

Duquesne University

## Duquesne Scholarship Collection

---

Electronic Theses and Dissertations

---

Spring 5-8-2020

### Cultural Identity Salience, Individuation, and Life Satisfaction in Emerging Adulthood

Matthew L. Nice  
*Duquesne University*

Follow this and additional works at: <https://dsc.duq.edu/etd>

 Part of the [Counselor Education Commons](#), and the [Development Studies Commons](#)

---

#### Recommended Citation

Nice, M. L. (2020). Cultural Identity Salience, Individuation, and Life Satisfaction in Emerging Adulthood (Doctoral dissertation, Duquesne University). Retrieved from <https://dsc.duq.edu/etd/1898>

This One-year Embargo is brought to you for free and open access by Duquesne Scholarship Collection. It has been accepted for inclusion in Electronic Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Duquesne Scholarship Collection.

CULTURAL IDENTITY SALIENCE, INDIVIDUATION, AND LIFE SATISFACTION IN  
EMERGING ADULTHOOD

A Dissertation

Submitted to the School of Education

Duquesne University

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for  
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

By

Matthew L. Nice

May 2020

Copyright by  
Matthew L. Nice

2020

**DUQUESNE UNIVERSITY**  
**SCHOOL OF EDUCATION**  
**Department of Counseling, Psychology and Special Education**

*Dissertation*

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.)

**Executive Counselor Education and Supervision Program**

*Presented by:*

Matthew L. Nice

B.A., King's College, 2012  
M.S., Marywood University, 2015

**March 12, 2020**

CULTURAL IDENTITY SALIENCE, INDIVIDUATION, AND LIFE SATISFACTION IN  
EMERGING ADULTHOOD

*Approved by:*

\_\_\_\_\_, Chair  
Matthew Joseph, Ph.D.  
Associate Professor of Counselor Education  
Department of Counseling, Psychology, and Special Education  
Duquesne University

\_\_\_\_\_, Member  
Jered B. Kolbert, Ph.D.  
Professor of Counselor Education  
Department of Counseling, Psychology, and Special Education  
Duquesne University

\_\_\_\_\_, Member  
Nicole R. Hill, Ph.D.  
Dean of College of Education and Human Services  
Shippensburg University

## ABSTRACT

# CULTURAL IDENTITY SALIENCE, INDIVIDUATION, AND LIFE SATISFACTION IN EMERGING ADULTHOOD

By

Matthew L. Nice

May 2020

Dissertation supervised by Dr. Matthew Joseph

This quantitative study examined emerging adults' (18-29 years old) cultural identity domains of race/ethnicity identity, gender identity, sexual identity, spiritual identity, and socioeconomic class identity with their features of individuation from parents and life satisfaction. Additional emphases were placed on understanding the differences between college-going and non-college-going emerging adults and the differences between early (18-23 years old) and later (24-29 years old) emerging adulthood. This study supported both significant and non-significant relationships among the cultural identity domains salience with the features of individuation and life satisfaction. Emerging adults who attend college were revealed to have higher life satisfaction than those who have never attended college. No differences were found between early emerging adulthood and later emerging adulthood. The findings suggest that emerging adults' salience in their specific cultural identity domains is related to their life

satisfaction and features of their individuation from their parents. Implications of these results for professional counseling practice and the practice of pedagogy are explored. Future directions for research and limitations of the study are also discussed.

*Keywords:* emerging adulthood, cultural identity, identity salience, salience, individuation, life satisfaction

## DEDICATION

To my parents, Lorraine and Lawrence, you are the reason I have been able to achieve my goals, dreams, and ambitions. I can never repay you for your unconditional love and support. You have taught me that hard work pays off and to “keep my nose to the grindstone”. Dad, thank you for checking in on me even on my busiest days. Mom, thank you for always being my biggest fan every step of the way.

To my late grandparents (Gramp and Nan), Peter and Theresa Dokas, you have inspired me to be the best person I can be. Words cannot describe how much I have looked up to you both as prominent role models in my life and during this Ph.D. journey. Thank you for setting the bar so high on the standard of being honest, caring, and humble human beings. I hope one day I can be even just half the person you both were.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I express my sincerest gratitude to the influential impact each person has had in my academic journey and life. I do not believe words can ever do justice the knowledge, support, and mentorship that has been bestowed upon me by the extraordinary people I have around me. I would not be in the places I am without you.

First, I would like to acknowledge and give thanks to my dissertation committee, namely my dissertation chair, Dr. Matthew Joseph. It is a genuine honor of mine to have someone with such an immense intellectual prowess and personability serve as my chair. I can never repay you for sparking my interest in research in emerging adulthood and identity research as well as quantitative methodologies through countless academic dialogues at coffee shops and your office. Thank you for the mentorship, countless letters of recommendation, support, and believing in me. I will always be for my future students who you always were for me.

To Dr. Jered Kolbert, thank you for serving on my dissertation committee and being a pivotal part of my academic journey. I am forever grateful for your guidance to me in the larger world of professional counseling and school counseling. Thank you for your willingness to collaborate on the college knowledge study and for presenting at conferences together throughout my doctoral program. Your quick and timely responses were always appreciated.

To Dr. Nicole Hill, it is your kindness, diligence, and professionalism that inspires me. I am sincerely thankful for the mentorship, knowledge, patience, and guidance you provided. As a Dean, I cannot imagine the vast amount of responsibilities you are obliged to. I am beyond thankful for you accepting the call to serve on my dissertation committee as an outside the



university committee member—considering the time commitment of that role. I am honored to have had you on my committee.

My further thanks go out to the counselor education department faculty at Duquesne University. Thank you for affording me the opportunities to demonstrate my skills in a variety of capacities. Dr. William Casile, thank you for the mentorship, guidance, and humor you provided within your role of Chapter Faculty Advisor of Delta Upsilon Chapter of Chi Sigma Iota. Dr. David Delmonico, thank you for the opportunity to work in the Institutional Review Board, and introduce me to the world of ethical research. Dr. Yishhing Liu, thank for you allowing me to learn from you as a teaching assistant, and instilling skills and intentionality in my pedagogy.

I would be remiss if I did not acknowledge the person who started me on my academic journey directly after my Master's program, Dr. Richard Joseph Behun. Thank you for taking the time out of your schedule to meet with a student you never had in class to have a conversation about doctorate programs. You started my academic journey with your time and mentorship, a service that I can never repay. Thank you for your continued mentorship and providing me with ample opportunities to enhance my career along the way.

For all my family—aunts, uncles, sisters, cousins, nieces, and nephews who have supported me along the way, my thanks are unparalleled. To my friends, thank you for your support and genuine interest in my journey. I have always said that I truly have the best friends one can ever ask for—and I firmly believe that.

I will refrain from individually mentioning the remarkable number of others who have supported or influenced me in this academic journey. Thank you to my Sigma Cohort and numerous other doctoral students both at Duquesne and other universities. I am proud to call you both my friends and colleagues. Thank you to all my mentors who serve in professional

counseling organizations and as faculty in universities throughout the country. I am very much appreciative of all the gracious time and guidance you have provided me. You are all role models, and I look forward to each time I am able to interact with all of you in the world of professional counseling. Finally, I would like to thank the counselor education community at Indiana University of Pennsylvania (IUP), to which I look forward to calling my home. Thank you for opening your doors and trusting me to serve in your faculty. I am very lucky and proud to call myself a professor in your in your impressive program.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Abstract of Dissertation.....	iv
Dedication .....	vi
Acknowledgements .....	vii
List of Tables.....	xiv
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
Overview.....	1
Statement of the Problem.....	2
Purpose and Research Questions.....	4
Potential Significance .....	5
Theoretical Foundation.....	5
Social Identity Theory.....	5
Methodology.....	6
Limitations.....	7
Definition of Key Terms.....	7
Emerging Adulthood .....	7
Life Satisfaction .....	8
Individuation.....	8
Cultural Identity.....	8
Race/Ethnicity Identity .....	9
Gender Identity.....	9

Sexual Identity.....	10
Spiritual Identity.....	10
Socioeconomic Class Identity.....	10
Chapter 2: Literature Review.....	11
Emerging Adulthood.....	11
Identity Development in Emerging Adulthood.....	16
Cultural Identity.....	22
Racial/Ethnic Identity.....	26
Gender Identity.....	27
Sexual Identity.....	28
Spiritual Identity.....	29
Socioeconomic Class Identity.....	31
Individuation.....	32
Life Satisfaction.....	35
Chapter 3: Methodology.....	40
Overview.....	40
Research Questions.....	40
Hypotheses.....	41
Procedures.....	42
Human Participants and Ethics Precautions.....	42
Research Design.....	42
Sample.....	42
Data Collection.....	43

Instruments.....	44
Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS).....	44
Individuation Test for Emerging Adults-Short (ITEA-S).....	44
Cultural Identity Salience.....	46
Data Analysis.....	46
Chapter 4: Results.....	48
Descriptive Analysis of Sample.....	48
Demographic Variables.....	48
Scale Reliabilities.....	53
Test for Statistical Assumptions.....	53
Research Questions.....	53
Research Question 1.....	53
Research Question 2.....	54
Research Question 3.....	58
Research Question 4.....	61
Summary of Results.....	64
Chapter 5: Discussion.....	67
Summary of the Study.....	67
Major Findings.....	68
Research Question 1.....	69
Research Question 2.....	70
Research Question 3.....	71
Research Question 4.....	73

Limitations.....	74
Implications for Counseling Practice .....	76
Implications for Pedagogy.....	86
Reflection on Emerging Adulthood Methodology.....	88
Recommendations and Future Directions for Research.....	90
Conclusion.....	93
References.....	95
Appendix A: Informed Consent.....	132
Appendix B: Participant Recruitment Email.....	136
Appendix C: Questionnaire.....	137

## LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 1 Descriptive Analysis of Cultural Identity Demographic Information.....	50
Table 2 Descriptive Analysis of Emerging Adulthood Relevant Demographic Information.....	52
Table 3 College-going and Non-college-going Emerging Adulthood Variables <i>t</i> -tests with Means of all Measures.....	60
Table 4 Early and Later Emerging Adulthood Variables <i>t</i> -tests with Means of all Measures.....	63

## Chapter I

### Introduction

#### Overview

This chapter serves as a synopsis of the research study to provide a justification of the research questions, including relevant and significant developments in the literature to the components and constructs examined in this study. Additionally, this chapter includes a statement of the problem, purpose of the research, a summary of the research design, significant aspects of the literature review, potential significance, theoretical framework, methodology, limitations, definition of key terms, and a summary.

Multicultural development, training, and education have been established conventions in the field of professional counseling for many years. Sue, Arredondo, and McDavis (1992) originally developed the *Multicultural Counseling Competencies* (MCC) as a pioneering framework to implement multicultural counseling practices. Ratts, Singh, Butler, Nassar-McMillian, and McCullough (2016) more recently revised the MCC to development the *Multicultural and Social Justice Counseling Competencies* (MSJCC) after observing the work of counselors extends beyond the landscape of practice. The *ACA Code of Ethics* (American Counseling Association [ACA], 2014) and the Council for the Accreditation of Counseling and Related Programs (CACREP) (2016) continue to emphasize the importance of multicultural practices as principal organizations in the profession. The professional counseling literature continues to acknowledge the need for multicultural research in professional counseling (Malott, 2010; Matthews, Barden, & Sherrell, 2018; Vereen, Hill, & McNeal, 2008). Further, researchers have asserted that future multicultural counseling research incorporate more constructs of



cultural identity development than just race/ethnicity for a more holistic look at individuals (Henriksen & Paladino, 2009; McDonald, Chang, Dispenza, & O'Hara, 2019).

Research on identity development has focused overwhelmingly on the individual, and far less on the cultural context of the individual (McLean et al., 2018); consequently, culture is a less-well developed component of identity development than other components of identity. While most identity literature acknowledges the importance of culture, the specification of how culture relates to identity processes and contents is lacking (Syed & McLean, 2015). Any consideration of components of an individual's identity should incorporate an analysis of the ways other identities interact with and alter the experience of that identity (Syed, 2010).

Identity formation is a primary characteristic during emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2004). Identities and one's understanding of their cultural identity are crystalized during this developmental stage (Cohen & Kassan, 2018), leading to the divergence of experiences for emerging adults depending on the intersections of cultural identities (Syed & Mitchell, 2013). Further, emerging adults' cultural identification has been revealed to affect levels of life satisfaction (Butkovic et al., 2019; Medina, Rowley, & Towson, 2019) as well as individuation (Mondain & Lardoux, 2013; Radmacher & Azmitia, 2016). Individuation can be thought of as the construction of self as separate from parental influence and described as a "complex dyadic process extending into adulthood [that involves] a constant degree of connectedness combined with an increase in individuality from childhood to adulthood" (Buhl, 2008, p. 381).

### **Statement of the Problem**

The diversity of the United States is continuing to vary due to the changing cultural composition, requiring professional counselors to become more attuned to multicultural issues as they continue to be exposed to culturally diverse clients (Hill, Vereen, McNeal, & Stotesbury,

2013). Understanding the mental health issues of culturally diverse clients may be impossible without understanding the role of cultural identities (Mezzich, Ruiperez, Yoon, Liu, & Zapata-Vega, 2009), as the relationship between cultural identity and mental health is often overlooked. Mental health risks, psychological difficulties, and identity crises are especially prevalent in emerging adulthood due to a prolonged identity experimentation and identity transitions (Lane, 2015; Weiss, Freund, & Wiese, 2012). Difficulties with identity crisis in emerging adulthood can be especially harmful, given that emerging adulthood is considered a critical stage in the development of mental illness (Ingram & Gallagher, 2010), substance abuse (Chassin, Pitts, & Prost, 2002), and risk-taking behaviors (Scott-Parker, Watson, King, & Hyde, 2011). Individuation and relationships play a significant role in emerging adults' transition to adulthood and well-being (Arnett, 2000), and life-satisfaction is often linked through identity development and relationship developments. Despite these effects, there has been insufficient empirical work focusing on individuation and life-satisfaction during emerging adulthood (Guarnieri, Smorti, & Tani, 2015).

Counselor education programs typically instruct theories of development contending that identity development is a task finished by the end of teenage years (Lane, 2015), and rarely educate counseling students on the emerging adulthood stage. Thus, counselors may be unaware of methods to work effectively with the many identity changes, challenges and risks that individuals in emerging adulthood contend with. Recognizing and normalizing the characteristics of emerging adulthood (e.g., identity exploration) can foster a better counseling relationship, leading to better outcomes for emerging adult clients (Lane, 2015).

There is a need to extend empirical research concerning cultural identity salience in emerging adulthood to fill a gap in the literature due to a lack of understanding on the subject in

professional counseling. Professional counselors have little knowledge of the developmental stage of emerging adulthood, including the principal characteristic of identity exploration (Lane, 2015). Multicultural counseling research, theory, and practice is at the forefront of needs due to an increasingly diversifying United States (Hill et al., 2013). Multicultural competence in counseling is linked with cultural identity development (Vinson & Neimeyer, 2000), and are a necessary pairing to entirely attend to the mental health needs of clients (Mezzich et al., 2009). There is a need to extend empirical research concerning cultural identity salience in emerging adulthood to meet the call for multicultural research focuses on identity and fill a gap in the literature concerning an underused developmental focus in the field.

### **Purpose and Research Questions**

The purpose of this research is to understand how individuals' cultural identity domains salience relates to levels of individuation and life satisfaction in emerging adults. To represent several identities pertaining to individuals' multiculturalism, the term cultural identity operates both as a construct and an overarching identifier of cultural identity domains (Ton & Lim, 2006), including the five cultural identity domains emphasized in this study: race/ethnicity, gender, sexuality, spirituality, and socioeconomic class. The age range of emerging adulthood is typically considered 18-25 years, but in some conceptualizations is extended up to 29 years as nothing distinct happens at the age of 25 to end the stage (Arnett, 2015). To ensure the sample will be representative of emerging adults, 18-29 functions as the age range of emerging adulthood in this study. Elements of this study's purpose include examining: salience of five cultural identity domains in emerging adulthood, emerging adults' salience in cultural identity domains relating to levels of individuation, and emerging adults' salience in cultural identity domains relating to satisfaction with life. Subsequently, this research study focused on the

guiding research question: How does cultural identity domains salience relate with life satisfaction and individuation levels in emerging adulthood?

### **Potential Significance**

Recent research has indicated a gap in prevention research concerning diversity and culturally specific mental health interventions in emerging adulthood (Cleveland & Goldstein, 2019; Schwartz & Petrova, 2019), as cultural identity is paramount to understanding mental health issues in culturally diverse individuals (Mezzich et al., 2009). Moreover, emerging adulthood offers possibilities in love, work, and worldview for increased life satisfaction. These new possibilities coincide with the developmental emergence of psychopathology such as depression, anxiety, and schizophrenia (Schulenberg, Sameroff, & Cicchetti, 2004). These mental health needs may be further exacerbated by emerging adults' lack of access to sufficient health services due to work in low-wage jobs, unemployment, and potential of absence of health care insurance (Schwartz & Petrova, 2019). The relationship between emerging adulthood and cultural identity domain (i.e., race/ethnicity, gender, sexuality, spirituality, and socioeconomic class) salience in predicting individuation and life satisfaction has not yet been examined.

The results of this study have promise for clinical implications. This study can provide mental health professionals with increased understanding of which cultural identity salience variables contribute to life satisfaction and individuation to better assist individuals clinically and develop specific interventions for these emerging adulthood aged clients to meet the needs of the changing cultural composition of the United States (Hill et al., 2013).

### **Theoretical Foundation**

**Social identity theory.** Identity salience changes depending on the individual's social context and present domain (Turner, 1985). Individuals' worldviews are observed through the

lens of the group membership of a salient identity (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). Cultural identity salience extends identity and represents the parts of one's identity in relation to other social roles (Mohammadi, 2013).

Social Identity Theory (SIT) expands on these notions of identity, asserting identity is derived from group membership (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). SIT is based on the perception that individuals are defined by associated identity groups (Hogg & Vaughan, 2002). Individuals are composed of several selves that correspond with group membership from several identity groups. Tajfel and Turner (1986) noted that there are three classes of variables that potentially influence intergroup differentiation: Individuals must subjectively identify with the group, situations should permit evaluative intergroup comparisons, and other identity categories the individual maintains must be sufficiently comparable to the identity categories of the rest of the group. The philosophy of SIT aligns well with theories that incorporate cultural influences of identity (Brown & Capozza, 2016).

The theoretical framework for this study postulates that cultural identity is composed of several intersecting cultural identity domains that are derived from both contextual and subjective influences. Levels of life satisfaction and individuation thus may vary among individuals depending on one's salience of cultural identity domains.

## **Methodology**

This study will utilize a quantitative research design. Data will be used to run a series of correlations to compare life satisfaction and individuation (dependent variables) levels among emerging adults' salience of cultural identity domains (independent variables), namely race/ethnicity, gender, sexuality, spirituality, and socioeconomic class identities.

## **Limitations**

Identity is a broad construct, consisting of many complex components (Kroger, 2007), limiting the ability of a single study to examine it comprehensively. This study is centered on cultural identity, more specifically race/ethnicity, gender, sexuality, spirituality, and socioeconomic class. Other aspects of emerging adults' identities may intersect with cultural identity, which can potentially influence the results. Further, identity processes may differ among various domains of identity (Goossens, 2001). The domain or setting each participant is currently in when his or her cultural identity salience is assessed may influence his or her responses on the study's measures.

## **Definition of Key Terms**

To provide an understanding of the main concepts conveyed within this dissertation, the following definitions for emerging adulthood, individuation, and life-satisfaction, cultural identity, and the cultural identity domains of racial/ethnic identity, gender identity, sexual identity, spiritual identity, and socioeconomic class identity, were used:

**Emerging adulthood.** The developmental stage of emerging adulthood was developed by Arnett (2000) and is defined by a stage in which individuals are no longer adolescents, but not yet fully adults. Emerging adults' range in age from 18-25 but can also include young adults up to the age of 29 who have not made the transition to adulthood (Arnett, 2015), are defined by the criteria of accepting responsibility for one's self, making independent decisions, and financial independence (Arnett, 2000). Emerging adulthood is distinguished by identity exploration; instability; self-focus; feelings of being in-between adolescence and full adulthood; and possibilities in love, work, and worldviews.

**Life satisfaction.** Diener (1984) developed the construct of life satisfaction from research concerning subjective well-being. Life satisfaction emerged as one component of subjective well-being and is defined as the conscious and cognitive judgment of one's life in which the criteria and judgement are up to the person (Pavot & Diener, 1993). The construct is often assessed by the widely used Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS; Diener et al., 1985). The scale consists of five questions used to measure individuals' life satisfaction and exhibits good reliability and validity (Pavot & Diener, 2008).

**Individuation.** The theoretical conceptualization of individuation has been in the literature for decades and has been proposed by founding leaders in the mental health field (Blos, 1967; Freud, 1958; Mahler, 1963). Individuation is defined as a complex dyadic process that extends into adulthood, with a constant degree of connectedness combined with an increase in individuality from childhood to adulthood (Buhl, 2008). Individuation is strongly associated with connectedness to parents (Youniss & Smollar, 1985) and is often categorized as the construction of self separate from parental influence (Buhl, 2008).

**Cultural identity.** Groen, Richters, Laban, and Devillé (2018) defined cultural identity as the identity shaped by incorporated norms and values that establish an image that individuals hold of themselves. The construct of cultural identity is often conceptualized differently in research and is sometimes used interchangeably with race/ethnic identity (Jackson, 1999; Jeffres, 2000). Social identity is often used on behalf of or with cultural identity in some research, which concerns how people see themselves combined with how they believe others see them (Althoff, 2013).

While many components of cultural identity exist, recent literature is most concerned with race/ethnicity, gender, sexual, spiritual, socioeconomic class, and age identities (Akkan,

2020; Al'Uqdah, Hamit, & Scott, 2019; LeBrón & Viruell-Fuentes, 2020; Lindley et al., 2020).

This study will continue this trend and continue to focus on these core cultural identity domains. Specific justifications for these five cultural identity domains' relevance within emerging adulthood are stated in the review of literature. Age identity will not be included in this study, as its inclusion would be extraneous considering the study's focus on emerging adulthood—a development stage considered with a specific range of ages (Arnett, 2000).

***Racial/ethnic identity.*** The term race is typically used when groups being investigated are considered racial (e.g., Black), while ethnicity is typically used to describe identities that are considered ethnic (e.g., Latinos) (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). The combining of the terms “race” and ethnicity” was once a common practice (Weber, 1968), and the conjunction of the terms as racial/ethnic identity develops a more accurate construct for how individuals experience the world (Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014; Warner & Shields, 2013). Umaña-Taylor and colleagues (2014) defined ethnic/racial identity as “a multidimensional, psychological construct that reflects the beliefs and attitudes that individuals have about their ethnic–racial group memberships, as well as the processes by which these beliefs and attitudes develop over time” (p. 23).

***Gender identity.*** Recent literature has undergone a shift in the definition of gender identity (Zosuls et al., 2011). While previous research defined gender identity in terms of being defined as a boy or a girl (Kohlberg, 1966), recent research focuses on gender role in regard to socialization and cognitive abilities. Gender identity, defined in accordance with these new approaches, is a multi-dimensional, psychological construct that reflects individuals' views about how the self relates to both groups of gender (Martin, Andrews, England, Zosuls, & Ruble, 2017).



***Sexual identity.*** Three elements outline the construct of sexual identity: biopsychosocial processes, individual sexual identity and needs, and social identity (Dillon, Worthington, & Moradi, 2011). Broadly, sexual identity is how one thinks of oneself in terms of who one is romantically or sexually attracted to (Reiter, 1989). Sexual identity is often viewed within the context of sexual identity categories (e.g., gay, bisexual, queer, transgender, straight, asexual) (Cor & Chan, 2017).

***Spiritual identity.*** Spirituality and religiousness are often intertwined but are different constructs; spirituality can exist outside of a religious context, while religion focuses more on traditions, social interactions, and rituals (Nelson, Rosenfeld, Breitbart, & Galietta, 2002). Spiritual identity is defined as an individual construction of a relationship to the sacred and ultimate meaning, as well as a persistent sense of self that addresses ultimate questions about the nature, purpose, and meaning of life, resulting in behaviors that are consonant with the individual's core values (Kiesling et al., 2008).

***Socioeconomic class identity.*** Economic approaches have been used to define socioeconomic class within literature, in relation to socioeconomic status and attainment (Manstead, 2018). Socioeconomic class can be conceptualized socially, in terms of identity formations, bodily attributes, and economic position (Kelly, 2012). Status-based, or socioeconomic class identity is defined as the subjective understanding, meaning, and values that people attach to their socioeconomic status (Destin, Rheinschmidt-Same, & Richeson, 2017).

## Chapter II

### Literature Review

#### Emerging Adulthood

Arnett (2004) proposed the use of emerging adulthood as an alternative for other frequently used terms such as extended adolescence and young adulthood. Arnett (2004) argues that this period cannot be considered extended adolescence because it is a period characterized by much more independence. Adolescence is a developmental stage in which individuals typically live with parents or guardians, are legally considered minors, and are typically in elementary, middle, or high school. Emerging adulthood differs because individuals have already been through puberty, may be going to college or job training, typically live independently, and are legally considered adults (Arnett, 2004). It is a developmental stage between adolescence and adulthood, originally ranging in age from 18-25 years (Arnett, 1998, 2007b), or sometimes expanding to 18-29 years for young adults who have not yet made the transition into adulthood (Arnett, 2015). Prior to the research conducted by Arnett (2000), individuals in the age range of 18-25 were typically either labeled as adolescents or adults. Arnett's (2000) research discovered that a high proportion of these individuals are within a transitional stage between adolescence and adulthood as indicated by emerging adult's self-perception of their adult status matching the criteria for emerging adulthood (Nelson & Barry, 2005).

There are three main criteria necessary for adulthood that emerging adults have not yet achieved that stipulates emerging adulthood: accepting responsibility for one's self, making independent decisions, and financial independence (Arnett, 2000). These criteria concern self-sufficiency (Arnett, 1998). Further, Arnett (2015) categorized emerging adulthood into five

features. The five features were derived from qualitative data from wide-ranging structured interviews (Arnett, 2004). The features are centered around Western culture and may not be present in some individuals due to cultural and economic factors. Arnett (2015) contends that these five features are distinctive to this emerging adulthood but are not unique to only this developmental stage.

The first main component of emerging adulthood is focused on identity exploration, especially in the areas of love and work. Individuals exploring identity may seek opportunities and sample different careers, love interests, and hobbies before making definitive choices in these areas (Arnett, 2015). Although emerging adults become more focused about their work than in their adolescent years, the emerging adult years are often thought of as a time of fun and exploration of identity before “settling down” (Arnett, 2015). This is also the time for young adults to have a variety of romantic and sexual experiences as the parental scrutiny has diminished and the pressure for marriage has not yet arrived (Arnett, 2015).

