinney, 1990). Factors actively underlying either of these two outcomes may include the individual's affective reaction to the experience, the immediate social realms in which he/she participates, and the larger social context perception of the out-group.

3.2 Social realms of collective self

The notion of *developmental niche* was first proposed by Harkness, Super, and Keefer (1986, as cited in James, 1998) who theorised that children developed within and were influenced by three distinct societal structures; (i) the physical and social contexts in which the child exists; (ii) the culturally determined rearing and educational practices (parenting, schooling); and, (iii) the psychological characteristics of the parents. Harkness' motivation to develop his framework was primarily to integrate findings from psychology and anthropology. More recent

work has yielded a similar contextual frame from which to analyse young peoples' development and behaviours. For example, James (1998) identified the problems encountered by children of immigrants in adjusting to the realms of school, home, and the larger social context of the United States. Similarly, Australian research (see for example, Groome & Hamilton, 1995) addressing the difficulties experienced by Indigenous people, and young males in particular, shows that a failure to adjust to that which is socially prescribed by the majority and failure to be engaged in a meaningful, supportive, secure immediate social environment (e.g., home), creates difficulties and interferes with healthy development. The frustration experienced by both migrant and Indigenous youth when faced with the inability to fit in or be accepted by the larger social milieu has detrimental effects on a sense of self and civic or national identity. While the individual self and collective self may be captured by the notions of being one's self and belonging to a group, the notion of nationalism may pertain to either being one's self at the cost of being rejected by the dominant group or indeed being other than one's self in order to be perceived as part of the group.

3.2.1 Psychological concomitants of nationalism

Kelman (1977) has defined nationalism as an ideology that provides justification for the existence of a nation-state, a definition of its population, and a prescription of the relationship of its included individuals to that state. Moreover, Kelman stipulated that often a population is considered a nation only because it is

part of the state, not because the population represents a group of people who are inter-related and are aware of their inter-relationship. In a pluralistic society such as Australia, a process of "nation building" (Segall et al., 1990, p. 317) must be in place. In addition, Kelman states that the mere existence of common cultural elements among members of a collectivity is not enough to define them as a nation; "...they must also have the consciousness that these common cultural elements represent special bonds that tie them to one another" (pp. 9-10). Similarly, Allport (1933) asserted, "the main criteria of nationality are psychological" (as cited in Segall et al., 1990, p. 317), and also, ".... there are certain traditions, historical perspectives, and principles possessed in common by the members of every national group which are both the evidence and the substance of their nationality. If an individual shares these ideas with the others of his/her group and like others is loyal to them, he/she belongs to their nation" (as cited in Mischel & Shoda, 1998, p. 138). The sense of nationalism in a pluralistic society is indeed difficult to achieve in that a sense of loyalty to a given nation and identification with it is essential. Doob (1962) has suggested that this is so because distinctive qualities must come to be associated with the "synthetic" entity of the nation. Moreover, he says that a sense of national identity results from loyalty and deep conviction. The latter exist in traditional societies comprising a single ethnic group whose members easily identify with each other. Most new nations are composed of several ethnic groups, and their boundaries cut across ethnic territories. Consequently, identification with the nation takes time and requires individual changes in attitudes. In multicultural

societies such as Australia, ethnic groups may not be identified by artificially determined territorial boundaries. In certain cases they may be placed in a situation where groups that have been in conflict in their former geographical distribution (e.g., Shiites and Kurds) are expected to reside together under the common banner of a national identity.

Feather (1994a) has researched extensively the relationship between values and national identification, values, national identification, and in-group favouritism (Feather, 1994b), in-group bias in majority and minority groups (Feather, 1995), and the subjective evaluation of national achievement to personal and collective self-esteem (Feather, 1996). More recent research has investigated the reactions to penalties for an offence in relation to ethnic identity, responsibility, and authoritarianism (Feather & Oberdan, 2000), and ethnic identity and criminal history (Feather & Sauter, 2002). However, the question of whether mainstream Anglo-Australian and minority culture adolescents perceive their national identity differently has yet to be addressed.

3.3 Cognitive appraisal in self-identification

A number of researchers interested in self-identity have highlighted the cognitive appraisal aspect of a sense of identity and self-hood. Hattie (1992) stated that the individual can be perceived as a cognitive appraiser. Further, identity is entwined with knowledge about self. Self-knowledge involves descriptions, expectations, and prescriptions. Self-concept is related to an individual's awareness

from others about a person's self-concept, which is reliant on observation primarily, and does not have access to the person's own self-concept. The problem of awareness is therefore really one of accessibility to others' thoughts and knowledge of their self.

Duval and Wicklund (1972) add that any change in behaviour or attitude is motivated by the person's attempt to avoid the negative effect generated by his/her awareness of the discrepancy between a standard of correctness and his/her actual behaviour and attitudes. The more one is aware of discrepancies, the lower the self-esteem. Although Hattie (1992) did not include self-esteem as a feature in the link between cognition and action, it has been suggested as such by some researchers (see for example, Phinney, 1990). Our conceptions of ourselves are relative to what we consider important, not necessarily to our capabilities and/or knowledge. This is the underlying element in the relationship between self-concept and self-esteem. To have high self-esteem implies that we consider aspects of our life as important and that we have the confidence to fulfil our expectations.

3.3.1 Self-concept and self-esteem

In the psychological literature, the terms self-concept and self-esteem have been used interchangeably suggesting that self-concept is constituted by the person's feelings of self-worth. Models such as the *Schema* model (Markus, 1977) offer a much richer view of self-concept. In this model, self-esteem is viewed as one of many components of self-concept. According to Stein (1995), it is the generalised

or global evaluation of the self that is derived from an array of cognitions included in the self-concept. Both the current self-schemas and future-oriented possible selves play a role in determining the person's level of self-satisfaction (Josephs, Markus, & Tafarodi, 1992). Further, those aspects of self-concept that are centrally self-defining (i.e., self-schemas) are more important in determining the level of self-esteem than other less central self-conceptions. Individuals who have positive perceptions of themselves in behavioural domains that they value are more likely to have high self-esteem than those who have positive self-conceptions in domains of little personal significance. Showers (1992) showed that a characteristic of the way information about the self is organised in memory also plays an important role in shaping self-esteem. Thus, it could be concluded that central to the understanding of the notion of self is the nature of cognitive appraisal.

3.4 Saliency of cognitive appraisal

The model of self suggested by Gergen, Mary, and Meter (1972) emphasises the saliency, the cognitive appraisals, the confirmation and disconfirmation, and the dimensionality of self-concepts. Gergen et al. have proposed that a concept may vary in its salience to the individual at any given moment, and its salience may depend on a variety of factors; (i) the amount of learning, training, or familiarity with a given concept (e.g., body concept stronger in an athlete than an office worker); (ii) motivation or the presence of a need (e.g., social approval) should increase the salience of peer self-concept; (iii) competence, the more competent a

person the more likely the salience of the facet; (iv) the social situation may lead to some aspects of self-concept becoming more salient than others; and, (v) salience of dimensions of self-concept can derive from others. If others appraise a facet of our self-concept then this facet may become more salient.

3.5 Schema model of self-concept

Stein (1995) has argued that the centrality of the self-concept in maintaining physical and psychological well-being has been broadly recognised by the health professions. Common wisdom points to the connection between a person's feelings, beliefs, and expectations about the self and the role that these play in shaping a person's psychological well-being. Incorporating constructs of the self in empirical research, however, has proven to be difficult. Theories of self have been said to be too general (Stein, 1995) and provide little direction for the development of valid measures (see for example Marsh & Richards, 1988; Wylie, 1979, as cited in Hattie, 1992). Consequently, the majority of psychological research investigating self-concept has focused on the single more measurable aspect of the construct, namely global self-esteem. Other dimensions of self-concept that are thought to be powerful determinants of behaviour, such as beliefs guiding present behaviours and expectations for the future, remain largely unexplored, particularly in research involving adolescents (Cantor, 1990).

Markus and colleagues (Markus, 1977; Markus & Wurf, 1987) developed a schema model of self-concept that, according to Stein (1995), offers a more

delimited definition of the construct while preserving its complex, multidimensional nature. The model addresses both structural and functional properties of self-concept and thus provides a means for looking at how properties of current and future-orientation conceptions of the self shape behaviour.

3.5.1 Self-schemas

The schema model of self-concept is based on the cognitive approach to social psychology that over the last twenty years has become the prevailing paradigm in the discipline (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). According to the cognitive perspective, human responses to social stimuli are mediated through an internal system of knowledge structures referred to as schemas. Schemas are content-specific organisations of knowledge that are stored in long-term memory (Cantor, 1990). Generally, schemas are viewed as hierarchically organised knowledge structures with generalisations or abstractions about the domain at the highest level, categories of more specific information cradled within the generalisations, and specific examples of the category at the lowest level of the hierarchy. Schemas are derived from experience and reflect a person's construal of an object or event. Once established in memory, they function as organising *frames* that enable the person to; selectively focus on a single stimulus; draw inferences and attribute meaning to the stimulus; store in memory relevant information for later use; and, plan and execute a coherent, purposeful response. In the opinion of Cantor (1990), schemas are the cognitive foundation of purposive thought and action.

Markus (1977) extended the idea of cognitive schemas to the social domain. She argued that people construct knowledge about the self and self-relevant stimuli routinely and, like any other schemas, self-schemas are stable organisations of knowledge that integrate and summarise a range of information and experiences. Naturally, self-schemas are unique in that they capture a person's thoughts, feelings, and experiences about the self in specific behaviour domains (Stein, 1995).

3.5.2 Self-schema domains

Self-schemas can be developed about any aspect of a person including physical characteristics, social roles, personality traits, and areas of particular skills and interest. Thus, schemas are established in domains that the person values (Markus, 1977). Categorisations and evaluations of one's physical and behavioural characteristics made both by the self and others, are the means by which schemas are established. In addition, internalised cultural values and norms serve as the foundation upon which a self-schema can be formed (Josephs et al., 1992). For example, the preoccupation with thinness inherent in the western values of many of the English speaking countries has led to a large number of women of normal weight to define themselves as overweight.

There is evidence to suggest that individuals are more likely to direct their attention to information that is consistent with an established self-schema and to process information more quickly and have greater recall for schema-consistent versus schema-irrelevant information (Stein, 1995). Furthermore, schema

behaviours are likely to be consistent with future behaviour. Thus, schemas can be used to predict future actions. For example, Kendzierski (1988) examined the behavioural consequences of a self-defined exerciser and found that young adults with an exercise self-schema not only exercised more frequently than those with no self-schema in that domain but also reported more strategies used to help them exercise regularly. Further, the schema model acknowledges the temporal nature of information about the self. People not only have conceptions of who they are in the present but also images of who they were in the past and who they might be in the future.

3.5.3 Self-concept clarity

Bond and Smith (1996) argue that people with an interdependent self-concept should have less clarity in their self-perception. Concept clarity can therefore be defined as the extent to which an individual's specific self-beliefs are clearly and confidently defined, internally consistent, and temporarily stable (Bond & Smith, 1996).

3.6 Self as a culturally bound concept

According to Hattie (1992), there are far more theoretical discussions than empirical analyses on the topic of cultural identity. Popular topics of conceptual discussion include; (i) the degree of participation or involvement of members of minority culture in the larger context; (ii) coping styles in dealing with cross-

cultural differences and the process of acculturation; and, (iii) the impact of acculturative stress and demands resulting from the adaptational process and their effect on well being. Nonetheless, the literature that is available indicates that self-concept is culturally bound (Alipuria, 2002).

There are two predominant views related to culture and self-concept. One is that self-concept is related more to the culture than to the individual (Berry et al., 1992). The cultural dependence of self-concept is illustrated by the often dramatic changes in self-appraisal experienced by an individual moving from one culture to another. The second view refers to the common elements across individuals' conceptions of self and these commonalities define the culture. Levi-Strauss (1963, 1966, as cited in Hattie, 1992) coined this *bricolage*. Geertz (1973) argued that in Western cultures, there is a search for autonomy, full integration control, and mastery. According to Frable (1997), "...racial, ethnic, and class identities are fluid multidimensional, personalised social constructions that reflect the individual's current context and socio-historical cohort" (p. 139). Moreover, identity is the term most often invoked by those who struggle to create meaning and purpose when culturally significant, ideological powerful social category systems clash with personal and collective group member experiences (Tajfel, 1978, as cited in Frable, 1997).

3.6.1 Cultural constructions of identity

Studies that address individuals' group perceptions remain scant, even in the North American literature. Nonetheless, the handful of studies that do exist are worthy of attention. For example, Hurtado, Guring, and Peng (1994) took a socio-historical perspective to show that *Chicanos* (second or later generation Mexican Americans) have a more differentiated identity structure than *Mexicanos* (first generation Mexican migrants). The identity concept of Chicanos reflects a cultural adaptation to the USA. In contrast, for Mexicanos, it reflects a national focus, or as Frable (1997) coins, a "Latin American Consciousness" (p. 144). Moreover, the retainment of Mexican culture among Chicanos is positively related to *Raza* political identity (a strong adherence to traditional perceptions of being a native Mexican) and negatively associated with a US middle class identity. In turn, cultural retainment among Mexicanos is only predicted by a working-class identity (Frable, 1997).

Hurtado et al. (1994) make several important points; (i) ethnicity as a social identity is multidimensional; (ii) social histories influence identity structure and content; and, (iii) these complexities need to be included in the body of empirical work. Frable (1997) suggests that the methods used to measure identity structure and the omission of intrinsic variables such as self-esteem are commendable, given that variables such as self-esteem have clouded the principal components of in-group perception.

Using a longitudinal based design, Ethier and Deaux (1994) found that students' ethnic identities are initially associated with the strength of their cultural background. Over time, the link weakens and students support their ethnic identities with culturally relevant activities at school. Students from strong cultural backgrounds become involved in activities which strengthen their ethnic group identification, while students without such backgrounds perceive college as more threatening, which then predicts less favourable ethnic group perceptions and, ultimately, lower group identification. In sum, ethnic or cultural identification is supported by environmental structures (social networks), its dynamic nature being apparent across changing contexts (home, school). Moreover, identity *negotiation* (Frable, 1997) takes multiple forms, varying with the importance of the identity to the individual. For example, Weilenmann (2000) examined the notion of ethnicity spread in Rwanda and Burundi in an answer to the process of disintegration of old cultural identities. In the kingdom of the Shi (South-kivu) on the other hand, ethnicity has never reached such a transformation because there the cultural identity does not coincide with the national identity of the postcolonial Congo. Likewise, Alipuria (2002) states that identity is never static or unchanging but rather "involves a continuous interplay and inseparability of the sources we use to construct the self" (p. 70). Alipuria goes on to say that the challenge for psychological research and knowledge is that when ethnic, racial, or cultural information is obtained, static categories are used to capture what is, in reality, not static or even distinguishable.

To recapitulate, cultural and ethnic identities are fluid and multidimensional. Studies present some consistencies in how these identities work but it has been suggested that their structure and content may differ for each group, as do their behavioural implications (Jones, 1994; Keefe, 1992, as cited in Frable, 1997). Frable (1997) suggests that more research is needed addressing group-specific experiences such as those of Asian Americans, Native Americans, and those of mixed heritages. Certainly, the Australian literature addressing mixed heritage identity in youth is not substantial enough to suggest specific trends.

3.7 Socio-economic status or class as a feature of collective identity

The concept of "class" as a salient social identity feature has been ignored by psychological studies. In general, psychologists refer to class as either an independent variable (to control uninteresting variations or to show that class does not interact with constructs that are more important) or as a means to describe research participants. Nonetheless, some studies have addressed its saliency in situations such as individuals moving from one context to another (e.g., immigration or change in marital status). Results indicate the expected; a shift in context often results in downward mobility, depending on the individual's circumstances. For instance, divorced women, in general, have to reconcile the reality of a lower-class economic status to that enjoyed while in a marriage. Along similar lines, second and third generation immigrants are more likely than their first generation counterparts to have class identities reflecting the dominant culture

conceptions (see for example Arroyo & Zigler, 1995; Hurtado et al. 1994; Vasta, 1994 Shih et al., 1999).

In summary, class identity research focuses on extreme pictures, namely the wealthy (usually white, Anglo-Saxon) or the poor (usually women or ethnic minorities). Novel theoretical conceptions that reflect dual or multiple social group memberships need to be tested. The empirical work that is noteworthy acknowledges that the personal meanings of social group memberships change over time, and these meanings are best understood in the context of socio-historical events. Work that ignores this context, according to Frable (1997), is likely to be limited and likely to apply to white, middle-class standards. Therefore, it can be concluded that youth behaviours and attitudes embodying self-identification reflect not only the social conditions in which they live (group variables), but also the contribution that genes, temperament, and variations in development make at the individual level.

To recapitulate, the literature review examined concepts that constitute cultural identity as exposed by a number of theories and models. A brief review of the foundation research by Marcia (1989) and Erikson (1968) and the more recent work by Jean S. Phinney (1990, 1992, Phinney & Alipuria, 1996) were presented. The literature review also explored the social and psychological transitions experienced in adolescence, including socialisation and enculturation, and focused on the processes that may help shape cultural identity. Parenting styles and correlates were also discussed within the context of cultural identity development.

Moreover, a comprehensive analysis of the concept of acculturation was presented, as was the experience of youth cultural identity development within the social frame in which it unfolds. Both theoretical and methodological issues describing the process of personality formation in children and adolescents were of particular interest for this study.

3.8 Research focus

A number of hypotheses and research questions pertaining to *intra-group* relationships focusing on the CLDB sample were generated based on the conceptual elements of theories explored in the literature. Research questions, which were considered exploratory in nature, addressed both *intra-group* and *inter-group* differences (Anglo-Australian and CLDB sample), and were generated based on the main points examined in the Literature Review.

3.8.1 Intra-group hypotheses (CLDB sample)

Hypothesis 1: Adolescents who had experienced racism would be more likely to have engaged in cultural identity search and to report achieved original culture identification compared to those who reported having no experiences of racism.

Hypothesis 2: Age is expected to be associated with identity search and original culture identity, with a larger number of older adolescents expected to report an achieved cultural identity.

Hypothesis 3: Those adolescents who have not as yet achieved cultural identification (achieved identity ego stage) are more likely to exhibit lower global self-esteem, less ability to cope, more negative self-image, and less optimism for the future, whilst those who have achieved a cultural identity will exhibit higher self-esteem, higher coping ability, a more positive self-image and greater optimism for the future.

Hypothesis 4: Cultural adjustment as measured by Berry et al.'s (1992) Attitudes to Acculturation Strategies Scale is expected to influence identity search and cultural identification, with respondents who score higher on Integrated and Separated attitudes, also expected to report engaging in search and to have achieved original culture identity. Higher scores in Assimilation and Marginalisation are expected to be related to little or no search and less identification with an original culture.

Hypothesis 5: The greater the identification with an original culture the more positive the in-group perception reported.

3.8.2 Research questions

Question 1: Do socio-contextual variables such as (a) parents' own cultural adjustment (English language ability, time since arrival to Australia); (b) their characteristics (cultural background); (c) and family composition influence their offspring's cultural identity search and achieved cultural identity?

Question 2: Is there a correlation between individual and collective self-appraisal?

Question 3: Do demographics such as socio-economic background and geographical location influence identity search and achieved identity?

3.8.3 Inter-group research questions (AA and CLDB samples)

Question 1: Do youth of CLDB and AA differ in their identification with and the meaning of being Australian?

Question 2: Do national/civic identity, age, and sex influence attitudes to acculturation as measured by Berry et al.'s, (1992) Attitudes to Acculturation Strategies?

Question 3. How do CLDB and the AA adolescents differ with respect to self-referent evaluations? Specifically, are there differences with respect to perceived ability to cope, self-image, self-esteem, and optimism for the future and do age and gender contribute to the outcome?

CHAPTER FOUR

METHOD

4.1 Participants

Samples of convenience were selected consisting of 400 youth from four different high schools in regional and rural North Queensland, Australia. Target schools included two public, non-denominational, co-educational schools, and two private, Catholic all boys and all girls' schools. The State schools were located in rural townships of Ingham and Ayr. The Catholic schools were situated in Townsville, a relatively large regional city with a population of approximately 110,000. The decision to survey entire classes of junior and senior high school years composed of mixed background youngsters was made to minimise reactivity. A non-stratified sampling approach was selected following the recommendations of Segall, Lonner, and Berry (1998) and Hermans and Krempen (1998) who have suggested that social researchers interested in cultural differences focus on "contact zones" (Hermans & Krempen, 1998, p. 1111) within plural societies rather than at the *centre* of cultures. Consequently, the naturally occurring distribution of approximately 25-27% of migrant background participants and 5-6% Indigenous Australian participants in the overall sample was expected. Although the goal in this study was not to compare cultural minority groups with majority groups, the resulting "control" group, Anglo-Australians (AA), provided the opportunity to conduct additional analyses of interest.

Of the 400 participants, 244 (61%) were males and 156 (39%) were females. In terms of age, 236 (59%) were 12 to 15 years old and 164 (41%) were 16 to 19 years old. The majority ($N = 282$, 70.5%) attended a Private Catholic school with the remainder ($N = 118$, 29.5%) enrolled in a Public State school. Approximately 46% ($N = 186$) resided in an urban area with the remainder ($N = 214$) in a rural region.

4.2 Materials

The research instrument (see Appendix A) was the refined product of a pilot-tested draft questionnaire (see Procedure section). The questionnaire was comprised of multiple-choice and open-ended questions organised into four parts that are summarised in Table 2. Part 1 contained individual and parental demographics and national identity items; Part 2 related to cultural identity search, ego-identity stages, achieved identity outcomes, and collective self-appraisal. Part 3 contained items related to Berry et al.'s (1992) Attitudes to Acculturation Strategies or cultural adjustment. Part 4 was comprised of individual self-appraisal items such as self-image, coping, self-esteem, and future orientation. Participants of CLDB were required to respond to all the questions in the instrument. The AA participants were required to complete parts 1, 3, and 4, only.

4.2.1 The research questionnaire

Part 1. Demographics

Section 1: Individual demographics

Geographical status, either regional or rural was identified by place of residence; either Townsville (urban) or Ingham and Ayr (rural). Place of residence was recorded on the top page of the questionnaires as these were collected from these three different locations.

Table 2

Summary of the questionnaire

Part 1.	Demographics	School type/grade Country of birth Cultural background Second language at home Parental variables Civic/National identity
Part 2.	Cultural Identity Development (Phinney 1992)	Experiences of racism Sense of belonging Exploration Participation
	Ego Identity Stages (Marcia 1966)	Experience of racism Diffused (D) Foreclosure (F) Moratorium (M) Achieved Identity (AI)
	Achieved identity (Phinney & Devic-Navarro, 1995)	Blended bicultural Alternating bicultural Diffused
	Collective self-appraisal	Positive characteristics Negative characteristics

Part 3.	Cultural Adjustment/ Attitudes to Acculturation Strategies (Berry et al, 1992)	Assimilated Integrated Separated Marginalised
Part 4.	Individual self-appraisal (Parish & Taylor, 1978) (Paterson & McCubbin. 1991)	Personal attributes (PAIC) Phenotypic characteristics Coping (A-COPE) Peer self-esteem (HSES) Home self-esteem (HSES) School self-esteem (HSES) Global self-esteem (HSES) Goals for the future Optimism for the future

Items in section 1 included school year, age, sex, and country of birth. These were all open-ended questions except for sex. Country of birth was categorised as Australia, English speaking overseas country, or non-English speaking country. Respondents were also asked if they were of Indigenous Australian descent or of other Indigenous background (Yes/No). The participants were then asked to identify a specific background. The response format was multiple choice and included three categories, Aboriginal, Torres Strait Islander, and South Sea Islander. Additional demographics included time since arrival to Australia, if the respondent was not born in Australia, and if a second language was spoken at home. Respondents were also asked to identify what languages (other than English) were spoken.