This time of identity exploration of emerging adulthood can often be exciting, but some individuals find the process of identity exploration to be stressful (Arnett, 2000). Love sometimes results in disappointment or rejection. Work exploration can result in failure to achieve or an inability to find work satisfying and fulfilling. Explorations in worldview can result in rejection of childhood beliefs without the construction of anything more captivating in their place (Arnett & Jensen, 1999).

A second feature of emerging adulthood is instability. Adolescents typically live with their parents or guardians in the location in which they were raised. South and Lei (2015) found in a longitudinal study that 44 percent of individuals ages 18-25 who initially lived at home moved out to live independently. At this stage, adolescents are not likely to have a choice in the

location in which the family lives. Adults are often restricted to choose a location based on responsibilities such as job location and school districts for children. During the phase of emerging adulthood, individuals typically have the freedom to choose their demographic location for college or wish to work, creating an instability of residence (Arnett, 2000). The changing of residence commonly results in cohabitation with roommates or partners. Sometimes emerging adults get along with roommates, and sometimes they do not. Moving in with a romantic partner sometimes leads to marriage, sometimes it does not. When these cohabitation relationships do not work, it leads to more moving of residences, resulting in further instability (Arnett, 2015).

The third feature of emerging adulthood is self-focus. Identity development in adolescence is frequently thought of as self-oriented (Yeager, Bundick, & Johnson, 2012). Emerging adulthood continues this developmental trend, as it is the developmental stage with the most self-focus, as young adults are free of obligations from living at home with parents or guardians and have not yet reached the new commitments and obligations that arise for most people after emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2015). This stage is not to be confused with being “selfish” as the self-focus in this stage is healthy and temporary, and results in gaining daily living skills to build a foundation for adulthood (Arnett, 2015). Occupations can often detract from self-focus, as emerging adults who work longer hours will have more focus on others, and less feelings of self-focus and experimentation (Reifman, Arnett, & Colwell, 2007).

A fourth feature of emerging adulthood is feeling in-between adolescence and adulthood. Arnett (2015) suggests that emerging adults often do not consider themselves adolescents or adults. Emerging adults may lose their adolescent identity but have not yet entered adulthood. Individuals in the phase of emerging adulthood identify as not knowing how to categorize themselves developmentally because they do not fit the definition of an adolescent or an adult.

Emerging adults often feel in-between due to the criteria they consider to be most prevalent for becoming an adult. The criteria for becoming an adult are gradual, and as a result so is the feeling of becoming an adult (Arnett, 2015). Young people state the most common incremental criteria for becoming an adult are accepting responsibility for yourself, make independent decisions, and becoming financially independent (Arnett, 2015).

The fifth feature of emerging adulthood is labeled as possibilities and optimism. Emerging adults often look to the future with optimism and a sense of possibilities, often including a successful career, a happy marriage, and well-behaved children (Arnett, 2015). Young adults rarely imagine the future adulthood as an unpleasant time that may include divorce, dead-end jobs, or disrespectful children (Arnett, 2015). Influence of family is present in this feature, as emerging adults make decisions to follow or diverge from family influences (Arnett, 2015).

Arnett established the theory of emerging adulthood after hundreds of qualitative interviews with emerging adults in the 1990s. Arnett has continued to validate the theory of emerging adulthood quantitatively, surveying thousands of emerging adults since (Arnett, 2015). Emerging adulthood is further empirically operationalized by the Inventory of the Dimensions of Emerging Adulthood (IDEA), an instrument designed to measure individual differences in self-identification in emerging adulthood. Findings from a study using the IDEA supported Arnett's (2000) conceptualization. Further, 18-29 year-olds had the highest means on the instrument compared to other age groups, further empirically supporting the theory of emerging adulthood (Reifman et al., 2007). Empirical research containing the construct of emerging adulthood is extensive. In a review of all empirical studies containing emerging adulthood, Swanson (2016)

determined that 1,345 empirical studies about emerging adulthood had been published since the year 2000 at the time of the review.

The concept of emerging adulthood has been widely accepted enough to explore the distinctions and wider applicability of the stage (Schwartz, 2016). Although the theory of emerging adulthood is a phase of human development, it is restricted to certain times and cultures (Arnett, 2000). The expectations and roles of adults and adolescents often vary in other cultures, limiting the theory of emerging adulthood to focus among young people in Western cultures (Arnett, 2000). The stage is distinguished by identity exploration, thinking of the future, and focusing on oneself—which may be difficult in cultures with high poverty rates, overpopulation, more natural disasters, and scarcer resources (Schwartz, 2016). Emerging adulthood may be limited to individuals from wealthy backgrounds and college students in some non-western cultures (Galambos & Martinez, 2007; Nelson & Chen, 2007). Young adults in collectivistic cultures exhibit behaviors and beliefs which do not always match the model of emerging adulthood, providing evidence that culture influences this developmental stage (Nelson, Badger, & Bo Wu, 2004). Even within Western cultures, socioeconomic status and religion may affect the experience of emerging adulthood, as explorations within young people may not be as available for individuals within a lower social class or a religion with strict norms (Arnett, 2000). The issue of generalizing samples from Western society is not specific to emerging adulthood, as the majority of research samples from the American Psychological Association in the early 2000s were from English speaking societies (Arnett, 2008).

Although emerging adulthood is intended to fill a gap in developmental models, its use as a full developmental phase is debated. Côté (2014) suggests the concept of “emerging adulthood” is flawed and used too loosely. He questions Arnett’s methodology and age range, as

well as criticizes the casual use of the term by other scholars. Côté (2014) argues that “emerging adulthood” as a concept should be used more prescriptively and less descriptively when attributing the features of the stage to those ranging in age from 18 to 25. The age range of emerging adulthood is believed to contain too many individual variables to be constrained to the limits of a single developmental phase, as the typical route to adulthood may lack signs of emerging adulthood (Bynner, 2005). It may be more appropriate to expand on the concept of youth spreading further into the lifespan rather than create a new terminology to describe this change in development (Bynner, 2005). Some scholars have argued against emerging adulthood being labeled its own unique developmental stage due to features of emerging adulthood overlapping and being experienced in adolescence and adulthood (Arnett, 2007a). The overlap of emerging adulthood features between adolescence and adulthood is believed to contradict development, which demonstrates the theory of emerging adulthood’s plasticity and specificity to certain domains. Emerging adulthood is further criticized by being limited to a certain time and culture; the stage will become outdated when Western societies change with new characteristics and social contexts (Arnett, 2007a). Arnett (2007a) attests that no developmental stage is timeless, however the markers of emerging adulthood (e.g., longer education, later marriage ages, later entry to parenthood) are increasing in the new global economy, indicating an increase in the length of the stage of emerging adulthood.

### **Identity Development in Emerging Adulthood**

Identity is a principal characteristic of adolescence and emerging adulthood due to a shift in development during these stages (Arnett, 2004; Verschueren, Rassart, Claes, Moons, & Luyckx, 2017). Although Erikson (1968) believed that identity formation continues throughout the lifespan, he suggested that adolescence and young adulthood are especially crucial

developmental periods because they begin the process of identity integration. Modern approaches to identity formation continue to indicate that young adulthood is the prime stage for identity development (Marcia, 1980; McAdams, 2001; Sugimura, 2020). The merger of increased opportunities and fewer responsibilities in emerging adulthood expands the time for identity exploration (Arnett, 2003). The focus on identity may be a result of emerging adults having not yet entered into adult roles concerning marriage, parenthood, and careers (Juang & Syed, 2010). Instead this time is characterized by a focus on the self (Arnett & Tanner, 2006). Young adults with a commitment to identities are more poised to enter adulthood, whereas those lacking such commitments may require external guidance for the transition (Schwartz, Côté, & Arnett, 2005). External help provided from parents or guardians is especially crucial to identity formation in emerging adulthood due to one's social and cultural norms being displaced by new alternatives and ideas from changing contexts (Luyckx, Soenens, Vansteenkiste, Goossens, & Berzonsky, 2007).

Emerging adults, especially those attending college, are exposed to new experiences that may promote identity development (Azmitia, Syed, & Radmacher, 2008). Changes in identity development at the individual level and increased exposure to new cultural contexts likely results in emerging adults' exploration of their cultural identity (Juang & Syed, 2010). However, it is not clear how the experiences of non-college going emerging adults compare to those attending college in identity formation (Schwartz et al., 2005). Phinney (2006) has suggested that cultural identity development begins in adolescence but is established in emerging adulthood.

Ethnic/racial identity development in emerging adulthood is interrelated with young people's socio-emotional, educational, and occupational development. The contexts and settings in which emerging adults experience their identity contributes significantly in forming an



ethnic/racial identity (Arnett & Tanner, 2006). Even in the circumstance in which a secure ethnic identity has been achieved during the stage of adolescence, ethnic identity is likely to be reconsidered as a result of the changing contexts which are experienced in emerging adulthood (Stephen, Fraser, & Marcia, 1992). Furthermore, cognitive abilities are increasing during this stage, which can raise awareness of one's ethnic group membership in relation to the world (Arnett & Tanner, 2006). Quintana's (1994) model of ethnic perspective-taking ability describes young people's capacity to view ethnicity through a broader lens, capacity to take on the perspective of ethnic or racial minority groups, and develop a greater awareness of the diversity within their own group that can lead to an understanding of the complex experiences related to ethnicity/race. Cultural identity development will vary according to race and ethnicity in emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2003). Some minorities experience a challenge in learning to balance aspects of the individualistic majority culture with collectivistic aspects of their family's culture (Arnett, 2003). Schwartz, Zamboanga, Rodriguez, and Wang (2007) revealed that emerging adults' racial/ethnic cultural identity may be affected by acculturation, and individuals may identify with an American-culture identity, heritage-culture identity, or as bicultural. Syed and Azmitia (2008) concluded that ethnic minority emerging adults may have stronger ethnic identities than Whites. However, Feliciano and Rumbaut (2019) showed that immigrants' ethnic identity salience may decrease during the lifespan as they become further accustomed to the new culture. Emerging adults may seek to identify and develop pride in their race/ethnicity identity as a result of discrimination experienced during adolescence (Gonzalez, 2019).

While research on racial/ethnic identity in young adults is widespread, research on gender identity in emerging adulthood has been largely unexamined (McLean, Shucard, & Syed, 2017). The existing research focuses on gender typicality, examining the differences between males and

females (e.g., Jewell & Brown, 2014; Sharp, Coatsworth, Darling, Cumsille, & Ranieri, 2007). Identity development is usually conceptualized as an exploratory process of understanding aspects of oneself, including gender (McLean, Shucard, & Syed, 2017). The current research on gender identity in emerging adulthood focuses on the dimensions of femininity and masculinity rather than the typical gender identity concepts (McLean, Shucard, & Syed, 2017). Further, the ideology of the construct of gender varies in the transitioning gender roles in young adults (Davis, 2007), making it difficult to research gender identity in emerging adults (Shulman, Laursen, & Dickson, 2014).

The majority of research on gender and sexual identity in emerging adulthood focuses on sexual minority (namely, lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender) emerging adults (Schwartz, Zamboanga, Luyckx, Meca, & Ritchie, 2013). When individuals reach emerging adulthood, almost all will have identified a pattern of sexual attraction for other sex and/or same-sex individuals and a subset will have identified a sexual-minority label or behavior that accompanies patterns of attraction with same-sex others (Calzo, Antonucci, Mays, & Cochran, 2011; Morgan, 2013). Other emerging adults will have chosen a heterosexual identity with or without considering its meaning or accuracy for themselves (Morgan & Thompson, 2011). The delayed transition to adulthood delays norms such as marriage, which increases the opportunities for sexual and romantic exploration identity exploration in emerging adults (Arnett, 2004).

Research has indicated that sexual identity milestones are occurring at younger ages, prior to the emerging adulthood stage (Ali & Lambie, 2019; Feldman & Cauffman, 1999; Floyd & Bakeman, 2006). Although identity formation in emerging adulthood centers on exploration and possibilities (Arnett, 2004), the transition to adulthood is still commonly associated with heteronormative milestones such as marriage and parenthood (Waters, Carr, Kefalas &

Holdaway, 2011). There is a greater acceptance of exploration of sexual orientation today and thus more possibilities to consider during emerging adulthood (Ryan, Russell, Huebner, Diaz, & Sanchez, 2010; Savin-Williams, 2005), despite discrimination and violence against sexual minorities continuing to occur among emerging adults (Friedman et al., 2012; Jones, Jerman, & Charlton, 2018).

Arnett (2004) suggests that individuals' identity formation in emerging adulthood also explores the self-definition of their values and beliefs, including those in the spiritual domain. However, this self-exploration often results in experiencing a disconnect between their spirituality and religiosity (Arnett, 2004). Although they are often intertwined, spirituality and religion are distinct constructs. Religion generally refers to a system of beliefs and practices that acknowledge the sacred; spirituality refers to understanding life's questions and a relationship to the sacred which can include religiousness, but does not have to (Oxhandler & Parrish, 2016). Although research has been mixed on the state of spirituality in the transition to adulthood, most have found that, on average, spirituality and religiousness decrease from adolescence to adulthood (Koenig, McGue, & Iacono, 2008). Despite the fact that the degree to which one identifies as spiritual typically decreases in emerging adulthood, young adults for whom spirituality and religiosity are more salient are more likely to experience a host of positive outcomes (McNamara Barry, Nelson, Davarya, & Urry, 2010). Spirituality is related positively to both academic and personal-emotional adjustment in American college students (Gilliam, Barry, & Bacchus, 2008), positive effects for health and protective factors for engaging in risk behaviors (Know et al., 2008) and less alcohol and drug abuse (Hamil-Luker, Land, & Blau, 2004). Given that emerging adulthood is marked by a decline in parental influence (Arnett, 2004), most religious and spiritual practices and discussions are engaged in with friends

(Montgomery-Goodnough & Gallagher, 2007). Moreover, peers are found to have a stronger spiritual influence than parents on emerging adults (Schwartz, 2006).

Socioeconomic class identity is significant during identity development in emerging adulthood. Emerging adults who were raised in lower socioeconomic households may be motivated to surpass their parents in financial gain (Arnett, 2000). The disenfranchising circumstances of those in a lower social class status affect how they experience the features of emerging adulthood and how they develop their identities in this stage (Azmitia, Syed, & Radmacher, 2008). Young adults from lower socioeconomic classes transition to adulthood earlier than young adults from more privileged backgrounds due to perceptions of the roles of adulthood (Benson & Furstenberg, 2006). Further, young adults who have a higher income or wealthy parents who assist in financial support have more options when seeking possibilities and identity exploration (Hendry & Kloep, 2007). Those from working-class families typically do not have the financial safety net or provisions from families to experiment with different types of jobs or colleges for an extended amount of time (Benson & Furstenberg, 2006). Schoeni and Ross (2005) found that families in the top income quartile provide about 70% more financial support to their young adult children than those who are in the lowest income quartile, suggesting an opportunity for young adults from lower social classes to reach adulthood-like transitions earlier than those from high social classes (Benson & Furstenberg, 2006). Although socioeconomic class may alter how individuals' experience emerging adulthood, Arnett (2016) contends that although class is important in how emerging adults experience this stage in life, emerging adulthood is still experienced by young adults across all social classes.

## **Cultural Identity**

Identity is broadly defined as an individual's psychological relationship to particular social category systems (Frable, 1997). Identity is a complex entity that is broad and encompassing (Kroger, 2007). It is also driven by the context around it (Wenger, 1998). When exploring the context of any single identity, one must incorporate an analysis of the ways other identities interact with and qualitatively change the experience of that identity (Syed, 2010). In recent years, research on identity development has focused primarily on socially and culturally constructed characteristics of identity (Love, Bock, Jannarone, & Richardson, 2005). The term cultural identity is better suited to more accurately capture an individual's identity in relation to an individual's ethnicity/race, spiritual beliefs, gender, sexual orientation, and spiritual beliefs (Lu et al., 1995; Ton & Lim, 2006). A cultural identity includes a self-perceived sense of belonging to a distinct cultural group (Ennaji, 2005). Cultural identity shapes the way individuals interact with the environment, assign meaning to constructs, associate with others, and act on a day-to-day basis (Ferdman, 1995). The ways in which individuals experience cultural identity differs based on the social construction of the cultural identity domains (e.g., race/ethnicity, gender, sexuality, spirituality, class) and the exclusions of minoritized cultural identity domains (Yep, 2004).

Current literature conceptualizes cultural identity in several means. Jeffres (2000) defined cultural identity as ethnic identification based on one's ethnicity or cultural origins. Other scholars view cultural identity as inclusive of all cultural components, and not being limited to race and ethnicity. Incorporating more constructs of understanding than just race/ethnicity creates a broader and holistic look at identity development (McDonald et al., 2019). Groen, Richters, Laban, and Devillé (2018) defined cultural identity as the identity

shaped by incorporated norms and values that establish an image that individuals hold of themselves. The ways in which individuals relate to culture depends on the construction of an individual's cultural identity (Wan & Chew, 2013). Because individuals form a mental framework through which they define themselves, motivations, behaviors, and judgements based on culture (Sussman, 2000), a standard definition of cultural identity can be subjective. Scholars often use the term cultural identity interchangeably with an ethnic or race identity, showing a lack of distinction between the constructs (Jackson, 1999). This study will utilize Groen and colleagues' (2018) conceptual definition of cultural identity as it encompasses all aspects of culture, not only race/ethnicity.

The notion of cultural identity stems from a sociocultural approach to identity, which focuses on the role that society plays in providing or not providing individual identity alternatives (Shotter & Gergen, 1989). Mead (1934) began the movement to view identity as the result of cultural possibilities and proposed that people define themselves according to how they perceive others responding towards them. People present themselves to others based on their own awareness of how others likely perceive them. Identification with a cultural identity is associated with greater endorsement of normative behaviors and will guide individuals' behaviors in social contexts (Chang, Jetten, Cruwys, & Haslam, 2017). Gergen (1999) likened cultural identity to socially constructed categories that others describe and categorize for us. Our religious affiliations, ethnicity, and other cultural levels are all identified by others, and become our reality of how we identify ourselves. The construct of social identity deals with group membership identity and how individuals see themselves as members of one group versus another (Stets & Burke, 2000). However, cultural identity is solely focused on cultural aspects

and how individuals construct these identities and is not concerned with in-group and out-group membership.

Individuals' feelings of belongingness to a group within a social context assists in defining one's cultural identity (Grossberg, 2002). When an identity is salient, an individual's worldview will be observed through the lens of that group membership (Turner et al., 1987). Identity salience often changes for individuals as they transition from group to group (Turner, 1985). Further, individuals will often recategorize others when they transition from an outgroup to the salient group of the individual (Transue, 2007). Some identities occupy individual's minds quite often, others occasionally (Quinn, Kahng, & Crocker, 2004). Identity salience can change based on social situations. The degree of salience given to any identity can fluctuate depending on the social content of the individual's identity. This is often dependent on whether the identity is in the minority or majority group of a specific social situation (Tajfel, 2010).

Cultural identity is relevant or even central to understanding mental health issues and levels of individual and social functioning in culturally diverse client populations (Mezzich et al., 2009). Clinicians often underestimate the relation between cultural identity and mental health, as there is a pressing demand in the literature to position cultural identity needs at the core of individuals' wellness (Bhugara et al., 1999). An individual's cultures are at the forefront of professional counseling and counselor education, as more attention has been given to multicultural counseling and the development of multicultural counseling (Vereen et al., 2008). The *ACA Code of Ethics* (American Counseling Association, 2014) states that counselors should explore their own cultural identities and how they affect their values and beliefs; moreover, counselors have a duty to remain culturally competent. The *American Counseling Association (ACA)* has endorsed the *Multicultural and Social Justice Counseling Competencies (MSJCC;*

Ratts et al., 2016), which task professional counselors to be aware of life experiences of clients and counselors, and understand how the marginalized and privileged identities of clients and counselors may influence the counseling relationship in terms of power, privilege, and oppression. Understanding cultural identity in regard to knowledge, awareness, and skills of the client and the counselor is necessary to provide ethical and competent services in professional counseling.

Within professional counseling and other fields, cultural identity can often encompass limitless identity alternatives. While the construct of a cultural identity captures numerous aspects of cultural components, the literature focuses primarily on addressing ethnicity/race, gender, sexual, age, socioeconomic class, and spiritual cultural identities (Díaz-Andreu, García, Lucy, Babic, & Edwards, 2005; Frable, 1997; Kertaner, Meyer, Frost, & Stirratt, 2009; Robinson-Wood, 2016; Schlesinger, Edwards, & Grinter, 2017). For the purposes of this study, the identity of age was not included as emerging adulthood is delimited based on an age range between adolescence and adulthood (Zimmermann & Iwanski, 2014). Due to this study being bounded to the age range of emerging adulthood, age salience would likely be too similar among participants; hence, this study will focus on the cultural identities of ethnicity/race, gender, sexual, class, and spirituality.

The salience and fluidity of any specific identity at any point depends on a variety of intrapersonal and interpersonal factors (Abes, Jones, & McEwen, 2007). Identity salience refers to how central one's identity is to their goals and fundamental sense of self (Petriglieri, 2011); cultural identity salience signifies the extent to which a culture represents an integral part of one's identity in relation to other social roles (Mohammadi, 2013; Samnani, Boekhorst, & Harrison, 2013). The nature of each dimension of one's identity can alter the salience of other



identities (Abes et al., 2007). Consistent with the term “cultural identity,” some researchers use cultural identity salience to measure the degree to which one’s culture contribute to one's sense of identity (Gahan & Abeysekera, 2009). For the purposes of this study, cultural identity salience will be used to represent the extent one’s culture is part of one’s identity in relation to other social roles (Mohammadi, 2013; Samnani, Boekhorst, & Harrison, 2013) to encompass five multicultural aspects of cultural identity.

**Racial/Ethnic identity.** Race and ethnic identity were once considered synonymous, until the 1920s when ethnic identity became separate from race in writings as a result of cross-Atlantic immigration and war (Weber, 1968). Since that time, racial identity is typically used when the groups being investigated are considered racial (e.g., Black), while ethnicity is used to describe identities that are considered ethnic (e.g., Latinos) (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Markus (2008) discussed the problem with combining ethnicity and race into one term, as it shows little concern for the social structures in which diverse ethnic and racial group members live. However, there is a significant empirical and conceptual overlap of the terms (Bailey, 2000; Phinney, 2000). Further, most ethnic identity measures and scales were not constructed to be either exclusively racial or ethnic (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014) and ethnic identity development processes have been found to be similar to racial identity development (Pahl & Way, 2006). The distinctions once made by scholars that differentiated ethnic and racial identities may be obsolete, as the ethnic and racial identities that youth experience today are intersected and global (Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014; Warner & Shields, 2013). Researchers are challenged when differentiating between the terms given their considerable overlap and difficulty determining what is ethnic versus what is racial (Cross & Cross, 2008), and the

construct of ethnicity/race extends beyond identity research and into other fields which use the conjoined construct (e.g., Isong et al., 2018; Oyserman, 2008).

To encapsulate a conjoined construct of ethnic/racial identity, Umaña-Taylor and colleagues (2014) defined ethnic/racial identity as “a multidimensional, psychological construct that reflects the beliefs and attitudes that individuals have about their ethnic–racial group memberships, as well as the processes by which these beliefs and attitudes develop over time” (p. 23). While race and ethnicity are distinct constructs, recent literature uses the two constructs as intersecting to form a single ethnicity/race identity (Casey-Cannon, Coleman, Knudtson, & Velazquez, 2011). For the purposes of this study, I propose to use ethnic/race identity as one construct and component of cultural identity.

**Gender identity.** Gender identity continues to receive much empirical focus (Zosuls, Miller, Ruble, Martin, & Fabes, 2011). Given that gender is an essential part of human identity that affects many areas of one’s life, it is likely that most individuals devote at least some time to reflect upon their gender identity (Egan & Perry, 2001). Knowledge of one’s gender identity continues to play a significant role in development, as adolescents were found to make subjective judgments regarding the self, based on how gender roles are viewed (Patterson, 2012).

The operationalization of the term “gender identity” is used interchangeably with “sex-typing,” “gender-typing,” and “gender stereotyping” in research terminology (Zosuls et al., 2011). Kohlberg (1966) originally defined gender identity as the “cognitive self-categorization as a ‘boy’ or ‘girl’.” He put forth a three-step gender identity, stability, and constancy acquisition process which involve how children learn to label self and others; coming to understand that boys become men and girls become women; and finally, that being male or female is permanent and cannot be changed by cultural gender cues. Bern (1981) used gender

identity to study masculinity and femininity but did not measure the term by the individuals' own subjective thoughts, feelings, and knowledge about belonging to a gender category (Tobin, et al., 2010). Similarly, Unger (1979) used the term to describe all non-psychological components of sex in regard to appropriateness to male or female when made with the self as the stimulus person.

Current approaches to gender identity do not imply the determinism of matching cultural norms that Kohlberg relied on, and instead focus on gender role in regard to socialization and cognitive abilities (Zosuls et al., 2011). In accordance with these new approaches to understanding gender identity, Martin and colleagues (2017) defined gender identity as a multi-dimensional, psychological construct that reflects individuals' views about how the self relates to both groups of gender. The American Psychological Association (APA, 2011) refers to gender identity as the internal sense of self and expression, and how the individual communicates this to their sense of self. Recent literature also avoids identifying two dominant gender groups, and addresses individuals who do not identify with a gender congruent with the one assigned at birth as transgender. Transgender is a broad term that can refer to an individual who uses gender as a performance (often referred to as 'drag'), or individuals' who elect to permanently change their body to some degree using hormones, surgeries, or other medical interventions (Bosse & Chiodo, 2016).

**Sexual identity.** Reiter (1989) defined sexual identity as how one thinks of oneself in terms of who one is romantically or sexually attracted to. The construct of sexual identity is not interchangeable with sexual orientation, as sexual orientation is referred to as one's sexually-related predisposition and is simply a component of sexual identity (Worthington, Savoy, Dillon, & Vernaglia, 2002). Dillon and colleagues (2011) proposed three sexual identity determinants that

compose one's sexual identity. These determinants are composed of biopsychosocial processes, individual sexual identity and needs, and social identity. The outlined determinants cover individual's physical self, sexual orientation, social group identification, and attitudes concerning sexual identity groups. Throughout the history of sexual identity literature, sexual identity has become as much about being a political statement as it is about self-perception, and much of the literature and models focus on identification as heterosexual or homosexual (Frable, 1997). Bisexuality is also a viable sexual identity with its own development process and identity (Cass, 1990).