Section 2: Parental demographics

Parental variables

Participants were asked to "tell us about your family". Questions asked about the parents' place of birth, how long they had been in Australia, how well they spoke English, and employment. Participants were also asked about siblings and whether they were living with an extended family.

Civic/National identity

Participants were asked how committed they were to being an "Australian" by means of the questions; (a) "Do you think yourself as Australian?" (Yes/No/Not sure); (b) "What does being an Australian mean to you?"; (c) "What things that you do tell you that you are Australian?". Items (b) and (c) were in an open-ended response format.

Part 2: Cultural identity development

This section was designed for the CLDB sample only. Items in Part 2 contained questions related to experiences of racism and items from Phinney's Multigroup Cultural Identity Measure (Phinney & Alipuria, 1996). The measure has a reliability alpha = .81 with high school students. It has three sub-scales that assess three facets of cultural identification; (1) Cultural Identity Search (questions explore sense of belonging, exploration through participation), (2) Ego-identity Stages (items explore experiences of racism and the four possible outcomes as a

result of search, Diffused, Foreclosure, Moratorium, and Achieved identity); (3) Achieved Identity pertaining to three possible outcomes (Blended bicultural, Alternating bicultural, and Diffused). Individuals with Blended bicultural or Alternating bicultural outcomes identify to a greater or lesser extent with their culture of origin, while a Diffused outcome indicates no exploration as yet of issues pertaining to a cultural identity and therefore no identification with an original culture.

Experiences of racism

Experience of racism was assessed by the question, "Have you ever experienced racism or discrimination because of your cultural background?" (a) "Yes many times", (b) "A few times"; (c) "Once or twice", (d) "No, never". Respondents were asked to proceed to another question if they never experienced racism/prejudice. For those who reported having experienced racism, affective responses to the in-group and out-group following the experience of racism were assessed by the questions "How did you feel about the people involved in the (racism) incident?" and "How did you feel about yourself/your background at the time of the (racism) incident?" For both questions, a checklist of words describing negative (i.e., "angry", "annoyed", "hurt") and positive (i.e., "proud", "strong", "accepting") affective responses was presented. Respondents were asked to indicate to what degree ("Very", "Somewhat", "Not at all") they felt a given emotion at the time of the racism experience. Respondents were also asked to

indicate how they resolved the incident (open response format). Since the focus of the study was to test the racism-search-identity model, the nature of the racism experienced (exactly what happened) was not considered of importance in this study.

Cultural identity Search

(1) *Sense of belonging* to and attitudes towards one's cultural group, that is, "In terms of culture or ethnic group, what do you consider yourself to be?" (Australian, Original family culture, Both, None, Unsure), "What does it mean to you to belong to your original culture?" (open-ended response format); (2) *exploration* was assessed by the questions , "Have you ever tried to learn more about your original culture?" (Yes/No) "How important is it to find out about your culture of origin?" (1=very important to 6=not at all important), "Do you talk to your parents or relatives about your family's culture of origin or what it means to belong to that culture?" (Yes/No); (3) the extent of *participation* in "cultural behaviours and customs" (Phinney & Devic-Navarro, 1995, p. 7) was assessed by "At home, do your parents/relatives practise some of their original culture costumes and traditions?" (Yes/No), "If Yes, tick those traditional activities that your family carries out", and "How do you feel about these traditional activities?" (1= overall, I enjoy these activities to 6 = I don't enjoy these activities).

Ego-identity stages

Participants were asked to tick one of four statements that best described their experiences at the time of the study. This measure encompassed the stages: (1) Diffused (D), which is a state in which the individual has not engaged in cultural exploration or has not made a commitment as yet; (b) Foreclosure (F), when an individual has made a commitment without cultural exploration (e.g., taking on parental values); (c) Moratorium (M), when the individual is in the midst of cultural exploration but there is no identity commitment yet; and, (d) Achieved Identity (AI) which encompasses a firm commitment following a period of exploration. Achieved identity can be experienced in a number of ways. In blended bicultural or fused bicultural identity, characteristics from both cultures are blended into patterns of behaviour, with barely an awareness of cultural differences. With alternating bicultural identity, adolescents switch from one set of practices to the other while being aware of the different practices. In separated bicultural identity, youngsters keep identity-specific practices quite separate, perhaps because it is not conducive to merge the two sets of norm.

Achieved identity

Respondents were asked to select the statement that was most consistent with their own experience. Response categories related to blended bicultural ("The two cultures are combined so that you have a mixture of Australian and "...."(original culture), alternating bicultural ("You keep your two cultures, that of

being Australian, and that of being “.....” separate, so that in some situations you are mostly “.....” and in other situations you are mostly Australian”), and diffused or no cultural identity thought of yet “You don’t think much about culture, but think of yourself more in other ways”).

Collective self-appraisal

This section contained questions designed to elicit in-group positive (8 items) and negative impressions (9 items). Examples of positive impressions included feelings of pride, pleasure, and satisfaction (“Very much”, “Somewhat”, “Not at all”). Negative impressions included feelings of rejection, anger, and apathy.

Part 3. Cultural adjustment/ Attitudes to Acculturation Strategies

This section of the questionnaire contained a modified version of Berry et al.'s (1992) *Attitudes to Acculturation Strategies Scale (AASS)*. The scale measures attitudes to acculturation or acculturating strategies, which assess the way acculturating individuals wish to relate to the dominant culture and to their own. The original scale consists of 72 items containing statements designed to tap into four attitudes to acculturation; Integration, Assimilation, Segregation, and Marginalisation. These are organised in a semantic differential response format, ranging from 1 (“Strongly disagree”) to 5 (“Strongly agree”). The scale has high face validity and is currently one of the most widely used instruments in recent

cross-cultural studies (see for example Nguyen, Messe, & Stollak, 1999). For the present study, three items (from a total of 18) from each of the four categories were randomly selected. The response format for the original scale was altered for this study in that an additional value was added to the range of responses so the actual range was from 1 ("Strongly disagree") to 6 ("Strongly agree"). The rationale behind this addition was that an even number range of responses might yield a clearer picture with respect to attitudes, as respondents would not have the option of ticking a middle score. This yielded a composite score (score range 3-18) for each of the four attitude categories. The higher the score in a given category, the stronger the attitude in a given acculturation strategy. As recommended by the AASS scale author, items were slightly modified in order to adapt the content to culture-specific circumstances pertaining to majority and minority cultures in contact. Examples of modified items for each of the four categories are as follows.

Assimilationist attitudes: "Because we live in Australia we do not need to know migrant and Indigenous Australian languages. We should focus our attention on speaking English fluently". Marginalisation attitude: "Events such as the Multicultural Fest, The Laura Festival (Aboriginal-Australian Festival) and so on are just events supported by government to keep minorities quiet". Separation attitudes: "If I had a choice I would marry someone who was brought up in my own culture". Integration attitudes: "I would encourage high school children to learn not only about the history of mainstream Australians, but also that of

Indigenous Australians and other cultural groups because it is important to know where we all come from".

Part 4: Individual self-appraisal

This part of the instrument contained questions related to the following concepts; (a) Self-image as assessed by selected items from the Personal Attribute Inventory for Children (Parish, 1978, as cited in Corcoran & Fischer, 1987); (b) Phenotypic characteristics; (c) Coping as assessed by a modified version of the Adolescent Coping Orientation for Problem Experiences (A-COPE); (d) Global self-esteem as assessed by a modified version of Hare's Self-esteem Scale; and, (e) Orientation and optimism for the future.

Personal Attribute Inventory for Children (PAIC)

The PAIC is a self-report instrument consisting of a 48-item adjective checklist. The scale was designed to measure children's self-concept and has a four-week test-retest reliability of .73 for a sample of school children. The PAIC has good concurrent validity as demonstrated by significant correlations with the Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale (Amato, 1984).

A modified version of the instrument was used for this study consisting of 14 randomly selected items. Respondents were asked to rate to what extent ("Very much"=1, "Somewhat"=2, "Not at all" =3) each adjective applied to them. For example, "I perceive myself as" ("Beautiful/handsome", "Brave", "Strong",

"Healthy", etc). All items were positive descriptors. A total score was generated by adding the 14 values (score range of 14-42).

Section 2: Phenotypic characteristics

Phenotypic characteristics or visible culturality was measured with the single request to "Tick the face that most closely resembles your physical features". This item in the questionnaire consisted of an original set of 12 descriptions, six of boys and six of girls, describing phenotypic facial characteristics consistent with Caucasian, Asian, Mediterranean, and Black features. The illustrations were modelled on photographs (Nanda, 1994) of people identified as of the backgrounds specified. Responses were grouped into two categories, visibly cultural (Asian, Mediterranean, and Black) or visibly Caucasian. The illustrations were pilot tested with a group of 16 cultural minority adolescents (5 Indigenous Australians, 5 Filipinos, 4 Chinese, and 2 Vietnamese) between the ages of 13 and 17 years. All sixteen respondents in the pilot study were able to "recognise" their phenotypic features in the illustrations.

Section 3: The A-COPE Scale

The purpose of the scale is to measure adolescent coping behaviours. The A-COPE is a 54-item instrument designed to measure the behaviours adolescents find helpful in managing problems or difficult situations. The items on the scale were developed both from literature review and interviews with adolescents regarding

life changes. An abbreviated version of the A-COPE scale was used with 5 items being selected at random from the original instrument. Because of the substantial modification to the original instrument, normative integrity was considered to be reduced. Nonetheless, responses to the five questions were considered useful indicators of an attitude to coping styles for the purpose of this study.

Section 4: Hare's Self-esteem Scale (HSS)

The HSS is a 30-item instrument that measures self-esteem in school-age children 10 years old and over. The instrument yields three area-specific scales (10 items each) of self-esteem; School, Home, and Peers. The sum of all items is viewed as a general or global self-esteem measure. Items were chosen to include both self-evaluative and other-evaluative items. These items were also intended to induce respondents to report a general sense of self-appraisal in each area. The HSS can be administered individually or in groups, orally or in writing. The HSS has been tested on fifth and eighth graders (Hare, 1985 as cited in Corcoran & Fischer, 1987). Sub-samples included 41 blacks and 207 whites, 115 boys and 137 girls. Test-retest correlations indicate good stability, with three-month correlations ranging from .56 to .65 for the three subscales and .74 for the global scale. The HSS global scale correlated .83 with both the Coopersmith Self-esteem Inventory and the Rosenberg Self-esteem Scale indicating excellent concurrent validity (Fischer & Corcoran, 1994).

An abbreviated version of the HSS was used for the present study. Sixteen items were selected at random from each of the three identified areas (5 items each for Home and Peers and 6 for School). After reversing negatively worded items, the items for each of the sub-scales were summed. A total score, considered a measure of global self-esteem, was also obtained by summing the three sub-scale scores.

Section 5. Optimism for the future

Orientation for the future involved asking participants an open-ended question about what goals they would like to achieve (“What are three main goals you would like to achieve in your life-time?”). LeBoeuf’s (1986) future orientation categories were considered useful guidelines for the identification of specific goal categories reported by participants. Four composite categories were generated from LeBoeuf’s outline; (1) Personal development and relationships goals (e.g., “learn the guitar”, “get married”); (2) Career/employment/prestige goals (e.g., “go to medical school”, “work overseas”, “own a successful business”); (3) Material/Leisure goals (e.g., “buy a house”, “travel overseas once a year”); and, (4) Avoidance goals (e.g., “stay alive”, “skip jail”, “not mess up my schooling”, “give up drugs”). The latter category was not part of LeBoeuf’s model but an original category that was added after reviewing the responses in the pilot study that pointed to these kinds of goals. Asking respondents to report the degree of

confidence ("Very confident"= 1, to "Not at all confident"= 6) in achieving those goals identified assessed Optimism for the future.

4.2.2 Procedure

The researcher was a passive observer at a series of informal discussions that formed part of a federally funded project called the *Transit Youth Project* involving a number of high schools in North Queensland. The project was a three-year enterprise that commenced in 1997 and was designed and directed by the coordinator of the Migrant Resource Centre (MRC) in Townsville and the author of this thesis. The project consisted of the formation of a cultural support group in each individual high school in Townsville and Thuringowa with the aim to facilitate the adjustment process in newly arrived migrant students. The author attended three of 18 focus groups, and it is within the context of these informal discussions with the students that a number of issues were selected for consideration for the present study.

Each focus group consisted of approximately 16 adolescents of various cultural backgrounds (Indigenous Australians, Asians, Middle Eastern, and Anglo-Australians) representing all grades (years 8 to 12) in high school. The groups met once a fortnight to discuss strategies on how to combat racism and promote multicultural sensitivity and harmony within the school context. Themes emerging from these groups included discussions about personal relationships with peers and teachers ("Being 'cool'/accepted"), personal relationships with parents ("My

parents never let me do anything"), physical appearance ("People don't see beyond the colour of my skin"), social skills ("It is important to be popular"), employment ("My father works in a farm. I don't want to do the same"), and the environment ("Greedy people will ruin this world. There won't be anything left for us"). All of these themes (except the last) were deemed to be consistent with the theme of cultural identity and were integrated into a series of questions that, along with modified versions of a number of scales, constituted the first draft of the research instrument.

In a pilot study, 16 adolescents were given the instrument to complete and comment on. Minor adjustments were made to wording and the manner in which questions were posed. For example, original questions designed to elicit a measure of acculturative stress were reported to be unclear and confusing and so these were modified as suggested by respondents. The instrument was reported to be "*too long*" and further item reduction had to be done (e.g., scales were reduced/modified).

The revised version of the questionnaire was then administered to students enrolled in junior (year 8 classes) and senior (year 12 classes) high school grades in two public (at Ingham and Ayr) and two private high schools (at Townsville). Participants were reminded that there were no "right" or "wrong" answers. From the four participating high schools, 415 students completed the questionnaire during school time under the supervision of the class teacher. Teachers were previously informed of the study and were given the opportunity to review the

questionnaire and ask questions if any aspect of the instrument was not clear before distributing it among the participants. Each of the classes participating contained 35 to 55 students. Four hundred of the questionnaires were deemed useable (those discarded were incomplete). The questionnaire took approximately 45-55 minutes to complete. The instrument was in English as all respondents were fluent English speakers. Written parental consent (Appendix B) for children to participate in the study was obtained before data collection. Confidentiality was assured and respondents were asked not to provide personal details that would identify them in the questionnaires. Parents and participants were assured that if participants became upset in the process of responding to the questionnaire, they would be referred to the school counsellor. Respondents were informed that participation was voluntary and that their responses to the questionnaire would not be shown to teachers, parents, or school administrators. Participants were asked not to discuss their responses with their fellow students as the purpose of the study was to obtain personal views and beliefs on a number of issues related to cultural identity. Participants were directed to ask the class teacher if any aspect of the questionnaire was unclear.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS

This chapter presents results which have been organised into four sections: (1) descriptive statistics for demographic and contextual variables for the overall and individual samples; (2) preliminary analyses, including validity and reliability checks; (3) quantitative and qualitative results pertaining to within-group Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Background (CLDB sample) analyses; and (4) between-group comparisons of the CLDB and Anglo-Australians (AA) samples. All significant results (alpha of .05) have been presented in Tables or in the text. Non-significant result Tables are attached in Appendix E.

The criteria for selection of the CLDB sample were respondents identifying themselves as being born in a non-English-speaking (NES) country, or having at least one parent born in Australia of Indigenous descent (Aboriginal, Torres Strait Islander, or South Sea Islander), or being of second generation NES migrant background (i.e., having at least one parent born in a non-English-speaking country). Responses from the Anglo-Australian participants were used for inter-group comparisons.

5.1 Descriptive statistics

Of the 400 participants, 106 (26.5%) were identified as CLDB and 294 (73.5%) as AA. Twenty (19%) Indigenous Australians were identified in the CLDB sample,

constituting 5% of the overall sample. The proportionate distribution of AA and CLDB (including migrants and Indigenous) participants was consistent with that expected. Table 3 summarises basic demographics of the two groups.

Table 3.

Summary of selected demographics for the AA and CLDB participants

Demographic variables	Anglo-Australian sample		CLDB sample	
	n	%	n	%
School type:				
Private-Catholic	213	72	69	65
Public State	81	28	37	35
Total	294	100	106	100
Sex:				
Male	183	62	61	58
Female	111	38	45	42
Total	294	100	106	100
Age:				
12-15 year olds	170	58	66	62
16-19 year olds	124	42	40	38
Total	294	100	106	100
Country of birth				
AB	285	98	82	77
NESC	3*	1	20	19
ESC	4	1	4	4
Total	292	100	106	100
Geographical status:				
Regional	210	73	69	65
Rural	77	27	37	35
Total	287	100	106	100

AB=Australian born; NESC= Born in a non-English speaking overseas country;

ESC= Born in an English speaking country.

*Three participants born in an NESC were considered of AA background given that parents were reported being born in Australia and were identified of Anglo-Australian background.

Within the CLDB sample, 66 (62%) were 12-15 years of age and 40 (38%) between 16-19 years. Within the AA sample, 170 (58%) were aged 12-15 years and 124 (42%) were aged 16-19 years. Chi-square results indicated no significant differences across the samples in terms of age categories ($\chi^2 (1, N = 400) = .635, p > .05$). Although there were more males than females in both the AA and CLDB groups, the differences were not significant for the combined samples ($\chi^2 (1, N = 400) = .723, p > .05$) or the CLDB group ($\chi^2 (1, n = 106) = 2.415, p > .05$). There were, however, significantly more males in the AA group ($\chi^2 (1, n = 294) = 17.633, p < .05$). For the CLDB sample, an age by gender Chi square analysis resulted in a significant difference ($\chi^2 (1, n = 106) = 4.14, p < .05$). There were more males within the 12-15 year old category (65%) with female respondents being more or less equally distributed across the age groups. A similar picture was identified with respect to the AA sample ($\chi^2 (1, n = 294) = 3.97, p < .05$) with more males (62%) falling in the 12-15 year category and females being equally distributed across the two age groups.

Of the total sample, 186 (47%) participants attended a private-boys school, 96 (24%) attended a private-girls school, and 118 (29%) were identified as attending a public school. Chi-square results indicated no significant differences across the samples with respect to type of school attended ($\chi^2 (2, N = 400) = 3.03, p > .05$). There was, however, a significant difference with respect to type of school attended within the CLDB sample ($\chi^2 (2, n = 106) = 25.947, p < .05$). Approximately 40% attended a private-boys school, followed closely by approximately 35% of respondents attending a public school. Only 25% attended a private-girls school. There were no significant differences regarding type of school attended for the AA sample, with the private-boys school attended by 144 (49%) respondents, 69 (23%) attended a private-girls school, and 81 (28%) attended a public-mixed school.

Overall, 31 participants (8%) reported being born overseas, with 23 (7%) being from a NESC. However, upon closer inspection of the data, it was found that three participants born in a NESC had parents who were reported to have been

born in Australia or overseas in an ESC and were therefore identified as being of Anglo-Australian background. Not surprisingly, there was a significant difference with regards to participants' country of birth across the two samples ($\chi^2 (2, N=400) = 48.52, p = .0001$). The majority of CLDB sample respondents reported being born in Australia (77%), with 19% born overseas in a non-English speaking country and approximately 4% born overseas in an English-speaking country. In contrast, the majority of AA participants (98%) reported being born in Australia. Of those born overseas, 1% were born in an NESC and 1% in an ESC.

There was no significant difference for geographical status in the overall sample ($\chi^2 (1, N = 393) = 2.452, p > .05$) with 279 (71%) identified as residing in a regional centre and 114 (29%) as residing in a rural area. Sixty-nine (65%) of the CLDB sample and 210 (73%) of the AA sample reported living in a regional area while 37 (35%) of CLDB respondents and 77 (27%) of AA respondents reported living in a rural area.

Table 4 presents a summary of selected parental variables. As expected, there was a significant difference with respect to country of birth for both parents across the samples. Fifty-three (51%) of the CLDB sample and 19 (7%) of the AA sample reported their fathers being born overseas. Of these, 48 (46%) were born in a NESC for the CLDB sample with only 1 of the AA sample being born in a NESC. Chi-square analysis found the difference to be significant ($\chi^2 (2, N= 395) = 148.36, p = .0001$). A relatively similar picture was found for maternal country of birth. Forty-six (45%) of the CLDB sample and 273 (94%) of the AA sample reported Australia as the maternal country of birth. In turn, 47 (46%) of CLDB and 15 (5%) AA respondents reported their maternal country of birth to be a non-English speaking country while 47 (46%) of the CLDB sample and 1 of the AA sample reported maternal country of birth being an English speaking country.

Current employment status and the type of usual occupation for both parents were used to determine socio-economic status. Four categories, "Managerial", "Professional", "Skilled labour", and "Unskilled labour" were developed from the

pool of open-ended responses. Inter-rater reliability analyses yielded Kappas of .96 and .97 for Father's and Mother's occupation, respectively. There were no significant differences in terms of paternal employment status and type for the overall cases in the Skilled labour category (40%) while the AA sample had the highest number of cases in the Unskilled category. The CLDB sample had a slightly higher number of cases in the Professional category at 20%, in contrast to the AA sample at 18%. There were more cases in the category of Managerial occupations for the AA sample. Maternal occupation results yielded the highest number of cases in the Unskilled labour category for the CLDB sample (48%), closely followed by the AA sample with 41% of cases falling in that category. The CLDB sample had a lower number of cases in the three remaining categories with the Managerial category containing the lowest percentage at approximately 10%. Only 17 (6%) AA respondents reported the father's status as unemployed from of a total of 286 (8 cases were missing) in comparison to CLDB respondents of whom 14 (14%) reported their father being unemployed. The difference was statistically significant ($\chi^2 (1, N = 388) = 6.193, p < .05$). There was a significant difference between the groups for maternal employment status ($\chi^2 (1, N = 389) = 4.337, p < .05$). Seventy-two (25%) AA respondents reported their mother as unemployed while 37 (36%) of CLDB respondents identified their mother as unemployed.

Table 4
Summary table of selected parental variables

Parental variables	Anglo-Australian sample		CLDB sample	
	n	%	n	%
Parental country of birth:				
(a) Fathers				
AB	272	93	51	48
NESC	1	-	48	45
ESC	18	6	5	5
Total	291	99	104	98
(b) Mothers				
AB	273	95	46	45
NESC	1	-	47	46
ESC	15	5	10	9
Total	289	98	103	97
(a) Father's usual occupation:				
Professional	49	16	19	28
Managerial	48	16	12	11
Skilled	82	28	37	35
Unskilled	90	31	25	24
Total	269	91	93	88
(b) Mother's usual occupation:				
Professional	60	20	19	18
Managerial	31	11	9	8
Skilled	61	21	19	18
Unskilled	109	37	44	41
Total	261	99	91	86
(c) Father employed?				
Yes	269	91	88	83
No	17	7	14	13
Total	288	98	102	96
(d) Mother employed?				
Yes	214	73	66	62
No	72	24	37	35
Total	286	97	103	97
Family composition				
BBA	292	99	28	26
BBONESC	-	-	36	34
MM	-	-	39	37
Total	292	99	103	97
Family structure:				
Nuclear	273	93	94	89
Extended	20	7	9	8
Total	293	100	103	97

AB= Australian born; NESC= Born overseas in a non-English speaking country; ESC = Born Overseas in an English speaking country; BBA= Both born in Australia; BBONESC = Both born overseas in a non-English speaking country; MM= Mixed marriage

For the CLDB sample, 28 (26%) participants reported both parents born in Australia, 36 (34%) reported both parents born overseas, and 39 (37%) reported having one parent born overseas or of mixed marriage family. Three cases were

missing. For the non-Indigenous CLDB sample, there was a significant difference with respect to time since arrival to Australia ($\chi^2 (1, n = 53) = 31.71, p < .001$) with the majority reporting having been in Australia 16 years and longer (64%). Approximately 10 percent were reported to have been in Australia from 11 to 15 years, 15 percent reported being in Australia from 6-10 years, and 11 percent reported being in Australia from 5 to 1 years. Fifty-three cases were missing. There were 20 participants of Indigenous Australian background, 10 being of Aboriginal descent, of which 7 were aged between 12-15 years and 3 were aged 16-19 years. Of the remaining 10 Indigenous participants, four were of Torres Strait Islander descent, all within the 12-15 year category, and six were of South Sea Islander descent, 5 being aged between 12-15 years and one between 16-19 years.

Sixteen different languages were reported by the CLDB sample to be spoken at home. These included traditional Aboriginal dialects such as Wik Mungkan, Kuuk Taayorre, and Wik Ngan Cherra, and TSI languages. Other languages reported included Basque, Bislama, Chinese, Croatian, French, Hindi, Italian, Maori, Spanish, Swedish, Tagalog, Thai, Tokelau, and Vietnamese. The most frequently reported language spoken at home was Italian (29%). Parental English language ability was reported to be largely "very good" to "good" for those parents born overseas in a NESB country. The father was described as speaking English "Very well" to "More or less well" by 47 (44%) respondents. Four (4%) reported the father speaking English from "Not very well" to "Not well". Fifty-five cases were missing. Following a similar trend, 49 mothers (46%) were reported to speak English "Very well" to "More or less well" while only 7 (7%) mothers were described as speaking the language "Not very well" to "Not well". Fifty cases were missing.

Approximately 92 per cent ($n = 98$) of the CLDB sample reported being "visibly ethnic". The label was given to all respondents who identified themselves as having physical characteristics consistent with an Indigenous Australian, Asian, or Mediterranean background.

There was a significant difference ($\chi^2 (2, 390) = 13.70, p < .05$) in the overall sample with respect to whether participants lived in nuclear or extended families. Indigenous Australian youth tended to report living in extended families (38%) more so than CLDB (9%) and AA participants (7%). Very small cell numbers did not permit analysis. Ten cases were missing.

5.2 Reliability

Reliability analyses were conducted for the modified Attitudes to Acculturation Strategies Scale (AASS), the abbreviated Hare's Self-esteem Scale (HSES), and the selected items from the Personal Attributes Inventory for Children (PAIC). Results were as follows.

5.2.1 Attitudes to Acculturation Strategies Scales

The four subscales of the AASS were assessed for internal consistency by Cronbach's alpha; $\alpha = .20, .35, .46$, and $.46$ for Integrated, Separated, Marginalised, and Assimilated, respectively. Although the number of items contributing to each of the four scales is small (3) and necessarily limits reliability, these values are unacceptably low and therefore interpretation of results involving the scales would be at best suspect and at worst, misleading. It was decided to subject the 12 items to a principal component analysis using Varimax rotation to determine the underlying structure of the modified AASS. Confirmatory factor analysis was initially considered but rejected for two reasons; (1) given the results of the reliability analysis, it would seem most unlikely that the original scales would be

confirmed; (2) if the original scales were not confirmed it could be argued that this was due to the use of an abbreviated questionnaire that did not contain all the original items. A value of .701 for the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy indicated the correlation matrix was factorable. Table 5 presents the results of the analysis.

The four components that emerged with Eigenvalues greater than 1 accounted for 16.3, 14.9, 14.1, and 10.2 per cent of the variance. Specific items in each component were consistent with the conceptual underpinnings of the four attitudes to acculturation strategies (Table 5).

Table 5

Results of a principle component analysis of the AASS.

Item	Component			
	1	2	3	4
4. Focus on speaking English (A)	.764			
9. Also learn about other ethnic groups (I)	-.679			
5. Events to keep minorities quiet (M)	.566			
12. Cultural festivals emphasis differences (A)	.521			
8. Marry someone in own culture (S)	.506			
7. Minority cultures should not assimilate (S)		.834		
3. Minorities should stick together (S)		.681		
10. Children will become disobedient (I)		.512		-.411
1. Hard to find someone to relate to (M)			.771	
11. Individual groups hinders assimilation (A)			.605	
2. Live in a place away from cities (M)			.545	
6. Can retain cultural heritage yet participate (I)				.836

Note: Only loadings of .4 or greater are shown.

1=Assimilation; 2= Separation; 3= Marginalisation; 4= Integration

5.2.2 Hare's Self-Esteem Scale items

Inter-item consistency of the modified version of Hare's scale was checked by means of a Cronbach's Alpha Coefficient analysis. Results indicated acceptable internal consistency for home self-esteem items ($\alpha = .76$), school self-esteem items ($\alpha = .71$), and global self-esteem items ($\alpha = .80$). Peer self-esteem items were less

reliable ($\alpha = .57$). Results involving analyses of peer self-esteem were therefore interpreted with caution.

5.2.3 Personal Attributes Inventory for Children

Self-image was assessed by means of a 14-item modified version of the Personal Attributes Inventory for Children (Parish & Taylor, 1978). The normative integrity of the modified version was evaluated by asking participants whether the attributes described in the PAIC were consistent with perceived importance of each attribute. Convergent validity was established by means of a series of Kendall Rank Correlation analyses for each PAIC item. Results for each item indicated a significant correlation at $p < .05$ (Appendix Table C.1) between each of the 14 personal attributes and their importance to respondents.

5.2.4 A-COPE scale items

Alpha coefficient analyses for the abbreviated version of the A-COPE scale (Appendix Table C.2) yielded poor inter-item consistency ($\alpha = .485$), therefore results were interpreted with caution. Nonetheless, the A-COPE items selected were considered to have face validity given the nature of the questions.

5.3 Intra-group hypotheses (CLDB sample)

Hypothesis 1: Original culture identification was expected to be the outcome of/related to racism when mediated by identity search: Adolescents who had experienced racism would be more likely to have engaged in cultural identity search and to report achieved original culture identification compared to those who reported having no experiences of racism.

Given the categorical nature of the variables, logistic regression was used to investigate the expected association between racism and original culture identification, with cultural identity search as a mediating variable. To ensure adequate cell sizes, the four possible response categories for experiences of racism were collapsed to Yes/No. Likewise, degree of original culture identification was transformed from the six possible response categories (1=Very much to 6=Not at all) to Yes (1, 2, or 3) and No (4, 5, or 6). The binary response categories (Yes/No) for the cultural identity search measure did not require modification.

A logistic regression analysis was performed with degree of original culture identification as the dependent variable and experiences of racism and identity search as the predictors. There were 18 cases with missing values. No outliers were detected. A test of the full model including the two predictors against a constant-only model was statistically reliable, $\chi^2(2, n = 88) = 15.38, p < .001$, indicating the predictors reliably distinguished between those who identified with their original culture and those who did not. Approximately 22% of the variance in

cultural identification was accounted for by the two predictors (Nagelkerke $R^2 = .22$). Prediction success, although not overly impressive, was reasonable with an overall success rate of 67% and 72% and 61% of those not identifying and identifying with their original culture, respectively being predicted correctly. Table 6 presents the regression coefficients, Wald statistics, and odds ratios for the two predictors. As can be seen from Table 6, the change in odds per unit change in the predictor variables follows expected outcomes. However, the change per unit in one predictor (racism) is smaller than in the other (search).

Table 6

Parameter estimate for Logit model of experiences of racism, cultural identity search and original culture identification

Parameter	df	β	Std Err	χ^2	p	Odds Ratios
Racism	1	.83	.506	2.71	.1	2.298
Search	1	1.5	.501	9.0	.003	4.494

Table 7 summarises the effect of racism on whether respondents engaged in cultural identity search and ultimately achieved original culture identification.

Table 7

Frequencies and percentages for original culture identification, by experiences of racism and cultural identity search

Experiences of racism	Culture identity search: learning	Original culture identification		Percent of "Yes" to Original culture Id
		Yes	No	
Yes	Yes	23	14	62
	No	6	12	33
	Total	29	26	
No	Yes	7	7	50
	No	2	17	11
	Total	9	24	

It can be seen that of those participants who reported an original culture identity and racism, approximately 62 percent reported engaging in search, while 33 percent did not report engaging in search. Of those who did not report racism, 50 percent of those who reported original culture identification also engaged in search. Moreover, 11 percent of those who reported an ethnic identification and did not report racism did not report engaging in search.

The results appear to confirm the connection between experiences of racism, search, and identity as hypothesised. Specifically, those who engaged in cultural identity search tended to also report an original culture identity. Moreover, when racism was experienced, search tended to lead to original culture identification (62%) more so than when racism was not experienced (50%). Therefore, although statistical analyses indicated a significant relationship between search and original culture identification, there was no link between search and experiences of racism

as predicted by Phinney (1992). To conclude, the model was only partially supported and when presented with findings such as these, Aggresti and Finlay (1997), and Coakes and Steed (2001) suggest that a *latent* variable may be contributing to the outcome. Thus, the possibility that a latent variable may be contributing to the results was closely considered and the relationship between racism, search, original identity, and individual characteristics such as phenotype further investigated. This was in keeping with the original objectives of the study, namely to ascertain whether Phinney's model tapped onto processes consistent with racial and/or ethnic rather than cultural identity. It was therefore of interest to clarify whether CLDB respondents who were Caucasian in appearance and those who were "visibly ethnic" (Phinney, 1992), in this case Indigenous Australian/Asians/Mediterranean, differed in their experiences with respect to racism, search, and original culture identification.

Analyses addressing differences in reported experiences of racism, search, and identification are summarised by phenotype sub-sample in Table 8. Of the total CLDB sample, 85 completed the items required for the analysis. Results indicated a statistically significant difference between the two phenotype groups with Non-Caucasians reporting racism much more frequently than Caucasians, $\chi^2(1, n = 85) = 7.168, p < .01$, and Caucasians tending not to identify with their original culture, $\chi^2(1, n = 84) = 6.031, p < .05$. Although Non-Caucasians appeared to engage in search more than Caucasians, the difference was not statistically significant with both groups tending to report similar proportions of search.

Table 8

Composite table for Chi-square results for racism, search and original culture identification by phenotype

Source	N	%		%	Non-	%	χ^2	df	p
			Caucasian		Caucasian				
Racism:							7.168	1	.007
Yes	54	64	5	33	49	70			
No	31	36	10	67	21	30			
Total	85	100	15	100	70	100			
Search:							.108	1	.742
Yes	48	57	8	53	40	58			
No	36	43	7	47	29	42			
Total	84	100	15	100	69	100			
Identifies							6.031	1	.014
with O.C.									
Yes	35	42	2	13	33	48			
No	49	58	13	97	36	52			
Total	84	100	15	100	69	100			

It was therefore reasonable to assume that phenotype may be the latent variable making a contribution to results presented in Table 6. In order to test this assumption, pertinent data already transformed as dummy variables were entered into a log-linear binomial model (Logit) analysis with the purpose to elucidate the

differential contribution that racism makes to original culture identification, with search as mediating variable for Non-Caucasians. The small number (15) of Caucasians precluded meaningful analysis. Table 9 shows parameter estimates for the Non-Caucasian group.

Table 9

Parameter estimates for Logit model of experiences of racism, cultural identitysearch and original culture identification: Non-Caucasian sub-sample

Parameter	df	β	Std Err	Wald	P	Exp(B)
Constant	1	-2.499	1.039	5.004	.016	.082
Racism	1	.526	.583	.816	.366	1.693
Search	1	1.376	.535	6.616	.010	3.961

Results yielded a goodness of fit chi-square value of $\chi^2 (2, n = 68) = 8.726, p = .013$, and a -2 log likelihood goodness of fit of 85.306. Table 9 indicates exponentiated β values of 1.693 for racism and 3.961 for search which indicates that while change in odds per unit change in the predictor variable is consistent with expected outcomes, the change per unit in one variable (racism) is much smaller than in the other (search). Overall, the model correctly classified 66.2% and predicted that 24 cases would identify with an original culture and 8 cases would not (observed values were 24 cases identifying with their original culture and 15 not identifying with their original culture). To summarise, the model tested

appears to be predictive of identification with racism as a precursor variable and search as a mediating variable for Non-Caucasian adolescents.

Hypothesis 2: Age is expected to be associated with identity search and original culture identity, with a larger number of older adolescents expected to report an achieved cultural identity.

Original culture identity search was assessed by items from the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure, which includes measures of sense of belonging (tried to learn about one's own culture), exploration (importance of learning about culture of origin), and participation in ethnic activities. Chi square results for the question "*what do you consider yourself to be?*" were not significant, $\chi^2 (4, n = 103) = 1.62, p > .05$, for the age categories, with 36% (n = 23) and 35% (n = 22) of 12-15 year olds reporting identifying with being Australian and being of both cultures, respectively. Similar results were found for the 16-19 year olds, with 40% (n = 16) and 27% (n = 11) reporting identification with being Australian and of both cultures, respectively.

Results for the question "*what does it mean to belong to your original culture?*" were non-significant, $\chi^2 (2, n = 96) = 1.027, p > .05$, with 91% (n = 53) of 12-15 year olds and 89% (n = 34) of the 16-19 year olds responding that being of an original culture had no special meaning.

A Mann-Whitney *U*-test was used to compare the ranks of scores for the two age groups for the exploration question "*how important is it to learn about your*

original culture?”. The result indicated no significant difference ($U = 918$, $p > .05$) with the sum of ranks equal to 2421 for the 12 – 15 year olds ($n = 53$) and 1584 for the 16 – 19 year olds ($n = 36$).

Results for the question “*have you tried to learn about your original culture?*” revealed no significant difference ($\chi^2 (1, n = 89) = 2.54$, $p > .05$) between the age categories with 42% ($n = 22$) and 59% ($n = 22$) of the 12 – 15 and 16 – 19 year olds, respectively, indicating they had tried to learn more about their culture of origin.

Similar results were obtained for the question “*do you talk to your parents/relatives about your original culture?*”. Although not statistically significant, a slightly higher number of 16-19 year olds (59%) reported having talked to extended family members about their culture of origin when compared to the 12-15 year olds (42%).

Chi-square results for the question “*Do you identify with your culture of origin?*” indicated no significant differences ($\chi^2 (1, n = 100) = .00$, $p > .05$) between early ($n = 24$, 44%) and late adolescents ($n = 16$, 43%) with respect to perceiving themselves to belong to an original culture.

Chi-square results to the question “*Do you identify with the Australian culture?*” indicated no significant differences ($\chi^2 (1, N = 100) = .418$, $p > .05$) between early ($n = 52$, 80%) and late adolescents ($n = 34$, 85%) with respect to perceiving themselves as being Australian.

Situational identity: Perceived culture identification across situations

An additional interest in the study was the variability of perceived culture identification across a range of situations such as home, school, and with peers. Chi-square results indicated a non-significant difference, $\chi^2(1, n = 83) = 1.101, p > .05$, with the younger respondents ($n = 18, 35\%$) tending to report an Original culture identification less within the context of home than older respondents ($n = 15, 47\%$). Similarly, respondents, regardless of age, tended to report an Australian identity ($n = 38, 75\%$ for 12-15 year olds, and $n = 27, 84\%$ for 16-19 year olds) more so than an Original culture ($n = 13, 25\%$ and $n = 5, 16\%$, respectively) within the context of school ($\chi^2(1, n = 83) = 1.127, p > .05$). The result of a Chi-square for original culture identification with peers was also nonsignificant, $\chi^2(1, n = 82) = .007, p > .05$, with most respondents tending to report identifying with being Australian regardless of age (82% for 12-15 year olds and 81% for 16-19 year olds).

Qualitative responses to original culture and Australian identity responses

Inter-rater reliability checks were conducted for all nine open-ended format responses by means of Cohens Kappa analyses. The questions pertained to the meaning of being Australian, the meaning of being of an original culture, overt behavioural responses to experiences of racism, Personal development /relationship goals, Career/employment/prestige goals, Material/life-style goals, and Avoidance goals. Results (Appendix Table C.3) indicated statistically significant inter-rater agreement with the lowest Kappa value being .743 and .992 the highest.

Identity was also measured by the open-format response question "*What does it mean to you to be of your culture of origin?*" Data were analysed guided by three types of response as indicated in previous sections in the methodology, namely a positive meaning (asset) attached to being perceived as of an original culture, a negative meaning (hindrance), and both positive and negative (both) attached to cultural group membership. Sixteen cases were missing. Chi-square results indicated no significant difference between the two age groups, $\chi^2 (2, n= 90) = 4.164$, $p > .05$, with 24 (43%) early adolescent respondents and 22 (65%) late adolescent respondents indicating positive meanings to original culture membership. Seven (12%) early adolescents and 2 (6%) late adolescents reported a negative meaning. For those reporting that having a CLDB background was an asset and a hindrance, 25 (45%) were aged 12-15 years and 10 (29%) were aged 16-19 years. Table D.1 presents responses verbatim for each case.

Understanding being of an Australian culture

Participants also responded to the open-format question "*What does it mean to be Australian?*" with the responses coded into the discrete categories of asset, hindrance, or both asset and hindrance. Chi-square results were significant, $\chi^2 (2, N= 95) = 11.301$, $p < .05$, with 48% of respondents overall ($n = 46$) indicating that being Australian was an asset and 37% ($n = 35$) indicating that being Australian was both an asset and a hindrance. Only 4 % ($n = 3$) assigned negative meanings to being Australian. Six percent and 5% reported either no meaning or being unsure

of a meaning to being Australian, respectively. Eleven cases were missing. A greater proportion of older adolescents assigned positive meanings to being Australian ($n = 22, 58\%$) when compared to younger adolescents ($n = 24, 42\%$) while the latter group tended to report both positive and negative meanings to being Australian ($n = 25, 44\%$) when compared to the older group ($n = 10, 26\%$). Only a small number of respondents reported negative meanings ($n = 2, 4\%$) across the groups, with 1 (2%) aged 12-15 years and 2 (5%) aged 16-19 years. Ten percent ($n = 6$) of the early adolescents reported that being Australian had no particular meaning, with 11 % ($n = 4$) of the older adolescents reporting being unsure about a meaning. Eleven cases were missing. Table D.2 presents verbatim responses to this item for each case.

Summary of response category frequencies for *exploration* open-ended questions:

A summary of response categories for the open-ended questions is presented in subsequent paragraphs. A criterion for categorisation was more than one reference to a theme or category. A large proportion of respondents did not provide answers to these questions (45-62%). Therefore, results have been interpreted with caution and frequencies and percentages presented within the parameters of the overall CLDB sample size.

What does it mean to you to belong to your culture of origin?

Table D.3 indicates that 18 respondents (17% of the CLDB sample) stated that being of an original culture had no particular meaning or being unsure of a meaning, while 15 (14%) made reference to being proud of belonging to their culture of origin. Seven (7%) indicated it meant having two cultures, 6 (6%) made reference to language, 5 (5%) said it meant to be different, and 4 (4%) said they experienced the world in more than one way as a result of being multicultural. Forty-three cases were missing.

How did you go about learning about your culture of origin?

Table D.4 indicates the most frequently reported mode (20%) of learning about a culture of origin was by asking parents or in-group members, followed by visits to parental/self country of birth (9%), by readings books (9%), and the mass media (9%). Other response categories were learning at school (6%), attending traditional events/festivals (6%), and living in the original culture country (3%). Fifty-six cases were missing.

"What did you talk about with your parents/relatives about your culture of origin?"

Table D.5 indicates that the most frequently discussed theme was information about relatives and people representative of an original culture (11%) followed by questions about way of life in the original country (9%), about the country itself (6%), and cultural heritage (5%). Sixty-two cases were missing.

"What do you enjoy about being of an original culture?"

Table D.6 indicates that the best experience of being of a multicultural background is the food, music, and dancing (15%) followed by learning and/or speaking a second language (10%), about significant people and relatives (10%), and special events and festivities (6%). Forty-eight cases were missing.

"What are some benefits from being from your original culture?"

Table D.7 shows that 12% of those who responded to this item indicated that having two or more cultures was a benefit, 11% said speaking a second language, 9% stated that being of a multicultural background provided them with opportunities for the future, 9% that they learnt more than others, 3% stated they were more tolerant and flexible, and 2% stated no benefit or not knowing what was a benefit. Sixty-six cases were missing.

"What are some problems that may emerge as a result of being from an original culture?"

Table D.8 shows the most frequently reported category was having no problems ($n = 30, 28\%$) as a result of belonging to an original culture, while 10% reported clashing with parents, 10% reported racism and prejudice was a problem, and 5% were not able to understand some relatives due to language differences. There were 48 cases missing.

Verbatim responses to other questions are presented in Tables D.9 to D.14.

Participation

Descriptive statistics for the question "*At home, do you and your parents/relatives practise traditional activities...?*" indicated that the early adolescent participants tended to report engaging in a slightly greater number of cultural activities (Mean = 3.13, SD = 1.37) than their older counterparts (Mean = 2.82, SD = 1.44). Thus, age made no difference with respect to cultural participation.

Hypothesis 3: Those adolescents who have not as yet achieved cultural identification (achieved identity ego stage) are more likely to exhibit lower global self-esteem, less ability to cope, more negative self-image, and less optimism for the future, while those who have achieved a cultural identity will exhibit higher self-esteem, higher coping ability, a more positive self-image and greater optimism for the future.

Individual self-appraisal measures and ego-identity stage

Results of a single factor ANOVA for ego identity stages and global self-esteem scores were significant (Table 10).

Table 10

ANOVA results for Global self-esteem scores and ego-identity stages for the CLDB sample

Source:	N	Mean	df	F	p	partial Eta ²
Ego-identity stages:			3	3.027	.035	.113
Diffused	53	35.40				
Fused	11	34.36				
Moratorium	9	43.44				.03
Achieved identity	2	34.50				
Total	75	36.19				

The highest scores for self-esteem were reported by individuals identifying themselves in the moratorium ego identity stage. Those unsure of making a commitment yet to identify with their culture of origin tended to report higher self-esteem. In turn, the lowest global self-esteem scores fell within the diffused category. Those that were not aware of their original culture identity tended to report lower self-esteem. Thus, youth who have began to examine issues related to their original culture but have not as yet made a commitment to an original culture identity (Fused), tended to exhibit higher global self esteem, while respondents who had not considered original culture issues tended to report lower self esteem.

Coping ability, self-image, optimism for the future and ego identity stage

Results of an ANOVA for coping scores and ego-identity stages were not significant, $F(3,74) = .259$, $p > .05$. The highest coping scores (Mean = 15.6) tended to be reported by respondents identifying within the diffused ego stage while the

lowest coping scores tended to be reported by those falling in the fused (Mean = 15) and achieved identity (Mean = 15) categories.

Single factor ANOVA results with self-image scores (PAIC items) and ego-identity stages were not significant, $F(3,74) = .977$, $p > .05$. Respondents scoring highest in the self-image scale tended to report being in the achieved identity ego-stage (Mean = 26) while the lowest self-image scores were reported by those in the moratorium stage (Mean = 20.33).

ANOVA results of optimism for the future and ego-identity stages were not significant, $F(3,64) = .820$, $p > .05$.

Hypothesis 4: Cultural adjustment as measured by Berry's (1992) Attitudes to Acculturation Strategies Scale is expected to influence cultural identification, with respondents who score higher on Integrated and Separated attitudes, also expected to report engaging in search and to have achieved original culture identity. In contrast, lower scores in Assimilation and Marginalisation were expected to be related to reports of search and identification with an original culture.

Cultural identity search, achieved cultural identity and Attitudes to Acculturation Strategies

The result for one of the four Attitudes to Acculturation Strategies indicated a significant difference between identity search and assimilation (see Table 11). As predicted, those who had engaged in cultural identity search tended to report

lower assimilated attitudes to acculturation than those who had not. ANOVA results for the remaining three measures are presented in Table 11.