Sexual orientation includes great variability among individuals who identify homosexually and heterosexually in terms of sexual attraction and behavior, making it a complex construct (Zhao, Igartua, & Thombs, 2010). Sexual identity development among gay and bisexual identity is known familiarly as the process of "coming out," and progresses as a succession of realizations, acceptance, and finally disclosures of same-sex attraction (Rendina, Carter, Wahl, Millar, & Parsons, 2019). Sexual minorities will often experience critical transition points which serve as developmental sexual identity milestones, such as awareness of same-sex attraction, first contact of another of the same-sex, self-acknowledgement of sexual minority identity, and the first disclosure to others of sexual identity (Dirkes, Hughes, Ramirez-Valles, Johnson, & Bostwick, 2016). Research on heterosexual identity development is mostly non-existent due to the "normative" assumptions about heterosexuality (Worthington et al., 2002).

**Spiritual identity.** In identity literature, little consideration is given toward learning individuals' awareness of their spiritual self (Kiesling, Sorell, Montgomery, & Colwell, 2008). However, to gain a complete understanding of the person, spirituality must be considered (Hill et

al., 2000). The deficiency of spiritual identity research is noteworthy considering early theoreticians' interest in spirituality and beliefs that healthy adults nurture their spiritual tendencies (Erikson, 1962; Erikson, Erikson, & Kivnick, 1986). Marcia (1966) also maintained identity includes both religious and political aspects. In recent literature, scholars have differed on how best to define the construct of spiritual identity (Kiesling et al., 2008). Kiesling and colleagues defined spiritual identity as a persistent sense of self that addresses ultimate questions about the nature, purpose, and meaning of life, resulting in behaviors that are consonant with the individual's core values (Kiesling et al., 2008). Trends in spirituality literature focus on a relationship with the sacred or a search for meaning (Helminiak, 2008; Tiggemann & Hage, 2019).

While many researchers often use the constructs of spirituality and religion interchangeably, they are composed of two separate ideas (Hodge, 2018). It is recognized that although there is an overlap between the constructs, there are important distinctions (Burke et al., 1999). Religion represents an institutionalized set of beliefs and practices which individuals and groups can relate to the ultimate, while spiritually refers to an experiential appreciation of the meaning of life (Burke et al., 1999). Spirituality can exist both within and outside of a religious framework, while religion may channel the expression of spirituality, it focuses more on traditions, social interactions, and rituals (Nelson, et al., 2002). Although the United States is a predominantly religious country, the rates of non-religiousness have risen in past years, while rates of those who identify as spiritual but not religious has also risen (Cheng, Pagano, & Shariff, 2018). Due to spirituality encompassing a broader range of beliefs than religion, this study will focus on the construct of spiritual identity rather than religious identity to address the spiritual aspect of both religious and non-religious individuals' in emerging adulthood.

**Socioeconomic class identity.** Individuals' status-based identity refers to the subjective understanding, meaning, and value that people attach to their socioeconomic status from moment to moment in real time (Destin et al., 2017). Constructs and terms involving socioeconomic class identities have related but different meanings in literature. Class can be seen, in Marxist terms, as being an owner or a laborer (Manstead, 2018). The other approach to defining socioeconomic class focuses on quantitative differences in socioeconomic status, in terms of economic position and educational attainment relative to others and occupation (Manstead, 2018). Social class itself is different than simply a socioeconomic status, as it is marked by consumption patterns, identity formations, and bodily attributes as well as an economic position (Kelly, 2012). In addition to the several approaches to defining socioeconomic class identity, class as a construct has been difficult to study because of the fluidity of social class and its complex formations. Studies often fail to arrive at meaningful conclusions unless relying on neighborhoods and other categories to serve as marks of socioeconomic status (Darvin & Norton, 2014).

Socioeconomic class identity frequently becomes salient when the individual moves between social classes, such as when students from working-class backgrounds attend elite academic institutions and negotiate their marginal status (Frable, 1997). Further, individuals who identify with a low socioeconomic status are often stereotyped and stigmatized, regardless of research indicating similar performances in other measures among high-socioeconomic status and low-socioeconomic status individuals (Spencer & Castano, 2007). Due to the stereotyping nature of socioeconomic class, it is often intertwined in stereotyping of other social categories such as race/ethnicity (Weeks & Lupfer, 2004). While low-socioeconomic individuals are often

stereotyped, it is worth noting that individuals of this social class often experience negative effects such as higher rates of depression (Munford, 1994).

## **Individuation**

Individuation has been theoretically conceptualized in developmental literature for decades (Blos, 1967; Freud, 1958; Mahler, 1963). Mahler (1963) originally proposed the idea of individuation as a child's acquisition of a sense of self involves two complimentary development processes—individuation and separation. Once past infancy, children have difficulty understanding themselves as separate physical beings, and may have difficulty separating goals, desires, and beliefs from those of their parents. Blos (1967) expanded on this idea and suggested the idea of a “second individuation” which takes place during adolescence and focuses on newly acquired emotional, cognitive, and physical capacities. Current research on individuation is largely based on the assumption that adolescents make independent decisions to describe how they perceive their parents and have found that self-reliance and control over their lives gradually increases, whereas depending on and idealizing over parental figures gradually decreases (McElhaney, Allen, Stephenson, & Hare, 2009; Silverberg & Gondoli, 1996; Zimmer-Gembeck & Collins, 2003).

Individuation is described as a complex dyadic process that extends into adulthood, with a constant degree of connectedness combined with an increase in individuality from childhood to adulthood assumed (Buhl, 2008). Adolescents' connectedness to their parents is marked by a respect for parents, desire to please them, self-disclosure, and a sense of obligation to the family and feelings of attachment to parents (Youniss & Smollar, 1985). When this sense of connectedness is assumed to be constant at a high level, individuality will increase over the course of young adulthood (Youniss & Smollar, 1985). Developmental stakes are high, as

difficulties during the individuation process from parents are linked to poorer college adjustment and psychological disorders (Stey, Hill, & Lapsely, 2014).

A key developmental task during the course of individuation is balancing relatedness and autonomy (Albert & Ferring, 2018). Relatedness refers to a continued need for parent approval, support, attachment and loyalty, while autonomy refers to the need to act and think independently (Grotevant & Cooper, 1985; Youniss & Smollar, 1985). Individuals may feel their parents fostered their freedom to think, feel, and act freely. Consequently, feelings of ambivalence towards parents may result in individuals withdrawing emotionally from parents (Albert & Ferring, 2018). Due to the increased autonomy of individuals in the process of individuating from parents, there is a behavioral and structural change due to a power shift during the change in individuation (Buhl, 2008; Lewis, 1990).

Several scholars have emphasized different facets of individuation (Filus, Schwarz, Mylonas, Sam, & Boski, 2019). Hoffman (1984) suggested a model consisting of functional, emotions, attitudinal, and conflictual independencies, whereas Buhl's (2008) model comprised emotional, behavioral, and cognitive aspects of connectedness and individuality. These distinctions demonstrate the different aspects of individuation vary on their effect of youth development and well-being (Dwairy & Achoui, 2010; Filus et al., 2019). Further, when parents continue to provide support while the adolescent individuates contributes to the likelihood of a successful outcome (Filus et al., 2019; Fousiani, Van Petegem, Soenens, Vansteenkiste, & Chen, 2014).

Due to emerging adulthood being marked by a delayed attainment of objective markers in which young adults move out of parents' homes and explore individual identities (Arnett, 2000), a restructuring of the relationships with parents occur during these transitions (Tanner, 2006) as



young adults gain autonomy and rebuild the relationship with parents to prepare themselves for a self-reliant and autonomous life (Komidar, Zupančič, & Sirsch, 2019). The parent-child relationship must go through a transformation when entering adulthood, making gaining autonomy from parents and becoming an independent adult a key developmental task for this period (Silverberg & Gondoli, 1996). Throughout this relationship rebuilding structure, the frequency of contact between parent and child often declines due to life transitions, which forces one to navigate the process of individuation while adapting to the separation from parents (Hill, Burrow, & Sumner, 2016). During the emerging adult years, the individuation process, often referred to as separation-individuation, has been associated with perceived competence, adjustment, and well-being (Koepke & Denissen, 2012). Further, a sense of purpose is correlated with the parent-child relationship during emerging adulthood as having a sense of purpose could assist emerging adults with the process of defining themselves while still preserving adaptive relationships with their parental figures (Hill et al., 2016). Although individuation can refer to individuality in relation to groups (e.g., Heyman & Yazdi, 2018) it is most commonly referred to individuation from parents. This study will use the construct of individuation solely in relation to parents as it is most appropriate for this study's emerging adult population.

Individuation, in regard to identity in emerging adulthood, is categorized by an individual's social-cognitive ability to form new, practical understandings of self and others in a relational world (Lapsley & Woodbury, 2016). Exploration on the effects cultural identity domains has on the individuation process is largely unexplored. Much of the cultural research on families has overlooked the complexity of family relationships as multifaceted interactions influenced by cultural identity (Chan & Erby, 2018). Some research indicates that adjustment to

college and adulthood is an easier process for all racial/ethnic identities and genders for individuals who have higher levels of individuation from parents (Kalsner & Pistole, 2003). Additionally, emerging adults often have the same religion beliefs and spirituality practices as their family until independently separating religion and spirituality in emerging adulthood, and identifying with a new spirituality independently (Barry, Christofferson, Boorman, & Nelson, 2019; Barry, Prenoveau, & Diehl, 2013).

### **Life Satisfaction**

The construct of life satisfaction emerged from research concerning subjective well-being (SWB) (Diener, 1984). SWB is what society views as “the good life,” or more broadly, happiness, and is defined as individuals’ affective and cognitive evaluations of their lives (Diener, 2000). Life satisfaction is one component of SWB, and includes a person’s global judgment of their life, as well as satisfaction in important domains in life such as work, school, or home life (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985). The other two domains are positive affect and negative affect. Positive affect is composed of feeling pleasant emotions and moods; and negative affect includes feeling unpleasant emotions and moods (Diener, 1984). In contrast to the domains of positive affect and negative affect, life satisfaction has been identified as a unique construct due to its cognitive nature which allows the individual to form a conscious judgement of one’s life in which the criteria are up to the person (Diener et al., 1985). The construct of life satisfaction has been characterized as involving a cognitive and global evaluation of the quality of one’s life (Pavot & Diener, 2008). The Satisfaction of Life Scale (SWLS) (Diener et al., 1985) is the most common measure of life satisfaction. It is a five-item self-report measure which allows one to evaluate one’s own life according to one’s own

standards (Pavot & Diener, 1993). This scale exhibits good reliability and validity and is frequently used in research (Pavot & Diener, 2008).

Scholars have put forward two approaches to the study of life-satisfaction: top-down and bottom up (Feist, Bodner, Jacobs, Miles, & Tan, 1995). The top-down approach is a dispositional explanation which is based on the assertion that personality and other stable traits differentially predispose individuals to being satisfied with life (Diener, Oishi, & Lucas, 2003; Steel, Schmidt, & Schultz, 2008). The bottom-up approach to life satisfaction depends upon one's satisfaction in several concrete areas of life that may be classified into separate but interrelated life domains (Heller, Watson, & Ilies, 2004; Pavot & Diener, 2008). After years of research on these approaches (Brief, Butcher, George, & Link, 1993; Heady, Veenhoven, & Wearing, 1991; Lance, Lautenschlager, Sloan, & Varca, 1989), it has come to be understood that life satisfaction requires more comprehensive explanations than the top-down or bottom-up approaches can offer, as situational factors combined with temperament influence life satisfaction judgment (Pavot & Diener, 2008). Heller and colleagues (2004) found that domain satisfactions (job satisfaction, marital satisfaction, health satisfaction and social satisfaction) and personality types were substantially related to life satisfaction. Further, life satisfaction is not understood as an average of satisfaction in all of an individual's life domains, as individuals differ in how they consider the importance of each domain in their own lives. Each domain has the ability to change, which can produce variability in life satisfaction judgements over time (Pavot & Diener, 2008; Diener, Lucas, & Scallion, 2009).

During the events and choices individuals encounter such as continuing education, pursuing employment, beginning a family, or any combination of these roles, the perception of receiving support and having a sense of determination may be central to emerging adults' life

satisfaction (Hollifield & Conger, 2015). These choices will be evident in the period of emerging adulthood, as emerging adults are forced to make decisions regarding education, careers, and other adult roles (Arnett, 2004). Although life satisfaction is generally constant, there is a decline across life satisfaction in all of life domains during adolescence and emerging adulthood (Lucas & Donnellan, 2007; Montepare, & Lachman, 1989). Most studies that have investigated life satisfaction in emerging adulthood have sampled exclusively college students, excluding emerging adults not attending college, which may not demonstrate an accurate human development interpretation of how satisfied with life emerging adults are (Hollifield & Conger, 2015). However, studies on life satisfaction in emerging adulthood have found that relationship attachments, physical activity, and feelings of hope for the future are indicators of life satisfaction in emerging adulthood (Dwivedi & Rastogi, 2016; Guarnieri et al., 2015; Maher et al., 2013). Many individuals in emerging adulthood experience higher well-being (Galambos, Barker, & Krahn, 2006) while others experience lower well-being in emerging adulthood due to worsening symptoms of anxiety and depression (Reinherz, Paradis, Gianconia, Stashwick, & Fitzmaurice, 2003).

Little research has been examined specifically on the relations between life satisfaction and the salience of each of the cultural identity domains explored within this study. While similar in many ways, cultural identity and cultural identity salience are two separate constructs with different operationalizations (Cox, Sadiraj & Sen, 2020; Xia & Wolf, 2010).

To provide preliminary insights, a brief overview of the literature between life satisfaction and the membership in the cultural identity domains (the salience of which, for any given individual, can change).

When considering life satisfaction in relation to cultural identity domains, a theme of the existing research indicates life satisfaction is higher for individuals whose identities align with the majority group, and consequently is lower for individuals whose identities align with the minority group. In regard to racial/ethnic identity, individuals who identify with the in-group, or majority group, are typically more satisfied in life than those who identify with the out-group, or minority group (Mokgatlhe & Schoeman, 1998; Yap, Settles, & Pratt-Hyatt, 2011). Individuals of European descent has been found to have higher life satisfaction on average than those who are not, which is speculated to be a result from aligning with dominant cultural values in a given society (Paterson & Hakim-Larson, 2012). Individuals identifying as a sexual minority typically experience less satisfaction in life, and age group of sexual minorities identifying individuals influences life satisfaction (Goodrich, 2012; Henrickson & Neville, 2012). Socioeconomic class status in relation to life satisfaction is complex, as studies have found contradicting results on the relationship socio-economic status and life satisfaction (Raats, Adams, Savahl, Issacs, & Tiliouine, 2019). Still, the correlation between socioeconomic class status and life satisfaction is strongest for individuals who are living in poverty or near-poverty when experiencing a socio-economic increase (Diener, Ng, & Tov, 2008). Emerging adults often experience negative views of self and their financial standing, impeding their life satisfaction in relation to their socioeconomic class identity (Butterbaugh, Ross, & Campbell, 2020). However, research has showed a positive relationship between life satisfaction and spirituality (Sawatzky, Gadermann, & Pesut, 2009; Whittington & Scher, 2010). With regard to gender identity, both men and women have been revealed to experience similar degrees of life satisfaction (Hyde, 2014; Joshanloo, 2018). The relationship between life satisfaction and individuation tends to be

positive; individuals who are securely attached to their parents show higher levels of life satisfaction (Ma & Huebner, 2008; Nickerson & Nagle, 2004).

## **Chapter III**

### **Methodology**

#### **Overview**

This chapter centers on the methodology employed in this study. The study merged previously created and validated instruments to score levels of perceived salience of cultural identity domains of race/ethnicity, gender, sexuality, spirituality, and socioeconomic class; life satisfaction; and individuation. The purpose of this study was to investigate how perceived individual salience levels of cultural identity domains of race/ethnicity, gender, sexuality, spirituality, and socioeconomic class relate to life satisfaction and individuation in emerging adulthood. The differences between college-going and non-college-going emerging adults, and early emerging adulthood and later emerging adulthood was emphasized in this study. Additionally, the recruitment protocols and participant population data are included in this chapter. Approval was obtained from Duquesne University's Institutional Review Board (IRB) before the study was conducted.

#### **Research Questions**

The following research questions were posed for this study:

1. Does perceived life satisfaction differ among cultural identity domains salience in emerging adulthood?
2. Does perceived individuation differ among cultural identity domains salience in emerging adulthood?
3. Do college-going emerging adults differ from non-college-going emerging adults among cultural identity domains salience, individuation, and life satisfaction?

4. Do individuals in early emerging adulthood (18-23) differ from individuals in later emerging adulthood (24-29) among cultural identity domains salience, individuation, and life satisfaction?

## **Hypotheses**

Few studies to date have investigated cultural identity domain salience predictors on life satisfaction and individuation. The research on predictors of cultural identity salience domain salience on emerging adulthood is also sparse. However, individuation and identity are central constructs in the developmental model of emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2004). Further, emerging adults' intersecting cultural identities factor into the development and happiness of individuals (Arnett & Tanner, 2006). Due to these individual differences in culture and experience, cultural identity domains salience may affect the levels of individuation and life satisfaction among emerging adults. Emerging adulthood is experienced differently among college-going and non-college-going individuals (Mitchell & Syed, 2015). Further, the stage of emerging adulthood can be experienced at different age ranges; some individuals may finish emerging adulthood at the age of 25, while others may finish emerging adulthood at the age of 29 (Arnett, 2015). Individual differences among college-going and non-college-going emerging adults and between individuals in early emerging adulthood and those in later emerging adulthood may affect individual levels of cultural identity salience, individuation, and life satisfaction. While the relations among the constructs under investigation in the current study are expected to be significant, no explicit justification exists within the literature suggesting clear directionality of how these constructs will relate to one another. Therefore, all four research questions proposed in this study are exploratory.



## **Procedures**

Data was collected from emerging adults (ages 18-29). Participants were recruited through universities, and data collection marketplaces, such as Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk). To capture a sample that is reflective of this developmental stage, there was an intentionality to recruit both college-going and non-college-going participants. The participants were all from the United States.

## **Human Participants and Ethics Precautions**

Participants' responses were collected anonymously. Participation in this study involved minimal risk not thought to exceed risk occurring in everyday life. The researcher was not privy to the data collected in any way that could be traced back to the individuals so as to preserve the anonymity of the participants. Data collection occurred upon approval from Duquesne University's Institutional Review Board (IRB).

## **Research Design**

To answer this study's primary research questions, a quantitative method of investigation was employed to allow for a large sample size to appraise their perceived life satisfaction and individuation in relation to their perceived salience in cultural identity domains. Previously validated scales were administered to examine participants' perceived individuation and life satisfaction. Validated scales and measures were included to capture participants' perceived salience in the cultural identity domains of race/ethnicity, gender, sexuality, spirituality, and socioeconomic class.

## **Sample**

A stratified convenience sample of both college-going and non-college-going emerging adults ( $N = 444$ ) was used in this study. This sample size was sufficient for running the

intended analyses due to the results of a power analysis using G-Power, with power ( $1 - \beta$ ) set at 0.80,  $p < .05$ , and two-tailed. An effect size ( $r$ ) of .24 was drawn from the average of reported effect sizes of empirical studies that address constructs related to this study,  $r = .22$  (Morrison & Hopkins, 2019),  $r_s = .19$  and  $.18$  (Szabo & Ward, 2015) and  $r_s = .24$  and  $.38$  (Negy, Shreve, Jensen, & Uddin, 2003). All emerging adults aged 18-29 were eligible to be included in the sample as this study sought to capture participants with a variety of cultural identities in one developmental age group.

### **Data Collection**

Currently, a singular empirically validated questionnaire measuring the constructs necessary to address the research questions of this study does not exist. For this reason, data was collected via a survey combining validated scales to find perceived life satisfaction and individuation. Validated scales appraising participants' perceived salience in the cultural identity domains of race/ethnicity, gender, sexuality, spirituality, and socioeconomic class do not currently exist. Five questions adapted from a separate research study assessing these cultural identity domains were used to assess these constructs. Demographic variables (e.g., age, race, gender, sexual orientation, religion, education level) were also assessed on the survey. Age was categorized to evaluate differences between individuals in beginning emerging adulthood (18-23) and individuals in later emerging adulthood (24-29). The remaining demographics were reported in the study, but not emphasized in the analysis.

Recruitment for participants were completed electronically in two ways: (a) via emails sent to college students' university email accounts, and (b) via MTurk. The survey was administered via Qualtrics Survey Software. Upon selecting the survey, participants were presented with informed consent information to read and decide whether to participate. If

participants chose to complete the survey, informed consent was assumed. Upon completing the survey, participants were given the option to enter a drawing for a gift card incentive.

Participants were asked to select a separate link to a separate Qualtrics survey, which asked participants for identifying information and name separate from the research survey responses in order to ensure confidentiality of identifiers. No identifying information (e.g., name, address, etc.) was collected from participants to ensure anonymity.

### **Instruments**

**Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS).** The SWLS is a 5-item scale designed to assess participants' level of agreement with the satisfaction with life items. Participants are asked to indicate their level of agreement using a 7-point Likert scale with responses ranging from 1 ("strongly disagree") to 7 ("strongly agree"). Sample items include: "I am satisfied with my life in general" and "The conditions of my life are excellent." The SWLS has auspicious psychometric properties. Internal consistency is in the excellent range with Cronbach's alpha coefficient of .87. A factor analysis showed one factor, which accounted for 66% of variance (Diener et al., 1985). The SWLS can be used by a diverse range of ages, and scores have correlated from moderate to high with other measures of subjective well-being (e.g., Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale) (Diener et al., 1985).

**Individuation Test for Emerging Adults-Short (ITEA-S).** The ITEA-S is a 21-item self-report questionnaire designed to measure five domains of individuation in emerging adulthood in relation to one's mother and father. The five domains of individuation in emerging adulthood consist of Support Seeking, Connectedness, Intrusiveness, Self-Reliance, and Fear of Disappointing the Parent (Komidar, Zupančič, Puklek Levpušček, & Bjornsen, 2016). Support Seeking delineates an individual's seeking of parental emotional support, approval, advice, and

help in difficult or important situations. Connectedness assesses an individual's experiences of mutual understanding, respect, and trust in the relationship, and perceptions of the parent as a good companion, and availability for open and sincere communication. Intrusiveness includes individuals' perceptions of a parent as intruding into their privacy, parental overconcern, worry, and desire to exert emotional control over them. Self-Reliance delineates individuals' belief that they manage personal affairs, problems, and important decisions without parental assistance. Fear of Disappointing the Parent refers to an intrapersonal form of dependence on the parent, such as feelings of worry, anxiety, guilt, and resentment when an individual does not meet parental expectations.

Participants respond on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 ("completely untrue") to 5 ("completely true"). This questionnaire was originally developed by Komidar, Zupančič, Puklek Levpušček, & Bjornsen, 2016 (2014) as the Individuation Test for Emerging Adults (ITEA), a 36-item self-report questionnaire. The ITEA-S was developed as a shortened and equivalent version of the ITEA, making it more robust in terms of its internal structure and more appropriate for adaptation to other cultural and linguistic environments (Komidar et al., 2016).

The ITEA-S includes separate mother (ITEA-S-M) and father (ITEA-S-F) forms due to the distinct roles of mothers and fathers in the development of emerging adult's individuation (Komidar et al., 2016). The ITEA-S-M and ITEA-SF are identical forms, distinguished only by interchanging the nouns of mother and father on each form. The construct validity and concurrent validity of the ITEA-S was revealed to be satisfactory. Cronbach's alpha coefficient for the five domains of individuation for both the ITEA-S-M and the ITEA-S-F are also favorable: Support Seeking ( $\alpha = .92/.90$ ), Connectedness ( $\alpha = .84/.84$ ), Intrusiveness ( $\alpha = .87/.87$ ), Self-Reliance ( $\alpha = .80/.82$ ), and Fear of Disappointing the Parent ( $\alpha = .83/.82$ )

(Komidar et al., 2016). The current study was not concerned with the individual differences between mother and father and is seeking to measure the parental individuation as a single assessment. Therefore, the study used a single 21-item ITEA-S form in lieu of two separate mother and father forms, using the indicator of “parent or parental guardian” instead of mother or father.

**Cultural identity salience.** Although there are several means to measure cultural identity salience, the method used in this study emphasized individuals’ context of themselves as holistic cultural beings. To capture cultural identity salience a 5-item questionnaire was administered. The 5-item questionnaire, based on Yijie Wang, Douglass, and Yip’s (2017) racial/ethnicity salience study, asked participants to assess their salience in each of the aforementioned cultural identity domains using a 7-point Likert scale with responses ranging from 1 (“not at all”) to 7 (“extremely”). The five items are as follow:

“How aware are you of your ethnicity/race on a typical day?”

“How aware are you of your gender on a typical day?”

“How aware are you of your sexual orientation on a typical day?”

“How aware are you of your spirituality on a typical day?”

“How aware are you of your socioeconomic class on a typical day?”

### **Data Analysis**

Analysis of the data was completed after the dissertation proposal was defended, IRB consent had been granted, and data was collected. Data was used to run variable-centered analyses. The variable-centered approach used a series of correlations to compare life satisfaction and individuation levels among emerging adults’ cultural identity domains. Separate correlations for life satisfaction and each type of identity salience (RQ1) and for individuation

and each type of identity salience (RQ2) were run. The means for all of the measures (life satisfaction, individuation, race/ethnicity, gender, sexuality, spirituality, and socioeconomic class) were compared between college-going and non-college-going emerging adults (RQ3) and between individuals in early and later emerging adulthood (RQ4) using a series of independent samples *t*-tests. Emerging adulthood occurs between the age range of 18-29 (Arnett, 2015). Due to the stage of emerging adulthood occurring across 12 years, early emerging adulthood will be defined as 18-23, and later emerging adulthood was defined as 24-29 by splitting the 12 years of emerging adulthood in half for the purposes of this study.

To protect against Type I error, a Bonferroni correction was conducted within each analysis. For RQ1, five correlations were conducted between life satisfaction and five cultural identity domains. The new critical *p*-value was the alpha-value ( $\alpha_{\text{original}} = .05$ ) divided by the number of comparisons (5): ( $\alpha_{\text{corrected}} = .05/5$ ) = .01. For RQ2, 25 correlations will be conducted between the five domains of individuation in emerging adulthood from the ITEA-S and five cultural identity domains. The new critical *p*-value was the alpha-value ( $\alpha_{\text{original}} = .05$ ) divided by the number of comparisons (25): ( $\alpha_{\text{corrected}} = .05/25$ ) = .002. For RQ3, 11 independent samples *t*-tests were conducted for the means of all measures between college-going and non-college-going emerging adults. The new critical *p*-value was the alpha-value ( $\alpha_{\text{original}} = .05$ ) divided by the number of comparisons (11): ( $\alpha_{\text{corrected}} = .05/11$ ) = .004. For RQ4 11 independent samples *t*-tests were conducted for the means of all measures between individuals in early and later emerging adulthood. The new critical *p*-value were the alpha-value ( $\alpha_{\text{original}} = .05$ ) divided by the number of comparisons (11): ( $\alpha_{\text{corrected}} = .05/11$ ) = .004.