Table 11

Composite ANOVA results for cultural identity search and Attitudes to Acculturation Strategies for the CLDB sample

Attitudes to acculturation	Engaged in CIS			Did not engage in CIS			SS	F	p	η^2
	M	SD	SE	M	SD	SE				
Integrated	12.38	3.88	.549	11.64	3.76	.61	12.81	2.20	.14	
Segregated	8.85	3.59	.509	9.19	3.19	.517	.981	.22	.63	
Marginalised	9.27	3.79	.531	9.92	3.63	.59	.574	.65	.42	
Assimilated	8.66	3.02	.423	10.13	3.13	.509	58.12	4.94	.02	.064

Note: df = 1, N=85 for all four subscales

With respect to attitudes to acculturation and degree of perceived original culture identification, single-factor ANOVA analysis (Tables E.1-3) revealed no significant effect for Separated, Marginalised, or Assimilated attitudes. Table 12 indicates that degree of original culture identification had an effect on Integrated attitudes to acculturation. As predicted, those who reported identifying as of "Very original culture" tended to score higher in the Integrated scale when compared to the other groups, and in particular those identifying with the "Not at all of original culture" category.

Table 12

ANOVA results of degree of original culture identification and Attitudes to Acculturation Strategies among CLDB: Integrated scores

Degree of original culture identification:	N	M	SD	SS	F	df	p
Very original	12	13.83	4.04	121.33	2.49	5	.038
Original	8	12	3.25				
More or less original	16	10.31	3.32				
Not very original	19	11.84	2.65				
Not of original culture	16	10.81	2.81				
Not at all of O.C.	15	10.26	2.86				
Error				779		80	
Total	86	11.38	3.25				

Hypothesis 5: *The greater the identification with an original culture the more positive the*

in-group perception reported.

Collective appraisal and degree of original culture identification

A series of ANOVAs were conducted to determine if collective appraisal, either negative or positive, was related to the degree of original culture identification among respondents.

Positive in-group affective perceptions and degree of original culture identification

Positive in-group perceptions and degree of original culture identification were significantly associated. ANOVA results, $F(1, 84) = 7.73, p < .05$, showed that the more positive (lower scores) in-group affective responses (Mean = 12.68) were reported by those identifying themselves as of "Original culture" while the less positive (higher scores) perceptions (Mean = 15.60) were reported by those who "Don't identify" with their original culture.

5.4 Intra-group research questions

The following questions were guided by trends identified by selected authors cited in the literature review and were considered exploratory in nature and may appear to deviate from the main streams proposed in this study. However, one could not pass the opportunity to examine in some depth the nature of responses to experiences of identity development in minority culture samples in a rural and remote area of North Queensland, Australia.

Question 1: Do socio-contextual variables such as (a) parents' own cultural adjustment (English language ability, time since arrival to Australia); (b) their characteristics (cultural background); and (c) family composition influence their offspring's cultural identity search and achieved cultural identity?

Parental adjustment variables, cultural identity search, and achieved identity

Approximately 50 per cent of participants responded to these items and thus cell counts were small. This prevented meaningful statistical analysis. Nonetheless, a brief summary of descriptive and non-parametric statistics is presented.

Parental English language ability and identity search and original culture identification

Descriptive statistics (Table E.4) showed no differences with respect to parental English language ability with fluent English ability being reported by youth who engaged in cultural identity search (90% fathers, 83% mothers) in similar frequency to those who did not engage in search (95% fathers, 95% mothers).

Table E.5 shows the collapsed categories of English speaking ability (from Very well = 1 to Not well = 6) into Fluent (1-4) and Not fluent (5-6). The original categories were collapsed in order to obtain reasonable cell sizes. Frequency results indicated no notable differences. Respondents who identified with an original culture tended to rate their parents as speaking fluent English (88% fathers, 81% mothers), as did those who reported not identifying with their culture of origin (96% fathers, 89% mothers).

Time since parental arrival to Australia

Settlement time of parents who migrated to Australia made no difference to whether or not respondents engaged in cultural identity search (Table E.6), with an approximate proportion of those who engaged in search (57% fathers, 61% mothers), and those who did not engage in search (61% fathers, 63% mothers) reporting their parents as *established*. Frequency results (Table E.7) indicate that settlement time appears not to have influenced substantially whether youth identified with their culture of origin. Those that identified with their original culture reported 67% of fathers and 67% of mothers being recent arrivals, while respondents who did not identify with their culture of origin reported that 53% of fathers and 52% of mothers were established.

Cultural background of parents

Table E.8 indicates that of those who engaged in search, 52% of fathers and 58% of mothers were born in a NESC. Those that did not engage in search reported 57% of fathers and 43% of mothers were born in a NESC. Table E.9 indicates no difference in parental country of birth for those who did not identify with their original culture with 48% of fathers being born in a NESC or either in Australia (48%) or in an ESC (4%) and 52% of mothers being born in either Australia (42%) or in an ESC (10%). In contrast, those who identified with their original culture tended to report parents being born in a NESC (60% fathers, 58% mothers), while 33% and 7% of fathers and 30% and 12% of mothers were identified as being born

either in Australia or an ESC, respectively. Therefore, it appears that those respondents who identify with their culture of origin tended to report parents being born in a NES.

Family composition

Chi square results for family composition and cultural identity search (Table E.10) were not significant $\chi^2 (2, n = 89) = 1.29, p > .05$. Similar results (Table E.11) were identified for family composition and original culture identification, $\chi^2 (2, n = 90) = 4.68, p > .05$. Thus, identity search and cultural identity appear not have been influenced by family composition.

Question 2. Is there a correlation between individual and collective self-appraisal?

As expected, Pearson correlation analysis between scores for individual and collective self-appraisal yielded a significant positive relationship, ($r = .307, n = 78, p = .006$). Both in-group and individual perceptions tend to be positive and consistent in minority culture adolescents participating in this study.

Question 3. Do demographics such as socio-economic background and geographical location influence identity search and achieved identity?

A series of Chi-square analyses showed non-significant results with respect to the relationship that parental employment status (employed/unemployed) and occupation (for both fathers and mothers) may have on identity search, degree of

original culture identification, and perceived cultural identity (Appendix Table E.12). Similarly, Chi-square analysis of socio-economic variables and original culture identification (Appendix Table E.13) yielded non-significant results with neither parental employment status nor occupation appearing to be associated with original culture identification.

5.5 Inter-group research questions

Question 1. Do AA and CLDB youth differ in their identification with and the meaning of being Australian, and do age and sex have an effect?

Table 13 presents the distribution of responses indicating an Australian or national identity perception for the CLDB and AA samples. One case from the CLDB sample was missing. As expected, more CLDB participants (18%) reported being "Unsure"/"Not identifying" with being Australian than AA participants (4%). Although the large majority of participants in both samples reported thinking themselves as Australian, calculation of the odds ratio (Howell, 2002) found it almost six times more likely that the CLDB participants reported being unsure or not identifying with being Australian; for the CLDB and AA samples the odds being $(6 + 13) / 86 = .22093$ and $(3 + 8) / 283 = .03887$, respectively, ratio of $.22093 / .03887 = 5.68$.

Table 13

Frequency and per cent of reported degree of Australian identity in the CLDB and AA samples

Source	CLDB (n)	%	AA (n)	%
<i>"I consider myself Australian..."</i>				
Yes	86	82	283	96
No	6	6	3	1
Not sure	13	12	8	3
Total	105	26	294	74

Similar results were obtained in relation to gender and age (see Tables 14 and 15, respectively). The majority of boys and girls in the two age groups in both cultural samples tended to report perceiving themselves as Australian. However, CLDB youth tended to identify less as being Australian than the AA youth.

Table 14

Frequency and per cent of reported degree of Australian identity by CLDB and AA boys and girls

Source	Boys n	%	Girls n	%
<i>"I consider myself Australian..."</i>				
CLDB				
Yes	49	80	37	84
No	2	3	4	9
Not sure	10	16	3	7
AA				
Yes	177	97	106	95
No	2	1	1	11
Not sure	4	2	4	4

Table 15

Frequency and per cent of reported degree of Australian identity by early and late adolescent CLDB and AA respondents

Source	12-15 years		16-19 years	
	n	%	n	%
"I consider myself Australian..."				
CLDB				
Yes	52	80	34	85
No	5	7	1	2
Not sure	8	13	5	13
AA				
Yes	165	97	118	96
No	0	0	3	2
Not sure	5	3	3	2

National identity was also evaluated by means of the open-ended question, "What does being Australian mean to you?" Table 16 shows that Anglo-Australian youth tended to report a positive meaning to being Australian (62%) more than CLDB respondents (51%). However, Chi-square results indicated no significant difference, $\chi^2(2, n = 358) = 3.297, p > .05$. Tables E.13 and E.14 present responses verbatim to this question for each case.

Chi-square analysis results indicated that boys and girls differed in the nature of their responses. From Table 17 it can be seen that girls tend to perceive their national identity (the meaning of being Australian) more as an asset (65%) than boys (55%), $\chi^2(2, n = 358) = 6.97, p < .05$.

Table 16

Frequencies and percentages of responses to the question:
What does it mean to be Australian? for CLDB and AA participants

Source:	n	AA	CLDB
Meaning:			
Asset	212 (60%)	166 (62%)	46 (51%)
Hindrance/No meaning	31 (9%)	22 (3%)	9 (10%)
Both	115 (32%)	80 (30%)	35 (39%)
Total	358 (100%)	268 (100%)	90 (100%)

Table 17

Chi-square results for responses to the question:
What does it mean to be Australian? for early and late
adolescent boys and girls

Source:	n	%	12-15 years	16-19 years
Meaning of being Australian:				
Asset	212	60	122	90
Hindrance/No meaning	31	9	18	13
Both	115	32	67	48
Total	358	100	207	151
			Boys	Girls
Asset	212	60	119	93
Hindrance/No meaning	31	9	25	6
Both	115	32	71	44
Total	358	100	215	143

Question 2. Do national identity, age and sex influence attitudes to acculturation as measured by Berry et al's, (1992) Attitudes to Acculturation Strategies?

Table 18 presents means for the four Attitudes to Acculturation Strategies (Berry et al., 1994) for the two samples broken down by age and gender. These data were entered into a 2 (sample) \times 2 (age) \times 2 (gender) Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA). All three main effects were significant; cultural background, $F(4, 372) = 3.22, p = .013, \eta^2 = .033$; age $F(4, 372) = 3.72, p = .006, \eta^2 = .038$; gender, $F(4, 372) = 12.81, p < .000, \eta^2 = .121$. There were no significant interaction effects.

Table 18

Means (SD) of four Attitudes to Acculturation Strategies for the CLDB and AA samples broken down by age and gender

n	CLDB				AA			
	12 - 15 years		16 - 19 years		12 - 15 years		16 - 19 years	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
n	42	19	18	22	109	54	64	55
Assimilated	9.59 (3.33)	9.10 (3.05)	11.12 (3.05)	8.77 (2.69)	11.72 (3.65)	9.98 (2.86)	12.27 (3.46)	9.91 (3.20)
Marginal	10.50 (3.81)	8.95 (3.58)	11.06 (4.19)	9.09 (2.84)	11.61 (3.63)	10.65 (2.71)	10.91 (3.00)	9.65 (2.93)
Segregated	10.12 (3.58)	8.53 (3.19)	9.28 (3.25)	7.45 (3.29)	10.74 (3.26)	9.94 (2.70)	9.53 (3.74)	8.07 (3.17)
Integrated	11.55 (4.15)	13.74 (3.41)	11.72 (3.56)	13.86 (3.55)	11.57 (3.80)	12.76 (2.36)	10.56 (4.17)	13.73 (2.95)

From Table 18 it can be seen that minority culture youth scored lower in the assimilated and marginalized attitudes scales than the Anglo-Australians, as

expected, with no differences between the two cultural groups for integrated and separated scores. In addition, younger youth tended to score higher on separated and marginalized attitudes to acculturation sub-scales with little difference in scores for integrated and assimilated scores for both age groups. Finally, girls scored significantly higher on integrated scores but lower for assimilated, separated, and marginalized sub-scales.

The possible combined effect that age, sex, and perceived national identity may have on attitudes to acculturation for the CLDB and AA groups was addressed with a simultaneous multiple-regression analysis. Results (Table 19) shows significant combined effects ($R(3, 96) = .461, p < .001$) of Australian identity, age, and, sex for the CLDB group, explaining 21% of the variance in assimilated attitudes to acculturation scores. Moreover, main effects of Australian identification and sex on assimilated attitude scores were also found. Australian identification for the CLDB group had a main negative effect on marginalised scores; the greater the identification the lower the marginalised scores. There were no combined effects for sex and age on marginalised scores. There were no significant combined or main effects for separated or integrated attitudes scores in the CLDB group, however, there was a main effect for Australian identification and marginalised attitudes scores, with no combined effects.

Table 19

Simultaneous Multiple Regression results for Attitudes to Acculturation scores in the CLDB sub-sample

Variable	R	R ²	B	SE B	β	p
Marginalised and A x B x C	.228	.052	11.641	2.871	-	.160
Australian Id (A)			-1.075	.505	-.213	.036
Age (B)			7.362	.184	.041	.690
Sex (C)			-.683	.719	-.096	.345
Separated and A x B x C	.248	.061	14.892	2.918	-	.107
Australian Id (A)			.147	.517	.028	.777
Age (B)			-.299	.188	-.161	.114
Sex (C)			-1.136	.740	-.155	.128
Assimilated and A x B x C	.461	.212	13.304	2.630	-	.000
Australian Id (A)			-1.547	.477	-.299	.002
Age (B)			.130	.171	.071	.451
Sex (C)			-2.691	.675	-.376	.000
Integrated and A x B x C	.153	.023	11.642	2.706	-	
Australian Id (A)			.536	.478	.114	.264
Age (B)			-.119	.175	-.070	.497
Sex (C)			.621	.686	.093	.368

With respect to the AA group (Table 20), there were significant combined effects for sex, age, and Australian identification, and a main effect of sex, on assimilated scores, $\text{R}(3, 273) = .286, p < .001$. Similarly, there were combined effects of all three variables on separated scores, with a main effect for age also. There were no combined or main effects of national identification, age, and sex on marginalised or integrated attitude scores.

Question 3. Do CLDB and the AA adolescents differ with respect to self-referent evaluations? Specifically, are there differences with respect to perceived ability to cope, self-image, self-esteem and optimism for the future, and do age and gender contribute to the outcome?

Coping ability

Each of the five items from the ways of coping scale was analysed separately with the five possible responses collapsed into three alternatives (Never/Hardly ever = 1, Sometimes = 2, and Often/Most of the time = 3). This was done in order to ensure adequate cell sizes for analyses. Preliminary analyses found no significant gender differences for the two age categories for both cultural groups for any of the five items. Further analyses involved age and cultural group, only. Table 21 presents the results of Chi-square analyses for the five items. A Bonferroni adjustment was made to the alpha level (.05 / 5 = .01) to prevent inflated Type I error.

Table 20

Simultaneous Multiple Regression results for Attitudes to Acculturation scores in the AA sub-sample

Variable	R	R ²	B	SE B	β	p
Marginalised and A x B x C	.133	.018	13.785	1.633	-	.181
Australian Id (A)			-5.854	.551	-.001	.992
Age (B)			-.100	.102	-.060	.326
Sex (C)			-.735	.401	-.111	.068
Separated and A x B x C	.199	.040	17.306	2.40	-	.011
Australian Id (A)			-.312	.812	-.023	.701
Age (B)			-.491	.150	-.196	.001
Sex (C)			-.121	.585	-.012	.837
Assimilated and A x B x C	.286	.082	15.773	2.245	-	.000
Australian Id (A)			-.131	.754	-.010	.863
Age (B)			-6.923	.140	-.029	.621
Sex (C)			-2.616	.549	-.281	.000
Integrated and A x B x C	.092	.008	12.929	1.546	-	.000
Australian Id (A)			-.301	.519	-.035	.562
Age (B)			-9.929	.096	-.063	.304
Sex (C)			.408	.376	.066	.279

Table 22 shows frequencies and percentages for the three response categories for the two items (2 and 5) for which the results of analyses were significant and for the one item (3) for which results approached significance. It can be observed that Anglo-Australian respondents tended to report apologising to people more often (60.3%) than the CLDB group (36%), while the latter tended to report “never” more often (22%) than AAs (17%) to the self improvement item.

Table 21

Results of Chi-square analyses for the five items on the Ways of Coping Scale.

	χ^2	df	n	p
Item				
1. Go along with parents	6.065	6	385	.416
2. Apologise to people	17.734	6	385	.007
3. Talk to teacher	15.047	6	385	.02
4. Stay away from home	4.473	6	385	.613
5. Improve yourself	37.328	6	385	.000

Table 22

Frequencies and percentages of responses for three items from the Ways of Coping Scale.

	CLDB				AA			
	12 - 15 years		16 – 19 years		12 – 15 years		16 – 19 years	
Item	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
2. Apologise to people								
Never	16	27.6	3	7.5	27	16.3	17	14.0
Sometimes	21	36.2	18	45.0	42	25.3	31	25.6
Often	21	36.2	19	47.5	97	58.4	73	60.3
3. Talk to teacher								
Never	37	63.8	30	75.0	134	80.7	99	81.8
Sometimes	14	24.1	8	20.0	15	9.0	17	14.0
Often	7	12.1	2	5.0	17	10.2	5	4.1
5. Improve yourself								
Never	13	22.4	5	12.5	18	10.8	21	17.4
Sometimes	14	24.1	15	37.5	15	9.0	36	29.8
Often	31	53.4	20	50.0	133	80.1	64	52.9

Self-image

Self-image was assessed by the selected items from the PAIC scale. The abbreviated scale used had very good internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha = .91). Table 23 presents the mean total scores for males and females in the two age groups for the AA and CLDB samples. The higher the score, the less positive the self-image.

Table 23

Mean (SD) PAIC scores for the CLDB and AA samples broken down by age and gender

n	CLDB				AA			
	12 - 15 years		16 – 19 years		12 – 15 years		16 – 19 years	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
n	39	14	18	22	108	52	67	55
	23.87 (5.82)	24.00 (5.41)	25.94 (7.29)	27.36 (5.40)	23.06 (6.66)	25.92 (5.08)	24.30 (7.28)	26.96 (5.06)

Total scores were entered into a 2 (AA vs CLDB) x 2 (age) x 2 (gender) ANOVA. Table 24 presents the results of the analysis. The significant effect for age was due to the 16 – 19 year olds tending to score higher (Mean = 26.14) than the 12 – 15 year olds (Mean = 24.21). The significant effect for gender was due to females tending to score higher (Mean = 26.06) than males (Mean = 24.29).

Table 24

Analysis of variance for PAIC scores

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	df	F	p	Partial η^2
Cultural group (A)	3.4	1	.09	.767	
Age (B)	229.5	1	5.96	.015	.016
Gender (C)	193.04	1	5.02	.026	.013
A x B	38.28	1	.995	.319	
A x C	61.16	1	1.59	.208	
B x C	4.56	1	.119	.731	
A x B x C	8.59	1	.223	.637	
Error	14123.71	367			

Self-esteem

Table 25 presents means for the four measures of self-esteem from the Hare Self-Esteem Scale and Table 26 presents correlations between the four measures of self-esteem. Due, in part, to the shared items used to calculate global self-esteem and the three other measures, the correlations between global self-esteem and the three other measures are artificially inflated.

Table 25

Means (SD) of four measures of self-esteem for the CLDB and AA samples broken down by age and gender

n	CLDB				AA			
	12 - 15 years		16 – 19 years		12 – 15 years		16 – 19 years	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
	39	16	17	22	109	55	63	55
Peers	13.00 (3.68)	13.00 (3.69)	12.12 (3.72)	11.77 (2.67)	12.12 (3.90)	13.25 (2.65)	12.15 (3.33)	12.47 (2.57)
Parents	10.08 (4.06)	8.81 (3.33)	10.59 (4.30)	8.41 (2.86)	9.39 (3.58)	11.11 (4.62)	11.02 (3.93)	10.16 (4.05)
School	15.36 (5.51)	12.75 (5.95)	15.65 (4.31)	14.82 (3.58)	14.37 (4.47)	15.65 (4.11)	15.70 (4.22)	15.74 (4.00)
Global	38.44 (10.50)	34.56 (10.68)	38.35 (10.52)	35.00 (6.73)	35.88 (8.99)	40.02 (8.17)	38.87 (9.47)	38.38 (8.22)

Table 26

Correlations between four measures of self-esteem

	Parents	School	Global
Peers	.368	.350	.702
Parents		.451	.788
School			.815

Note: All correlations significant at $p < .001$

The data for peers, parents, and school self-esteem were entered into a 2 (AA vs CLDB) \times 2 (age) \times 2 (gender) MANVOA. Global self-esteem was not included in this analysis due to the high correlations between it and the three other self-esteem measures (Table 26). Table 27 presents the results of the analysis. It appears that older youth exhibit higher self-esteem overall.

Table 27

Multivariate Analysis of Variance of three measures of self-esteem

Source of Variance	Wilks' Lambda	Multivariate F	p	Partial η^2
Cultural group (A)	.988	1.54	.204	
Age (B)	.976	2.97	.032	.024
Gender (C)	.990	1.23	.299	
A x B	.996	.433	.730	
A x C	.983	2.15	.094	
B x C	.988	1.48	.219	
A x B x C	.995	.658	.579	

Note: All comparisons based on 3, 366 df.

Optimism for the future

Results for a 2-way ANOVA for optimism for the future by age and cultural background (Table 28) yielded no significant main or interaction effects.

Table 28

2-Way ANOVA optimism for future ratings by age and overall sample cultural background

Source	df	Sum of squares	Mean square	F	p
Age (A)	1	1.605	1.605	1.243	.266
Cultural background (B)	1	4.953	4.953	3.836	.051
AxB	1	3.887	3.887	3.01	.084
Error	344	444.121	1.291		
Age (A):		12-15 years	16-19 years	Total	
		Mean	N	Mean	N
Cultural background (B)					
CLDB	85	1.96	48	2.49	37
AA	263	2.05	149	2.08	114

Life goals

Frequency results indicated a notable difference between the two samples only with respect to personal development /relationship goals (Realm 1). Table 29 indicates that more AA respondents (74%) tended to report at least one and up to four personal development/relationship goals. In contrast, 56% of CLDB respondents indicated at least one goal in this category. The rest of the results were very similar for both groups.

Table 29

Frequency and percentage results for future orientation categories in CLDB and AA respondents

Source	N	CLDB*	%	AA*	%
Realm 1	340	49	56	238	74
Realm 2	365	69	70	212	77
Realm 3	324	48	58	142	59
Realm 4	240	8	13	28	12
Cramer's V= .189*					

*Significant at 95%

Realm 1=Personal development/Relationships goals;

Realm 2=Career/Employment/Prestige goals; Realm 3= Material/Leisure/Life-style goals;

Realm 4= Avoidance goals.

* Number of respondents reporting at least one and up to three or four goals (depending on degrees of freedom specified) pertaining to each respective realm.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION

6. Study overview

The present study sought to explore the dynamics of cultural identification as a psycho-social phenomenon in minority culture youth. Experiences of racism, original culture identity search (a sense of belonging, perceived importance of actively learning about and participating in an original culture), and salient individual and group variables were considered to be notable features contributing to the development of a cultural identity.

The present study followed the trends set by recent research and focused on the inter-relationship between perceived cognitive, social, and physical self and cultural identification in minority culture adolescents. It was argued that the experience of cultural identification involves a multi-faceted and complex process that may not necessarily be triggered by collective negative experiences such as racism, as suggested by Phinney and her colleagues. Rather, it is likely to be the result of a range of experiences, of which racism may be one, interacting over time (Alipuria, 2001). From the onset of this study, it was suggested that the process of cultural identification is likely to be the result of the interaction over time of *individual* variables (e.g., maturation, phenotype, self-image, self-esteem, coping, and optimism for the future) and *group-based* variables (e.g., collective

self-appraisal, acculturation, experiences of racism, parental variables), as well as socio-demographic experiences (e.g., geographical location, socio-economic background).

The literature review examined concepts that constitute cultural identity as exposed by a number of theories and models. A review of the foundation research by Marcia (1989) and Erikson (1968) and the more recent work by Jean S. Phinney (1990; 1992, Phinney & Alipuria, 1996) was presented. The literature review also explored the social and psychological transitions experienced in adolescence, including socialisation and enculturation, and focused on the processes that may help shape cultural identity. Parenting styles and correlates were also discussed within the context of cultural identity development. Moreover, a comprehensive analysis of the concept of acculturation was presented as was the experience of youth cultural identity development within the social frame in which it unfolds

The study was organised into two sections, with the main objectives for the first section being: (1) to test Phinney's model of ethnic identity with the view to clarify the role played by the experience of racism as a trigger for identity search, leading to achieved identity; (2) identify the effect that maturation (age) may have on identity development (identity search) and original culture identity achievement (identification with an original culture); (3) establish whether cultural identity is positively related to individual and collective self-appraisal; (4) examine the contribution that cultural adjustment, as measured by Berry et al's (1992) Attitude to Acculturation Strategies Scale, has on original culture

identification; and (5) the relationship that demographic experiences had on search and achieved identity. Objectives for the second part of this study explored differences between minority culture and Anglo-Australian adolescents regarding: (1) differential rates of national identification in the two sub-samples; (2) the influence that national/civic identity, age and sex combined, may have on attitudes to acculturation; (3) self-referent evaluations such as perceived ability to cope, self-image, self-esteem, and optimism for the future for the two sub-samples.

The link between cultural identity search and racism as pre-empting and mediating variables of cultural identity

Results confirmed the suggestion that reported original culture identification is linked to cultural identity search. However, the expected link between search and racism was not confirmed. Specifically, adolescents who engaged in cultural identity search tended to also report an original culture identity, but not necessarily experiences of racism. Moreover, adolescents who reported experiencing racism also tended to report identifying themselves with an original culture but were unlikely to report engaging in search. Yet, the model explored through the analysis assumes that racism leads to identification when mediated by search. According to Nichols (1999), a mediating variable is one which is significantly correlated to the independent and the dependent variables. The latter in turn is not expected to be correlated to the independent variable in the absence of the mediating variable.

Thus, racism and identity should not be found to be related in order for search to be considered as a mediating variable. As stated in the Results section, the opposite was found in the present study. A clear connection between racism and identity exists but not between racism and search. Thus, it can be concluded that search, or learning about and exploration of one's original culture, may not necessarily be related to experiences of racism, and as such, may not always be a mediating variable between identity and racism.

An alternative explanation for why Phinney's model was only partially supported could be that the effects of a latent variable influenced the outcome. Coakes and Steed (2001) and Norusis (1988) have suggested that a latent variable may contribute to an outcome when upon inspection of the correlation matrix resulting from a Logit analysis, relationships between the variables (other than those expected) are in evidence. This was the case in the present study. Results also indicated that phenotype could very well be the latent variable, given that CLDB respondents who were Caucasian in appearance tended to report a different set of experiences when compared to those "visibly ethnic", with the latter reporting a greater incidence of racism and marginally engaging in more search. In short, Phiney's model appears to be consistent with predicting *racial* identification but not *cultural* identification experiences in minority culture youth. This provides evidence to support what many social researchers have found, that race is a very different experience to those of ethnicity and culture.

A distinction between race, ethnicity, and culture has been made by Alipuria (2002) who stated that "these are not interchangeable, though they do overlap" (p. 83). Moreover, Alipuria defines racial identity as "confronting the positionality of one's birth in a racially structured society (p. 84)" while identification with an original culture and achieved identity are quite different concepts. The first implies identification without a conscious awareness of having made a choice (accepting a membership group that is not necessarily the reference group). In other words, although one may identify with being Mexican, one may not necessarily look to the "Mexican way" of doing things and thinking as a frame of reference for one's lifestyle. The second concept pertains to a conscious decision to actively embrace an identity that has culture as the centrally defining schema (the membership group is also the reference group).

Experiences of racism and visible ethnicity

The reported incidence of racism was of interest in the present study rather than the nature of racism experiences (what actually happened). Results indicated a high proportion (63%) of CLDB adolescents reporting experiencing racism, with 81% of Indigenous Australians reporting racism experiences. Racism was also found to be linked with phenotypic characteristics; the overwhelming majority of CLDB adolescents who are visibly identifiable as non-Caucasian are likely to report experiences of racism more so than those who 'look' Caucasian. This may be an indication that mainstream, Anglo-Australians may have problems accepting the

racially "different". A similar picture has been reported by North American researchers where there is "a peculiar preoccupation with skin colour" (Wardle, 1990, as cited in Enge, 1998, p. 2). Gottfried (1998) and Grimson (2005) suggest that 'race' matters in how individuals are treated and responded to. He states that "the phenotypical consequences of the *Negroid* genotype, and prejudice are likely to be connected" (Gottfried, 1998 p. 3, emphasis added). Thus, although phenotype is not necessarily an indication of race, the two tend to be blurred when stigma is attached to both.

The present findings on racism incidences are consistent with what Williams (1999) and Parks (1999) have found; namely, that racism is commonplace in a range of public contexts including the school system in North America. Australian studies have also shown that racism and prejudice are pervasive in the public school system (Pattel-Gray, 1998). For example, Enge (1998) has found that although most forms of institutional racism appear to have been abolished, minority group individuals, particularly Indigenous Australians, continue to be constrained by structural racism. These findings have important implications for the development and implementation of effective programs and structures in place at all levels of the education system designed to assist adolescents deal with what can be a life-thwarting experience. Enge advises that these programs need to include basic principles of the recognition of universal traits among cultures rather than differences. Basic principles include the avoidance of classifying adolescents into neat categories that may promote stereotypes, promoting learning about many

cultures in the classroom as much as possible, recognition of developmental milestones that may have a cultural component (e.g., learning a native or mother tongue) and, promotion of social interactions and friendships in the classroom.

Experiences of racism in CLDB Caucasian phenotype youth

Although Caucasian phenotype CLDB youth tended to report fewer incidences of racism when compared to the non-Caucasian sub-sample, a substantial proportion of them also tended to report experiencing racism. This is consistent with other findings (Baez, 2004; Grimson, 2005). Therefore, it can be concluded that for those youth who participated in this study, being identified as of a CLDB may go hand in hand with the experience of racism, regardless of phenotype or whether adolescents were born in Australia (2nd generation migrants) or overseas. Further, identification with either the original culture or the mainstream culture (national identity) is a major factor in determining whether racism occurs or not. That is, adolescents who perceived themselves to be "Australian" are likely to experience fewer incidences of racism. The latter observation has important implications in that youth of CLDB appear to interpret being "Australian" as being of Caucasian phenotype and identifying with the Australian culture. It could also mean that those CLDB Caucasian phenotype youth who subscribe to their culture of origin are more likely to experience a kind of backlash from the majority, manifesting itself in experiences of racism. Moreover, it is possible that Caucasian youth of minority culture background may

not necessarily choose consciously to identify with the mainstream culture. Rather, their "choice" may have more to do with giving in to tacit or direct pressure to conform to social norms of the majority, pressure perpetuated in institutions like schools, media, and other societal structures. If adolescents do not subscribe to the identity of the majority they may consequently suffer discrimination and prejudice.

Visible ethnicity and cultural identity

Visible ethnicity was found to be a major factor in shaping cultural identification. Those children who 'look' Caucasian are more likely to identify with the Anglo-Australian identity and describe themselves as "Australian". On the other hand, children who are non-Caucasian are likely to report bi-culturality rather than original culture identification. This may indicate that non-Caucasian youth, or in the words of a Torres-Strait Islander participant, youth that "*don't look like I [they] belong*" are more likely to acknowledge their cultural roots because they have no other choice. That is to say, they feel and are made to feel "different" and a way to establish a sense of belonging to something or someone is to look to their cultural heritage. From this, it can be concluded that the idea that youth of minority cultures have "choices" and can activate freely their curiosity and willingness to explore parental cultural roots, is an illusion. This conclusion has been supported by Baez (2004), Goffman (1969) and Alipuria (2002) who have stated that racial identity involves having an identity *imposed* and its culture *stigmatised*: there is limited choice on the part of the individual as to whether to be

identified as part of a particular racial group. Alipuria goes on to say "This [social] group placement is decided for him or her on the basis of appearance" (p. 76). Moreover, solidarity (in-group identification) is the likely response to the denigration and separation that others impose.

An interesting outcome of this study was that, although less than half (44%) of the CLDB respondents indicated identifying with their culture of origin, Indigenous Australian youth expressed a clear and unambiguous connection with their culture of origin. This may indicate that Indigenous Australians do not respond in the same way to the pressure to conform to the norms of the dominant culture experienced and reacted to by youth of first and second generation migrant extraction.

It can be concluded that phenotype or "visible ethnicity" is a major variable that has to be considered carefully in future research as it will have a major impact not only on the likelihood that CLDB youth experience racism, but also on whether or not CLDB adolescents identify with their membership group.

Maturation effects and identification with an original culture

Results indicated that, when asked what culture respondents identified with, either "Australian" or "Original culture", the majority (82%) of adolescents chose the label "Australian". This was the case for early and late adolescents. These results suggest that maturation may not contribute to any substantial degree to the shaping of an original culture identity for minority culture Australian adolescents.

Moreover, cultural identity does not appear to be as salient a feature of self-definition as expected for the group of adolescents surveyed. These findings are elaborated on in subsequent paragraphs in this section.

The meaning of being of an original culture

In addition to the majority of the sample reporting not identifying with the original culture, when given the opportunity to elaborate on what it meant to be of an original culture membership, the majority (61%), regardless of age, did not provide a descriptor of meaning (43%) or responded that being of an original culture meant nothing in particular (18%). Only a small percentage (6%) reported concrete positive meanings to identifying with an original culture and 3% reported negative meanings attached to an original identity. Results were very similar for early and late adolescents. Therefore, it can be concluded that CLDB adolescents appear indifferent to their cultural heritage. This is not consistent with what has been concluded by Phinney and Rotheram (1987), namely that the impact of ethnic identity on adolescent development is as relevant as, or more relevant than, class and gender in heterogeneous societies where minority groups exist alongside a dominant social group. This observation may be consistent with the more confronting experience of being from a different race rather than of first or second generation migrant background. If so, Phinney's conclusions may apply more to select minority group adolescents living in Australia like Indigenous and Asian Australian, than to Australian adolescents of migrant background who are not

visibly identifiable as being “different”. On the other hand, the failure to identify a particular meaning to being of a minority culture evident in the majority of youth, may be an indication that these youth have not as yet achieved an identity *per se*, with all the implications that that may bring. That is, they may not be committed as yet to see themselves as an active member of a group and internalising values and attitudes consistent with that group. This conclusion is in line with results of similar studies (see for example Karter, 2003); this study found that only a handful of adolescents demonstrated an achieved identification. Additional research is needed in order to test this proposition further.

Perceived culture identification across situations

Overall, results showed a strong trend toward the lack of identification with an original culture across situations (at home, with peers, and at school), with a definite preference for an “Australian” identity. One has to ask why is it that CLDB adolescents tend not to identify with or derive specific meaning from being of a minority culture in Regional North Queensland, Australia. It is possible that the lack of identification might be related to the fact that most adolescents reported being of second-generation migrant background (born in Australia with at least one overseas born parent), and as such, exposed since birth to the influence of the values and practices of the dominant culture. The latter scenario is certainly more likely to be a reality in families where one parent is of ESB. Lay and Verkuyten (1999) concluded the latter after surveying two groups of Canadian-born and

overseas-born Chinese adolescents. They found that cultural identity and self-definition using cultural terms declines dramatically in second generation immigrants. Thus, it is possible that Australian-born CLDB migrant adolescents feel less like *foreigners* than those born overseas do. It would be interesting to replicate Lay and Verkuyten's study with first generation migrant Australian samples. It is very possible that a greater number of adolescents would have indicated identification with an original culture.

It may also be that during adolescence, individuals do not consider cultural experiences particularly poignant or relevant to their reality; living as they do in a dominant social context in which they are themselves a minority and where it is more functional to try and adhere to majority values. Additionally, it may be more 'socially adaptive' not to identify with a minority culture even though adolescents may speak a second language at home and partake in traditional activities. Alternatively, responses to the meaning of being of an original culture may be more consistent with what respondents think the perception of the mainstream, especially peers, may be of their belonging to a minority culture rather than the meaning that they themselves attach to their cultural heritage. This has been proposed by Moran (2003). For example, a typical reply given to the open-ended item referring to the meaning of being from an original, non-mainstream culture was "*it means I have a dumb accent*". But who defines the qualities attributed to a minority group? Here again there is a naïve assumption underscored in the Ethnic Identity model that adolescents from minority cultures should and will be proud of

their heritage and will assign multiple positive meanings to their belonging to their parental ancestry. The results from this study did not find this the case. Rather, a picture portraying youth who are insistently trying to fit in, to be part of the mainstream social landscape, was identified. Thus, it may be the case that within the context of the Australian society, there is no concrete value attached to being of an adolescent of a minority culture. In no other experience is this oversight more apparent than in the use of a second language. In spite of the progressive ideas fomenting a healthy respect for multiculturalism embraced by many institutions including schools, the use of a second language is still actively discouraged in Australia. This is in contrast with the approach of other countries. For example, the use of ebonics (a variety of English spoken by some African Americans in the USA) has been identified as an acceptable mode of communication in some North American schools (Williams, 1999). While it is understood that language ability is the single most important indicator of adjustment for immigrants (Mghir, Freed, Raskin, & Katon, 1995), it is also considered to be the single most important component of identity for minority culture adolescents (Phinney, 1990). Thus, an inadvertent message transmitted to minority youth who may be discouraged from using a mother tongue is that being from a minority may be of little or no relevance.

On the other hand, youth may not assign a given meaning to being of a minority background, not because they do not value it necessarily, but rather a cultural identity has not been fully explored nor a commitment made to it to the point where the experience is crucial for self definition for those adolescents who

participated in this study. It is possible that ethnic and cultural identity develop later in adulthood.

The difference between racial, ethnic and cultural identification

The complex relationships between ethnicity, race, and culture have been examined by scholars in a range of disciplines such as history, sociology, anthropology, and psychology. The consensus is that although these concepts are inter-related, they point to different experiences. Race is visible, identifiable at a glance; it divides humans into categories possessing certain traits and capacities. Race implies stigma by definition in that racial differences produce an inherent superiority of a particular race. The presence of phenotype, as stated earlier, is no indication of race, yet the results of this study indicate that youth tend to blur the two in their experience of being Black or Asian or of Mediterranean background. Thus race is an externally imposed categorisation; a construct devised by the dominant context. In the eloquent words of Alipuria (2002), "When race is affirmed by proxy for ethnic group label, it can be a voluntary affirmation of one's cultural, historical heritage. But, if persons of mixed African and European ancestry, who look to be a blend of those phenotypes called themselves white, they would be corrected. If they chose a black racial label, that choice would be affirmed" (p. 65). Thus, Alipuria alludes to the fact that racial classification can and does continue to serve the purpose of "societal dimension" (Alipuria, 2002, p. 66) in American society, namely when there are power differences imposed.

In contrast, ethnicity can be defined as the awareness of a blood and social connection with one's own ancestral roots. Ethnicity can be chosen in as much as one may be connected by blood to a given group but this does not necessarily mean involvement. An ethnic group provides a membership group, an affirmation of who we are as members of a group. Ethnicity may be explored to find out about where we come from and how we relate as individuals to those who are part of our group. Racial identity, on the other hand, may be explored in order to confront the social stigma.

Cultural identification may be an extension of ethnicity or it may not in as much as it constitutes the set of values, beliefs, attitudes and other temperament-defining qualities that set us apart from others, but at the same time, help us to be identified as being part of others. Cultural identification involves an exploration of the extent to which cultural prescriptions fit the inner or individual self (Alipuria, 2002). There are many ways to "be" of a given cultural background. Thus, racial identity involves having an ethnic identity imposed and its culture stigmatised. Goffman (1969). Moran, 2003) and others observed that, ultimately, the complex and distinct but inter-related structures of race, ethnicity, and cultural self, are reduced to racial categories. The question is not whether minority group individuals accept the imposition of these categories but how they respond to being "slotted" into them.

National/Australian identity

As stated in previous paragraphs, most CLDB respondents tended to identify more strongly with being "Australian" than with being of an "Original culture". Also, those perceiving themselves as "Australian" also tended to rate learning about an original culture as less important than those who identify more with their original culture. Membership of a minority culture may be promoted when it is convenient for the dominant culture or host country (for example, at cultural festivals and international celebrations). This was in evidence at the Olympic Games in the year 2000 in Sydney, Australia and in the millennium celebrations across Australia at which Indigenous dancers and Chinese dragons featured prominently. However, it is probable that, while there is a place for these displays of "ethnicity", the perception of commitment to more than one culture and identity outside the "safe" contexts of festivals and opening ceremonies, may be perceived as unpatriotic, confused, unsure, and not committed to the national interest.

According to some authors (see for example Kver & Heyerdahl, 2003; Rumbaut, 1994; Shrake & Rhee, 2004), identification with more than one culture is not only very possible but the most frequently occurring phenomenon for adolescents living with two or more cultural realities. As discussed, this was not entirely confirmed by the results obtained. Further, the more Australian adolescents feel, the less they appear to value learning about their culture of origin. Thus, although it is reasonable to conceive identity as a multifaceted experience, adolescents may experience role incongruence when faced with two or more

distinctive sets of practices, beliefs, and values. This occurs as there may not be support from the dominant system to subscribe to other than an Australian identity. There may be a need to redefine and reinforce the meaning of being "Australian" to mean speaking several languages, being flexible and tolerant, open-minded and generous, exhibiting a range of physical features and holding several distinct beliefs but united by the law and the priorities of the country. Hall (1994) identified the existence of a landscape of social identities, denying that pure cultures exist. These identities are involved in continuous interplay giving way to *hybridity*. The latter involves the 'borrowing' of ideas, skills, technologies, and arts. According to Hall, these borrowings are not random, but purposeful, enabling adaptation to new situations.

Degree of original culture identification and cultural identity search: Sense of belonging, exploration and participation

As expected, active participation in cultural activities was found to be strongly related to the degree of original culture identification. The greater the identification with an original culture the higher the number of activities engaged in. According to Helms (1990), the process of cultural identity search, of which sense of belonging is an important aspect, leads individuals to value their racial, ethnic, or minority group membership and integrate it with other identities. Results also indicated that adolescents from CLDB who actively engage in learning about their original culture tend to identify more strongly with that culture than

those who do not. Thus, results supported expected outcomes and therefore were consistent with what Marcia (1989 as cited in Bosma, Graafsma, Grotvean, De Levita, 1994) and Phinney (1990) found. Moreover, search may be activated by participation and consequently lead to original identification. Thus, search may be the result of active, positive experiences involving an original culture. In other words, the reality of a *cultural milieu* may be first experienced (participation) before committing to it as in *moratorium* stage, and then search *per se* (sense of belonging, and exploration) may begin as a conscious process leading to a degree of commitment to an original culture. Therefore, all three components of search, although related to an extent, are quite different in what they may represent regarding ego-identity stage. Participation can represent unquestioned participation as per *moratorium* or active participation including a choice being made to partake in traditional activities (Phinney, 1989). Sense of belonging can represent an attitude to the original culture and a degree of awareness and acceptance of group membership but sense of belonging may not necessarily be overtly expressed. In other words, an individual may experience awareness of belonging to a given culture but never "live" it or partake in that culture (Hurtado, Guring & Peng, 1994). Finally, learning can be said to be a clear indicator of actively seeking information about the original culture. Thus, learning could be perceived as both attitudes and behaviours stemming from a conscious interest in the culture of origin and therefore a clearer indicator of identity search.

Maturation effects on search and cultural identity

There were no age effects identified with respect to experiences of cultural identity search and original culture identification. Thus, the process of cultural identity construction, although stage-like in nature, may not necessarily be a product of maturation and ultimately may not be at the forefront of adolescent psycho-social development. Indeed a cultural identity may not be as salient as other identities such as for example, gender, in CLDB adolescents living in a dominant culture. It is difficult to arrive at any conclusive statement, however, because although phenomenologically speaking, there is a notable difference between 12 year olds (youngest participant) and 19 olds (oldest participant), these differences may not have an effect directly on the development of a cultural identity. Similarly, results from this study indicated an absence of a link between search and age, with both early and late adolescents tending to report the same degree of importance to learning about one's original culture. This is inconsistent with earlier cross-sectional and longitudinal studies supporting a developmental progression and highlighting maturational and age-related differences in perceived importance of cultural and ethnic identification (see for example Phinney, 1989, 1992; Phinney & Chavira, 1992; Phinney & Tarver, 1988). However, as stated before, it is likely that the Ethnic Identity model may be tapping onto experiences that are not strictly related to cultural identity development and therefore apparently unaffected by maturation.

Moreover, it is possible that older adolescents may be more reliant on peer-approval and less willing to seek information about or explore family traditions

and values. To be openly and actively interested in traditional cultural practices and values may be perceived as conforming to parental values and authority, an aberration in the eyes of many an adolescent (Connor, Poyzrasli, Ferrer-Wreder & Grahame, 2004). It could also be that overtly exhibiting behaviours consistent with a minority culture membership (e.g., speaking a second language, dressing in a particular way) may bring about prejudice and discrimination. These behaviours may look “uncool” in the eyes of peers. In the words of an Asian-background participant in response to the open-ended question about what it means to be of two cultures *“I eat Chinese food with a fork and knife, not with chopsticks”*.

Ego-identity stages

A major question posed by the study was related to the manner in which individual-self-appraisal may be influenced by ego identity stage or stage of cultural identity at which the young person finds him/her at a given point in time. Results indicated approximately the same number of respondents (30%) in all the three ego-identity stages of *diffused*, *foreclosure*, and *moratorium*. Only 3 out of a total of 84 respondents were identified as being in the *achieved* cultural identity stage. This is in contrast to the finding that from 41% to 44% (depending on age) of adolescents reported identifying with an original culture. The reader may recall that identification with an original culture and achieved identity are quite different concepts. The first implies identification without a conscious awareness of having made a choice (accepting membership group but the latter not being the reference

group), whilst the second concept pertains to a conscious decision to actively embrace an identity that has culture as the centrally defining schema (the membership group is also the reference group). Thus, the present study confirmed Phinney's (1989) own findings pertaining to the existence of three stages of ethnic identity development (process) leading to an achieved ethnic identification (state). Approximately a third of all participants appear to exhibit little or no active interest in their ethnicity and no clear understanding of the issues involved (*Diffused* ego-identity stage). A third of adolescents, although not actively interested in their culture of origin, tended to exhibit some awareness and clarity about their ethnicity, with either positive or negative feelings about it, depending on socialisation experiences (*Foreclosure* ego-identity stage) (Phinney, 1989). Almost a third of the adolescents evidenced some interest in their cultural heritage with some understanding of what it means to belong to that culture (*Moratorium* ego-identity stage).

Individual self-appraisal, cultural identity and ego-identity stages

The literature review in this thesis highlighted the qualitative difference in perceived self-esteem within a range of contexts such as with peers, at home and at school. Self-esteem result patterns in this study were largely consistent with the relevant literature based on research involving majority-culture adolescents. However, Phinney et al's (1992) predictions linking ego-identity and individual self-appraisal were not supported.