## Chapter IV

### Results

The purpose of this study was to understand how individuals' cultural identity domains of race/ethnicity, gender, sexuality, spirituality, and socioeconomic class are salient in emerging adults. Specifically, this study examined emerging adults' levels of individuation and life-satisfaction in regard to the salience of the aforementioned cultural identity domains. This study also examined the difference between college-going and non-college-going emerging adults and emerging adults in early or later emerging adulthood in terms of cultural identity domain salience, individuation, and life satisfaction. The results from this study are presented through the use of tables, and results from statistical analyses are highlighted in the narrative.

#### Descriptive Analysis of Sample

**Demographic variables.** Of the 510 initial participants in the dataset, 453 had complete or partial files and were included in the analyses. Criteria for partial files to be included were based on completion of age demographics, college-going status, and the cultural identity salience scale due to the responses being vital to the implications of the study. Descriptive statistics were used to report the number of valid responses. One participant reported being under the age of 18, while eight participants reported being over the age of 29. These nine responses were removed due to being of an age that does not fall under the 18-29 age range of emerging adulthood, resulting in 444 overall valid responses. Participants completed a demographic questionnaire, the Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS), the Individuation Test for Emerging Adults-Short (ITEA-S), and a 5-item cultural identity salience questionnaire. Descriptive statistics were used to report the number of valid responses ( $N = 444$ ). Mean replacement was used to account for missing data for partially completed files.

The specific identities for the 5 cultural identity domains were accounted for in the demographic questionnaire. Participants' race/ethnicity consisted of 251 White, 110 Asian, 30 Black or African American, 27 Hispanic or Latino, 12 American Indian or Alaska Native, 3 Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander, 5 other, and 6 participants chose not to answer. In regard to gender, the sample consisted of 231 females, 207 males, 3 non-binary, and 3 participants chose not to answer. Sexuality demographics consisted of 320 Heterosexual or straight, 66 Bisexual, 35 Homosexual, 9 of another sexual identity, and 14 participants chose not to answer. The demographics for the religious belief identity element of spirituality was 155 Catholic, 55 Agnostic, 42 Atheist, 41 Protestant, 36 Christian Orthodox, 20 Muslim, 1 Buddhist, 6 Jewish, and 3 Sikh. Forty-two participants were of a different religious identity, and 30 chose not to respond. The most frequent response for annual income per year was under \$15,000 ( $n = 139$ ). Seventy-six percent of participants earn an annual income of \$49,999 or less per year, while 75 participants earned an annual income of \$75,000 or greater. Participants reported living throughout the United States: 197 participants lived in the Northeast region of the United States, 119 in the Southern region, 65 in the Western region, and 62 in the Midwestern region.



Table 1

*Descriptive Analysis of Cultural Identity Demographic Information*

<u>Variables</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent of Participants</u>
<b>Race/Ethnicity Identity</b>		
American Indian or Alaska Native	12	2.7
Asian	110	24.8
Black or African American	30	6.8
Hispanic or Latino	27	6.1
Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander	3	.7
White	251	56.5
Other	5	1.1
<b>Gender Identity</b>		
Male	207	46.6
Female	231	52.0
Non-Binary	3	.7
<b>Sexual Identity</b>		
Heterosexual or Straight	320	72.1
Homosexual	35	7.9
Bisexual	66	14.9
Another Sexual Identity	9	2.0
<b>Religious Identity</b>		
Catholic	155	34.9
Protestant	41	9.2
Christian Orthodox	36	8.1
Jewish	6	1.4
Muslim	20	4.5
Buddhist	11	2.5
Sikh	3	.7
Atheist (No not believe in God)	42	9.5
Agnostic (Existence of God is unknown)	55	12.4
Other	42	9.5
<b>Annual yearly Income</b>		
Under \$15,000	139	31.3
\$15,000 - \$24,999	59	13.3
\$25,000 - \$34,999	68	15.3
\$35,000 - \$49,000	73	16.4
\$50,000 - \$74,999	57	12.8

\$75,000 - \$99,999	34	7.7
\$100,000 - \$149,999	10	2.3
\$150,000 and over	4	.9

---

*Note.*  $N = 444$

Demographics regarding age, college experience, and living arrangement were collected to better conceptualize the emerging adulthood aspect of participants and to better understand research questions 3 and 4. Emerging adults who have never attended college made up 23.2% of the sample ( $n = 103$ ). Eighty-one participants are currently in undergraduate college, and 102 participants have completed a bachelor's or associate degree. Seventy-nine participants are in graduate school, and 79 participants have completed a master's or doctorate degree. One hundred and thirty-two participants fell in the age range of early emerging adulthood (18-23 years old), and most of participants ( $n = 312$ ) fell in the age range of later emerging adulthood (24-29 years old). The overall average age of participants was 24.9 years ( $SD = 9.71$ ). Approximately 81% of participants were employed to some degree with 51.4% of the participants being employed full time. Most participants live with their partner ( $n = 129$ ) or alone and out of their parents' house ( $n = 123$ ). The remaining 112 participants live at home with their parents or guardians.

Table 2  
*Descriptive Analysis of Emerging Adulthood Relevant Demographic Information*

<u>Variables</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent of Participants</u>
Age in Years		
18-23 (Early Emerging Adulthood)	132	29.7
24-29 (Later Emerging Adulthood)	312	70.3
Exact Age in Years		
18 years old	8	1.8
19 years old	19	4.3
20 years old	26	5.9
21 years old	23	5.2
22 years old	34	7.7
23 years old	30	6.8
24 years old	29	6.5
25 years old	50	11.3
26 years old	53	11.9
27 years old	48	10.8
28 years old	68	15.3
29 years old	56	12.6
College Experience		
Never Attended College	103	23.2
Currently in College (Undergraduate)	81	18.2
Completed Bachelor's or Associate's degree	102	23.0
Currently in Graduate School	79	17.8
Completed Master's or Doctorate Degree	79	17.8
Living Arrangement		
Alone (Out of Parent's or Guardian's Home)	123	27.7
Partly Alone, Partly in Parent's or Guardian's House	33	7.4
In a Dormitory or Student Apartment	46	10.4
With a Partner (Out of Parent's or Guardian's Home)	129	29.1
In Parent's or Guardian's Home	112	25.2
Employment Status		
Employed Full-time	228	51.4
Employed Part-time	90	20.3
Self-Employed	40	9.0
Unemployed	26	5.9
Student	57	12.8

Note N=444

**Scale reliabilities.** Reliability analyses were run for the SWLS, and the full ITEA-S (combining all domains including support seeking, connectedness, intrusiveness, self-reliance, and fear of disappointing parents). The 21-item ITEA-S ( $\alpha = .89$ ) all met the conventional cut-offs for acceptable reliability (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). The five domains of cultural identity salience this study is investigating have been measured using single items, so they were not subjected to a test of internal consistency (i.e., Cronbach's alpha).

**Test for statistical assumptions.** Analyses were conducted to determine any violations of assumptions for the analyses conducted in this study. Outliers among the correlations of the variables were inspected and none rose to the level of concern. An inspection of skewness and kurtosis among the individual variables was completed. All variables were normally distributed—none exceeded the generally accepted 1.0 or -1.0 point range for either skewness or kurtosis.

## **Research Questions**

**Research question 1.** Does perceived life satisfaction differ among cultural identity domains salience in emerging adulthood?

Pearson correlation coefficients were calculated for the relationship between life satisfaction and all cultural identity salience categories, with a Bonferroni-adjusted critical  $p$ -value of  $p < .01$ . The correlation between life satisfaction and the race/ethnicity identity salience measure, a positive weak correlation was revealed ( $r(444) = .157, p < .001$ ), indicating a significant linear relationship between the two variables. This suggests that the more salient emerging adults' race/ethnicity is, the more satisfied with their lives they are likely to be. In the correlation between life satisfaction and the gender identity salience measure, there was a non-significant correlation ( $r(444) = .080, p = .094$ ), indicating no significant relationship between

the two variables. In the correlation between life satisfaction and the sexual identity salience measure, there was a non-significant correlation ( $r(444) = .081, p = .088$ ), indicating no significant relationship exists between the two variables. In the correlation between life satisfaction and the spiritual identity salience measure, a positive weak correlation was revealed ( $r(444) = .213, p < .001$ ), indicating a significant linear relationship between the two variables. This suggests that the more salient emerging adults' spirituality is, the more satisfied with their lives they are likely to be. In the correlation between life satisfaction and the socioeconomic class identity salience measure, there was a non-significant correlation ( $r(444) = .101, p = .034$ ), indicating no significant relationship exists between the two variables.

**Research question 2.** Does perceived individuation differ among cultural identity domains salience in emerging adulthood?

Pearson correlation coefficients were calculated for the relationship between the five domains of individuation in emerging adulthood from the ITEA-S and all cultural identity domains salience, given the Bonferroni-adjusted critical  $p$ -value of  $p < .002$ . In the correlation between support seeking and the race/ethnicity identity salience measure, a positive weak correlation was revealed ( $r(444) = .146, p = .002$ ), indicating a significant linear relationship between the two variables. This suggests that the more salient emerging adults' race/ethnicity is, the likely the individual will seek parental emotional support, approval, advice and help in difficult or important situations. In the correlation between support seeking and the gender identity salience measure, there was a non-significant correlation ( $r(444) = .077, p = .105$ ), indicating no significant relationship between the two variables. In the correlation between support seeking and the sexual identity salience measure, there was a non-significant correlation ( $r(444) = .064, p = .177$ ), indicating no significant relationship exists between the two variables.

In the correlation between support seeking and the spiritual identity salience measure, there was a non-significant correlation ( $r(444) = .099, p = .037$ ), indicating no significant relationship exists between the two variables. In the correlation between support seeking and the socioeconomic class identity salience measure, there was a non-significant correlation ( $r(444) = .098, p = .038$ ), indicating no significant relationship between the two variables.

In the correlation between connectedness and the race/ethnicity identity salience measure, a positive weak correlation was revealed ( $r(444) = .196, p < .001$ ), indicating a significant linear relationship between the two variables. This suggests that the more salient emerging adults' race/ethnicity is, the higher the mutual understanding, respect, and trust in the parental relationship for open and sincere communication. In the correlation between connectedness and the gender identity salience measure, there was a non-significant correlation ( $r(444) = .096, p = .042$ ), indicating no significant relationship between the two variables. In the correlation between connectedness and the sexual identity salience measure, there was a non-significant correlation ( $r(444) = .101, p = .033$ ), indicating no significant relationship exists between the two variables. In the correlation between connectedness and the spiritual identity salience measure, a positive weak correlation was revealed ( $r(444) = .151, p < .001$ ), indicating a significant linear relationship between the two variables. This suggests that the more salient emerging adults' spirituality is, the higher the mutual understanding, respect, and trust in the parental relationship for open and sincere communication. In the correlation between connectedness and the socioeconomic class identity salience measure, a positive weak correlation was revealed ( $r(444) = .182, p < .001$ ), indicating a significant linear relationship between the two variables. This suggests that the more salient emerging adults' socioeconomic class is, the higher the mutual

understanding, respect, and trust in the parental relationship for open and sincere communication.

In the correlation between intrusiveness and the race/ethnicity identity salience measure, a positive weak correlation was revealed ( $r(444) = .164, p < .001$ ), indicating a significant linear relationship between the two variables. This suggests that the more salient emerging adults' race/ethnicity is, the more likely the individual will perceive their parents as intruding into his or her privacy, parental overconcern, worry, and desire to exert emotional control over him or her. In the correlation between intrusiveness and the gender identity salience measure, there was a non-significant correlation ( $r(444) = .083, p = .081$ ), indicating no significant relationship between the two variables. In the correlation between intrusiveness and the sexual identity salience measure, there was a non-significant correlation ( $r(444) = .105, p = .028$ ), indicating no significant relationship exists between the two variables. In the correlation between intrusiveness and the spiritual identity salience measure, there was a non-significant correlation ( $r(444) = .107, p = .024$ ), indicating non-significant relationship exists between the two variables. In the correlation between intrusiveness and the socioeconomic class identity salience measure, a positive weak correlation was revealed ( $r(444) = .173, p < .001$ ), indicating a significant linear relationship between the two variables. This suggests that the more salient emerging adults' socioeconomic class is, the more likely the individuals will perceive their parents as intruding into their privacy, parental overconcern, worry, and desire to exert emotional control over them.

In the correlation between self-reliance and the race/ethnicity identity salience measure, a positive weak correlation was revealed ( $r(444) = .172, p < .001$ ), indicating a significant linear relationship between the two variables. This suggests that the more salient emerging adults'

race/ethnicity is, the more likely an individual will believe that he or she manages personal affairs, problems, and important decisions with parental assistance. In the correlation between self-reliance and the gender identity salience measure, there was a non-significant correlation ( $r(444) = .008, p = .862$ ), indicating no significant relationship between the two variables. In the correlation between self-reliance and the sexual identity salience measure, there was a non-significant correlation ( $r(444) = .107, p = .025$ ), indicating no significant relationship exists between the two variables. In the correlation between self-reliance and the spiritual identity salience measure, there was a non-significant correlation ( $r(444) = .106, p = .026$ ), indicating a no significant relationship exists between the two variables. In the correlation between self-reliance and the socioeconomic class identity salience measure, a positive weak correlation was revealed ( $r(444) = .151, p < .001$ ), indicating a significant linear relationship between the two variables. This suggests that the more salient emerging adults' socioeconomic class is, the more likely an individual will believe that he or she manages personal affairs, problems, and important decisions with parental assistance.

In the correlation between fear of disappointing parents and the race/ethnicity identity salience measure, a positive weak correlation was revealed ( $r(444) = .177, p < .001$ ), indicating a significant linear relationship between the two variables. This suggests that the more salient emerging adults' race/ethnicity is, the more likely an individual will feel an intrapersonal form of dependence on the parent, such as feelings of worry, anxiety, guilt, and resentment when an individual does not meet parental expectations. In the correlation between fear of disappointing parents and the gender identity salience measure, there was a non-significant correlation ( $r(444) = .092, p = .052$ ), indicating no significant relationship between the two variables. In the correlation between fear of disappointing parents and the sexual identity salience measure, there



was a non-significant correlation ( $r(444) = .075, p = .113$ ), indicating no significant relationship exists between the two variables. In the correlation between fear of disappointing parents and the spiritual identity salience measure, there was a non-significant correlation ( $r(444) = .132, p = .005$ ), indicating a non-significant relationship between the two variables. In the correlation between fear of disappointing parents and the socioeconomic class identity salience measure, a positive weak correlation was revealed ( $r(444) = .143, p = .002$ ), indicating a significant linear relationship between the two variables. This suggests that the more salient emerging adults' socioeconomic class is, the more likely an individual will feel an intrapersonal form of dependence on the parent, such as feelings of worry, anxiety, guilt, and resentment when an individual does not meet parental expectations.

**Research question 3.** Do college-going emerging adults differ from non-college-going emerging adults among cultural identity domains salience, individuation, and life satisfaction?

Given the Bonferroni-adjusted critical  $p$ -value of  $p < .004$ , a series of independent-samples  $t$ -tests comparing the mean scores of college-going and non-college-going emerging adults revealed no significant differences between the two groups for race/ethnicity identity salience ( $t(442) = 2.04, p = .042$ ), gender identity salience ( $t(442) = .583, p = .560$ ), sexual identity salience ( $t(442) = -.792, p = .429$ ), spiritual identity salience ( $t(442) = 1.16, p = .248$ ), or socioeconomic class identity salience ( $t(442) = .247, p = .805$ ). The mean scores for college-going emerging adults for race/ethnicity identity salience ( $M = 3.16, SD = 1.14$ ), gender identity salience ( $M = 3.58, SD = 1.10$ ), sexual identity salience ( $M = 3.36, SD = 1.23$ ), spiritual identity salience ( $M = 3.19, SD = 1.25$ ), and socioeconomic identity salience ( $M = 3.48, SD = 1.07$ ) were not significantly different from the mean scores of non-college-going emerging adults for race/ethnicity identity salience ( $M = 2.89, SD = 1.23$ ), gender identity salience ( $M = 3.58, SD =$

1.10), sexual identity salience ( $M = 3.47, SD = 1.28$ ), spiritual identity salience ( $M = 3.02, SD = 1.29$ ), and socioeconomic identity salience ( $M = 3.45, SD = 1.13$ ) (See Table 3).

An independent-samples  $t$ -test comparing the life satisfaction mean scores of college-going and non-college-going emerging adults revealed a statistically significant difference ( $t(442) = 4.70, p < .001$ ) between college-going emerging adults ( $M = 24.1, SD = 6.25$ ) and non-college-going emerging adults ( $M = 20.7, SD = 7.10$ ). Therefore, it could be concluded that life satisfaction among emerging adults who are attending or have attended college is, on average, higher than life satisfaction among emerging adults who have never attended college.

A series of independent-samples  $t$ -tests comparing the mean scores of college-going and non-college-going emerging adults revealed no significant differences between the two groups for the five domains of individuation in emerging adulthood on the ITEA-S of support seeking ( $t(442) = .779, p = .436$ ), connectedness ( $t(442) = 1.46, p = .143$ ), intrusiveness ( $t(442) = 2.75, p = .006$ ), self-reliance ( $t(442) = .207, p = .836$ ), and fear of disappointing parents ( $t(442) = 1.49, p = .136$ ). The mean scores of college-going emerging adults for support seeking ( $M = 17.4, SD = 3.45$ ), connectedness ( $M = 12.9, SD = 2.89$ ), intrusiveness ( $M = 16.7, SD = 3.83$ ), self-reliance ( $M = 12.7, SD = 3.22$ ), and fear of disappointing parents ( $M = 9.73, SD = 2.48$ ) were not significantly different from the mean scores of non-college-going emerging adults for support seeking ( $M = 17.1, SD = 3.95$ ), connectedness ( $M = 12.5, SD = 2.96$ ), intrusiveness ( $M = 15.5, SD = 3.68$ ), self-reliance ( $M = 12.6, SD = 3.14$ ) and fear of disappointing parents ( $M = 9.31, SD = 2.61$ ), respectively (See Table 3).

Table 3

*College-going and non-college-going emerging adulthood variables t-tests with means of all measures*

		<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
	Race/Ethnicity Identity Saliency			
College-going		341	3.16	1.14
Non-college-going		103	2.89	1.23
	Gender Identity Saliency			
College-going		341	3.58	1.10
Non-college-going		103	3.51	1.27
	Sexual Identity Saliency			
College-going		341	3.36	1.23
Non-college-going		103	3.47	1.28
	Spiritual Identity Saliency			
College-going		341	3.19	1.25
Non-college-going		103	3.02	1.29
	Socioeconomic Class Identity Saliency			
College-going		341	3.48	1.07
Non-college-going		103	3.45	1.13
	Life Satisfaction			
College-going		341	24.1	6.25
Non-college-going		103	20.7	7.10
	ITEA-S Support Seeking			
College-going		341	17.4	3.45
Non-college-going		103	17.1	3.95
	ITEA-S Connectedness			
College-going		341	12.9	2.89
Non-college-going		103	12.5	2.96
	ITEA-S Intrusiveness			
College-going		341	16.7	3.83
Non-college-going		103	15.5	3.68
	ITEA-S Self-Reliance			
College-going		341	12.7	3.22
Non-college-going		103	12.6	3.14
	ITEA-S Fear of Disappointing Parents			
College-going		341	9.73	2.48
Non-college-going		103	9.31	2.61

**Research question 4.** Do individuals in early emerging adulthood (18-23) differ from individuals in later emerging adulthood (24-29) among cultural identity domains salience, individuation, and life satisfaction?

Given the Bonferroni-adjusted critical  $p$ -value of  $p < .004$ , a series of independent-samples  $t$ -tests comparing the mean scores of individuals in early emerging adulthood and later emerging adulthood revealed no significant differences between the two groups for race/ethnicity identity salience ( $t(442) = .179, p = .858$ ), gender identity salience ( $t(442) = .976, p = .330$ ), sexual identity salience ( $t(442) = .298, p = .766$ ), spiritual identity salience ( $t(442) = -1.11, p = .268$ ), or socioeconomic class identity salience ( $t(442) = -1.12, p = .263$ ). The mean scores for individuals in early emerging adulthood for race/ethnicity identity salience ( $M = 3.11, SD = 1.16$ ), gender identity salience ( $M = 3.64, SD = 1.13$ ), sexual identity salience ( $M = 3.41, SD = 1.28$ ), spiritual identity salience ( $M = 3.05, SD = 1.33$ ), and socioeconomic identity salience ( $M = 3.39, SD = 1.06$ ) were not significantly different from the mean scores of individuals in later emerging adulthood for race/ethnicity identity salience ( $M = 3.09, SD = 1.17$ ), gender identity salience ( $M = 3.53, SD = 1.14$ ), sexual identity salience ( $M = 3.38, SD = 1.23$ ), spiritual identity salience ( $M = 3.19, SD = 1.23$ ), and socioeconomic identity salience ( $M = 3.51, SD = 1.09$ ), respectively (See Table 4).

An independent-samples  $t$ -test comparing the mean scores of individuals in early emerging adulthood and later emerging adulthood revealed no significant differences between the two groups for life satisfaction ( $t(442) = -.544, p = .587$ ). The mean score of individuals in early emerging adulthood ( $M = 23.0, SD = 6.72$ ) was not significantly different from the mean of score individuals in later emerging adulthood ( $M = 23.4, SD = 6.57$ ) (See Table 4).

A series of independent-samples *t*-tests comparing the mean scores individuals in early emerging adulthood and later emerging adulthood revealed no significant differences between the two groups for the five domains of individuation in emerging adulthood on the ITEA-S of support seeking ( $t(442) = 1.16, p = .246$ ), connectedness ( $t(442) = -.389, p = .698$ ), intrusiveness ( $t(442) = .257, p = .798$ ), self-reliance ( $t(442) = -1.09, p = .276$ ), and fear of disappointing parents ( $t(442) = .022, p = .982$ ). The mean scores of individuals in early emerging adulthood for support seeking ( $M = 17.7, SD = 3.17$ ), connectedness ( $M = 12.7, SD = 2.70$ ) intrusiveness ( $M = 16.5, SD = 3.73$ ), self-reliance ( $M = 12.4, SD = 3.24$ ) and fear of disappointing parents ( $M = 9.63, SD = 2.53$ ) were not significantly different from the mean scores of individuals in later emerging adulthood for support seeking ( $M = 17.2, SD = 3.13$ ), connectedness ( $M = 12.9, SD = 2.9$ ) intrusiveness ( $M = 16.4, SD = 3.87$ ), self-reliance ( $M = 12.8, SD = 3.18$ ) and fear of disappointing parents ( $M = 9.63, SD = 2.51$ ), respectively (See Table 4).

Table 4

*Early and later emerging adulthood variables t-tests with means of all measures*

		<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
	Race/Ethnicity Identity Salience			
Early Emerging Adulthood (18-23)		132	3.11	1.16
Later Emerging Adulthood (24-29)		312	3.09	1.17
	Gender Identity Salience			
Early Emerging Adulthood (18-23)		132	3.64	1.13
Later Emerging Adulthood (24-29)		312	3.53	1.14
	Sexual Identity Salience			
Early Emerging Adulthood (18-23)		132	3.41	1.28
Later Emerging Adulthood (24-29)		312	3.38	1.23
	Spiritual Identity Salience			
Early Emerging Adulthood (18-23)		132	3.05	1.33
Later Emerging Adulthood (24-29)		312	3.19	1.23
	Socioeconomic Class Identity Salience			
Early Emerging Adulthood (18-23)		132	3.39	1.06
Later Emerging Adulthood (24-29)		312	3.51	1.09
	Life Satisfaction			
Early Emerging Adulthood (18-23)		132	23.0	6.72
Later Emerging Adulthood (24-29)		312	23.4	6.57
	ITEA-S Support Seeking			
Early Emerging Adulthood (18-23)		132	17.7	3.17
Later Emerging Adulthood (24-29)		312	17.2	3.73
	ITEA-S Connectedness			
Early Emerging Adulthood (18-23)		132	12.7	2.7

Later Emerging Adulthood (24-29)		312	12.9	2.9
	ITEA-S Intrusiveness			
Early Emerging Adulthood (18-23)		132	16.5	3.73
Later Emerging Adulthood (24-29)		312	16.4	3.87
	ITEA-S Self-Reliance			
Early Emerging Adulthood (18-23)		132	12.4	3.24
Later Emerging Adulthood (24-29)		312	12.8	3.18
	ITEA-S Fear of Disappointing Parents			
Early Emerging Adulthood (18-23)		132	9.63	2.53
Later Emerging Adulthood (24-29)		312	9.63	2.51

### Summary of Results

The results of the analyses conducted in this study showed statistically significant relationships between cultural identity domains salience and life satisfaction. Specifically, results showed positive correlations between life satisfaction and the cultural identity salience domains of race/ethnicity and spirituality, each with small effect sizes according to Cohen's (1988) guidelines. The correlations between life satisfaction and both gender identity and sexual identity salience were not statistically significant.

In terms of individuation from parents, the results showed positive, statistically significant, small correlations between support seeking and race/ethnicity and socioeconomic identity salience. The correlations between support seeking and gender, sexual, and spiritual identity salience were not statistically significant. Statistically significant, albeit small, positive correlations with connectedness with parents and race/ethnicity, spirituality, and socioeconomic

class identity salience were revealed. The correlations between connectedness and the identity saliences of gender and sexuality were not statistically significant. Statistically significant, small positive correlations were revealed between parental intrusiveness and both race/ethnicity and socioeconomic class identity salience. The correlations between connectedness and the gender, sexual, and spiritual identity salience were not statistically significant. Statistically significant, small positive correlations were revealed with self-reliance and race/ethnicity and socioeconomic class identity salience. The correlations between self-reliance and gender, sexual, and spiritual identity salience were not statistically significant. Statistically significant, small positive correlations were revealed with fear of disappointing parents and race/ethnicity and socioeconomic identity salience. The correlations between gender, sexual, and spiritual identity salience were not statistically significant. The results provide evidence of a correlation between emerging adults' individuation from their parents/guardians and their race/ethnicity and socioeconomic class identity salience. Spiritual identity salience is only correlated with several aspects of individuation from parents/guardians, and gender identity and sexual identity salience is not correlated to emerging adults' individuation from their parents/guardians.

Results suggested no significant differences between early and later emerging adulthood in cultural identity salience, life satisfaction, or individuation from parents/guardians. When comparing college-going and non-college-going emerging adults, no significant differences were revealed in cultural identity salience, life satisfaction, or individuation from parents/guardians. However, results showed a significant moderate positive relationship between college-going and non-college-going emerging adults in life satisfaction. Notably, there were a number of results that didn't meet the Bonferroni corrected critical  $p$ -values for the analyses in this study, but were



below the traditional  $p$ -value significance cut-off of  $p < .05$ ; these might be viewed as noteworthy and worthy of future investigation.

## **Chapter V**

### **Discussion**

The purpose of this study was to examine the salience of the five cultural identity domains in individuals in emerging adulthood, while further examining the relationship of the cultural identity salience with emerging adults' perceived life satisfaction and individuation with their parents/guardians. An additional emphasis was placed on the difference between college-going and non-college-going emerging adults, as well as individuals in early emerging adulthood and individuals in later emerging adulthood. This chapter presents a summary of the study, conclusions that may be drawn from the results, a consideration of the limitations of this research, and a discussion of recommendations for future research as well as implications for professional counseling.

#### **Summary of the Study**

This study aimed to understand the relationship between the salience of emerging adults' cultural identity domains of race/ethnicity, gender, sexuality, spirituality, and socioeconomic class and their perceived life satisfaction and individuation. This study also examined the difference between college-going emerging adults and emerging adults in early or later emerging adulthood. This study was conducted in order to fill a gap in the research on cultural identity salience in emerging adulthood. The emphases on college-going and non-college-going emerging adults, and early and later emerging adulthood were included to better understand the criticism of emerging adulthood being restricted to individuals who attend college and does not pertain to individuals who do not attend college (Schwartz et al., 2005) and to identify if there is a difference between individuals in different age groups in emerging adulthood as the age range in emerging adulthood was extended from 18-25 to 18-29 (Arnett, 2015).

The results of this study provide evidence that emerging adults' life satisfaction is related to their salience in their race/ethnicity and spiritual identities. Emerging adults' individuation domains of support seeking, connectedness, intrusiveness from parents, self-reliance, and fear of disappointing parents were found to be related to their race/ethnicity identity salience. All of those domains except support seeking were also found to be related to emerging adults' socioeconomic class identity salience. Emerging adults' connectedness to their parents/guardians were found to be related to their spiritual identity salience. No differences were found between emerging adults in early and later emerging adulthood in their life satisfaction or any domains of individuation from parents/guardians. No differences were found to exist between college-going and non-college-going emerging adults in any of the domains of individuation, however a difference was found to exist between college-going and non-college-going emerging adults in terms of their life satisfaction.

### **Major Findings**

Hypotheses for this study and all research questions were exploratory. No explicit justification could be made from the literature to support hypotheses with clear directionality. The research suggested these constructs would relate to one another, but not in any specific ways. Due to the hypotheses of this study being entirely exploratory, the major findings will not be reported with previously stated hypotheses. The findings in this section will be likened to the existing literature that most closely matches the constructs featured in this study. The existing literature generally features cultural identity, specific demographic identities within cultural identities, individuation, and life satisfaction—but does not focus on the salience of cultural identity or on this study's population sample of emerging adults.

**Research question 1.** Results from the correlations conducted for Research Question 1 produced some statistically significant findings. Emerging adults' race/ethnicity and spiritual identity salience were found to be related to life satisfaction. Emerging adults' gender, sexual, and socioeconomic class identity salience were not revealed to be related to life satisfaction.

The findings of this study align with the existing literature on similar constructs that do not completely focus on the identity aspect of the constructs. The finding of a relationship between race/ethnicity identity salience and life satisfaction potentially lends itself to the assertion that life satisfaction in race/ethnicity identities will vary according to specific race/ethnicity in emerging adults (Arnett, 2003) due to the various differences in cultures often related to individuals' race/ethnicity salience (Kumpfer, Magalhães, & Xie, 2017). Further, life satisfaction is often dependent on the minority status salience individuals perceive in their domain (Paterson & Hakim-Larson, 2012), which can potentially account for the relation to life satisfaction depending on the minority status of this study's participants.

The finding of a relation between spiritual identity salience and life satisfaction support previous findings suggesting a strong relationship between spirituality and life satisfaction (Leonov & Hasan, 2019; Sawatzky, Gadermann, & Pesut, 2009; Whittington & Scher, 2010). Given that emerging adults' spiritual and religious salience typically decreases in emerging adulthood (Koenig, McGue, & Iacono, 2008), and individuals of a high spiritual salience are generally happier than those who are not (Whittington & Scher, 2010), it is not surprising that emerging adults' spiritual salience was found to be related to their satisfaction with their lives.

The lack of significant findings between gender identity salience and life satisfaction supports previous findings that no differences exist between men and women in life satisfaction (Hyde, 2014; Joshanloo, 2018). Some research suggests a relationship between life satisfaction

and the sexual identity minority groups (Henrickson & Neville, 2012) but the findings did not show a relationship between sexual identity salience and life satisfaction. No relationship was found between socioeconomic class identity salience and life satisfaction. In regards to research on socioeconomic class and emerging adults, most studies assert that finances are influence on the life satisfaction or happiness of emerging adults. Typically, individuals in low socioeconomic class are less satisfied with their lives (Diener, Ng, & Tov, 2008; Munford, 1994; Weeks & Lupfer, 2004); and individuals with more access to economic resources are often more satisfied with life (Labunskaya, 2020). However, it should be noted that these studies are in relation to socioeconomic class identity—not socioeconomic class identity *salience*. Socioeconomic class identity refers to how one identifies in terms of their finances and socioeconomic class identity salience refers to how noticeable or important one’s socioeconomic class identity is in relation to other cultural identities. A potential explanation in the lack of findings of a relationship between life satisfaction and socioeconomic class identity salience may be attributed to emerging adults often being in college or other trainings that give them possibilities for their future economic situation to change—possibly making their current noticeability of their economic situation less concerning as it is expected while in college or starting out a new career (Beutler, 2012). It is important to note that the lack of findings between socioeconomic class identity salience and life satisfaction does not indicate a lack of a relationship between money and happiness.

**Research question 2.** Results from the correlations conducted for Research Question 2 produced some significant findings. Emerging adults’ race/ethnicity identity salience related to all five domains of individuation from parents/guardians: support seeking, connectedness, intrusiveness, self-reliance, and fear of disappointing parents. The socioeconomic class identity salience of emerging adults was found to be related to all of the domains of individuation except

for support seeking. Spiritual identity salience was revealed to be related to only the connectedness to parents' domain of individuation. Emerging adults' gender and sexual identity salience was found to have no relation to any domain individuation from parents.

The influence of cultural identity on individuals' individuation from their families has long been largely unexplored in literature due to the complexity of family relationships (Chan & Erby, 2018). Individuals race/ethnicity salience may be related to all domains of cultural identity due to the multitudinous traditions that are specific to each culture (Kumpfer, Magalhães, & Xie, 2017). Individuals may feel more salient in their family traditions as it relates to the levels of individuation due to the family being associated with the cultures of their race/ethnicity. Similarly, emerging adults' spiritual salience may be related to the connectedness with their parents due to emerging adults' spiritual beliefs or religious practices until exploring individual spiritualities in the stage of emerging adulthood (Barry, Prenoveau, & Diehl, 2013). Emerging adults' socioeconomic class is often low, or similar to their parents' (Azmitia, Syed, & Radmacher, 2008), possibly explaining the relation to individuation. Support seeking may possibly be the only domain excluded due to support often taking the form of monetary value. Gender and sexual identity salience may not be related to individuation domains due to sexual identity and gender identity milestones occurring at a younger age in adolescence (Ali & Lambie, 2019), connecting these identities less to their own individuation from their parents.

**Research question 3.** Results from the *t*-test conducted for Research Question 3 revealed significant differences between college-going and non-college-going emerging adults in their life satisfaction—life satisfaction among emerging adults who are attending or have attended college was found, on average, to be higher than life satisfaction among emerging adults who have never attended college. No significant relationships were revealed to exist between college-going

emerging adults and non-college-going emerging adults in any domains of individuation from parents/guardians.

The significant findings of the relationship between emerging adults' college experience and life satisfaction contributes new information to the literature on this subject. Most studies that have investigated life satisfaction in emerging adulthood have excluded non-college-going emerging adulthoods from the sample (Hollifield & Conger, 2015). The findings in this study suggest that the college experience is related to levels of satisfaction with life in emerging adults, and lends itself to the current literature that emerging adults who attend college or have attended college are more satisfied with their lives than those who have never attended college (Hollifield & Conger, 2015). Given the exploratory nature of the present study, further research is warranted on the differences in perceived levels of life satisfaction between these two populations.

The lack of statistically significant results found between college-going and non-college-going emerging adults' levels of individuation opposes the assertion that emerging adulthood is limited to individuals who attend college (Smith et al., 2015), signifying that emerging adulthood occurs between all individuals regardless of college experience. Scholars have critiqued the uniqueness of emerging adulthood as its own developmental stage (Arnett, 2007a), often arguing that emerging adulthood is limited to only college students (Galambos & Martinez, 2007; Nelson & Chen, 2007). The results indicating no differences between emerging adults who attend or have attended college and never attended college potentially assists in validating emerging adulthood as a unique developmental stage against one of its principal criticisms. However, this claim must be qualified; the lack of confirming evidence for differences in college-going and non-college-going emerging adults may not necessarily provide disconfirming evidence for the

claim that emerging adulthood is not a unique developmental stage. For example, a limitation of this study (e.g., response bias) may explain the lack of significant results for RQ3.

**Research question 4.** Results from the *t*-test conducted for Research Question 4 revealed no significant findings. The results revealed no significant differences between emerging adults in early and later emerging adulthood in their life satisfaction or any domains of individuation from parents/guardians. The lack of statistically significant results on all measures in this study comparing early and later emerging adulthood potentially provides evidence of the validity of emerging adulthood as a unique developmental stage occurring not just between the ages of 18-25 but extending to 18-29. As with the similar claim made about the previous research question, this claim should be understood as tentative. Whereas the lack of evidence revealed between individuals in early and later emerging adulthood may support the idea that the theory of emerging adulthood extends to all ages within the 18-29 range, it may also be the case that a study design limitation may explain the lack of significant result for RQ4.

Some scholars have argued against emerging adulthood being its own unique developmental stage and instead is just an overlap of features being experienced in adolescence and adulthood (Arnett, 2007a). An interpretation for the lack of findings between early and later emerging adulthood in individuation and satisfaction with life supports Arnett's (2015) decision to expand emerging adulthood from 18-25 to 18-29. The lack of differences between the age groups of emerging adulthood demonstrates that all of the participants experienced life satisfaction, individuation, and salience in their cultural identity, similarly, continuing to validate Arnett's (2015) decision to expand emerging adulthood to the age of 29 years old.



## **Limitations**

The current study has several strengths due to the sample size, moderate diversity in demographics, and diversity in emerging adulthood criteria. However, there were also several limitations that should be considered. The main limitation concerns the broadness of identity, specifically cultural identity. Identity is an all-encompassing construct with limitless possibilities (Frable, 1997). To capture all multidimensional aspects of an individual's identity would be an insuperable task. This study focused on the cultural aspect of one's identity, and through a review of current and relevant literature, chose the five most commonly researched categories of cultural identity (race/ethnicity, gender, sexuality, spirituality, and socioeconomic class), outside of age given the focus on the restricted age range of emerging adulthood. Each participant in the current study almost certainly had salience from other identities not assessed in this study that potentially influenced the self-report of their salience of their cultural identity.

This study is also limited in its lack of incorporating demographics to each cultural identity. While demographics were assessed in the study, the specific multidimensional saliences of each cultural identity domains in terms of demographics was not emphasized. The differences between specific race/ethnicity identities (e.g., Black, White, Asian), gender identities (e.g., female, male, non-binary), sexual identities (e.g., heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual), spiritual identities (e.g., Catholic, Jewish, agnostic), and socioeconomic class identities (e.g., lower class, middle class, upper class) almost certainly had differences and effects that were not addressed in this study. These other cultural identities were not included in this study to avoid over-complexifying a study intended to be exploratory; the five cultural identity domains included in this study were specifically chosen given their relevance in the cultural

identity literature (Akkan, 2020; Al'Uqdah, Hamit, & Scott, 2019; LeBrón & Viruell-Fuentes, 2020; Lindley et al., 2020).

A third limitation is the use of self-report questionnaires. Using self-reported information in data analysis poses a threat to response bias. Considering the social stigma that may be attached to being satisfied with life and being independent, participants may have responded with socially desirable answers when assessed about their perceived life satisfaction and individuation from their parents. It may have been useful to offer a pre-questionnaire explanation of the meaning of individuation to participants, highlighting that the individuation process is a typical marker of emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2000).

A fourth limitation is the measurement of cultural identity salience. The items were adapted from a previous study that solely assessed racial/ethnic identity (Yijie Wang, Douglass, & Yip, 2017). The items were all single-item measures, which present some caveats to the reliability of the items inherently (Loo, 2002). No scale development validation was completed to ensure the scales' validity, as that was beyond the scope of the present work. However, previous research has shown that single-item measures can be reliable and valid measures of related constructs (e.g., Cheung & Lucas, 2014).

A limitation also exists within the sampling of participants' demographics—namely in regard to participants' race/ethnicity. The majority of the participants ( $n = 251$ ) identified as white (56.5%). The racial/ethnic identity of White is often viewed as the majority race/ethnicity in the United States (U.S. Census Bureau, 2019), and individuals who identify within the majority identity have higher levels of life satisfaction than those who identify of the minority status (Mokgatlhe & Schoeman, 1998; Yap, Settles, & Pratt-Hyatt, 2011). This study's findings of a relationship between life satisfaction and high racial/ethnic salience may be attributed to the

majority of participants' race/ethnicity being in the majority status, and not necessarily translate to a relationship between the salience of all racial/ethnic identities and life satisfaction.

Additionally, the use of a Bonferroni adjustment cannot decrease Type I errors without increasing Type II errors. Using Bonferroni adjusted critical  $p$ -values introduces the possibility of important differences being deemed non-significant and thus not finding significant results where they may exist (Perneger, 1998).

### **Implications for Counseling Practice**

The results of this study provide implications for clinical counseling practice. Implications from this study provide several approaches for counselors to use with clients' cultural identity salience—depending on the circumstance and counseling modality. Counselors can encourage emerging adult aged clients to recognize where and how salience of their specific cultural identities (in relation to societal views) is contributing to their well-being. Humanistic and cultural approaches can be used to assist clients in recognizing the importance of affirming the discrimination and prejudices that society may dismiss or devalue for specific cultural identities. Due to historic and current marginalization of some cultural identities, clients may develop a perception of threat to some of their cultural identities. Clients' cultural identities denigrated by society will become more salient to them, which can cause clients increased harm to their mental health from continuing to feel a perception of threat to the aspects of their cultural identities that are marginalized. The vast amount of possibilities in which emerging adults may experience or feel levels of salience in any of cultural identities may necessitate the need for using a variety of types of counseling modalities and clinical approaches.

These results contribute to professional counselors' understanding of cultural identity salience in emerging adult aged clients. Specific interventions, specifically designed for

emerging adults, can develop from further examination of these findings. Interventions with 18-29-year-old clients who struggle with satisfaction in their lives and their individuation from their parents may particularly benefit from these findings. Results from this study may be particularly useful with cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT) considering the CBT model's effectiveness with individuals of varying cultures (Bartucz & David, 2019; Duarté-Vélez, Bernal, & Bonilla, 2010). Professional counselors treating emerging adult-aged clients in CBT and other counseling modalities may benefit from implementing a pre-assessment determining the salience of specific cultural identities to understand their relation to irrational beliefs inhibiting their own satisfaction with life. The irrational belief or cognitive distortion of overgeneralization, or taking one instance or example of self, events, and conditions and generalizing it to an overall pattern (Burns, 1999), may be relevant considering its common examination within developing adolescents (Leitenberg, Yost, & Carroll-Wilson, 1986). Emerging adults of varying cultural identities may overgeneralize by experiencing a single incident of oppression towards a highly salient cultural identity in a social context and expect that result to occur continuously in every social context. For example, an individual who is highly salient in their race/ethnicity may experience racism from an individual from another race and subsequently overgeneralize all individuals of that race to be racist towards their own highly salient race/ethnicity.

The results of this study suggest that counselors should consider incorporating cultural identity salience into their clinical work with emerging adults. Although emerging adult client's gender, sexual, and socioeconomic class identity salience may not be related to their levels of perceived life satisfaction, and gender and sexual identity salience may not be related to individuation—client's race/ethnicity and spiritual identity salience are related to life satisfaction and race/ethnicity, spiritual, and socioeconomic class identity salience are related to

individuation in most factors of individuation from parents. Clients' spiritual identity salience is related to life satisfaction and the connectedness domain of individuation from parents. These results suggest that professional counselors should be intentional in focusing on specific cultural identity domains and their salience for specific work with clients concerning life satisfaction and individuation. Professional counselors' interventions may include pre-assessing clients to determine their perceived salience in their cultural identity domains as predictors of potential lack of life satisfaction. Counselors can use client's identities' salience during specific modalities such as CBT to challenge irrational thoughts or cognitive distortions that threaten the life satisfaction of clients. The cognitive distortions of magnification (catastrophizing) and minimizing, or exaggerating or minimizing the meaning, importance or likelihood of a comment or situation (Burns, 1999), may be particularly susceptible to irrational beliefs or cognitive distortions regarding identity salience or noticeability of identity that potentially threatens life satisfaction. For example, an individual who has personally experienced prejudice to an identity in the past (e.g., classism, racism, or sexism) may be inclined to be continuously salient in that identity due to constantly feeling marginalized considering individuals often feel most salient when a specific identity is in a minority (Yap, Settles, & Pratt-Hyatt, 2011). Counselors can affirm the feelings of individuals who identify with a minority identity through a feminist or humanistic perspective to affirm that their perceptions may be accurate, and that society may dismiss or devalue aspects of their identity. Counselors can assist clients who may be experiencing cognitive dissonance when encountering others who have different (negative or positive) perceptions regarding the salience of specific social contexts of one's life, such as aspects of one's cultural identity salience (Lukianoff & Haidt, 2015). For example, individuals highly salient in their gender identity may magnify others' perceptions of their gender identity or

intentions in banter at a social gathering. Counselors can assist individuals who may feel sensitive to feeling a salient cultural identity being slighted by others by using psychoeducational skills such as cultural humility to encourage clients to self-reflect; examine others' points of view; and engage in open, egoless, supportive interaction with others when feeling slighted (Foronda & Baptite, 2016). It should be noted that emphasizing or minimizing the societal context of these cultural identities does not undermine the concept of empowering one's cultural identities. Counselors can help individuals understand that they have the power to determine which aspects of their identity they want to emphasize, regardless of how others/society perceive or respond to this aspect of their identity.

Professional counselors—especially professional counselors who work in college settings—may benefit from understanding the results from the analysis of the difference between college-going and non-college-going emerging adults. Counselors will be better able to develop treatment goals for emerging adult clients' wellness with the understanding that life satisfaction is related to clients being in or having gone to college—such as being more proactive on wellness related goals for non-college-going emerging adults due to the potential risk of these individuals being potentially less satisfied with their lives. College experience and cultural identity salience may require less attention when treating emerging adult aged clients with specific issues concerning their individuation from their parents/guardians. Similarly, counselors may develop treatment goals and counseling skills utilizing the MSJCC (Ratts et al., 2016) developmental domains (counselor self-awareness, client worldview, counseling relationship, and counseling and advocacy interventions) and aspirational competencies (attitudes and beliefs, knowledge, skills, and action) with emerging adult aged clients regarding the features of

emerging adulthood (e.g., identity explorations, instability, self-focus) consistently in terms of life satisfaction, individuation from parents/guardians, and cultural identity salience.

Counselors can integrate the MSJCC and the results of this study into practice by normalizing the potentially difficult experiences of emerging adulthood such as homesickness from parents with the demands of college or an occupation (Kim, Oh, & Mumbauer, 2019). The MSJCC (Ratts et al., 2016) provides a framework for understanding the multiple social and cultural dynamics that counselors and clients bring into the professional counseling relationship (Fickling, Tangen, Graden, & Grays, 2019). The MSJCC can be applied to diverse populations in emerging adulthood to address stigmas of cultural identities associated with mental illness by operationalizing knowledge and skills to promote openness and safety in the counseling session due to the relationship of mental health stigma and those who feel stigmatized due to cultural factors (Mendoza, Masuda, & Swartout, 2015). For example, international college students often have stigmas of mental health services and feel stigmatized due to some of their most salient cultural identities (Kim, Oh, & Mumbauer, 2019). Counselors working with international students can use positive regard and openness to exchange both the counselors' and clients' multicultural selves and address societal factors that are contributing to distress caused by stigmatized cultural identities.

One modality in which counselors can implement these strategies with emerging adults is CBT. CBT has been revealed to pair effectively with multicultural counseling due to its emphasis on conscious processes and the concept of empowerment—which may lend itself to be the best modality to implement these clinical skills and treatment goals from the findings of this study (Hays, 2009). CBT can be used to challenge irrational thoughts of emerging adult individuals by providing an awareness of the current political context which may be affecting the

mental health of clients (Naz, Gregory, & Bahu, 2019). Professional counselors can help clients identify cognitive distortions associated with their cultural identities that have been influenced by society. An example might be a student who is highly salient in a marginalized cultural identity who wants to be successful but does not think that she can achieve a high-status occupation because she will not have the skills to succeed (Sucuoğlu, 2018). A counselor can use CBT to explore the client's evidence both for and against her belief of having an inability become a politician, and work with the client to list the circumstances which she does and does not have control over.

The findings from this study have important cultural identity salience implications for counselors who work with college students. College counselors can use social justice and advocacy skills to assist students who identify as salient in domains, including race and socioeconomic class, that tend to be marginalized in society. Socioeconomic class identity often causes students of economic disadvantages to feel shame and humiliation related to their low socioeconomic status (Firfirey & Carolissen, 2010). Students of all races/ethnicities may encounter and experience racism and racially insensitive speech and behavior (Miller & Sujitparapitaya, 2010). High spirituality in college students is often linked to higher levels of life satisfaction (Roming & Howard, 2019) yet individuals' spirituality typically decreases in college-aged individuals (Koenig, McGue, & Iacono, 2008). College counselors can advocate and implement clinical counseling practices to attend to disadvantages associated with socioeconomic class, race/ethnicity, and spirituality. These detriments can be addressed by taking action for systemic-level changes that maximize the well-being of clients at both the institutional and college center levels (Kim, Oh, & Mumbaur, 2019). Examples include assisting clients to access college resources, developing a mentorship program, and creating university-



wide events to increase awareness of mental health issues and stigmas. College counselors can promote cultural identity salience by encouraging clients/students to become aware of which identity aspects are most important to them based on their values. Counselors should aim to increase clients' awareness of their values through these identity explorations.

The results regarding life satisfaction and individuation also contribute to separate implications for professional counselors. Emerging adults who are highly salient in their cultural identities of race/ethnicity and spirituality are typically more satisfied with their lives, but less individuated from their parents in at least some of the domains of the ITEA-S. It is possible that development of these aspects of one's cultural identity is associated with life satisfaction but does not require individuating from parents. The feeling of being close to parents and cultural groups may bring a sense of belongingness that can potentially lead to life satisfaction. Similarly, high saliences in emerging adults' cultural identities of gender, sexuality and socioeconomic class were not found to be related with life satisfaction, and emerging adults' gender and sexual identity salience were not found to be related to any domains of the ITEA-S individuation scale.

Though not explored in the current study, a connection may exist between the dependent variables of life satisfaction and individuation. Previous research suggests emerging adults who are less individuated from their parents are happier with their lives. The positive influence parents/guardians have on emerging adults' life satisfaction may derive from love, support, and the teaching of skills and values (Perrone, Webb, & Jackson, 2007). Emerging adults who are highly individuated may perceive their relationship with their parents to be negative. These individuals may experience low satisfaction with life due to lack of the parental/guardian love and support. Professional counselors should focus on the relationship between emerging adults

and their parents/guardians in counseling by processing the relationship and change the negative patterns of thinking emerging adults may be experiencing regarding their parents/guardians.

Counselors can help clients understand how the quality of their relationship with their parents affects their life satisfaction. Anxiety disorders and other mental health issues are often prevalent in emerging adults when navigating developmental transitions such as individuating from parents (LeBlanc, Brown, & Henin, 2020). CBT may be the best counseling modality to use with emerging adults experiencing anxiety from developmental transitions considering the historical efficacy of CBT treatment of anxiety disorders (Wieman, Kind, & Baker, 2020). CBT can challenge irrational thoughts concerning parent/guardian relationships that affect their overall well-being. These distortions may present themselves in personalization, such as emerging adults who lack individuation from parents/guardians believing that moving out of their parents'/guardians' house caused their parents/guardians to experience depression; or emerging adults who are highly individuated from their parents/guardians may experience the distortion of blaming by holding their parents/guardians responsible for perceived shortcomings or failures at an occupation. Although utilizing CBT practices may be useful in assisting clients to identify and cope with specific challenges, it may not always be the most practical counseling modality to utilize. CBT is often criticized for lack of an orientation towards the counseling relationship—which may be especially pertinent when implementing interventions concerning individuation and cultural identity salience (Castonguay, Youn, Xiao, & McAleavey, 2018). The implications of this study can be applicable to many counseling modalities and assist with counselor/client relationship building.

However, we ought not assume the more life satisfaction individuals experience, the more meaningful one's overall life is. Counselors should be cautious of focusing too much on

promoting life satisfaction among college students, as satisfying one's needs and wants may increase one's satisfaction with life and happiness but may not provide meaning to one's life (Baumeister, Vohs, Aaker, & Garbinsky, 2013). Exploring meaning with college students may be stressful or painful but feeling stress or pain when exploring identities may be an unavoidable natural part of life (Tian, 2019), signifying that life satisfaction is not necessarily the defining life goal that ought to be strived for or what is "best" for everyone. Counselors should support college students' efforts to explore their identities and assist them in understanding this development can be potentially temporarily stressful or painful, but important toward longer term well-being. When further exploring individuation, it is recognized that emerging adults are often less individuated due to being influenced by parents who will often have a significant input on crucial college decisions, such as choice of major and career (Kumar, 2016). College counselors can use their role to assist college students with potentially needed independence and individuation that college students gain during the college experience in relation to the cultural identity salience significance found in this study—or find a middle ground in individuation that allows emerging adults a level of life satisfaction and individuation.