Cultural identity and self-esteem

According to Phinney and others (Hattie, 1992), minority culture adolescents who have not examined and resolved issues pertaining to their cultural identity will exhibit lower self-esteem and will be at a greater risk of experiencing adjustment problems. This was not supported by the evidence in this study in that there were no differences in self-esteem between those who identified with a culture and those who did not. Thus, self-esteem may have little to do with being aware of a clear cultural or ethnic identity within a minority group. It is possible that self-esteem as it refers to the accomplishments and unique attributes of individuals may be more in keeping with the private-self, and that self-perceptions embodied in ethnic identity may be related more to group membership and group identity or the public-self. Lay and Verkuyten (1999) made a distinction between personal-domain and public-domain self-esteem schemas. They argued that the private domain self-referent schemas tap onto different construals when compared to public domain schemas. The authors concluded that cultural membership, although important, may not be a salient feature in global self-esteem as, for instance, age or gender have been found to be. (see for example Nov-Krispin, Schiller, Lobel, & Lobel, & Feldman, 2004)

Global self-esteem and ego-identity stage

As predicted, results indicated a significant relationship between ego-identity stage and global self-esteem but not in the direction predicted by Phinney et al (1992) and others (Tajfel, 1981). Social Identity Theory suggests that the primary motive for identifying with a particular social group is the enhancement of self-esteem. Unless the individual's social self-esteem is enhanced, then he/she will not continue to identify with a particular social group. Parallelling the present study's findings, Cross (1991) extensively reviewed empirical studies on *black identity* and concluded that reference group orientation (race awareness, race esteem, race ideology) and personal identity self-concept (self-esteem, self-worth, self-confidence) are not related. The present study then concluded that the particular ego-identity stage at which adolescents may find themselves at a given time has no effect on levels of self-esteem. It is possible that collective experiences for minority culture adolescents living in a multi-cultural society are more likely to be shared with majority culture peers rather than, relatively speaking, more 'homogenous' minority in-group members. This may be very much the case for CLDB youth living in regional and remote areas of North Queensland were the migrant population is not as concentrated as in other parts of Australia. Collective experiences may pertain to, mostly, out-group exchanges, and less often to in-group exchanges (Verkuyten, 2003). Results can be said to confirm commentary forwarded by authors challenging the suggested link between self-esteem and cultural identification (Neasdale, Rooney & Smith 1997; Rumbaut, 1994). Following on from this line of thought, it is fair to say that perceived identity within an ethnic

group or cultural membership may be exclusively related to the collective self, and may bear little or no association with the individual self. Moreover, and in line with Neasdale et al's (1997) comments, the link between social identification and positive self-esteem may be more complex than Tajfel's (1981) theory implies.

Coping ability and ego identity stages

In contrast to the arguments presented in previous paragraphs, both coping ability and perceived self-image (elements of individual-self appraisal) were found not to be linked to ego-identity stage. The literature on minority culture adolescents coping styles is scant as observed in the literature review. Whatever material is available (see for example Roysmith, 1997; Zhou & Bankston, 1994 as cited in Neasdale et al, 1997; Herman-Stahl & Petersen, 1996) points to a series of observations consistent across studies. Briefly, coping has been defined as a consequence of the relationship between the adolescent and the environment where he/she is constantly appraising and re-appraising a stressful encounter in order to manage it (Crawford, Cohen, Johnson, Snead, & Brook, 2004). Moreover, coping behaviour is likely to depend on the nature of the experience or context highlighting or requiring cultural adjustment. The lack of connection between coping and ego-identity stage found in this study may not necessarily be an indication of minority culture adolescents' ability to handle stress within experiences that challenge self-construals based on ethnicity or cultural background. For example, other researchers found that self-appraisal at the

individual level may not necessarily be related to group-based experiences and group-based appraisal (Verkuyten, 2003). In the present study, the measure of coping derived did not target cross-cultural experiences specifically, but coping style in general. It was assumed that coping behaviour is determined by stable person-based factors and basic habitual coping styles are used across different types of stressful situations.

Self-image and ego identity stages

Perceived self-image was considered a relevant feature for self-appraisal in adolescents, and has been described as a specific experience of the self in the physical domain (Stein, 1995). The present study found no relationship between ego-identity stage and physical self perceptions. The literature points to adolescent's preoccupation with their physical realm (Powell, 2004). Moreover, it has been established that schemas are established in domains that the individual values (Markus, 1977). Therefore, it could be concluded that it may not be advantageous for CLDB youth to establish a connection between their experience of an original culture and their physical image, particularly for those of non-Caucasian phenotype, given that the latter was found to be significantly linked to racism. Additional research is needed to elucidate clearly how awareness of an ethnic, racial or cultural identity may contribute to perceived self-image. Nonetheless, a heartening conclusion derived from this study is that CLDB adolescents tend to report a positive physical self-image in general. A similar

outcome was found for optimism for the future with no relationship between optimism and ego-identity stage.

Thus, to conclude, self-appraisal measures such as self-esteem, coping self-image, and optimism for the future in CLDB adolescents, are not linked to ego-identity stages. These findings are consistent with the earlier findings in this study; namely that cultural identification with an original background is not as salient or as self-defininf for CDLB youth living in a regional and remote area of Northern Australia.

Search, original culture identification and cultural adjustment

A point of enquiry in this study was to determine if the process of cultural identity was related to adjustment as measured by Berry's (1992) Attitudes to Acculturation Strategies Scales. Berry et al, 1992), greater identity search and a stronger original culture identification were expected to be associated with a focus on in-group contact (Separated attitudes), whilst adolescents who had not as yet engaged in culture identification search were expected to report a preference for contact with the majority group (Assimilated attitudes).

Results supported the assumptions made by Berry (1993, as cited in Cooper & Denner, 1998), namely that a degree of retention of the original culture will be related to the degree of involvement in the new culture. The hypothesis posed in this study, however, was partially supported by outcomes in that CLDB youth who reported engaging in search tended to score lower on assimilation attitudes, and

those scoring higher in integrated attitudes (rather than separated attitudes as hypothesised) tended to also report greater identification with a culture of origin. These outcomes are significant in that they follow the general direction of other findings thus far discussed in this study. In other words, a distinct and clear orientation towards the dominant culture is evident, even for those youth who engage in search and identify the most with their original culture.

Attitudes to Acculturation Strategies Scales

Berry et al, (1992) proposed that the process of acculturation can be seen as multilinear and multifaceted where it is assumed that a set of alternative outcomes or strategies is available rather than a single dimension ending in assimilation and absorption into the dominant society. Outcomes derived from this study indicate that acculturating individuals may prefer a number of adjustment strategies simultaneously. For example, one may choose to have a high degree of contact with both the dominant as well as the minority context simultaneously. Moreover, by presenting a set of four different major outcomes pertaining to Assimilated, Separated, Marginalised and Integrated attitudes, Berry has set the stage for at least 16 different combinations of attitudes and behaviours, yielding a more comprehensive set of outcomes. The latter can be understood in the light of the multiplicity of factors shaping experiences of acculturation not only in each culture-specific context but in each individual's subjective experience of adjustment. Phinney and Flores (2002) made this very point in their discussion of their findings

in a study examining the contribution that acculturation had on the retention of traditional gender role attitudes in Mexican immigrants in USA. The authors found that specific aspects of the acculturation process have a different impact on the overall changes in traditional attitudes. Phinney and Flores (2002), and others (Rhee, Chang, & Rhee, 2003) also found that the migrant status of an individual (e.g., first, second, or third generation migrant) is not a clear indicator of acculturation, but rather the individual differences accounting for the amount of original culture retention and involvement in the majority culture.

Collective appraisal and degree of original culture identification

Collective self-appraisal consisted of negative and positive perceptions of in-group members. Perceptions were expected to be influenced by degree of original culture identification. Results supported expectations. Collective appraisal was influenced by original culture identification in the expected direction. Those who tended to identify more strongly with an original culture also tended to report more positive appraisal of their in-group. This is consistent with previous studies addressing group membership and in-group appraisal (see for example, Shechtman, Hiradin, & Zina, 2003; Kashima et al, 1995; Pettigrew, 1998a). There were no significant differences discovered with respect to negative in-group perceptions across adolescents that identified with an original culture and those who did not. Thus, results did not support Cross's (1978) and Kim and Rew's (1994) suggestion that negative in-group attitudes tend to be associated with earlier ego-

identity stages (no awareness of a cultural identity or awareness without commitment). However, the reverse was found by Heine, Kitayama and Lehman (2001). The authors investigated compensatory self-enhancement in Japanese and Canadian university students and found that Japanese readily accept negative self-relevant information, while Canadians discount it.

Socio-contextual variables, cultural identity search and original culture identification

The first research question in this study addressed socio-contextual variables such as parent's own cultural adjustment (English language ability, time since arrival to Australia), their personal characteristics (cultural background), and family composition (both parents born in Australia, both born overseas, and one parent born overseas the other in Australia). It was expected that these were likely to influence whether their offspring engaged in cultural identity search and ultimately achieve cultural identity. Results were not generalisable due to low cell count, however, no relationship was found for search and identity and any of the parental variables. Thus, meaningful conclusions about the relationship between socio-contextual variables and whether adolescents of CLDB engage in search and ultimately achieve original culture identification could not be made. Nonetheless, the results obtained may be underscored by the fact that CLDB participants tend to be second or even third-generation immigrants. The latter implies that: (1) adolescents may not feel the need to explore their cultural heritage because as

suggested before, they may not feel they actively belong to another culture; and (2) parents (or the immigrant parent) themselves may be caught in the adjustment process and consequently may not be able to facilitate or encourage exploration and participation in offspring with respect to culture-specific activities such as speaking an original language. A small problem with the latter observation may be that in the present study it was reported that the majority of parents fell into the *established* category, as against *recent arrivals* category. Thus, it is possible that the expected link between socio-contextual variables and identification was not found because parents tended to be well adjusted, although Phinney and Flores (2002) concluded that time since arrival to a new country, or whether migrants are of first, second or third generation, are not necessarily clear indicators of adjustment. Nonetheless, recency of arrival has been found to have an effect on perceived original culture identity in immigrants and refugees (Neasdale et al, 1997). Moreover, the literature also points to the fact that acculturating individuals undergo a process of change over time which may challenge and may eventually change their perceptions of identity (Neasdale et al, 1997). Thus, parents born overseas in a non-English speaking country (NESC) may try to keep their original culture practices alive but, in time, acculturation changes may replace them for the more conventional, normative, and ultimately adaptive practices of the dominant culture. Although this may signify the loss of an original culture, it could be understood as an *adaptive* outcome.

Therefore, it can be assumed that, when both parents place of birth is a NESc the trends regarding original culture identification and engaging in search are expected to be magnified. It may be that having both parents born in a NESc facilitates vertical and horizontal cultural transmission. Parental commitment to the preservation of an original culture is likely to provide the opportunity for cultural maintenance in their children. This has been suggested by Berry et al, (1992). Moreover, Cote and Bornstein (2003) established that immigrant mothers' cultural cognitions remained stable over time and influenced parenting cognitions in a sample of Japanese and South American mothers living in USA. Future research could involve the investigation of the relationship between parental attitudes to their original culture and the mainstream adopted culture, and their impact on their children's own identification and experiences of a minority culture member. Also of interest would be to investigate whether *cultural distance* (Segall et al, 1990) between parental cultural origin and the adopted country's has a bearing on children's identification and experiences of their original culture.

Individual and collective self-appraisal

As predicted, there was a significant association between individual and collective self-appraisal, supporting past (Tajfel, 1979; Triandis, 1995) and more current trends (see for example Hurtado et al, 1994) in studies of social identity. However, and although expected, this was a puzzling finding given the results of little or no identification with an original culture by CLDB adolescents as Phinney

and Alipuria (1996) theory of ethnic identity development suggests. It appears that while CLDB youth may not consciously embrace their parental cultural roots, they do, nonetheless, appreciate and value their cultural heritage. As discussed earlier, CLDB youth in general did not provide an elaboration of the meaning of being of a minority culture. Therefore it can be concluded that, even though original culture identification is not achieved, and no specific meaning or awareness of a concrete meaning to being from a minority group is held, minority culture adolescents may still perceive their ancestral group in a positive light. These conclusions are consistent with those arrived at by Neasdale et al (1997), and more recently by Shrake and Rhee (2004). The authors state that the link between group and individual perceptions is far more complex than Social Identity theory implies, given that minority group perceptions are likely to be influenced by a range of factors including the dominant culture's perceptions of minorities, and by prejudice and stereotypes for certain racial, ethnic and cultural groups.

Socio-economic status

Results showed no link between respondents' socio-economic status (occupation and employment status) and identity search and original culture identification. Thus, it could be said that original culture identification in Australian CLDB adolescents may not be influenced by socio-economic indicators such as parental employment status and occupation. This is in clear contrast to what has been found in studies conducted in the United States, involving African-

Americans and Hispanic-American samples (see for example, Phinney, 1990; Jones, 1998). As stated earlier, the low cell counts pertaining to parental variables does not allow for meaningful conclusions.

Geographical status and identification

Statistical analysis testing the assumption that the more isolated the adolescents (i.e., living in rural and regional areas), the fewer the opportunity to engage in meaningful culture promoting activities and therefore the less likelihood of identification with an original culture was not supported. Demographic results indicated that CLDB adolescents tended to reside in more populated areas than Anglo-Australian adolescents who tended to live in more rural and therefore more isolated areas.

However, an interesting observation from demographic results pertains to Indigenous adolescents. It is apparent that, judging by the variety of languages, many of them have been displaced from their "country" of birth and therefore have probably lost contact with *elders* and other in-group members that may facilitate identity retention. As stated in the Results section the Indigenous respondents identified in the sample were by no means representative of the Indigenous Australian population given that the sub-sample was derived from high school populations, and that 73% of 15 year old Indigenous Australian adolescents attend school in comparison to 93% Anglo-Australian adolescents (Groome & Hamilton, 1995). Additional research utilising Indigenous Australian participants may

require to consider recruiting such a sample directly from the various Indigenous communities in the North of Queensland such as *Yarrabah, Hopevale, Palm Island, Kowanyama, Pormpuraaw* to name a few, in order to increase the sub-sample size. It is also important to bear in mind that each end every one of these communities are very distinct and their members cannot be "pooled" together to form a "representative" sub-sample. Future research on identity involving Indigenous Australians should ideally focus on Aboriginality, displacement and cultural dislocation, and how these may impact on the construction of an identity.

Inter-group comparisons: CLDB and AA adolescents

The second part of this study focused primarily on differences between majority and minority adolescents with regards to national identification and the effects that the latter may have on adjustment attitudes.

National identity in CLDB and AA adolescents

Results indicate that both CLDB and AA tend to perceive themselves as "Australian", however, closer inspection of the data indicated that CLDB adolescents are six times more likely to report being "unsure" of being Australian or of not identifying with being Australian. This is partly consistent with North American studies which purport that "...two thirds of immigrant adolescents ethnically self-identify with their parents. The remainder identify themselves as American or hyphenated American" (James, 1997 p.4). Similar results were

obtained for boys and girls in both age groups, with most of them identifying with being Australian. So, what is it about the experience of living in a rural and remote area of East-Northern Australia that sets minority culture youth apart from other minority groups and pre-disposes them to favour identification with the majority culture? This question has already been responded to in previous sections of this discussion, however it is discussed again within the context of the meaning that 'being Australian' is given by minority youth participating in this study.

The meaning of being Australian

When asked what it meant to be of an Australian culture, surprisingly, all youth, regardless of background, responded consistently; a third stated that being Australian was an asset, a third stated that it was a hindrance, and a further third indicated that it meant both, an asset and a hindrance. Obviously, a close examination of qualitative data (Appendix E) provided by the sub-samples would assist to elucidate clearly what is meant by asset and what is meant by hindrance. Nonetheless, the issue at hand is that, being from a minority culture does not seem to set adolescents apart from Anglo-Australian peers with regards to their experience of a national identity. That is, minority culture youth seem to value being Australian as much as Anglo-Australian youth. Put in other words, is not more of a hindrance to minority culture CLDB adolescents to be Australian as it is to their Anglo-Australian counterparts.

There was, however a difference in the meaning assigned to being Australian, by both sexes, with girls tending to report being Australian as an asset more so than boys. This is quite consistent with recent and relevant Australian literature addressing national attitudes and value priorities across men and women (see for example Feather, 1987; Kashima et al., 1995). Specifically, Feather (2004; 1998) found gender differences in value ratings, with females rating pro-social values and affiliative contentment values as more important when compared to male participants.

Attitudes to Acculturation Strategies in CLDB and AA adolescents

The second question addressing inter-group differences referred to the impact that national identification, age and sex may have on attitudes to acculturation strategies, namely how dominant and minority culture individuals should relate to each other in the process of cultural adjustment (acculturation). Some differences were found regarding the degree of preference for contact with the majority and minority cultures across the CLDB and AA samples, and age and sex, however there were no interaction effects.

It was expected that the less adjusted CLDB adolescents were the lesser the preference for contact with the majority social context. Moreover, the more tolerant the AA adolescents, the greater the preference for contact with the minority groups. As expected, results indicated that CLDB respondents tend to be well adjusted (tend to identify with their membership group and as second or third generation

migrants but interact effectively within the larger cultural milieu), and tend to hold less Assimilated and Marginalised attitudes than AA youth. Similarly, and as expected, the younger tended to manifest a less adjusted attitude (higher Separated and Marginalised scores) than older adolescents. Moreover, and as predicted, girls evidenced greater cultural adjustment (higher scores on Integrated scores but lower for Assimilated, Separated, and Marginalised scores) than boys, regardless of cultural background. Unfortunately there are very few studies examining the differences across sexes with respect to attitudes to acculturation. One of them is that of Phinney and Flores (2002) who examined the effects that acculturation (adjustment) has on traditional gender-based roles in Mexican immigrants of first, second, and third generation background. However, there are no studies available that address the effect that being of either sex has on attitudes to acculturation. Related studies support the link between sex and attitudes found in the present study. For example, Kashima et al., (1995) found clear gender differences on the relational dimension of the self, the extent to which people regard themselves as emotionally related to others. They found that women's self construal is more relational than men's. Also, Feather (2004; 2001) has reminded us that gender effects are always complexly determined, involving socialisation practices, differences in gender-based roles, the division of labour within societies, biological variables and other determinants. An in depth exploration of these factors is beyond the scope of this thesis, however, the reader can pursue these through the works of Eagly (1987), Feather (1987) and Kashima et al., (1995).

Individual-self appraisal: self-esteem, coping, and self-image in CLDB and AA adolescents

The study was also focused to identify differences between CLDB and AA adolescents with respect to individual self-referent evaluations such as coping ability, self-image, global self-esteem (self-esteem with peers, at home and at school).

Coping and self-image

Minority culture boys and girls across the age groups tend to cope as well as their AA counterparts; however, and contrary to what was intuitively expected, the latter group tends to be more comfortable in potentially difficult situations where compromise may be required. Anglo-Australian adolescents are also more likely than CLDB youth to report being engaged in a process of ongoing self-improvement, while CLDB youth are more likely to engage significant others (e.g., teacher in class). A similar picture was found in terms of self-image. Adolescents from a minority background tend to perceive themselves as positively as their AA counterparts, with no interaction effects from age and sex. However, older children tend to perceive themselves in a less favourable light than younger children, and girls tending to report a less favourable perception than boys overall. These findings are consistent with a large body of adolescent development literature (see for example Eckes, Trautner & Brehrendt, 2005; Connor et al, 2004; Watt, 2004). Thus regardless of cultural background, it is possible that as adolescents mature

and become aware of their physical identity they tend to dislike themselves as their image may not conform with the so called "ideal". However, this does not seem to be related to cultural background and identification.

Self-esteem: with peers, at home, at school and global

Previous findings indicated that being from a minority culture background does not predispose adolescents to have a lower self-esteem when compared to mainstream Anglo-Australia youth. However, this study shows that CLDB girls overall are more likely to exhibit lower self-esteem than CLDB boys overall, while younger AA girls tend to exhibit a higher self esteem than younger AA boys, with no difference across the sexes for the AA older group. Also, older male youth exhibit higher self-esteem as expected. These findings were supported by the cross-cultural literature on gender differences. For example, Rumbaut (1994) found that girls were more likely to report lower self-esteem, higher depression and a higher level of parent-child conflict. Thus, although no significant inter-cultural difference was found as expected, it would be interesting to follow up these findings with further research addressing young women and girls' self-construals and schemas underlying cultural identity, and how these may impact on self-esteem.

To conclude, being from a minority background does not appear to predispose adolescents to exhibit a lower global self-esteem when compared to mainstream Anglo-Australian youth. However, the opposite can be said for sex, with girls tending to report a lower self-esteem overall.

Optimism for the future

Future orientation for majority and minority background youth follow very similar patterns for both CLDB and AA, with career/employment and prestige goals, material, leisure and life-style goals, and avoidance goals being reported with similar frequency by both groups. There was an exception regarding personal development and relationship goals; CLDB adolescents reported lesser number of personal development and relationship goals than the AA group and than any other goals identified (with the exception of avoidance goals). It is possible that Anglo-Australian adolescents may be equally interested or committed to personal development and relationship goals as they are in career/employment and prestige goals. For the CLDB group, however, it appears that employment, a future in terms of financial stability and security, and prestige may be of greater concern for minority culture adolescents. This may indicate a compensatory response to living in a dominant society in which one is of a minority culture; professional, material and financial success may provide the individual with a status. With respect to confidence in the attainment of these goals or optimism for the future, minority youth, regardless of age and sex, appear to have as much confidence to achieve life-long goals as mainstream Australian adolescents.

Overall conclusions of the study: Theoretical precision of cultural identification and adjustment models

The present study attempted to describe a possible "network" of inter-related concepts and thus provide an integrated perspective from which to tie interpretive threads to the observable data. In this process, a range of theories and models were used to establish the relationship between individual and group-based variables and their contribution to the development of a cultural identity in minority culture Australian youth. Moreover, the study acknowledged the differentiations made by Rychlak (1968) with respect to types of evidence in research. He identified *procedural evidence* as that involving the belief in a theoretical proposition on the basis of intelligibility, its consistency with common-sense knowledge or implicit self-evidence. A clear example of procedural evidence was expected to be the logical and expected close association between achieved cultural identification and self-esteem. *Validational evidence* on the other hand refers to the acceptance of a theoretical proposition on the basis of observable consequences that follow a prescribed succession of events designed to test that proposition. Examples of this included the less discernible link between cultural adjustment and national identity. According to Hattie (1992) the explanatory power of a theory does not result from clearly defining the terms of the theory, but from seeing how it can be tested. Rather, the comparison of competing theories may yield a more valuable process with a comparison ultimately identifying, not which of the two theories is right or wrong, but rather to what degree each of these is more truthful. In the present study aspects of the theories on adolescent identification developed by Phinney (1992), Phinney and Devic-Navarro, (1995), Marcia (1966), and Berry et al's

(1992) theory on attitudes to acculturation were tested. The general representation of concepts was drawn from the theories highlighted, and a meta-model model based on dimensional representation of salient theoretical concepts explored. Outcomes and conclusions were considered in assessing the descriptive, predictive and explanatory adequacy of the theories used, as well as their generalisability.

Ethnic identity model

The ethnic identity model can be said to be adequately descriptive or to have high *procedural evidence* in that it posits a simple yet elegant *theorem*, namely that culture (or rather a self-perception of it) can be conceptualised as a set of inter-group relationships; whilst situational cues can shift the salience of an identity, individuals tend to see themselves and others in consistent terms and create situations that support these views. The model is considered *descriptive* in nature in that it facilitates the articulation of a series of pre-cursor, procedural and outcome variables that can be measured by qualitative and quantitative means, and requires that research participants have a phenomenological view on the relevant issues explored by the model. This renders the latter a credible 'tool' with which to unravel the complexity of cultural identity dynamics. However, as it was found in this study, the model fails to tap onto what it purports to tap when applied to a sample of minority culture adolescents of non-English speaking background, leading one to derive several conclusions: Minority culture adolescents of NEB residing in regional North-Eastern Australia may identify themselves to be

members of a given minority group, however the latter is not likely to be their reference group, nor are they likely to assign a particular meaning to being of minority background although they report appositive in-group appraisal. In the present study, cultural identification was not found to be a salient self-concept in CLDB migrant adolescents, nor the suggested link between self-identification and self-esteem. However, Phinney et al's model was supported when phenotype was controlled for. That is, identity is expected to be the outcome of search when a crisis such as racism or prejudice has been experienced by non-Caucasian adolescents but this was not the case when racism is experienced by Caucasian phenotype CLDB adolescents. Quite simply, the model appears to have predicted the procedural link between racism, search and identification for minority culture adolescents of non-Caucasian phenotype only. This can be seen clearly in responses obtained from Indigenous, Asian and Mediterranean as a sub-group within the CLDB sample. These conclusions open up another realm of discussion regarding the theoretical precision of Phinney's model. In all of her studies and those of her colleagues which addressed cultural development in youth, race minority respondents included Afro-American and Hispanic Americans. Thus, she selected individuals with distinct physical or phenotypical features living in the largely Caucasian, urban social context of the USA. In the present study, the CLDB sample contained a proportion of Caucasian youth, and in the process of conducting statistical analyses, phenotype was found to be a major factor shaping experiences of racism and identity. Therefore it is reasonable to suggest that the Ethnic Identity model

describes the process -that necessarily involves negative experiences such as racism or prejudice- by which different racial minorities, rather than cultural minorities, tend to construe their identity. Further, the majority of CLDB respondents in this study, regardless of phenotype, reported experiencing racism at least once, however, racism was not found to be a precursor of identity search leading to identification as predicted. Rather, racism was found to be linked to identification. Therefore, the present study's findings suggest that Phinney's model could be varied to include the possibility that cultural minority individuals, including those of Caucasian phenotype, construe their identity as a result of positive, significant experiences. Of interest would be to test this proposition, comparing discrete racial and cultural groups and identifying differences regarding whether racism is a precursor variable to identity or a consequence of it.

Nonetheless, if indeed the model can describe, predict and explain the dynamics of racial identification in non-Caucasian youth, it is possible that the Ethnic Identity model has succeeded in tapping common denominators experienced by these Australians and shared with African-Americans and Hispanic minority youth living in North America. This is a significant finding in itself in that it reaffirms the value of Phinney et al's (1996) model as a significant descriptor of experiences associated with racism and prejudice that lead to identification.

It was concluded therefore that, although a useful model to frame information pertaining to *racial* identity, Phinney's model either fails to capture the process by which cultural identity develops for CLDB Australian adolescents, or

indeed cultural identity for CLDB Australian adolescents is not as salient a defining dimension (as self- image, sex, or age) as it is for North American minority culture youth. It is also possible that minority culture Adolescent Australians experience and construe their cultural identity in quite a different manner when compared American adolescents and African-Americans. Suggested modifications to the model that may improve its applicability include the inclusion of precursor variables (leading to cultural exploration or search) that involve *positive* experiences rather than *crises* as Phinney's model suggests. Results from this study strongly suggests that a more appropriate model predicting cultural identification may involve significant experiences (i.e., a trip overseas or having relatives from the original culture of origin visit) that trigger exploration leading to identification. Further research comparing minority culture adolescents of Caucasian and Non-Caucasian phenotype may help confirm the findings obtained in this study, given the modest size of the sub-samples.

Additional comments and conclusions about the Ethnic Identity model

The model tested in this study made certain specific assumptions that were not supported by the outcomes. The following comments relate to these assumptions:

- (1) The Ethnic Identity model does not *differentiate* clearly between the distinct, if inter-related, concepts of race, ethnicity and culturality (either identification or achieved identity)

(2) The model does not clarify *who* defines a racial, ethnic or cultural minority as such. It is assumed rather naively that a consensus of who a minority is (e.g., Black, Hispanics, Asian) exists;

(3) The model assumes that people from a minority culture have a choice; they can either identify or not with a membership group. However, if they chose not to identify, they are likely to experience lower self-esteem and negative self-appraisal;

(4) It is also assumed that once an individual has made a choice to belong to a membership group (becoming a reference group), the consequences are positive and adjustment-promoting;

(5) There is no distinction between the experience of one's original culture as a free choice (ethnicity and culturality), and the experience of awareness of being part of a racial minority (race) that involves labelling by others;

(6) The model assumes also that identity search, although triggered by racism, is motivated by a benign wish to explore and find out about one's ancestors. Yet, it appears that search within the Ethnic Identity model may have more to do with the gathering information in order to confront societal stigma (Alipuria, 2002)

In summary, although the Ethnic Identity Model has provided a useful structure within which to frame experiences related to racial identity, it needs to be further refined in order to improve its applicability and generalisability. Alipuria has

suggested that racial, ethnic and cultural experiences may be perceived as distinct but related and acknowledged in her Integrated Theory of Identity which addresses large scale social cleavages (Abrams et al, 1990). Briefly, she proposes that group-related identity needs to be understood within the larger historical and political context of these groups. These provide insight into the roles these groups play in the society and thus the meaning for the individual that engaging the related identity issues may bring about. A more in depth examination of the Integrated Theory of Identity is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, the reader can find a comprehensive description in the work by Abrams et al, (1990) and Alipuria (2002).

Acculturation model (Berry et al, 1992)

John Berry et al's (1992) assumptions of cultural adjustment were found to be both high in procedural and validation evidence. This was hinted at by the preliminary validity check conducted on his Attitude to Acculturation Scale which indicated positive relationships as expected between preference for inter-group and intra-group contact behaviours and attitudes. This study concludes that the notion of cultural adjustment as measured by Berry's Attitudes to Acculturation Scale is a useful parameter that contributes to the development of an identity and therefore needs to be considered in future identity research. Other researchers have found the use of an acculturation index useful. For example, Ward (1999) applied an acculturation index that can be derived from the orthogonal model of cultural

identity relying on two subscales that independently assess perceived similarity to co-nationals and host-national groups. She concluded that when the index is used in conjunction with bipartite splits, the acculturation index sub-scales can also be used to assign sojourners to one of Berry et al's four acculturation categories. That is to say, identity will be influenced significantly by attitudes that acculturating individuals may have on the degree of contact with minority and majority cultures.

In addition, the present study found that cultural adjustment attitudes held by members of a dominant group is expected to be influenced significantly by perceptions of a national identity, and by psycho-social experiences like age and sex. Therefore, in all, Berry's notion of cultural adjustment is a useful parameter to consider in future studies addressing group identity involving both majority and minority groups.

Conclusions and directions for further research

The findings and conclusions derived from the present study lead the way to two broad but useful interpretations of the meaning and salience of minority cultural identification. It is evident that for many minority culture adolescents living in rural and remote regional Australia, cultural identity is not an issue or it is as salient a self dimension as a national or Australian identity. Although there were approximately equal numbers of respondents reporting identifying with either an "Australian" and "Both" cultures, the lowest frequency categories for identification were "Original culture", and "None". Thus, a readily accessible "I" as

a 'culture-specific entity' does not seem to be in place for most Australian adolescents of minority culture participating in this study. On the other hand, some adolescents (those reporting bi-culturality) will evidence a strong sense of self, with culturality or ethnicity as a central theme, the latter as accessible and salient as nationality. According to the literature, results should have evidenced differences in these two groups, with less positive self appraisal reported in those youth who report not having a well developed culture identity sense of self, and high adjustment profiles for those who do. As discussed, the findings in this study project a very positive picture of well adjusted adolescents overall, regardless of whether they have explored and ultimately achieved a culture-referent sense of self or not. It follows then that cultural identification for CLDB Australia adolescents is not necessarily linked to individual characteristics denoting adjustment or functionality.

The implications for these results are enormous in that a moral conflict emerges here, namely should culturality be promoted? How does one identify those adolescents who are likely to benefit from developing their sense of identity from those who would perhaps not? This is a dilemma which parallels with what has been characterised as the "New American Dilemma", namely "right versus right" or race-neutral and race-conscious policies (Jones, 1998, p.641). Jones comprehensively documents the history of social policy in North America and how it has influenced and itself been influenced by public opinion. He concludes that it is necessary to look back in order to review policies that might explain current

trends in attitudes. Whilst an extensive review of past policies in Australia pertaining to Indigenous and immigrant Australians is beyond the scope of this thesis, a brief backdrop is provided alongside some answers for the question posed.

Nationalism versus multiculturalism? Integration versus separation?

The position adopted by a previous Australian government was that of inclusion, deriving strength and meaning from the cultural diversity of the Australian society. Multiculturalism as a philosophy was promoted permeating policy, with it also being at the core of the movement of reconciliation and the recognition of land rights and ownership by Indigenous people. The premise was that of the need to have racial reconciliation as a means to achieve a unified "*different but equal*" Australia. Inherent in this premise was the recognition that race, ethnicity and culture may indeed render some of us "*unequal*" (e.g, subject to racism, dispossession, alienation) and thus, certain steps could be put in place to restore the lost balance. In addition, multiculturalism facilitated the promotion of ethnic and race pride, with Indigenous Australians beginning to emerge (at least as portrayed by the media) as a resilient, proud people, their dark skin an emblem of their strength. All of this appears to have been changed with a dramatic shift in policies in the past few years resulting in attitudes towards minorities reflecting the *adage: "same and equal"*. The premise may imply on the surface that all will be treated equally and *equitably*. This is not the case. In treating all equal or being "*colour and race-blind*", not only is skin colour or creed likely to be "*ignored*" or not

attended to (although this is a desirable view in theory but not applicable in practice), but also the disadvantages and inequities which, in the end, render some of us "unequal". Australia has been described as a divisive society (cited in Kalantzis & Cope, 1987), largely as a result of the policies of past governments that had bestowed privileges and a *special treatment* to minority and special needs groups (campaining politicians of the time promised to defend the mainstream against the special interest groups, moving away from the philosophies underlying multiculturalism). Those who subscribe to this argument may argue that these views reflect public opinion. If this is the case, it is possible that the views expressed by the participants in this study may have been a reflection of this shift.

Returning to questions posed, should nationalism and integration be promoted at the expense of being insensitive to the culturally diverse nature of the Australian society? An answer to this may lay in the manner in which terms are being defined. For instance, integration can be thought of as "assimilation" with a loss of psychological identity, or as a frame of reference facilitating equal opportunity (Jones, 1998). Moreover, integration in the eyes of some may be translated into the forfeiting of a racial or cultural identity. In addition, integration may imply that an original identity has to be sublimated as a condition for inclusion into the mainstream or dominant context. The effects of how integration was interpreted by the government of the day in the 1950's and 60's with respect to the removal of Indigenous Australian children from their parents and "integrated" into the mainstream continues to be a point of contention. The point here is that

social identity is indeed a powerful force in human psychological well being (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), therefore, there is a dilemma inherent in the racial or minority's opportunity to participate in the mainstream, namely that certain racial and cultural practices have to be abandoned or deemed in order to "fit". In the words of Jones (1998), *"Embracing one's racial group is juxtaposed with entering the mainstream and securing all the rights and privileges that pertain thereto"* (p.644). Thus, there is a moral conflict with respect to the "correct" pathway to the ideal picture of a cohesive, equal, equitable society in which every member is respected and proud of his/her background. It could only be concluded then that a race-and culture conscious remedy is necessary to achieve a fully integrated society, one where the colour of the skin and original culture practices, and disadvantaged status that may go along with these are not ignored, but acknowledged and considered in developing policies that may facilitate fuller participation. In other words, in order to treat people equally, we must treat them differently (Jones, 1998).

Jones observes further that we cannot ignore race or cultural differences, and need to accept that the influence of ethnicity and culture is *"spontaneous and persistent"* (p.650). Moreover, there is a palpable human tendency to categorise things, including people. Once they are categorised, we tend to accentuate the similarities between them (Tajfel, 1969). Categorisation follows from any distinguishable features of the social context based on observable characteristics of race (Hirschman, 2004; Jue, 2004). Moreover, children learn to categorise and learn about what categories mean in early childhood (Cross, 1991). It follows then that

knowledge about cultural stereotypes of race is pervasive and well learnt, with knowledge of stereotypes having an automatic influence on perceptions.

Deriving from the above comments, it can be prescribed that we promote the emphasis on inter-personal similarities rather than differences, however with a firm grasp on the reality of racial and cultural differences. In other words "*use race to get beyond race*" (Jones, 1998, p.647). Awareness of race, on the other hand, can be translated into an affirmative recognition of racial issues which can be integrated from the school curriculum to the underlying principles of legal doctrine (Williams, 1999).

Limitations of the present study

The use of abbreviated scales lowered the internal consistency of some of the scales used in this study, and therefore limited the study's power to reach meaningful conclusions where these scales were used. Similarly, the use of samples of convenience consisting of mixed background participants may have clouded some of the results. For example, the small sample of Indigenous participants presented quite distinct responses when compared to immigrant background participants, and, although these findings were interesting, the number of Indigenous participants was too small to reach meaningful conclusions. Finally, most of the models and instruments used in this study were designed by and for North Americans, and tested on North American samples including African Americans and Hispanic youth.

In spite of its limitations, the present study clarifies a number of issues outlined in cultural identity theory and models of biculturalism. For instance, there is little or no discussion in the literature of how phenotypical characteristics may impact on the experience of identity (Phinney & Devic-Navarro, 1995). The present study found that so called visible ethnicity is a major factor contributing to perceived cultural identity and identity search (Germain, 1999). The study also contributes to the argument that challenges the connection between self-esteem and cultural identity. Another major strength in this study is that minority groups residing in rural and remote areas in North Queensland Australia have very limited opportunities to participate in research of the nature of this study. The study has also brought to the forefront the plight of many Indigenous Australian youth who continue to experience racism, discrimination and cultural dislocation.

Recommendations for future research.

Although recommendations for future research were made throughout the text in this last chapter, additional ideas for further research could include the testing of identity models including cross-national comparative studies, with pluralistic and homogeneous societies. Of further interest could be also longitudinal studies following previously surveyed adolescents into adulthood to ascertain how ethnic and culture identification change as the young person undergoes different life experiences and milestones. Moreover, a more refined method of analysis than the one presented in this thesis, whereby age differences

are methodically and systematically examined, may yield a more complete picture of the effects of maturation on identity development. It is very possible that young adults, as opposed to adolescents, may ascribe greater meaning and self-definition to being a member of a minority culture. Future research could also focus exclusively on the nature, development and maintenance of ethnic and cultural identification in Indigenous Australians, their individual and collective experiences of group-membership, within the context of their experiences and reactions to racism. Further, an in-depth analysis of *what constitutes racism for minority culture Australian youth, particularly for Indigenous youth, and how they cope in the face of it.*

The final paragraph in this thesis echoes the views of James E. Marcia. To quote him: *"Even though I have spoken here as to the results of a scientific study of identity, I am well aware that science is not the only validity game in town. There are other aspects to identity that have historical, literary, social, philosophical, and above all, personal meaning for us that are not encompassed by empirical research"* (p.79).

Thus, following his advice, researchers need to place their results and conclusions within the socio-historical context in which psychological processes are being examined, and how the former can make a contribution to the betterment of our society.

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APPENDIX A

Instrument

CULTURAL IDENTITY QUESTIONNAIRE

The following questions are about how you feel and think about you and your family's cultural identity. Please answer them whether you were born in Australia or overseas, and/or whether your parents are/are not of Anglo-Celtic background. You don't need to write your name or address on the questionnaire as we want to keep your answers **confidential**. It is important that **all questions are answered** (except where otherwise indicated).

Part 1.

DEMOGRAPHICS

SECTION 1: INDIVIDUAL DEMOGRAPHICS

Tell us about yourself:

1. School year: _____ Age _____ Gender: M / F
2. Country of birth: _____
3. Are you of **Indigenous Australian/other indigenous** descent? (circle where appropriate. If "yes", tick the category that applies to you)

Aboriginal Torres Strait Islander South Sea Islander

4. If not born in Australia, how long have you lived in Australia? (tick where appropriate)

Less than one year ____ 1-5 years ____ 6-10 years ____

11-15 years ____ 16 years or longer ____

5. Do you speak a language(s) other than English? (circle appropriate response)

If "Yes", what other language(s) do you speak?

SECTION 2: PARENTAL DEMOGRAPHICS

Tell us about your family.

1. Father's country of birth (if not sure have a guess): _____

2. If your Dad was born overseas, state how long he has lived in Australia. Guess if you are not sure (tick where appropriate)

less than one year 1-5 years 6-10 years 11-15 years 16 years or longer

3. If not born in Australia, and not from an English-speaking country, how well does your Dad speak English?

Very well 1 2 3 4 5 6 Not at all well

4. Is your Dad employed? (circle where appropriate) Yes No

If "yes", what does he do? If "No" what is his usual occupation (e.g. "plumber", "Teacher")

5. Mother's country of birth: _____

6. If your Mum was born overseas, state how long she has lived in Australia (if not sure have a guess).

less than one year 1-5 years 6-10 years

11-15 years 16 years or longer I'm not sure but I'll guess

7. If not born in Australia, and not from an English-speaking country, how well does your Mum speak English?

Very well 1 2 3 4 5 6 Not at all well

8. Is your Mum employed? Yes No

If "yes", what does she do? If "No" what is her usual occupation?

9. Do relatives **other than your parents** (e.g. grandparents, aunties/uncles) live with you? (circle appropriate response).

Yes No

SECTION 3: CIVIC/NATIONAL IDENTITY

Understanding and Commitment to being Australian:

1. Do you think of yourself as Australian?

Yes No Not sure

2. What does being Australian mean to you?

3. What things that you do tell you you are Australian?

Part 2.:

CULTURAL IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT

Answer this part of the questionnaire **only** if one or both of your parents were born **overseas** in a non-English speaking country, or are of **Indigenous Australian** or **South Sea Islander** background. If both your parents were born in Australia and are of Anglo-Celtic background move on to **Part 3. Acculturation Scale** (pg12) of this questionnaire.

The following questions refer to the amount of time spent and degree of involvement with a group or groups belonging to you or your family's culture of origin.

SECTION 1: BICULTURALISM AND CULTURAL IDENTITY

Sense of belonging

1. In terms of culture or ethnic group, what do you consider yourself to be? (tick one only)

Australian Original family culture Both None Unsure

2. What does it mean to you to belong to your original culture? (If you are from Papua New Guinea for example, what does it mean to be Papua New Guinean?).

Exploration

3. Have you tried to learn more about your own original culture? Yes No

If "Yes", How have you gone about it?

4. How important do you think it is to learn about your culture of origin? (tick where appropriate)

Very important 1 2 3 4 5 6 Not at all important

5. Do you talk to your parents or relatives about your family's culture of origin or what it means to belong to that culture?

Yes No

If "Yes", what have you talked about?

What do you enjoy about being of your original culture?

What are some benefits of being of an original culture?

What are some problems that may emerge as a result of being from an original culture?

Participation

6. At home do your parents/relatives practise some of their original culture customs and traditions? (for example prepare special food, play special music)

Yes _____ No _____

If "Yes", tick those traditional activities that your family carries out (tick as many as apply to your family):

(i) Cook special food _____ (v) Play special traditional music_____
 (ii) Fast on special occasions _____ (vi) Avoid certain foods (e.g., meat) _____
 (iii) Pray on special occasions _____
 (iv) Celebrations on special dates (e.g., Easter, Chinese New year) _____
 (vii) Other (specify) _____

7. How do you feel about these traditional activities?

Overall, I enjoy _____ I don't enjoy _____
 very much these activities _____ these activities
 1 2 3 4 5 6

Commitment to one or more cultural identities

8. How Australian do you think yourself to be? (tick where appropriate)

I am very Australian _____ I am not at all Australian
 1 2 3 4 5 6

9. How "....." (original culture, e.g., Italian, Spanish, Chinese) do you think yourself to be? (tick where appropriate)

I am very "....." _____ Not at all "....."
 1 2 3 4 5 6

Situational ethnic or cultural identity

10. Do you feel more Australian than "....." (original culture) in certain situations and vice versa? For example, "more Australian at school, but more Chinese at home" (underline which one)

(a) At home I feel more." / Australian
..... (Original culture)

(b) At school I feel more " / Australian
..... (Original culture)

(c) With my friends I feel more." / Australian
..... (Original culture)

SECTION 2: EGO IDENTITY STAGES**Experiences of racism**

1. Have you ever experienced racism or discrimination on the basis of your cultural background? (tick where appropriate).

Yes, many times__ Yes, a few times__ Yes, once or twice__ Never__

2. How did you feel about the **people involved** in the incident(s)? (circle where appropriate).

"I felt.....about the people involved"	Very	Somewhat	Not at all
(a) angry	1	2	3
(b) surprised	1	2	3
(c) frightened	1	2	3
(d) disgusted	1	2	3
(e) annoyed	1	2	3
(f) indiferent	1	2	3
(g) sorry for them	1	2	3
(h) hurt by them	1	2	3

3. How did you feel about **yourself/your background** at the time of the incident(s)? (Circle where appropriate).

"I felt.....about myself/my background"	Very	Somewhat	Not at all
(a) angry	1	2	3
(b) ashamed	1	2	3
(c) frightened	1	2	3
(d) disgusted	1	2	3
(e) annoyed	1	2	3
(f) indifferent	1	2	3
(g) proud	1	2	3
(h) strong	1	2	3
(i) accepting	1	2	3

4. How did you resolve the incident(s)?

Ego identity outcomes

1. Tick the statement (only one) that best describes how you feel about your culture of origin.

A "I know little about my parents/my own culture of origin" (D/F)

B "I go along with whatever my parents do as members of their original culture in order to keep them happy" (F).

C "I am not sure yet if I want to go along with what my family does as members of their original culture" (M).

D "I often participate in activities which relate to my parents/my own original culture because I choose to". (AI)

SECTION 3: ACHIEVED IDENTITY

1. There are several ways to be part of two cultures. Indicate by ticking the box with the statement that best describes how it is for you:

A You keep your two cultures, that of being Australian, and that of being "....." separate, so that in some situations you are mostly ."....." and in other situations you are mostly Australian. (AB)

B The two cultures are combined so that you have a mixture of Australian and "....." (Original culture). (BB)

C You don't think much about "culture", but think of yourself more in other ways.

If C, what ways are those? _____ (D)

SECTION 4: COLLECTIVE SELF-APPRAISAL

Positive and negative attitudes toward own cultural group

1. How do you *feel* about your own or your parent's culture of origin? (Circle the appropriate response):

"I feel....	Very much	Somewhat	Not at all
(a) pride	1	2	3
(b) pleasure	1	2	3
(c) satisfaction	1	2	3
(d) contentment	1	2	3
(e) positively	1	2	3
(f) strength	1	2	3
(g) acceptance	1	2	3
(h) understanding	1	2	3
(i) I identify with	1	2	3
(j) embarrassed by it	1	2	3
(k) intolerance	1	2	3
(l) annoyance	1	2	3
(m) rejection	1	2	3
(n) anger	1	2	3
(o) bored by it	1	2	3
(p) apathy	1	2	3

(q) constrained by it	1	2	3
(r) limited by it	1	2	3
(s) If I were born again I would choose to be again of the cultural background I am now	1	2	3

Part 3.**ATTITUDES TO ACCULTURATION**

How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Tick where appropriate:

1. This days it's hard to find someone you can really relate to and share your inner feelings and thoughts.

Strongly disagree I strongly Agree
 1 2 3 4 5 6

2. Cities are becoming more violent; we should live in a place away from all the violence and confusion.

Strongly disagree I strongly Agree
 1 2 3 4 5 6

3. Mainstream Australian society will not look after the interests of migrants and people from indigenous background living in Australia. Minority cultures should stick together and help each other.

Strongly disagree I strongly Agree
 1 2 3 4 5 6

4. Because we live in Australia we do not need to know migrant or indigenous Australian languages, we should focus our attention on speaking English fluently.

Strongly disagree I strongly Agree
 1 2 3 4 5 6

5. Events such as the Multicultural Fest, the Laura Festival (Aboriginal Australian festival) and so on are just events supported by government to keep minorities quiet.

Strongly disagree I strongly Agree
 1 2 3 4 5 6

6. While living in Australia migrants and indigenous Australians can retain their cultural heritage and lifestyle, and yet participate fully in various aspects of mainstream Australian society.