The results suggest an association between the individuation operationalization measure and the findings for many individuals in emerging adulthood who identify as having high levels of cultural identity salience for race/ethnicity, spirituality, and socioeconomic class. Emerging adults with increased individuation from parents have been previously found to have higher levels of self-esteem which may be attributed to feelings of independence and individual success (Saraiva, Brandão, & Matos, 2018). Self-esteem should not be confused with life satisfaction—as one can have high self-esteem and find value to one's life while also being unsatisfied with life in general (e.g., an individual who is in a failing marriage but is highly successful at their

occupation). The current study did not access participants' self-esteem and thus cannot indicate any relationship self-esteem and life satisfaction in relation to cultural identity salience or individuation. The self-esteem of highly individuated emerging adults may contribute to feelings of confidence surrounding race/ethnicity, spirituality, and socioeconomic class identity salience.

Decreased individuation from parents may act as a protective role for emerging adults with high salience in their race/ethnicity and spiritual identities, considering this study's significant findings of relationships for race/ethnicity and spiritual identity saliences with both life satisfaction and individuation. The protective role of a parent on race/ethnicity identity salience may keep individuals from experiencing customs of races and ethnicities other than one's own—limiting the meaningful engagement of cultural experiences one may experience. Emerging adults with low individuation may likely retain the same spiritual beliefs as their parents which can inhibit self-exploration of a spiritual identity that is meaningful to each individual. Less initial individuation in emerging adulthood may contribute to higher current life satisfaction (as indicated by the results of this study) but raises the question of whether the potential lack of engagements and experiences causes more disadvantages longer term.

The non-significant findings for gender and sexual identity saliences across all dependent variables may have implications for practice (however, it should again be noted that the absence of significant findings does not always permit meaningful inferences). Implications drawing on feminist counseling may be particularly vital. Feminist counseling is grounded in the understanding that individuals develop within a sociopolitical context that privileges men at the expense of women's and men's psychological, social, economic and political progress (Evans, Kincade, Marbley, & Seem, 2005). Multicultural counseling perspectives that encompass many facets of multicultural identities used in this study pairs well with feminist counseling as both

perspectives respect the experiences of people the way individuals construct meaning from their own lived experiences (Brady-Amoon, 2011). Considering the current study had nearly equal parts female ( $n = 231$ ) and male ( $n = 207$ ), the lack of significant findings may be important for feminist counselors and all professional counselors who subscribe to feminist counseling perspectives. Professional counselors using feminist therapy modalities may be informed that emerging adult aged clients' gender identity salience may not be related to how satisfied with life or individualized from parents they are, regardless of specific gender. Counselors can use feminist therapy to explore the meaning emerging adult aged clients make from their lives in terms of their gender—but counseling practices should focus more on relevant political and social issues rather than satisfaction with life or individuation from their parents, which were not significantly related to emerging adults' gender identity salience in this study. The non-significant findings of socioeconomic class identity salience with emerging adults' life satisfaction aligns with findings from previous studies (Landberg, Lee, & Noack, 2019; Thomas, & Azmitia, 2014; Vosylis & Klimstra, 2020). Professional counseling implications for this finding should follow suggestions from prior studies by considering the salience of socioeconomic class across the social class hierarchy and spectrum (Liu, 2010). Feminist counseling strategies may also be helpful when working with clients across the socioeconomic spectrum to assist clients in understanding the societal aspect of their socioeconomic class identity and its salience in regard to power imbalances and privilege.

### **Implications for Pedagogy**

Results of this study may also aid counselor educators in integrating the developmental phase of emerging adulthood into their human development and multicultural courses. The lack of differences this study revealed between college-going and non-college-going emerging adults,

and individuals in early or later emerging adulthood may encourage more counselor educators to include and emphasize emerging adulthood as a true developmental phase regardless of age range of emerging adulthood and the college experience. Incorporating the findings of this study into human development courses will expand counseling students' understanding of the developmental phase of emerging adulthood and emerging adults' experience of college, age range of emerging adulthood, life satisfaction, and individuation from parents/guardians. Counselor educators can implement the developmental theory of emerging adulthood into human development and other relevant courses through the use of supplemental materials to complement the course textbook. These materials range from emerging adulthood textbooks, educational videos, and empirical research articles relevant to the class topic featuring emerging adulthood. The Society for the Study of Emerging Adulthood (SSEA) is a professional organizational that serves as a scientific outlet for scholars interested in researching and instructing emerging adulthood that can provide counselor educators with a myriad of sources for supplementing instruction (Van Dulmen, 2013).

Incorporating the findings of this study into multicultural courses will expand students' understanding of cultural identity salience in emerging adulthood, specifically the salience of race/ethnicity, gender, sexuality, spirituality, and socioeconomic class. Counselor education courses can use the findings of this study to expand students' knowledge of diversity beyond typical demographics of race/ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, spirituality, and socioeconomic class, and develop an understanding of aspect of identity of these demographics and the effect that individual salience has on these identities. The results suggest that counselor educators who teach multicultural counseling courses may benefit from taking an individual approach to cultural differences, instead of the instruction based on the historically-used groups

approach, such as teaching students methods to counsel each type of race/ethnicity or gender (Pebdani, 2019). Counselor educators should be aware that there may be considerable variation in which identities are salient for an individual, and that counselor educators should seek to assess and explain this variation. The cultural identity that persons see as most salient differ from others; professional counselors should be instructed not to assume which cultural identity is most salient for their clients by solely looking at them. Counselor educators can incorporate pedagogical tools that would allow for classroom dialogue through this individualized approach to cultural differences by examining and discussing salience of all cultural identities within case studies, assigned readings, and other course materials.

### **Reflection on Emerging Adulthood Methodology**

The methodology of this study was instrumental in addressing the need to gather a diverse sample size. Informing how people do future research using the constructs from this study is vital because of the recognized challenge of the methodology of this study. This study emphasized obtaining emerging adults in early emerging adulthood (18-23-year-olds) and later emerging adulthood (24-29-year-olds). This emphasis was used deliberately to address Arnett's (2015) decision to expand emerging adulthood from 18-25 to 18-29. This study was also intentional in obtaining both college-going and non-college-going emerging adulthood aged participants.

College-going emerging adults were easily accessible via survey research. As a Ph.D. candidate, my ability to access undergraduate and graduate students to complete my questionnaire was uncomplicated. Through my own doctoral university and through the assistance of colleagues' throughout the country, a geographically diverse range of college-going emerging adult participant data was obtained. Administering the survey to both undergraduate

and graduate students assisted in obtaining both early and later emerging adults as most students in early emerging adulthood are typically undergraduate students and the majority of students in later emerging adulthood are typically graduate students.

The most challenging aspect of obtaining the participant data was accessing and assessing non-college-going emerging adults. When considering methods to access non-college-going emerging adults, most presented flaws or limitations. For example, obtaining data for non-college-going emerging adults from a church or place of worship would provide a limitation in assessing spiritual identity salience. Utilizing MTurk, a crowdsourcing marketplace, was the most efficient way to obtain data from non-college-going emerging adults without introducing an obvious and significant bias, aside from that of internet access and knowledge of the existence of MTurk. MTurk allowed an option for the questionnaire to only be available to participants of a specific demographic, which in this case was “having never attended college.” I also issued the survey twice, once to 18-23-year-old individuals who have never attended college and once to 24-29-year-old individuals who have never attended college. This was an intentional attempt at obtaining a sample of half of the college-going emerging adults being 18-23-year-olds and half 24-29-year-olds, and likewise for non-college-going emerging adults. Even when using these options to obtain non-college-going individuals on MTurk, many individuals indicated on their survey that they have attended college. This data was still utilizable but did not contribute to the objective of obtaining non-college-going participants.

Future research on emerging adulthood should continue to be intentional about including participants of a wide age of 18-29-year-olds and use both college-going and non-college-going emerging adults. Although the results from this study indicate that there were few differences between both of these groups of emerging adults, thus potentially implying a reduced need for



data from all ages and college-going experience, best practice would include continuing to be intentional about these groups of emerging adults to continue to address the long standing principal criticisms of emerging adulthood (Smith et al., 2015). I recommend future researchers attempting to obtain non-college-going emerging adulthood participant data be intentional from the beginning. Set time aside to cogitate about the best avenue to obtain this data. Consider all potential limitations (such as those enumerated herein) when faced with options. Review previous research and learn from past researchers who have obtained similar types of data. External funding, if available, is always a welcome resource in obtaining data through fee-based crowdsourcing marketplaces such as MTurk. Finally, keep the intended analyses in mind. For this study, I used a series of *t*-tests to discover any differences between the means of college-going and non-college-going emerging adults. Future research may not need to include separate analyses on these groups but can simply use college-going experience data as demographic data. Regardless of using college-going experience data of emerging adult as demographics or spotlighted as a separate analysis, including the college-going experience will account for a principal criticism of emerging adulthood, further the concept of emerging adulthood in the literature, and enhance the credibility of one's results and implications of future studies.

### **Recommendations and Future Directions for Research**

There are several areas of this study that can be identified for future research. In the broad scope of identity and social category intersectionality research (which addresses the intersections of multiple cultural identities, such as race, gender, sexual identity, ability), the association between conceptual and empirical research calls for more empirical applications of intersectionality (Bowleg, 2012; Chan, Cor, & Band, 2018). To further the utility of future research of the identified cultural identity domains salience, the relation between specific

demographics and the salience of each identity categories to further utility should be emphasized. Notable within the findings, it is essential to highlight the significance of race/ethnicity identity salience was revealed to have in relation to emerging adults' life satisfaction and individuation. Future studies should research the specific demographics of race/ethnicity identity (e.g., Black, White, Hispanic, Asian), and the salience of these specific demographics in emerging adults and the effects each of these have on life satisfaction and individuation. Research studying specific demographics may align with current research finding life satisfaction to be higher with individuals who identify with the majority group race/ethnicities (Yap, Settles, & Pratt-Hyatt, 2011). The salience of spiritual identity salience was revealed to be related to life satisfaction and some factors of individuation. Socioeconomic class identity salience was revealed to be related to some factors of individuation. These two cultural identity saliences showed some significant results in this study and should also be further studied by specific demographics, such as religion, spiritual beliefs, and socioeconomic class by income level. Explorations of the salience of these cultural identities can further examine the individual influences emerging adults experience in their developmental pathways. Future investigations on cultural identity salience can assist in understanding the individual differences in the development of emerging adults (e.g., economic conditions, rural or urban upbringing, or parenting style) in relation to how emerging adults experience satisfaction with life and individuation (Arnett, Kloep, Hendry, & Tanner, 2011).

With regard to this study's intentional focus between college-going and non-college-going emerging adults as well as between early and later emerging adulthood, there is much work to be done in future investigations. While this study does advance the scholarly discourse, future research is necessary to understand the complexities of these constructs across the

developmental spectrum of adulthood. Future explorations using emerging adult participants should assess the differences between college-going and non-college-going emerging adults as well as between early and later emerging adulthood—whether that be a prime focus of the study or simply mentioned in descriptive statistics—to be most auspicious.

The lack of significant findings for gender and sexual identity salience should be explored in future research investigations. Gender and sexual identities are two separate constructs but have consistently been linked in the literature over time (Diamond & Butterworth, 2008). Research exploring why these two often linked domains of cultural identity were not found to be related with emerging adult's life satisfaction or individuation is needed to better understand these two identity saliences. Research should focus both of gender and sexual identity saliences as larger constructs as well as the specific demographics of gender identity (e.g., female, male, and non-binary) and sexual identity (e.g., homosexual, bisexual, and heterosexual). Understanding the salience of the specific demographics of gender and sexual identities may uncover more about non-significant results regarding gender and sexual identity salience within this study. The lack of significant findings between socioeconomic class identity salience and life satisfaction supports previous research findings on life satisfaction and socioeconomic class (Diener, Ng, & Tov, 2008; Munford, 1994; Weeks & Lupfer, 2004), suggesting that future research investigations on satisfaction with life and socioeconomic class salience may not be pressing.

Future research should focus on *how* and *why* the certain identity categories were related to life satisfaction and individuation, but gender and sexual identity salience was not. Corlett and Mavin (2014) recommended researchers studying identity intersectionality should not only emphasize *who* is being studied, but *how* identity intersectionality is being studied. Qualitative

and quantitative research studies should focus on the ways in which these cultural identities interact with life satisfaction and individuation. Qualitative or mixed-method approaches may facilitate a deeper understanding of the complexity of how cultural identities intersect in the experiences of emerging adults. Several questions to be considered are:

- Do specific races/ethnicities, spiritualities, or socioeconomic classes have mean differences in salience?
- Does salience in specific races/ethnicities and spiritualities relate differently to one's satisfaction with life?
- Does salience in specific races/ethnicities, spiritualities, and socioeconomic classes relate differently to specific areas of individuation?
- What does the combined salience of an individual's specific race/ethnicities, genders, sexual orientations, spiritualities, and socioeconomic classes mean?
- How does the intersectionality of specific race/ethnicities, genders, sexual orientations, spiritualities, and socioeconomic classes affect emerging adults' life satisfaction?
- How does the intersectionality of specific race/ethnicities, genders, sexual orientations, spiritualities, and socioeconomic classes affect emerging adults' domains of individuation?

Interpreting these questions may lead to a better understanding of the experiences of more specific cultural identities of emerging adults.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter expanded on a comprehensive discussion regarding tying together the meaning of this study and its findings. Major features included a summary of the findings,

interpretations of the results, implications for future research, practice, and pedagogy, as well as limitations of this study and its findings.

The study sought to understand how individuals' cultural identity domains salience relates to levels of individuation and life satisfaction in emerging adults with an emphasis on understanding the differences between early and later emerging adulthood and college-going and non-college going emerging adults. Methodologically, the study used a quantitative research design by constructing a questionnaire of scales and distributing it through a survey to emerging adulthood participants. This study collected demographic information and ran a series of correlations and *t*-tests to understand the relationships among the constructs.

The findings of the study elicited new information about the relationship between emerging adults' cultural identity salience and their perceived levels of life satisfaction and individuation from parents/guardians. The findings will contribute to the cultural identity in emerging adulthood literature and provide professional counselors with clinical implications for emerging adult clients. Counselor educators can integrate to findings of the study into human development and multicultural courses. This study also assisted in potentially validating the construct of emerging adulthood as a developmental phase that occurs in all young adults aged 18-29 regardless of college experience. Future investigation is needed exploring the salience of specific cultural identities in emerging adulthood within each cultural identity domain used within this study.

## References

- Abes, E. S., Jones, S. R., & McEwen, M. (2007). Reconceptualizing the model of multiple dimensions of identity: The role of meaning-making capacity in the construction of multiple identities. *Journal of College Student Development, 48*, 1–22.
- Akkan, B. (2020). An egalitarian politics of care: Young female careers and the intersectional inequalities of gender, class and age. *Feminist Theory, 21*(1), 47–64.
- Albert, I., & Ferring, D. (2018). Adolescents' and emerging adults' experience of ambivalence toward parents during the process of individuation: Being caught between autonomy and relatedness? In I. Albert, J. Valsiner, & E. Abbey (Eds.), *Trans-generational family relations: Investigating ambivalences* (pp. 99–129). Charlotte, N.C.: Information Age Publishers.
- Ali, S., & Lambie, G. W. (2019). Examining the utility of group counseling for LGBTQ+ young adults in the coming out process. *The Journal for Specialists in Group Work, 44*(1), 46–61.
- Althoff, M. (2013). Multiple identities and crime: A study of Antillean women and girls in the Netherlands. *European Journal of Criminology, 10*(4), 394–407.  
doi:10.1177/1477370812468808
- Al'Uqdah, S. N., Hamit, S., & Scott, S. (2019). African American Muslims: Intersectionality and cultural competence. *Counseling and Values, 64*(2), 130–147.
- American Counseling Association (2014). *ACA Code of Ethics*. Alexandria, VA: Author.
- American Psychological Association (2011). Definition of terms: Sex, gender, gender identity, sexual orientation. Retrieved from <https://www.apa.org/pi/lgbt/resources/sexuality-definitions.pdf>

- Arnett, J. J. (1998). Learning to stand alone: The contemporary American transition to adulthood in cultural and historical context. *Human Development, 41*(5–6), 295–315.  
doi:10.1159/000022591
- Arnett, J. J. (2000). Emerging adulthood: A theory of development from the late teens through the twenties. *American Psychologist, 55*(5), 469–480. doi:10.1037//0003-066X.55.5.469
- Arnett, J. J. (2003). Conceptions of the transition to adulthood among emerging adults in American ethnic groups. *New Directions in Child and Adolescent Development, 100*, 63–75. doi:10.1002/cd.75
- Arnett, J. J. (2004). *Emerging adulthood*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Arnett, J. J. (2007a). Emerging adulthood, a 21st century theory: A rejoinder to Hendry and Kloep. *Child Development Perspectives, 1*, 80–82.
- Arnett, J. J. (2007b). Emerging adulthood: What is it, and what is it good for? *Child Development Perspectives, 1*(2), 68–73. doi:10.1111/j.17508606.2007.00016.x
- Arnett, J. J. (2008). The neglected 95%: Why American psychology needs to become less American. *American Psychologist, 63*, 602–614.
- Arnett, J. J. (2015). *Emerging Adulthood: The winding road from the late teens through the twenties*. New York, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Arnett, J. J. (2016). Does emerging adulthood theory apply across social classes? National data on a persistent question. *Emerging Adulthood, 4*(4), 227–235.  
doi:10.1177/2167696815613000
- Arnett, J. J., & Jensen, L. A. (1999, November). *A congregation of one: The' individualization of religious beliefs among people in their twenties*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Boston, MA.

- Arnett, J. J., Kloep, M., Hendry, L. A., & Tanner, J. L. (2011). *Debating emerging adulthood: stage or process?* New York: Oxford University Press.
- Arnett, J. J., & Tanner, J. L. (2006). *Emerging adults in America: Coming of age in the 21<sup>st</sup> century*. Washington, DC, US: American Psychological Association.
- Arredondo, P., Toporek, M. S., Brown, S., Jones, J., Locke, D. C., Sanchez, J. and Stadler, H. (1996). *Operationalization of the Multicultural Counseling Competencies*. AMCD: Alexandria, VA.
- Azmitia, M., Syed, M., & Radmacher, K. (2008). On the intersection of personal and social identities: Introduction and evidence from a longitudinal study of emerging adults. *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development*, 2008(120), 1–16.
- Bailey, B. (2000). Language and negotiation of ethnic/racial identity among Dominican Americans. *Language in Society*, 29(4), 555-582.
- Barry, C. M., Christofferson, J. L., Boorman, E. P., & Nelson, L. J. (2019). Profiles of religiousness, spirituality, and psychological adjustment in emerging adults. *Journal of Adult Development*. doi:10.1007/s10804-019-09334-z
- Barry, C. M., Prenoveau, J. M., & Diehl, C. L. (2013). The value of walking the walk: The relation between family faith activities and emerging adults' religiousness. *Journal of Psychology and Christianity*, 32, 206–220.
- Bartucz, M. B., & David, D. O. (2019). Irrational beliefs at the country level functioning: A cross-cultural extension of the cognitive-behavioral model. *Journal of Evidence-Based Psychotherapies*, 19(1).



- Baumeister, R. F., Vohs, K. D., Aaker, J. L., & Garbinsky, E. N. (2013). Some key differences between a happy life and a meaningful life. *The journal of positive psychology, 8*(6), 505–516.
- Benson, J. E., & Furstenberg Jr, F. F. (2006). Entry into adulthood: Are adult role transitions meaningful markers of adult identity? *Advances in Life Course Research, 11*, 199–224.
- Beutler, I. (2012). Connections to economic prosperity: Money aspirations from adolescence to emerging adulthood. *Journal of Financial Counseling and Planning, 23*(1).
- Bem, S. L. (1981). Gender schema theory: A cognitive account of sex typing. *Psychological Review, 88*, 354–364. doi:10.1037/0033295X.88.4.354.
- Bhugra, D., Bhui, K., Mallett, R., Desai, M., Singh, J., & Leff, J. (1999). Cultural identity and its measurement: A questionnaire for Asians. *International Review of Psychiatry, 11*(2-3), 244–249.
- Blos, P. (1967). The second individuation process of adolescence. *Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 22*, 162–186.
- Bosse, J. D., & Chiodo, L. (2016). It is complicated: Gender and sexual orientation identity in LGBTQ youth. *Journal of Clinical Nursing, 25*(23–24), 3665–3675.  
doi:10.1111/jocn.13419
- Bowleg, L. (2012). The problem with the phrase *women and minorities*: Intersectionality—an important theoretical framework for public health. *American Journal of Public Health, 102*(7), 1267–1273. doi:10.2105/AJPH. 2012. 300750
- Brady-Amoon, P. (2011). Humanism, Feminism, and Multiculturalism: Essential Elements of Social Justice in Counseling, Education, and Advocacy. *Journal of Humanistic Counseling, 50*(2), 135–148.

- Brief, A. P., Butcher, A. H., George, J. M., & Link, K. E. (1993). Integrating bottom-up and top-down theories of subjective well-being: the case of health. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 64(4), 646.
- Brown, R., & Capozza, D. (Eds.). (2016). *Social identities: Motivational, emotional, cultural influences*. New York: Psychology Press.
- Bryant, A. N. (2007). Gender differences in spiritual development during the college years. *Sex Roles*, 56(11–12), 835–846. doi:10.1007/s11199-007-9240-2
- Buhl, H. M. (2008). Development of a model describing individuated adult child–parent relationships. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 32(5), 381–389. doi:10.1177/0165025408093656
- Burke, M. T., Hackney, H., Hudson, P., Miranti, J., Watts, G. A., & Epp, L. (1999). Spirituality, religion, and CACREP curriculum standards. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, 77(3), 251–257. doi:10.1002/j.1556-6676.1999.tb02448.x
- Burns, D. D. (1999). *The Feeling Good Handbook*. 2nd ed. New York: Plume.
- Butkovic, A., Tomas, J., Spanic, A. M., Hlupic, T. V., & Bratko, D. (2019). Emerging adults versus middle-aged adults: Do they differ in psychological needs, self-esteem and life satisfaction. *Journal of Happiness Studies*. Advance online publication. doi:10.1007/s10902-019-00106-w
- Butterbaugh, S. M., Ross, D. B., & Campbell, A. (2020). My money and me: Attaining financial independence in emerging adulthood through a conceptual model of identity capital theory. *Contemporary Family Therapy*, 42(1), 33–45.
- Bynner, J. (2005). Rethinking the youth phase of the life-course: The case for emerging adulthood? *Journal of Youth Studies*, 8(4), 367–384.

- Calzo, J. P., Antonucci, T. C., Mays, V. M., & Cochran, S. D. (2011). Retrospective recall of sexual orientation identity development among gay, lesbian, and bisexual adults. *Developmental Psychology, 47*, 1658–1673. doi:10.1037/a0025508
- Casey-Cannon, S. L., Coleman, H. L. K., Knudtson, L. F., & Velazquez, C. C. (2011). Three ethnic and racial identity measures: Concurrent and divergent validity for diverse adolescents. *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research, 11*(1), 64–91. doi:10.1080/15283488.2011.540739
- Cass, V. C. (1990). The implications of homosexual identity formation for the Kinsey model and scale of sexual preference. In D. P. McWhirter, S. A. Sanders, & J. M. Reinish (Eds.), *Homosexuality/heterosexuality: Concepts of sexual orientation*. (pp. 239–266). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Castonguay, L. G., Youn, S. J., Xiao, H., & McAleavey, A. A. (2018). The therapeutic relationship: A warm, important, and potentially mutative factor in cognitive-behavioral therapy. In O. Tishby & H. Wiseman (Eds.), *Developing the therapeutic relationship: Integrating case studies, research, and practice* (p. 157–179). American Psychological Association. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0000093-008>
- Chan, C. D., Cor, D. N., & Band, M. P. (2018). Privilege and oppression in counselor education: An intersectionality framework. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 46*(1), 58–73.
- Chan, C. D., & Erby, A. N. (2018). A critical analysis and applied intersectionality framework with intercultural queer couples. *Journal of Homosexuality, 65*(9), 1249–1274.

- Chang, M. X. L., Jetten, J., Cruwys, T., & Haslam, C. (2017). Cultural identity and the expression of depression: A social identity perspective. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology, 27*(1), 16–34.
- Chassin, L., Pitts, S. C., & Prost, J. (2002). Binge drinking trajectories from adolescence to emerging adulthood in a high risk sample: Predictors and substance abuse outcomes. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 70*, 67–78.  
doi:10.1037/0022-006X.70.1.67
- Cheung, F., & Lucas, R. E. (2014). Assessing the validity of single-item life satisfaction measures: Results from three large samples. *Quality of Life research, 23*(10), 2809-2818.
- Cheng, Z. H., Pagano, L. A. J., & Shariff, A. F. (2018). The development and validation of the Microaggressions Against Non-Religious Individuals Scale (MANRIS). *Psychology of Religion and Spirituality, 10*(3), 254–262. doi:10.1037/rel0000203
- Cleveland, M. J., & Goldstein, A. L. (2019). Opportunities and challenges for prevention and intervention in emerging adulthood: Introduction to the special issue. *Prevention Science: The Official Journal of The Society For Prevention Research, 20*(3), 301–304. doi:10.1007/s11121-019-0976-z
- Cohen, J. (1988). The effect size index: d. *Statistical power analysis for the behavioral sciences, 2*, 284-288.
- Cohen, J. A., & Kassan, A. (2018). Being in-between: A model of cultural identity negotiation for emerging adult immigrants. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 65*(2), 133.
- Cor, D. N., & Chan, C. D. (2017). Intersectionality feminism and LGBTIQQA+ psychology: Understanding our present by exploring our past. In R. Ruth & E.

- Santacruz (Eds.), *LGBT psychology and mental health: Emerging research and advances* (pp. 109–132). Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger/ABC-CLIO.
- Corlett, S., & Mavin, S. (2014). Intersectionality, identity and identity work. *Gender in Management, 29*(5), 258-276. doi:10.1108/GM-12-2013-0138
- Côté, J. E. (2014). The dangerous myth of emerging adulthood: An evidence-based critique of a flawed developmental theory. *Applied Developmental Science, 18*(4), 177–188.
- Cox, J. C., Sadiraj, V., & Sen, U. (2020). Cultural identities and resolution of social dilemmas. *Economic Inquiry, 58*(1), 49–66. doi: 10.1111/ecin.12727
- Cross, W. E., & Cross, T. B. (2008). Theory, research, and models. In S. M. Quintana & C. McKown (Eds.), *Handbook of race, racism, and the developing child* (pp. 154–181). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Darvin, R., & Norton, B. (2014). Social class, identity, and migrant students. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education, 13*(2), 111–117. doi:10.1080/15348458.2014.901823
- Davis, S. N. (2007). Gender ideology construction from adolescence to young adulthood. *Social Science Research, 36*(3), 1021–1041.
- Destin, M., Rheinschmidt-Same, M., & Richeson, J. A. (2017). Status-based identity: A conceptual approach integrating the social psychological study of socioeconomic status and identity. *Perspectives on Psychological Science, 12*(2), 270–289. doi:10.1177/1745691616664424
- Diamond, L. M., & Butterworth, M. (2008). Questioning gender and sexual identity: Dynamic links over time. *Sex roles, 59*(5-6), 365–376.