Strongly disagree I strongly Agree
 1 2 3 4 5 6

7. Realistically speaking, migrants and indigenous Australians should stick together and help each other to be successful rather than assimilating into mainstream Australian society.

Strongly disagree I strongly Agree
 1 2 3 4 5 6

8. If I had a choice I would marry someone who was brought up in my own culture (e.g, Australian Aboriginal, Italian, Greek, British).

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 I strongly Agree

9. I would encourage highschool children to learn not only about the history of mainstream Australians, but also that of indigenous Australians and other ethnic groups because it is important to know where we all come from.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 I strongly Agree

10. If parents from indigenous Australian background or from migrant background teach their children to be like mainstream Australian children they will become disobedient and difficult to control.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 I strongly Agree

11. Encouraging indigenous Australians and migrant Australians to stay as individual groups only hinders their assimilation into mainstream Australian society.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 I strongly Agree

12. Having a cultural festival only emphasises the cultural differences of the various ethnic groups, and it hinders their acceptability to mainstream Australians.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 I strongly Agree

Part 4.

INDIVIDUAL SELF-APPRAISAL

SECTION 1: PERSONAL ATTRIBUTES

1. How do you perceive yourself? Below there are some positive descriptors. Tell us how much you think each descriptor applies in your case:

"I perceive myself as...	Very much	Somewhat	Not at all
(a) beautiful/ handsome	1	2	3
(b) brave	1	2	3
(c) strong	1	2	3
(d) of good height	1	2	3
(e) healthy	1	2	3
(f) energetic	1	2	3
(g) sociable	1	2	3
(h) likeable	1	2	3
(i) popular	1	2	3

(j) I have a good physique	1	2	3
(k) I have a nice features	1	2	3
(l) having good complexion	1	2	3
(m) having a nice smile	1	2	3
(n) not wanting to change anything about my body	1	2	3

2. How **important** is it for you to be the following:

"To be.....is	Very important to me	Somewhat important to me	Not at all important to me
(a) beautiful/ handsome	1	2	3
(b) brave	1	2	3
(c) strong	1	2	3
(d) of good height	1	2	3
(e) healthy	1	2	3
(f) energetic	1	2	3
(g) sociable	1	2	3
(h) likeable	1	2	3
(i) popular	1	2	3
(j) I have a good physique	1	2	3
(k) I have a nice features	1	2	3
(l) I have good complexion	1	2	3
(m) I have a nice smile	1	2	3
(n) not wanting to change anything about my body	1	2	3

SECTION 2: Phenotypical characteristics

1. Tick the box that most closely describes your physical features.

GIRLS

A. Dark complexion, black hair and eyes	B. Olive complexion, dark hair and eyes	C. Fair complexion, blond hair, and green or blue eyes.
D. Fair complexion, red hair, and green or blue eyes	E. Olive complexion, dark hair and eyes	F. Dark complexion, black hair and eyes.

BOYS

G. Olive complexion, dark hair and eyes	H. Fair complexion, red hair, and green or blue eyes	I. Olive complexion, black hair and eyes
J. Dark complexion, dark hair and eyes	K. Fair complexion, blond hair, and green or blue eyes	L. Dark complexion, black hair and eyes.

SECTION 3: COPING

Read each statement below which describes a behaviour for coping with problems. Decide how often you do each described behaviours when you face difficulties or feel tense. Circle one of the following responses for each statement:

1= Never 2= Hardly ever 3= Sometimes 4= Often 5= Most of the time.

When you face difficulties or feel tense, how often do you.....	Never	Hardly ever	Sometimes	Often	Most of the time
(a) Go along with parents requests and rules	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Apologise to people	1	2	3	4	5
(c) Talk to a teacher or counsellor at school about what bothers you	1	2	3	4	5
(d) Try to stay away from home as much as possible	1	2	3	4	5
(e) Try to improve yourself (get fitter, get better grades)	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION 4: GLOBAL SELF-ESTEEM

Circle the number that best describes how you feel about various things.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly disagree
(a) I have at least as many friends as other people my age	1	2	3	4	5
(b) I am not as popular as other people my age	1	2	3	4	5
(c) If my group of friends decided to vote for leaders of their group I'd be elected to a high position	1	2	3	4	5
(d) People my age often pick on me	1	2	3	4	5
(e) I wish I were a different kind of person because I would have more friends	1	2	3	4	5
(f) My parents are proud of the kind of person I am	1	2	3	4	5
(g) No one pays much attention to me at home	1	2	3	4	5
(h) My parents feel that I can be depended on	1	2	3	4	5
(i) I often feel that, if they could, my parents would trade me in for another child	1	2	3	4	5
(j) My parents try to understand me	1	2	3	4	5
(k) My teachers expect too much of me	1	2	3	4	5
(l) In the kinds of things we do at school, I am at least as good as other people in my class	1	2	3	4	5
(m) I often feel worthless in school	1	2	3	4	5
(n) I am usually proud of my report card	1	2	3	4	5
(o) School is harder for me than most other people	1	2	3	4	5
(p) I usually get very good grades at school	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION 5: OPTIMISM FOR THE FUTURE

What are **three main goals** you would like to **achieve** in your life-time?

A _____

B _____

C _____

2. How confident are you of achieving these? (Tick where appropriate).

Very confident _____ Not at all confident
1 2 3 4 5 6

Thank you for your co-operation. A summary of the findings of this study will be publicised through your school publications in due course. If you have any queries regarding this study please contact your class teacher. He/she will put you in touch with the study co-ordinator.

APPENDIX B**B.1 Contact details of high schools surveyed**

1	St Margaret Mary's College	9 Crowle st. Hyde Park Ph: 71 5838	Private/Catholic/ Girls
2	Ignatious Park College	Ross river rd Cranbrook Ph: 79 5844	Private/Catholic/ Boys
3	Ayr High Scool	Crn of Edward & Wickham, Ayr Ph: 83 23 33	State/ND/co-ed
4	Ingham High School	Menzies St, Ingham Ph: 76 2433	State/ND/co-ed

B.2 Correspondence with schools

School Principal

Elsa R. Germain
Psychology & Sociology
Department,
James Cook University

Ph: 4781 4711
Fax: 4781 4701
E-mail: elsa.germain@jcu.edu.au

Dear Sir/Madam

I would like to request permission to carry out a cross-sectional study among the students enrolled in years 8 and 12 at the *Burdekin Catholic High School*. The study will address the process of *identity formation* and the development of *global self-esteem* in adolescents of bi-ethnic families (of either one or both parents born overseas). The project is a component of postgraduate requirements in my psychology doctorate.

I am a clinical psychologist and full time university counsellor at James Cook University. In the past three consecutive years I have had the opportunity to contribute in the *Senior Schooling Student Conference* organised by the *Department of Education, Northern Region*. Workshops under my responsibility have dealt with the *Pressure to achieve*, *High school pressures*, and *Coping with stress*. To a large extent, the experience has fuelled my interest to investigate adjustment issues in adolescence.

There will be no need to identify those students of bi-ethnic families before collecting data. Simply, all students enrolled in the years stipulated would be surveyed, and a percentage will be expected to be of bi-ethnic background. This procedure will also yield a comparative sample.

The questionnaire consists of approximately 80 multiple choice and open-ended questions to be answered in writing by the students. No personal identification details would be required of the students to ensure confidentiality. Survey items elicit information on *personal attitudes* and *values*, *self-esteem*, and some *demographics* (age, gender, parental place of birth, parental income, religious orientation and others). The questionnaire will take approximately 30-45 minutes to complete and can be done in class at a time that is appropriate to the school/teachers. A copy of the questionnaire is enclosed for your consideration.

The JCU Ethics Committee has granted permission for the study to go ahead.

I will contact you within the next few days to discuss my request. However, do feel free to contact me on PH: 814711 (B/H) should you require further information on any aspect of the study.

Yours sincerely,

Elsa R. Germain, B.Psych(Hons),M.Psych(Clin)Flin,MAPsS
Clinical Psychologist/University Counsellor

A.3 Correspondence with schools: letter to teachers

Dear Class Teacher,

Please find enclosed copies of the *information letter* and consent slip for parents requesting their permission for their children to participate in a study on cultural identity conducted by Elsa Germain, Clinical Psychologist and Counsellor at James Cook University.

Thank you kindly for your co-operation. I will be sending the principal copies of the *questionnaire* which will then be distributed to you shortly. Along with the questionnaires I will enclose a brief letter addressed to each class teacher with information about possible queries that the students may have when filling out the questionnaire.

Please feel free to contact me on Ph: 81 4711 (B/H), or 796451 (A/H) should you wish to discuss any matter related to the questionnaire or the study in general.

Sincerely,

Elsa R. Germain, B.Psych(Hons),M.Psych(Clin)Flin,MAPS
Clinical Psychologist/University Counsellor

A.4 Coorespondence with schools: letter to parents

Dear Parent/Guardian,

The Department of Psychology & Sociology at James Cook University is currently conducting a study on the development of cultural identity in adolescents. The study is being co-ordinated by Elsa Germain, an experienced Clinical Psychologist and full time University Counsellor at JCU. The study involves gathering information by means of a questionnaire to be filled out by year 8 and 12 students at a number of schools in the North Queensland region. The questionnaire consists of multiple choice and open-ended questions to be answered in writing by the students. **No personal identification details would be required of the students to ensure confidentiality.** Questionnaire items elicit information on *personal attitudes* and *values*, *self-esteem*, and some *demographics* (age, gender, parental place of birth, family income, religious orientation and others). The JCU Ethics Committee and DEETYA have granted permission for the study to go ahead.

If you have any **objections** to your son(s)/daughter(s) participating in this study please fill out the *objection slip* below and return to the school no later than November 25. If you would like more information about the study contact Elsa Germain on 81 4711 (B/H).

Sincerely,

Elsa R. Germain, B.Psych(Hons),M.Psych(Clin)Flin,MAPS
Clinical Psychologist/University Counsellor

OBJECTION SLIP

I, **DO NOT** give permission for my son(s)/daughter(s)

who is(are) in year/class _____ to participate in the cultural identity study.

Parent/Guardian's signature: _____

Date: ____/____/____

(Please return slip to class teacher by no later than)

Appendix C:

Reliability and Validity check result tables

Table C. 1

Kendall Correlation Coefficient results for PAIC items

PAIC items	N	Tau	Z	p
Beautiful/handsome	379	.152	4.419	.0001
Brave	379	.157	4.55	.0001
Strong	380	.157	4.55	.0001
Good height	381	.074	2.14	.03
Healthy	383	.147	4.33	.0001
Energy	383	.197	5.74	.0001
Sociable	382	.194	5.66	.0001
Likeable	383	.152	4.44	.0001
Popular	382	.191	5.56	.0001
Physique	377	.136	3.95	.0001
Features	377	.164	4.76	.0001
Complexion	380	.117	3.41	.0006
Smile	378	.198	5.75	.0001

Table C.2

Internal reliability (inter-item consistency) Cronbach's Alpha results for A-COPE items

	Scale Mean if item deleted	Scale variance if item deleted	Corrected item total item deleted	Squared Multiple correlation	Alpha if item deleted
Items:					
Partag	12.8675	6.9277	.4394	.2396	.3068
Aplgy	12.7818	6.8012	.4410	.2546	.3014
Teacoun	14.5662	9.0848	.0869	.0352	.5330
Homaway	12.6675	8.2954	.1413	.0565	.5137
Impro	12.6026	7.8443	.2408	.0946	.4445

Reliability coefficients 5 items

Alpha= .4857 Standarised item alpha= .4858

Table 3

Inter-rater reliability (Cohen's Kappa) measures for open-ended items.

Open-ended items:	N	Kappa	Error	p
Father's occupation	362	.958	.012	.000
Mother's occupation	352	.971	.013	.000
Meaning of being Australia	366	.971	.012	.000
Meaning of being of original culture	103	.934	.035	.000
Things that make you Australian	341	.971	.013	.000
Personal development/relationship goals	340	.992	.006	.000
Career/employment/prestige goals	365	.983	.008	.000
Material/life-style goals	324	.947	.016	.000
Avoidance goals	239	.980	.019	.000

Appendix D.

Non-significant result Tables

D.1. Intra-group comparison tables:

Table D.1

Chi-square results for CLDB original identity and age: "Do you identify with your culture of origin?"

Source:	N	12-15 yrs	%	16-19 yrs	%	@@	df	p
Identifies with original culture						.000	1	1
	40	24	44	16	43			
Does not identify	50	30	56	20	57			
Total	90	54	100	35	100			

Table D.2

Descriptive results for degree of original identity by age

Variables:	N	M	SD	SE
12-15 year olds	54	3.68	1.51	.206
16-19 year olds	36	3.69	1.80	.3
Total	89			

Table D.3

Chi-square results for Australian identity and age: "Do you identify with the Australian culture?"

Source:	N	12-15 yrs	%	16-19 yrs	%	@@	df	p
Identifies with Australian culture	86	52	80	34	85	.418	1	.355
Does not identify	19	13	20	6	15			
Total	105	65	100	40	100			

Table D.4**Descriptive results for degree of Australian identity by age**

Variables:	N	M	SD	SE
12-15 year olds	61	1.24	.596	7.63
16-19 year olds	40	1.27	.678	.101
Total	101	1.25	.627	6.23

Table D.5**Chi-square results for CLDB ethnic/original identity *at home* in early and late adolescents**

"At home I feel..."	N	12-15 yrs	16-19 yrs	@@	df	p
Australian	50	33	17	1.101	1	.294
Of original culture	33	18	15			
Total	83	51	32			

Table D.6**Chi-square results for CLDB ethnic/original identity *at school* in early and late adolescents**

"At school I feel..."	N	12-15 yrs	16-19 yrs	@@	df	p
Australian	65	38	27	1.127	1	.288
Of original culture	18	13	5			
Total	83	51	32			

Table D.7**Chi-square results for CLDB ethnic/original identity with peers in early and late adolescents**

"With friends/peers I feel .."	N	12-15 yrs	16-19 yrs	@@	df	p
Australian	67	41	26	.007	1	.932
Of original culture	15	9	6			
Total	82	50	32			

Table D.8**Qualitative analysis result for the question: "What does it mean to be of your original culture?"**

Variables	N	%	12-15 yrs	16-19 yrs
An asset	46	51	24(43%)	22 (65%)
A hindrance	9	10	7(12%)	2 (6%)
Both and asset and a hindrance	35	39	25(45%)	10 (29%)
Total	90	100	56 (100%)	34 (100%)

Table D.9**Participation: mean number of traditional activities by age in the CLDB sample**

Age category:	N	M	SD	SE
12-15 year olds	38	3.13	1.37	.224
16-19 year olds	29	2.82	1.44	.268
Total	66			

Table D.10**ANOVA results for Coping ability scores and ego-identity stages for the CLDB sample**

Source:	N	Mean	df	F	p
Ego-identity stages:			3	.259	.855
Diffused	53	15.5			
Fussed	11	15			
Moratorium	9	15.1			
Achieved identity	2	15			
Total	75	15.4			

Table D.11**ANOVA results for Self-image scores (PAIC) and ego-identity stages for the CLDB sample**

Source:	N	Mean	df	F	p
Ego-identity stages:			3	.977	.412
Diffused	53	21.2			
Fussed	11	21.6			
Moratorium	9	20.3			
Achieved identity	2	26			
Total	75	21.2			

Table D.12**ANOVA results for optimism for the future and ego-identity stages for the CLDB sample**

Source:	N	Mean	df	F	p
Ego-identity stages:			3	.820	.488
Diffused	48	2.27			
Foreclosure	10	2.00			
Moratorium	6	2.31			
Achieved identity	1	4.00			
Total	65	2.23			

Table D.13

ANOVA results of degree of original culture identification and Attitudes to Acculturation Strategies among CLDB: Separated scores

Degree of original culture identification:	N	M	SD	SS	F	df	p
Very original	12	11.25	3.84	105.39	1.95	5	.09
Original	8	8.75	5.31				
More or less original	17	9.94	2.63				
Not very original	19	9.36	2.62				
Not of original culture	16	8.31	2.49				
Not at all of O.C.	14	7.71	3.66				
Error				863.40		80	
Total	86	9.22	3.37				

Table D.14

ANOVA results of degree of original culture identification and Attitudes to Acculturation Strategies among CLDB: Marginalised scores

Degree of original culture identification:	N	M	SD	SS	F	df	p
Very original	12	10.41	4.27	41.46	.771	5	.573
Original	8	8.75	4.59				
More or less original	17	10.41	2.57				
Not very original	19	9.73	2.74				
Not of original culture	16	11.25	2.88				
Not at all of O.C.	15	9.86	3.33				
Error				870.95		81	
Total	87	10.17	3.25				

Table D.15**Anova results of degree of original culture identification and Attitudes to Acculturation Strategies among CLDB: Assimilated scores**

Degree of original culture identification:	N	M	SD	SS	F	df	p
Very original	12	9.33	3.49	28.57	.511	5	.757
Original	8	8.50	4.03				
More or less original	15	8.60	1.99				
Not very original	19	9.36	3.23				
Not of original culture	16	10.25	3.64				
Not at all of O.C.	13	8.92	3.75				
Error				860.61		77	
Total	83	9.24	3.29				

Table D.16**Frequency results for parental adjustment: English-language ability, and original culture identity search in CLDB respondents**

English speaking ability:	Engaged in CIS	Did not engage in CIS
	N	N
Fathers:		
Fluent	27 (90%)	19 (95%)
Not fluent	3 (10%)	1 (5%)
Total	30 (100%)	20 (100%)
Mothers:		
Fluent	28 (83%)	19 (95%)
Not fluent	6 (17%)	1 (5%)
Total	34 (100%)	20 (100%)

CIS= Cultural identity search

Table D.17**Frequency results for parental adjustment: English-language ability, and original culture identity in CLDB respondents**

<i>English ability.....</i>	N	Identifies	Does not identify
<i>Father's English ability:</i>			
Fluent	46 (92%)	23 (88%)	23 (96%)
Not fluent	4 (8%)	3 (12%)	1 (4%)
Total	50 (100%)	26 (100%)	24 (100%)
<i>Mother's English ability:</i>			
Fluent	48 (87%)	23 (81%)	25 (89%)
Not fluent	7 (13%)	4 (19%)	3 (11%)
Total	55 (100%)	27 (100%)	28 (100%)

Table D.18**Frequency results for parental adjustment: settlement time, and original culture identity search in CLDB respondents**

Cultural Id search:	Fathers		Mothers	
	Recent arrivals	Established	Recent arrivals	Established
Yes	8 (57%)	23 (61%)	11 (61%)	22 (63%)
No	6 (43%)	15 (39%)	7 (39%)	13 (37%)
Total	14 (100%)	38 (100%)	18 (100%)	35 (100%)

Table D.19**Frequency results for parental adjustment: settlement time, and original culture identity in CLDB respondents**

Identifies:	Fathers		Mothers	
	Recent arrivals	Established	Recent arrivals	Established
Yes	4 (67%)	22 (47%)	4 (67%)	24 (48%)
No	2 (33%)	25 (53%)	2 (33%)	26 (52%)
Total	6 (100%)	47 (100%)	6 (100%)	50 (100%)

Table D.20**Frequency results for parental adjustment: cultural background, and cultural identity search in CLDB respondents**

Parental variables:	N	%	Engaged in identity search	Did not engage in cultural identity search
Fathers' country of birth:				
Australia	37	42	21 (40%)	16 (43%)
NESC	48	54	27 (52%)	21 (57%)
ESC	4	4	4 (8%)	-
Total	89	100	52 (100%)	37 (100%)
Mothers' country of birth:				
Australia	34	38	17 (33%)	17 (46%)
NESC	46	52	30 (58%)	16 (43%)
ESC	9	10	5 (10%)	4 (11%)
Total	89	100	52 (100%)	37 (100%)

NESC= Non-English Speaking Country; ESC= English Speaking Country

Table D.21**Frequency results for parental adjustment: parental cultural background and original culture identification in CLDB respondents**

Parental variables	N	Identifies	Does not identify
Father's country of birth:			
Australia	37 (41%)	13 (33%)	24 (48%)
NESC	48 (53%)	24 (60%)	24 (48%)
ESC	5 (6%)	3 (7%)	2 (4%)
Total	90 (100%)	40 (100%)	50 (100%)
Mother's country of birth:			
Australia	33 (37%)	12 (30%)	21 (42%)
NESC	47 (52%)	23 (58%)	24 (48%)
ESC	10 (11%)	5 (12%)	5 (10%)
Total	90 (100%)	40 (100%)	50 (100%)

NESC= Non-English Speaking Country; ESC= English Speaking Country

Table D.22**Frequency results for parental adjustment: family composition, and cultural identity search in CLDB respondents**

Parental variables	N	Engaged in CIS	Did not engage in CIS	◎◎	df	p
Family composition:				1.29	2	.522
BBA	18 (27%)	10 (19%)	8 (23%)			
BBNESC	35 (39%)	23 (44%)	12 (32%)			
MM	36 (44%)	19 (37%)	17 (46%)			
Total	89 (100%)	52 (100%)	37 (100%)			

BBA = Both parents born in Australia; BBNESC = Both parents born in a non-English speaking country; MM = Mixed marriage

Table D.23**Frequency results for parental adjustment: family composition and original culture identification in CLDB respondents**

Parental variables	N	Identifies	Does not identify	χ ²	df	p
Family composition:						
BBA	17 (19%)	6 (15%)	11 (22%)	4.68	2	.096
BBNESC	36 (40%)	21 (53%)	15 (30%)			
MM	37 (41%)	13 (32%)	24 (48%)			
Total	90 (100%)	40 (100%)	50 (100%)			

BBA = Both parents born in Australia; BBNESC = Both parents born in a non-English speaking country; MM = Mixed marriage

Table D.24**Chi-square results for socio-economic measures and cultural identity search: exploration in CLDB adolescents**

Parental variables:	N	Explored	Did not explored	@@	df	p
(a) Socio/Economic Status				2.08	1	.123
Father employed?					df	p
Yes	52	41	11			
No	36	33	3			
Total	88	74	14			
Mother employed?				2.13	1	.331
Yes	50	28	22			
No	38	27	11			
Total	88	55	33			
(b) Usual Occupation:					df	p
Father						
Managerial	10	6	4	.520	3	.914
Professional	10	9	6			
Skilled	29	17	12			
Unskilled	25	14	11			
Total	79	46	33			
Mother					df	p
Managerial	9	5	4	.520	3	.914
Professional	16	8	8			
Skilled	14	8	6			
Unskilled	38	23	15			
Total	77	44	33			

Table D.25**Chi-square results for socio-economic measures and degree of original culture identification in CLDB adolescents**

Parental variables:	N	Identifies	Does not identify	@@	df	p
(a) Socio/Economic Status				2.381	1	.123
Father employed?						
Yes	74	31	43			
No	14	9	5			
Total	88	40	48			
Mother employed?				@@	df	p
Yes	56	25	31	.042	1	.839
No	33	14	19			
Total	89	39	50			
(b) Usual Occupation:						
Father				@@	df	p
Managerial	10	5	5	1.453	3	.693
Professional	14	6	8			
Skilled	30	11	19			
Unskilled	25	13	12			
Total	79	35	44			
Mother				@@	df	p
Managerial	9	5	4	1.453	3	.693
Professional	16	6	10			
Skilled	15	8	7			
Unskilled	38	16	22			
Total	78	35	43			

D.2. Inter-group comparisons.

Table D. 26

2-Way ANOVA optimism for future ratings by age and overall sample cultural background

Source	df	Sum of squares	Mean square	F	p
Age (A)	1	1.605	1.605	1.243	.266
Cultural background (B)	1	4.953	4.953	3.836	.051
AxB	1	3.887	3.887	3.01	.084
Error	344	444.121	1.291		
		Age (A):	12-15 years	16-19 years	Total
		Mean	N	Mean	Mean
Cultural background (B)					
CLDB	85	1.96	48	2.49	37
AA	263	2.05	149	2.08	114
Total	348	197			85