- Díaz-Andreu, M., García, M. D. A., Lucy, S., Babic, S., & Edwards, D. N. (2005). *The archaeology of identity: Approaches to gender, age, status, ethnicity and religion*. New York: Routledge.
- Diener, E. (1984). Subjective well-being. *Psychological Bulletin*, 95(3), 542–575.
- Diener, E. (2000). Subjective well-being: The science of happiness and a proposal for a national index. *American Psychologist*, 55(1), 34.
- Diener, E., Emmons, R. A., Larsen, R. J., & Griffin, S. (1985). The Satisfaction With Life Scale. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, 49(1), 71.
- Diener, E., Lucas, R. E., & Scollon, C. N. (2009). Beyond the hedonic treadmill: Revising the adaptation theory of well-being. In *The science of well-being* (pp. 103-118). Springer, Dordrecht.
- Diener, E., Ng, W., & Tov, W. (2008). Balance in life and declining marginal utility of diverse resources. *Applied Research in Quality of Life*, 3(4), 277–291.
- Diener, E., Oishi, S., & Lucas, R. E. (2003). Personality, culture, and subjective well-being: Emotional and cognitive evaluations of life. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 54, 403–425. doi:10.1146/annurev.psych.54.101601.145056
- Dillon, F. R., Worthington, R. L., & Moradi, B. (2011). Sexual identity as a universal process. In S. J. Schwartz, K. Luyckx, & V. L. Vignoles (Eds.), *Handbook of identity theory and research* (pp. 649–670). New York, NY: Springer.
- Dirkes, J., Hughes, T., Ramirez-Valles, J., Johnson, T., & Bostwick, W. (2016). Sexual identity development: relationship with lifetime suicidal ideation in sexual minority women. *Journal of Clinical Nursing*, 25(23–24), 3545–3556. doi:10.1111/jocn.13313

- Duarté-Vélez, Y., Bernal, G., & Bonilla, K. (2010). Culturally adapted cognitive-behavior therapy: integrating sexual, spiritual, and family identities in an evidence-based treatment of a depressed Latino adolescent. *Journal of Clinical Psychology, 66*(8), 895-906.
- Dwairy, M., & Achoui, M. (2010). Adolescent-family connectedness: a first cross-cultural research on parenting and psychological adaptation of children. *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 19*, 8–15.
- Egan, S. K., & Perry, D. G. (2001). Gender identity: A multidimensional analysis with implications for psychosocial adjustment. *Developmental Psychology, 37*(4), 451–463. doi:10.1037/0012-1649.37.4.451
- Ennaji, M. (2005). *Multilingualism, cultural identity, and education in Morocco*. New York: Springer.
- Erikson, E. H. (1962). Reality and actuality: An address. *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association, 10*, 451–474.
- Erikson, E. (1968). *Youth, identity and crisis*. New York: Norton.
- Erikson, E. H., Erikson, J. M., & Kivnick, H. Q. (1986). *Vital involvement in old age: The experience of old age in our time*. New York: Norton.
- Evans, K. M., Kincade, E. A., Marbley, A. F., & Seem, S. R. (2005). Feminism and feminist therapy: Lessons from the past and hopes for the future. *Journal of Counseling & Development, 83*, 269–277.
- Feist, G. J., Bodner, T. E., Jacobs, J. F., Miles, M., & Tan, V. (1995). Integrating top-down and bottom-up structural models of subjective well-being: A longitudinal investigation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 68*(1), 138–150. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.68.1.138

- Feldman, S. S., & Cauffman, E. (1999). Your Cheatin' Heart: Attitudes, Behaviors, and Correlates of Sexual Betrayal in Late Adolescents. *Journal of Research on Adolescence (Lawrence Erlbaum)*, 9(3), 227. doi:10.1207/s15327795jra0903\_1
- Feliciano, C., & Rumbaut, R. G. (2019). The evolution of ethnic identity from adolescence to middle adulthood: The case of the immigrant second generation. *Emerging Adulthood*, 7(2), 85–96.
- Ferdman, B. M. (1995). Culture identity and diversity in organizations: Bridging the gap between group differences and individual uniqueness. In M. Chermers, S. Oskamp, & M. A. Costanzo (Eds.), *Diversity in organizations* (pp. 37–61). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Fickling, M. J., Tangen, J. L., Graden, M. W., & Grays, D. (2019). Multicultural and social justice competence in clinical supervision. *Counselor Education and Supervision*, 58(4), 309–316.
- Filus, A., Schwarz, B., Mylonas, K., Sam, D. L., & Boski, P. (2019). Parenting and late adolescents' well-being in Greece, Norway, Poland and Switzerland: Associations with individuation from parents. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 28(2), 560–576. doi:10.1007/s10826-018-1283-1
- Firfirey, N. N., & Carolissen, R. R. (2010). 'I keep myself clean...at least when you see me, you don't know I am poor': Student experiences of poverty in South African higher education. *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 24(6), 987–1002.
- Floyd, F. J., & Bakeman, R. (2006). Coming-out across the life course: Implications of age and historical context. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 35, 287–297. doi:10.1007/s10508-006-9022-x



- Foronda, C., Baptiste, D. L., Reinholdt, M. M., & Ousman, K. (2016). Cultural humility: A concept analysis. *Journal of Transcultural Nursing, 27*(3), 210–217.
- Fousiani, K., Van Petegem, S., Soenens, B., Vansteenkiste, M., & Chen, B. (2014). Does Parental Autonomy Support Relate to Adolescent Autonomy? An In-Depth Examination of a Seemingly Simple Question. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 29*(3), 299–330.  
doi:10.1177/0743558413502536
- Frable, D. E. S. (1997). Gender, Racial, Ethnic, Sexual, and Class Identities. *Annual Review of Psychology, 48*(1), 139–162. doi:10.1146/annurev.psych.48.1.139
- Freud, A. (1958). *Adolescence. Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 13*, 255–278
- Friedman, M. S., Marshal, M. P., Guadamuz, T. E., Wei, C., Wong, C. F., Saewyc, E. M., & Stall, R. (2012). A meta-analysis of disparities in childhood sexual abuse, parental physical abuse, and peer victimization among sexual minority and sexual nonminority individuals. *American Journal of Public Health, 101*, 1481–1494.
- Galambos, N. L., Barker, E. T., & Krahn, H. J. (2006). Depression, self-esteem, and anger in emerging adulthood: Seven-year trajectories. *Developmental Psychology, 42*, 350–365.
- Galambos, N. L., & Martinez, M. L. (2007). Poised for emerging adulthood in Latin America: A pleasure for the privileged. *Child Development Perspectives, 1*, 109–114.
- Gergen, K. J. (1999). *An invitation to social construction*. Sage, London.
- Gilliam, A. K., Barry, C. M., & Bacchus, N. A. (2008). The relation between stress and college adjustment: The moderating role of spirituality. *Modern Psychological Studies, 13*, 84–101.
- Gonzalez, E. (2019). Ethnoracial attitudes and identity-salient experiences among indigenous Mexican adolescents and emerging adults. *Emerging Adulthood, 7*(2), 128–137.

- Goodrich, K. M. (2012). Lived experiences of college-age transsexual individuals. *Journal of College Counseling, 15*(3), 215–232.
- Goossens, L. (2001). Global versus domain-specific statuses in identity research: A comparison of two self-report measures. *Journal of Adolescence, 24*, 681–699.
- Groen, S. P., Richters, A., Laban, C. J., & Devillé, W., (2018). Cultural identity among Afghan and Iraqi traumatized refugees: Towards a conceptual framework for mental health care professionals. *Culture, Medicine, and Psychiatry, 42*(1), 69–91.  
doi:10.1007/s11013-016-9514-7
- Grossberg, L. (2002). The space of culture, the power of space in Chambers, I., & Curti, L. eds. *The post-colonial question: Common skies, divided horizon*. New York: Routledge.
- Grotevant, H. D., & Cooper, C. R. (1985). Patterns of interaction in family relationships and the development of identity exploration in adolescence. *Child Development, 56*(2), 415.  
doi:10.2307/1129730
- Guarnieri, S., Smorti, M., & Tani, F. (2015). Attachment Relationships and Life Satisfaction During Emerging Adulthood. *Social Indicators Research; Dordrecht, 121*(3), 833–847.
- Hamil-Luker, J., Land, K. C., & Blau, J. (2004). Diverse trajectories of cocaine use through early adulthood among rebellious and socially conforming youth. *Social Science Research, 33*, 300–321.
- Hays, P. A. (2009). Integrating evidence-based practice, cognitive–behavior therapy, and multicultural therapy: Ten steps for culturally competent practice. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 40*(4), 354–360. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0016250>
- Headey, B., Veenhoven, R., & Wearing, A. (1991). Top-down versus bottom-up theories of subjective well-being. *Social Indicators Research, 24*, 81–100.

- Heller, D., Watson, D., & Ilies, R. (2004). The role of person versus situation in life satisfaction: A critical examination. *Psychological Bulletin*, *130*(4), 574–600.  
doi:10.1037/0033-2909.130.4.574
- Helminiak, D. A. (2008). Confounding the divine and the spiritual: Challenges to a psychology of spirituality. *Pastoral Psychology*, *57*(3-4), 161–182.
- Hendry, L. B., & Kloep, M. (2007). Conceptualizing emerging adulthood: Inspecting the emperor's new clothes? *Child Development Perspectives*, *1*(2), 74–79.  
doi:10.1111/j.1750-8606.2007.00017.x
- Henrickson, M., & Neville, S. (2012). Identity satisfaction over the life course in sexual minorities. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services: The Quarterly Journal of Community & Clinical Practice*, *24*(1), 80–95.
- Henriksen, R. C., Jr., & Paladino, D. A. (2009). Identity development in a multiple heritage world. In R. C. Henriksen Jr. & D. A. Paladino (Eds.), *Counseling multiple heritage individuals, couples, and families* (pp. 25–43). Alexandria, VA: American Counseling Association.
- Hermans, H. J., & Dimaggio, G. (2007). Self, identity, and globalization in times of uncertainty: A dialogical analysis. *Review of General Psychology*, *11*(1), 31–61.
- Heyman, G. D., & Yazdi, H. (2018). The role of individuation in the development of intergroup relations. *Infant and Child Development*, *28*(2), e2121. doi:10.1002/icd.2121
- Hill, N. R., Vereen, L. G., McNeal, D., & Stotesbury, R. (2013). Multicultural awareness, knowledge, and skills among American counselor trainees: Group differences in self-perceived competence based on dispositional and programmatic variables. *International*

*Journal for the Advancement of Counselling*, 35(4), 261–272.

doi:10.1007/s10447-012-9181-5

Hill, P. L., Burrow, A. L., & Sumner, R. (2016). Sense of purpose and parent–child relationships in emerging adulthood. *Emerging Adulthood*, 4(6), 436–439.

doi:10.1177/2167696816640134

Hill, P. C., Pargament, K. I., Hood, R. W., McCullough, J., Michael E., Swyers, J. P., Larson, D. B., & Zinnbauer, B. J. (2000). Conceptualizing religion and spirituality: Points of commonality, points of departure. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 30(1), 51–77. doi:10.1111/1468-5914.00119

Hodge, D. R. (2018). The evolution of spirituality and religion in international social work discourse: Strengths and limitations of the contemporary understanding. *Journal of Religion & Spirituality in Social Work: Social Thought*, 37(1), 3–23.

Hoffman, J. A. (1984). Psychological separation of late adolescents from their parents. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 31(2), 170–178.

Hogg, M. A. & Vaughan, G. M. (2002). *Social Psychology (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.)*. London: Prentice Hall.

Hollifield, C. R., & Conger, K. J. (2015). The role of siblings and psychological needs in predicting life satisfaction during emerging adulthood. *Emerging Adulthood*, 3(3), 143–153. doi:10.1177/2167696814561544

Hyde, J. S. (2014). Gender similarities and differences. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 65, 373–398.

Ingram, R. E., & Gallagher, M. W. (2010). The nature of adult vulnerability: History and definitions. In R. E. Ingram & J. M. Price (Eds.), *Vulnerability to psychopathology: Risks across the lifespan* (2nd ed., pp. 39–56). New York, NY: Guilford Press.

- Isong, I. A., Rao, S. R., Bind, M. A., Avendaño, M., Kawachi, I., & Richmond, T. K. (2018). Racial and ethnic disparities in early childhood obesity. *Pediatrics*, *141*(1), e20170865.
- Jackson, R. L. (1999). *The negotiation of cultural identity: Perceptions of European Americans and African Americans*. Westport: Praeger.
- Jeffres, L. W. (2000). Ethnicity and ethnic media use: A panel study. *Communication research*, *27*(4), 496–535.
- Jewell, J. A., & Brown, C. S. (2014). Relations Among Gender Typicality, Peer Relations, and Mental Health During Early Adolescence. *Social Development*, *23*(1), 137–156.
- Jones, R. K., Jerman, J., & Charlton, B. M. (2018). Sexual orientation and exposure to violence among US patients undergoing abortion. *Obstetrics & Gynecology*, *132*(3), 605–611.
- Joshanloo, M. (2018). Gender differences in the predictors of life satisfaction across 150 nations. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *135*, 312–315.  
doi:10.1016/j.paid.2018.07.043
- Juang, L., & Syed, M. (2010). Family cultural socialization practices and ethnic identity in college-going emerging adults. *Journal of Adolescence*, *33*(3), 347–354.
- Kalsner, L., & Pistole, M. C. (2003). College adjustment in a multiethnic sample: Attachment, separation-individuation, and ethnic identity. *Journal of College Student Development*, *44*(1), 92–109. doi:10.1353/csd.2003.0006
- Kelly, P. (2012). Migration, transnationalism, and the spaces of class identity. *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints*, *60*(2), 153–186.  
doi:10.1353/phs.2012.0017
- Kertzner, R. M., Meyer, I. H., Frost, D. M., & Stirratt, M. J. (2009). Social and psychological well-being in lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals: The effects of race, gender, age, and

sexual identity. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 79(4), 500–510.

doi:10.1037/a0016848

Kiesling, C., Sorell, G. T., Montgomery, M. J., & Colwell, R. K. (2008). Identity and spirituality:

A psychosocial exploration of the sense of spiritual self. *Psychology of Religion and*

*Spirituality*, 5(1), 50–62. doi:10.1037/19411022.S.1.50

Kim, N., Oh, S., & Mumbauer, J. (2019). Supporting International Students: Enhancing College

Counselors' Multicultural Counseling Competence. *Journal of College*

*Counseling*, 22(2), 179–192.

Koenig, L. B., McGue, M., & Iacono, W. G. (2008). Stability and change in religiousness during

emerging adulthood. *Developmental Psychology*, 44(2), 532–543.

doi:10.1037/00121649.44.2.532

Koepke, S., & Denissen, J. J. A. (2012). Dynamics of identity development and separation–

individuation in parent–child relationships during adolescence and emerging adulthood –

A conceptual integration. *Developmental Review*, 32(1), 67–88.

doi:10.1016/j.dr.2012.01.001

Kohlberg, L. (1966). A cognitive-developmental analysis of children's sex-role concepts and

attitudes. In E. E. Maccoby (Ed.), *The development of sex differences* (pp. 82–173).

Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Komidar, L., Zupančič, M., Puklek Levpušček, M., & Bjornsen, C. A. (2016). Development of

the Short Version of the Individuation Test for Emerging Adults (ITEA–S) and Its

Measurement Invariance Across Slovene and U.S. Emerging Adults. *Journal of*

*Personality Assessment*, 98(6), 626–639.

- Komidar, L., Zupančič, M., & Sirsch, U. (2019). Validation of the Individuation Test for Emerging Adults–Short (ITEA-S) in Austrian and German Emerging Adults. *Emerging Adulthood*. doi:10.1177/2167696818818344
- Komidar, L., Zupančič, M., Sočan, G., & Puklek Levpušček, M. (2014). Development and construct validation of the Individuation Test for Emerging Adults (ITEA). *Journal of Personality Assessment*, 96, 503–514.
- Kroger, J. (2007). *Identity development: Adolescence through adulthood, 2nd ed.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Kumar, S. (2016). Career choice and college students: Parental influence on career choice traditionalism among college students in selected cities in Ethiopia. *International Journal of Psychology and Educational Studies*, 3(3), 23–30.
- Kumpfer, K., Magalhães, C., & Xie, J. (2017). Cultural adaptation and implementation of family evidence-based interventions with diverse populations. *Prevention Science*, 18(6), 649–659.
- Labunskaya, V. (2020). Relationship between satisfaction and concern with own appearance and subjective estimation of economic status. *Behavioral Sciences*, 10(1), 9.
- Lance, C. E., Lautenschlager, G. J., Sloan, C. E., & Varca, P. E. (1989). A comparison between bottom–up, top–down, and bidirectional models of relationships between global and life facet satisfaction. *Journal of Personality*, 57(3), 601–624.
- Landberg, M., Lee, B., & Noack, P. (2019). What alters the experience of emerging adulthood? How the experience of emerging adulthood differs according to socioeconomic status and critical life events. *Emerging Adulthood*, 7(3), 208–222.

- Lane, J. A. (2015). Counseling emerging adults in transition: Practical applications of attachment and social support research. *The Professional Counselor*, 5, 15–27.
- Lapsley, D., & Woodbury, R. (2016). Moral-character development for teacher education. *Action in Teacher Education*, 38(3), 194–206.
- LeBlanc, N. J., Brown, M., & Henin, A. (2020). Anxiety disorders in emerging adulthood. In *Clinical Handbook of Anxiety Disorders* (pp. 157–173). Humana, Cham.
- LeBrón, A. M., & Viruell-Fuentes, E. A. (2020). Racial/ethnic discrimination, intersectionality, and Latina/o health. In *New and Emerging Issues in Latinx Health* (pp. 295–320). Springer, Cham.
- Leitenberg, H., Yost, L. W., & Carroll-Wilson, M. (1986). Negative cognitive errors in children: Question-naire development, normative data, and comparisons between children with and without self-reported symptoms of depression, low self-esteem, and evaluation anxiety. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 54(4), 528–536.  
<http://doi.org/10.1037/0022-006X.54.4.528>
- Leonov, N. I., & Hasan, H. H. F. (2019). Hope, well-being, spirituality and satisfaction: psychosocial correlates and results. *Al Kut Journal of Economics Administrative Sciences*, (31), 19–38.
- Lewis, R. A. (1990). The adult child and older parents. In T.H. Brubaker (Ed.), *Family relationships in later life* (pp. 68–85). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Lindley, L. M., Nagoshi, J. L., Nagoshi, C. T., Hess III, R., & Boscia, A. (2020). An eco-developmental framework on the intersectionality of gender and sexual identities in transgender individuals. *Psychology & Sexuality*. Advance online publication.  
[doi:10.1080/19419899.2020.1713873](https://doi.org/10.1080/19419899.2020.1713873)



- Liu, W. M. (2010). *Social class and classism in the helping professions: Research, theory, and practice*. Sage Publications.
- Loo, R. (2002). A caveat on using single-item versus multiple-item scales. *Journal of Managerial Psychology, 17*(1), 68–75.
- Love, P. G., Bock, M., Jannarone, A., & Richardson, P. (2005). Identity interaction: Exploring the spiritual experiences of lesbian and gay college students. *Journal of College Student Development, 46*(2), 193–209.
- Lu, F.G., Lim, R. F., & Mezzich, J. E. (1995) *Issues in the assessment and diagnosis of culturally diverse individuals*. In Review of Psychiatry. Washington DC: American Psychiatric Press.
- Lucas, R. E., & Donnellan, M. B. (2007). How stable is happiness? Using the STARTS model to estimate the stability of life satisfaction. *Journal of Research in Personality, 41*(5), 1091–1098.
- Lukianoff, G., & Haidt, J. (2015). The coddling of the American mind. *The Atlantic, 316*(2), 42–52.
- Luyckx, K., Soenens, B., Vansteenkiste, M., Goossens, L., & Berzonsky, M. D. (2007). Parental psychological control and dimensions of identity formation in emerging adulthood. *Journal of Family Psychology, 21*(3), 546–550. doi:10.1037/0893-3200.21.3.546
- Ma, C. Q., & Huebner, E. S. (2008). Attachment relationships and adolescents' life satisfaction: Some relationships matter more to girls than boys. *Psychology in the Schools, 45*(2), 177–190. doi:10.1002/pits.20288

- Mahler, M. S. (1963). Thoughts about development and individuation (reprinted 1979). In M. S. Mahler (Ed.), *Selected papers. Separation and individuation* (Vol. 2). New York: Aronson.
- Maher, J. P., Doerksen, S. E., Elavsky, S., Hyde, A. L., Pincus, A. L., Ram, N., & Conroy, D. E. (2013). A daily analysis of physical activity and satisfaction with life in emerging adults. *Health Psychology, 32*(6), 647–656. doi:10.1037/a0030129
- Malott, K. M. (2010). Multicultural counselor training in a single course: Review of research. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 38*(1), 51–63.
- Manstead, A. S. R. (2018). The psychology of social class: How socioeconomic status impacts thought, feelings, and behaviour. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 57*(2), 267–291. doi:10.1111/bjso.12251
- Marcia, J. E. (1966). Development and validation of ego-identity status. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 3*, 551–558.
- Marcia, J. (1980). Identity in adolescence. In J. Adelson (Ed.), *Handbook of adolescent psychology* (pp. 159–197). New York: Wiley.
- Markus, H. R. (2008). Pride, prejudice and ambivalence: Toward a unified theory of race and ethnicity. *American Psychologist, 63*, 651–670.
- Martin, C. L., Andrews, N. C. Z., England, D. E., Zosuls, K., & Ruble, D. N. (2017). A dual identity approach for conceptualizing and measuring children's gender identity. *Child Development, 88*(1), 167–182. doi:10.1111/cdev.12568
- Matthews, J. J., Barden, S. M., & Sherrell, R. S. (2018). Examining the relationships between multicultural counseling competence, multicultural self-efficacy, and ethnic identity

- development of practicing counselors. *Journal of Mental Health Counseling*, 40(2), 129–141. doi:10.17744/mehc.40.2.03
- McAdams, D. P. (2001). The psychology of life stories. *Review of General Psychology*, 5, 100–22.
- Mead, G. H. (1934). *Mind, self and society* (Vol. 111). University of Chicago Press.: Chicago.
- Mezzich, J. E., Ruiperez, M. A., Yoon, G., Liu, J., & Zapata-Vega, M. I. (2009). Measuring cultural identity: Validation of a modified Cortes, Rogler and Malgady Bicultural Scale in three ethnic groups in New York. *Culture, Medicine, and Psychiatry*, 33(3), 451–472.
- McDonald, C. P., Chang, C. Y., Dispenza, F., & O'Hara, C. (2019). Multiracial identity, color-blind racial ideology, and discrimination: Professional counseling implications. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, 97(1), 75–85. doi:10.1002/jcad.12237
- McElhaney, K. B., Allen, J. P., Stephenson, J. C., & Hare, A. (2009). Attachment and autonomy during adolescence. In R. M. Lerner & L. Steinberg (Eds.), *Handbook of adolescent psychology* (Vol. 1, 3rd ed., pp. 358–403). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- McLean, K. C., Lilgendahl, J. P., Fordham, C., Alpert, E., Marsden, E., Szymanowski, K., & McAdams, D. P. (2018). Identity development in cultural context: The role of deviating from master narratives. *Journal of Personality*, 86(4), 631–651.
- McLean, K. C., Shucard, H., & Syed, M. (2017). Applying the master narrative framework to gender identity development in emerging adulthood. *Emerging Adulthood*, 5(2), 93–105. doi:10.1177/2167696816656254
- McNamara Barry, C., Nelson, L., Davarya, S., & Urry, S. (2010). Religiosity and spirituality during the transition to adulthood. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 34(4), 311–324.

- Medina, A. C., Rowley, S. J., & Towson, S. (2019). Race matters for Black Canadians: The intersection of acculturation and racial identity in emerging adulthood. *Emerging Adulthood, 7*(2), 97–108. doi:10.1177/2167696818785099
- Mendoza, H., Masuda, A., & Swartout, K. M. (2015). Mental health stigma and self-concealment as predictors of help-seeking attitudes among Latina/o college students in the United States. *International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling, 37*, 207–222.
- Mezzich, J. E., Caracci, G., Fabrega Jr, H., & Kirmayer, L. J. (2009). Cultural formulation guidelines. *Transcultural Psychiatry, 46*(3), 383–405.
- Miller, B., & Sujitparapitaya, S. (2010). Campus climate in the twenty-first century: Estimating perceptions of discrimination at a racially mixed institution, 1994–2006. In S. Herzog (Ed.), *New Directions for Institutional Research: Vol. 145. Diversity in Education* (pp. 295–321). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Subscription Services. doi:10.1002/ir.321
- Mitchell, L. L., & Syed, M. (2015). Does college matter for emerging adulthood? Comparing developmental trajectories of educational groups. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 44*(11), 2012–2027. doi:10.1007/s10964-015-0330-0
- Mokgathe, B. P., & Schoeman, J. B. (1998). Predictors of satisfaction with life: The role of racial identity, collective self-esteem and gender-role attitudes. *South African Journal of Psychology, 28*(1), 28. doi:10.1177/008124639802800105
- Mondain, N., & Lardoux, S. (2013). Transitions to adulthood among first generation sub-Saharan African immigrant adolescents in Canada: Evidence from a qualitative study in Montreal. *Journal of International Migration and Integration, 14*, 307–326. doi:10.1007/s12134-012-0240-x

- Montepare, J. M., & Lachman, M. E. (1989). " You're only as old as you feel": Self-perceptions of age, fears of aging, and life satisfaction from adolescence to old age. *Psychology and aging, 4*(1), 73.
- Montgomery-Goodnough, A., & Gallagher, S.J. (2007). Review of research on spiritual and religious formation in higher education. In S.M. Nielsen & M.S. Plakhotnik (Eds.), *Proceedings of the sixth annual College of Education Research Conference: Urban and international education section* (pp. 60–65). Miami, FL: International University.
- Morgan, E. M. (2013). Contemporary issues in sexual orientation and identity development in emerging adulthood. *Emerging Adulthood, 1*(1), 52–66.  
doi:10.1177/2167696812469187
- Morgan, E. M., & Thompson, E. M. (2011). Processes of sexual orientation questioning among heterosexual women. *Journal of Sex Research, 48*, 16–28.
- Morrison, K. S., & Hopkins, R. (2019). Cultural identity, Africultural coping strategies, and depression as predictors of suicidal ideations and attempts among African American female college students. *Journal of Black Psychology, 45*(1), 3–25.
- Munford, M. B. (1994). Relationship of gender, self-esteem, social class, and racial identity to depression in Blacks. *Journal of Black Psychology, 20*(2), 157–174.
- Naz, S., Gregory, R., & Bahu, M. (2019). Addressing issues of race, ethnicity and culture in CBT to support therapists and service managers to deliver culturally competent therapy and reduce inequalities in mental health provision for BAME service users.  
*The Cognitive Behaviour Therapist, 12*, E22. doi:10.1017/S1754470X19000060
- Negy, C., Shreve, T. L., Jensen, B. J., & Uddin, N. (2003). Ethnic identity, self-esteem, and ethnocentrism: A study of social identity versus multicultural theory of development.

*Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 9(4), 333–344.

doi:10.1037/1099-9809.9.4.333

Nelson, L. J., Badger, S., & Bo Wu. (2004). The influence of culture in emerging adulthood: Perspectives of Chinese college students. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 28(1), 26.

Nelson, L. J., & Barry, C. M. (2005). Distinguishing features of emerging adulthood: The role of self-classification as an adult. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 20(2), 242–262.

doi:10.1177/0743558404273074

Nelson, L. J., & Chen, X. (2007). Emerging adulthood in China: The role of social and cultural factors. *Child Development Perspectives*, 1, 86–91.

Nelson, C. J., Rosenfeld, B., Breitbart, W., & Galietta, M. (2002). Spirituality, religion, and depression in the terminally ill. *Psychosomatics*, 43(3), 213–220.

Nickerson, A., & Nagle, R. J. (2004). The influence of parent and peer attachments on life satisfaction in middle childhood and early adolescence. *Social Indicators Research*, 66, 35–60. doi:10.1023/B:SOCI.00000007496.42095.2c.

Oxhandler, H. K., & Parrish, D. E. (2018). Integrating clients' religion/spirituality in clinical practice: A comparison among social workers, psychologists, counselors, marriage and family therapists, and nurses. *Journal of clinical psychology*, 74(4), 680–694.

Oyserman, D. (2008). Racial-ethnic self-schemas: Multidimensional identity-based motivation. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 42(5), 1186–1198. doi:10.1016/j.jrp.2008.03.003

Pahl, K., & Way, N. (2006). Longitudinal trajectories of ethnic identity among urban Black and Latino adolescents. *Child development*, 77(5), 1403–1415.

- Paterson, A. D., & Hakim-Larson, J. (2012). Arab youth in Canada: Acculturation, enculturation, social support, and life satisfaction. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 40*, 206–215. doi:10.1002/j.2161-1912.2012.00018.x
- Patterson, M. M. (2012). Self-perceived gender typicality, gender-typed attributes, and gender stereotype endorsement in elementary-school-aged children. *Sex roles, 67*(7-8), 422–434.
- Pavot, W., & Diener, E. (1993). The affective and cognitive context of self-reported measures of subjective well-being. *Social Indicators Research, 28*(1), 1-20.
- Pavot, W., & Diener, E. (2008). The satisfaction with life scale and the emerging construct of life satisfaction. *The Journal of Positive Psychology, 3*(2), 137–152.
- Pebdani, R. N. (2019). Changing How We Approach Multicultural Counselor Education: Using Intersectionality, Power, Privilege, and Oppression to Frame Lived Experiences. *Rehabilitation Research, Policy, and Education, 33*(4), 214-220.
- Perneger, T. V. (1998). What's wrong with Bonferroni adjustments. *Bmj, 316*(7139), 1236–1238.
- Perrone, K. M., Webb, L. K., & Jackson, Z. V. (2007). Relationships between parental attachment, work and family roles, and life satisfaction. *The Career Development Quarterly, 55*(3), 237–248.
- Petriglieri, J. L. (2011). Under threat: Responses to and the consequences of threats to individuals' identities. *Academy of Management Review, 36*(4), 641–662.  
doi:10.5465/amr.2009.0087
- Phinney, J. S. (2000). Ethnic identity. In A. E. Kazdin (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of psychology* (pp. 254-259). New York: Oxford University Press.

- Phinney, J. S. (2006). Ethnic identity exploration in emerging adulthood. In J. J. Arnett & J. L. Tanner (Eds.), *Emerging adulthood: Coming of age in the 21st century* (pp. 117–134). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Quinn, D. M., Kahng, S. K., & Crocker, J. (2004). Discreditable: Stigma effects of revealing a mental illness history on test performance. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *30*, 803–815.
- Quintana, S. M. (1994). A model of ethnic perspective-taking ability applied to Mexican-American children and youth. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *18*(4), 419–448.
- Radmacher, K. A., & Azmitia, M. (2016). Family emotional support and the individuation process among Asian-and Latino-heritage college-going emerging adults. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *26*(4), 979–990.
- Ratts, M. J., Singh, A. A., Nassar-McMillan, S., Butler, S. K., & McCullough, J. R. (2016). Multicultural and social justice counseling competencies: Guidelines for the counseling profession. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, *44*(1), 28–48.  
doi:10.1002/jmcd.12035
- Reifman, A., Arnett, J. J., & Colwell, M. J. (2007). Emerging adulthood: Theory, assessment and application. *Journal of Youth Development*, *2*(1), 37–48.
- Reinherz, H. Z., Paradis, A. D., Giaconia, R. M., Stashwick, C. K., & Fitzmaurice, G. (2003). Childhood and adolescent predictors of major depressive disorder in the transition to adulthood. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, *160*, 2141–2147.
- Reiter, L. (1989). Sexual orientation, sexual identity, and the question of choice. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, *17*(2), 138–150.



- Rendina, H. J., Carter, J. A., Wahl, L., Millar, B. M., & Parsons, J. T. (2019). Trajectories of sexual identity development and psychological well-being for highly sexually active gay and bisexual men: A latent growth curve analysis. *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity, 6*(1), 64–74. doi:10.1037/sgd0000308
- Robinson-Wood, T. (2016). *The convergence of race, ethnicity, and gender: Multiple identities in counseling* (5th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Roming, S., & Howard, K. (2019). Coping with stress in college: an examination of spirituality, social support, and quality of life. *Mental Health, Religion & Culture, 22*(8), 832-843.
- Ryan, C., Russell, S. T., Huebner, D., Diaz, R., & Sanchez, J. (2010). Family acceptance in adolescence and the health of LGBT young adults. *Journal of Child and Adolescent Psychiatric Nursing, 23*(4), 205–213.
- Saraiva, L. M., Brandão, T., & Matos, P. M. (2018). Economic insecurity and separation–individuation in Portuguese emerging adults: The role of self-esteem and depression. *Young, 26*(4), 366–382.
- Savin-Williams, R. C. (2005). *The new gay teenager*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Sawatzky, R., Gadermann, A., & Pesut, B. (2009). An investigation of the relationships between spirituality, health status and quality of life in adolescents. *Applied Research Quality of Life, 4*, 5–22. doi:10.1007/s11482-009-9065-y
- Schlesinger, A., Edwards, W. K., & Grinter, R. E. (2017, May). Intersectional HCI: Engaging identity through gender, race, and class. In *Proceedings of the 2017 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems* (pp. 5412-5427). ACM Press, Denver, CO, pp. 5412–5427.

- Schulenberg, J. E., Sameroff, A. J., & Cicchetti, D. (2004). The transition to adulthood as a critical juncture in the course of psychopathology and mental health. *Development and Psychopathology, 16*, 799–806.
- Schwartz, K. D. (2006). Transformations in parent and friend faith support predicting adolescents' religious faith. *The International Journal for the Psychology of Religion, 16*, 311–326.
- Schwartz, S. J. (2016). Turning point for a turning point: Advancing emerging adulthood theory and research. *Emerging Adulthood, 4*(5), 307–317.
- Schwartz, S. J., Côté, J. E., & Arnett, J. J. (2005). Identity and agency in emerging adulthood: Two developmental routes in the individualization process. *Youth & Society, 37*(2), 201–229. doi:10.1177/0044118X05275965
- Schwartz, S. J., & Petrova, M. (2019). Prevention science in emerging adulthood: A field coming of age. *Prevention Science, 20*(3), 305–309.
- Schwartz, S. J., Zamboanga, B. L., Luyckx, K., Meca, A., & Ritchie, R. A. (2013). Identity in emerging adulthood: Reviewing the field and looking forward. *Emerging Adulthood, 1*(2), 96–113.
- Schwartz, S. J., Zamboanga, B. L., Rodriguez, L., & Wang, S. C. (2007). The structure of cultural identity in an ethnically diverse sample of emerging adults. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology, 29*(2), 159–173.
- Scott-Parker, B., Watson, B. C., King, M. J., & Hyde, M. K. (2011). The psychological distress of the young driver: A brief report. *Injury Prevention, 17*, 275–277. doi:10.1136/ip.2010.031328.

- Sharp, E. H., Coatsworth, J. D., Darling, N., Cumsille, P., & Ranieri, S. (2007). Gender differences in the self-defining activities and identity experiences of adolescents and emerging adults. *Journal of Adolescence*, *30*(2), 251–269.  
doi:10.1-016/j.adolescence.2006.02.006
- Shotter, J., & Gergen, K. J. (Eds.). (1989). *Inquiries in social construction series*, Vol. 2. *Texts of identity*. Thousand Oaks, CA, US: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Shulman, S., Laursen, B., & Dickson, D. J. (2014). Gender differences in the spillover between romantic experiences, work experiences, and individual adjustment across emerging adulthood. *Emerging Adulthood*, *2*(1), 36–47.
- Silverberg, S., & Gondoli, D. (1996). Autonomy in adolescence: A contextualized perspective. In G.R. Adams, R. Montemayor, T.P. Gullotta (Eds.), *Advances in adolescent development: Vol. 8. Psychological development during adolescence* (pp. 72–61). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Smith, R. L., Carroll, A. M., Callaghan, K. T., Rowcliffe, M. A., Sullivan, M. A., & Steckler, D. C. (2015). Emerging Adulthood: A College Student, Middle Class Perk?. *Psi Chi Journal of Psychological Research*, *20*(2).
- South, S. J., & Lei, L. (2015). Failures-to-launch and boomerang kids: Contemporary determinants of leaving and returning to the parental home. *Social Forces; A Scientific Medium of Social Study and Interpretation*, *94*(2), 863–890.
- Spencer, B., & Castano, E. (2007). Social class is dead. long live social class! Stereotype threat among low socioeconomic status individuals. *Social Justice Research*, *20*(4), 418–432.
- Steel, P., Schmidt, J., & Shultz, J. (2008). Refining the relationship between personality and subjective well-being. *Psychological Bulletin*, *134*(1), 138–161.

doi:10.1037/0033-2909.134.1.138

- Stephen, J., Fraser, E., & Marcia, J. E. (1992). Moratorium-achievement (Mama) cycles in lifespan identity development: Value orientations and reasoning system correlates. *Journal of Adolescence, 15*(3), 283–300.
- Stets, J. E., & Burke, P. J. (2000). Identity Theory and Social Identity Theory. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 63*(3), 224–237. doi:10.2307/2695870
- Stey, P. C., Hill, P. L., & Lapsley, D. (2014). Factor structure and psychometric properties of a brief measure of dysfunctional individuation. *Assessment, 21*, 452–462.
- Sucuoğlu, E. (2018). Economic status, self-efficacy and academic achievement: the case study of undergraduate students. *Quality & Quantity, 52*(1), 851-861.
- Sue, D. W., Arredondo, P., & McDavis, R. J. (1992). Multicultural Counseling Competencies and Standards: A Call to the Profession. *Journal of Counseling & Development, 70*(4), 477–486.
- Sugimura, K. (2020). Adolescent identity development in Japan. *Child Development Perspectives*. doi:10.1111/cdep.12359
- Sussman, N. M. (2000). The Dynamic Nature of Cultural Identity Throughout Cultural Transitions: Why Home Is Not So Sweet. *Personality & Social Psychology Review (Lawrence Erlbaum Associates), 4*(4), 355–373. doi:10.1207/S15327957PSPR0404\_5
- Swanson, J. A. (2016). Trends in literature about emerging adulthood: Review of empirical studies. *Emerging Adulthood, 4*(6), 391–402.
- Syed, M. (2010). Disciplinarily and methodology in intersectionality theory and research. *American Psychologist, 65*, 61–62. doi:10.1037/a0017495.

- Syed, M., & Azmitia, M. (2008). A narrative approach to ethnic identity in emerging adulthood: Bringing life to the identity status model. *Developmental Psychology, 44*(4), 1012.
- Syed, M., & McLean, K. C. (2015). The future of identity development research: Reflections, tensions, and challenges. In K. C. McLean & M. Syed (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of identity development* (pp. 562–574). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Syed, M., & Mitchell, L. L. (2013). Race, ethnicity, and emerging adulthood: Retrospect and prospects. *Emerging Adulthood, 1*, 83–95. doi:10.1177/2167696813480503
- Szabo, A., & Ward, C. (2015). Identity development during cultural transition: The role of social-cognitive identity processes. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 46*, 13–25.
- Tabachnick, B., & Fidell, L. (2013). *Using multivariate statistics* (6th ed.). Boston, MA: Pearson.
- Tajfel, H. (Ed.). (2010). *Social identity and intergroup relations* (Vol. 7). Cambridge University Press.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1986). The social identity theory of inter-group behavior. In S. Worchel and L. W. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of Intergroup Relations*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall.
- Tanner, J. L. (2006). Recentering during emerging adulthood: A critical turning point in life span human development. In J. J. Arnett & J. L. Tanner (Eds.), *Emerging adults in America: Coming of age in the 21st century* (pp. 21–55). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Thomas, V., & Azmitia, M. (2014). Does class matter? The centrality and meaning of social class identity in emerging adulthood. *Identity, 14*(3), 195–213.

- Tian, X. (2019). Negative life events and life satisfaction in university students: Belief in a just world as a mediator and moderator. *Journal of health psychology, 24*(4), 526–534.
- Tiggemann, M., & Hage, K. (2019). Religion and spirituality: Pathways to positive body image. *Body Image, 28*, 135–141. doi:10.1016/j.bodyim.2019.01.004
- Tobin, D. D., Menon, M., Menon, M., Spatta, B. C., Hodges, E. V., & Perry, D. G. (2010). The intrapsychics of gender: A model of self-socialization. *Psychological Review, 117*, 601–622.
- Ton, H., & Lim, R.F. (2006). The assessment of culturally diverse individuals. In *Clinical manual of cultural psychiatry*. Washington DC: American Psychiatric Publishing.
- Transue, J. E. (2007). Identity salience, identity acceptance, and racial policy attitudes: American national identity as a uniting force. *American Journal of Political Science, 51*(1), 78–91.
- Turner, J. (1985). Social categorization and the self- concept: A social cognitive theory of group behavior. *Advances in Group Processes, 2*, 77–122.
- Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D., & Wetherell, M. S. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Oxford, England: Blackwell.
- Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Quintana, S. M., Lee, R. M., Cross, W. E., Rivas-Drake, D., Schwartz, S. J., Seaton, E. (2014). Ethnic and racial identity during adolescence and into young adulthood: An integrated conceptualization. *Child Development, 85*(1), 21–39. doi:10.1111/cdev.12196
- Unger, R. K. (1979). Toward a redefinition of sex and gender. *The American Psychologist, 34*, 1085–1094. doi:10.1037/0003066X.34.11.1085

- U.S. Census Bureau (2019). *Quick facts*. Retrieved from <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/US/PST045218>
- Van Dulmen, M. H. M. (2013). Emerging adulthood—The Journal. *Emerging Adulthood, 1*, 3–4. doi:10.1177/2167696812469356
- Vereen, L. G., Hill, N. R., & McNeal, D. T. (2008). Perceptions of multicultural counseling competency: Integration of the curricular and the practical. *Journal of Mental Health Counseling, 30*(3), 226–236. doi:10.17744/mehc.30.3.g34u122m16q64g44
- Verschueren, M., Rassart, J., Claes, L., Moons, P., & Luyckx, K. (2017). Identity statuses throughout adolescence and emerging adulthood: A large-scale study into gender, age, and contextual differences. *Psychologica Belgica, 57*(1), 32–42.
- Vinson, T. S., & Neimeyer, G. J. (2000). The relationship between racial identity development and multicultural counseling competency. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 28*(3), 177–192. doi:10.1002/j.21611912.2000.tb00344.x
- Vosylis, R., & Klimstra, T. (2020). How does financial life shape emerging adulthood? Short-term longitudinal associations between perceived features of emerging adulthood, financial behaviors, and financial well-being. *Emerging Adulthood*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2167696820908970>
- Wan, C., & Chew, P. Y.-G. (2013). Cultural knowledge, category label, and social connections: Components of cultural identity in the global, multicultural context. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology, 16*(4), 247–259. doi:10.1111/ajsp.12029
- Warner, L. R., & Shields, S. A. (2013). The intersections of sexuality, gender, and race: Identity research at the crossroads. *Sex roles, 68*(11-12), 803–810.

- Waters, M. C., Carr, P. J., Keflalas, M. J., & Holdaway, J. (Eds.). (2011). *Coming of age in America: The transition to adulthood in the twenty-first century*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Weber, Max. [1922] 1968. *Economy and society*. Reprint, Berkeley, CA, University of California Press.
- Wenger, E. (1998) *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Weeks, M., & Lupfer, M. B. (2004). Complicating race: The relationship between prejudice, race, and social class categorizations. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 30(8), 972–984. doi:10.1177/0146167204264751
- Weiss, D., Freund, A. M., & Wiese, B. S. (2012). Mastering developmental transitions in young and middle adulthood: The interplay of openness to experience and traditional gender ideology on women’s self-efficacy and subjective well-being. *Developmental Psychology*, 48, 1774–1784. doi:10.1037/a0028893
- Wieman, S. T., Kind, S., & Baker, A. W. (2020). Cognitive behavioral therapy for anxiety disorders. In *Clinical Handbook of Anxiety Disorders* (pp. 221-250). Humana, Cham.
- Xia, X. & Wolf, H-G. (2010). Basic-level salience in second language vocabulary acquisition. In S. De Knop, F. Boers, & A. De Rycker (Eds.), *Fostering language teaching efficiency through cognitive linguistics*. Berlin, New York: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Yap, S. C., Settles, I. H., & Pratt-Hyatt, J. S. (2011). Mediators of the relationship between racial identity and life satisfaction in a community sample of African American women and men. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 17(1), 89.



- Yeager, D. S., Bundick, M. J., & Johnson, R. (2012). The role of future work goal motives in adolescent identity development: A longitudinal mixed-methods investigation. *Contemporary Educational Psychology, 37*(3), 206–217.
- Yep, G. A. (2004). Approaches to cultural identity: Personal notes from an autoethnographical journey. In M. Fong & R. Chuang (Eds.), *Communicating ethnic and cultural identity* (pp. 69-81). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Yijie Wang, Douglass, S., & Yip, T. (2017). Longitudinal relations between ethnic/racial identity process and content: Exploration, commitment, and salience among diverse adolescents. *Developmental Psychology, 53*(11), 2154–2169.
- Youniss, J., & Smollar, J. (1985). *Adolescent relations with mothers, fathers, and friends*. Chicago: University Press.
- Zhao, Y., Igartua, K., & Thombs, B. D. (2010). Suicidal ideation and attempt among adolescents reporting “unsure” sexual identity or heterosexual identity plus same-sex attraction or behavior: Forgotten groups? *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry, 49*(2), 104–113. doi:10.1016/j.jaac.2009.11.003
- Zimmer-Gembeck, M. J., & Collins, W. A. (2003). Autonomy development during adolescence. In G. R. Adams & M. D. Berzonsky (Eds.), *Blackwell handbook of adolescence*. (pp. 175–204). Malden: Blackwell Publishing.
- Zimmermann, P., & Iwanski, A. (2014). Emotion regulation from early adolescence to emerging adulthood and middle adulthood: Age differences, gender differences, and emotion-specific developmental variations. *International Journal of Behavioral Development, 38*(2), 182–194. doi:10.1177/0165025413515405

Zosuls, K. M., Miller, C. F., Ruble, D. N., Martin, C. L., & Fabes, R. A. (2011). Gender development research in sex roles: Historical trends and future directions. *Sex Roles, 64*, 826–842. doi:10.1007/s11199-010-9902-3



# DUQUESNE UNIVERSITY

600 FORBES AVENUE ♦ PITTSBURGH, PA 15282

## CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH STUDY

### TITLE:

Cultural Identity Salience, Individuation, and Life Satisfaction in Emerging Adulthood

### INVESTIGATOR:

Matthew L. Nice, MS, LPC, NCC  
Doctoral Candidate at Duquesne University  
Nicem2@duq.edu

### ADVISOR:

Dr. Matthew Joseph, Ph.D  
Assistant Professor  
Duquesne University, School of Education  
412-396-6110  
Bundickm@duq.edu

### SOURCE OF SUPPORT:

This study is being performed as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in Counselor Education and Supervision in the School of Education at Duquesne University.

### STUDY OVERVIEW:

Participation in this study includes ranking how levels of identity from 1 to 5 in the following cultural identities: race/ethnicity, gender, sexuality, spirituality, and socioeconomic class. Further, you will be asked how much you identify with each of those cultural identities on a typical day, as well as answer questions to assess your life satisfaction and how individualized you are from your parents/guardians. The study aims to find how levels of salience (identity) affect levels of individuation and life satisfaction in 18- 29 year aged individuals. This study will aim to inform professional counselors and other mental health professionals with knowledge of specific culturally identity categories needs in terms of life satisfaction and individuation to better assist these populations clinically and develop specific interventions for these emerging adulthood aged clients to meet the needs of the changing cultural composition of the United States. I am expecting a total of 150 participants.

**PURPOSE:**

You are being asked to participate in a research project that is investigating how individuals' cultural identity categories (race/ethnicity, gender, sexuality, spirituality, and socioeconomic class) identities affect levels of and life-satisfaction and how individualized individuals are from their parents in 18 to 29 year aged individuals.

In order to qualify for participation, you must:

- Be in the age range of 18-29 years old.

**PARTICIPANT PROCEDURES:**

If you provide your consent to participate, you will be asked to select the link to the survey and complete the questions on the survey, taking approximately 10 minutes. You will be asked to complete the survey one time. The survey consists of questions assessing your satisfaction with life, your identify with your cultural identities, and how individualized you are from your parents/guardians.

**RISKS AND BENEFITS:**

Describe all risks and benefits for participating in this study. If there are minimal risks, please state, there are minimal risks associated with participating in this study, but no greater than those encountered in everyday life. Some of the questions asked of you may potentially trigger stress or some other psychological effect. If you are feeling the need for mental health assistance, please call the SAMHSA help line at 1-800-662-4357 for immediate assistance. The benefits of participating in this study include a better understanding of your own life satisfaction and individuation levels. Participants will also be able to contribute responses to research to assist the mental health of individuals in the same age group.

**COMPENSATION:**

Participants will be asked to select a separate link to a separate Qualtrics survey, which will ask participants for identifying information and name separate from the research survey responses in order to ensure confidentiality of identifiers. No identifying information (e.g., name, address, etc.) will be collected from participants to ensure anonymity. If participants choose to participate in the optional incentive survey, only participants email addresses and names will be identified, and will not at anytime be linked to survey responses.

There is no cost for you to participate in this research project.

## **CONFIDENTIALITY:**

Your participation in this study, and any identifiable personal information you provide, will be kept confidential to every extent possible, and will be destroyed 3 years after the data collection is completed. Your name will never appear on any survey or research instruments.] All written and electronic forms and study materials will be kept secure. Confidentiality will be maintained via a password-protected survey software, Qualtrics. The optional incentive survey will ask for name and email address and will not be confidential. However, survey responses cannot be linked to the incentive survey in anyway. No one will have access to the data except the primary investigator and advisor. In addition, any publications or presentations about this research will only use data that is combined together with all subjects; therefore, no one will be able to determine how you responded.

## **RIGHT TO WITHDRAW:**

You are under no obligation to start or continue this study. You can withdraw at any time without penalty or consequence by not completing the study or leaving the survey unfinished. Any survey that is unfinished will be considered withdrawn. Survey responses are anonymous and cannot be tracked back to the individual participant. Hence, once fully completed and submitted, a survey cannot be withdrawn. [

## **SUMMARY OF RESULTS:**

A summary of the results of this study will be provided to at no cost. You may request this summary by contacting the researchers and requesting it. The information provided to you will not be your individual responses, but rather a summary of what was discovered during the research project as a whole.

## **FUTURE USE OF DATA:**

Any information collected that can identify you will not be used for future research studies, nor will it be provided to other researchers. Data will be destroyed within 3 years of data collection.

## **VOLUNTARY CONSENT:**

I have read this informed consent form and understand what is being requested of me. I also understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, for any reason without any consequences. Based on this, I certify I am willing to participate in this research project.

I understand that if I have any questions about my participation in this study, I may contact Matthew Nice via email at [MatthewLNice@gmail.com](mailto:MatthewLNice@gmail.com). If I have any questions regarding my rights and protections as a subject in this study, I can contact Dr. David Delmonico, Chair of the

Duquesne University Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects at  
412.396.1886 or at [irb@duq.edu](mailto:irb@duq.edu).

---

Signature of Participant

---

Date

---

Signature of Researcher

---

Date

## Appendix B: Participant Recruitment Email

Dear Participants,

I am a PhD Candidate in the Department of Counselor Education at Duquesne University. I would like to invite you to participate in a research study that will investigate emerging adults' salience in their cultural identities.

You are only asked to participate if you are *within the age range of 18-29*.

If you agree to participate, you will be asked to complete a questionnaire containing 3 components measuring how important your cultural identities are to you, your life satisfaction, and how individualized you are from your parent(s)/guardian(s). You will also be asked to complete some basic demographic information (e.g., race/ethnicity, gender identity). The questionnaire's estimated time of completion is approximately 10 minutes. The completion of this instrument will be the only request made of you. Some of the questions asked of you may potentially trigger stress or some other psychological effect. If you are feeling the need for mental health assistance, please call the SAMHSA help line at 1-800-662-4357 for immediate assistance.

Upon completion of this questionnaire, you will be given access to a separate link that will allow you to give your name and email to be entered a drawing for a \$50.00 Amazon gift card. Entering the drawing is strictly optional and will not be link results of your survey to your name in any way. Duquesne University's Institutional Review Board has approved this research study (IRB # 2019/09/8).

Prior to the beginning of the questionnaire, you will be asked to read the Informed Consent Document.

Your participation is completely voluntary. If you decide to participate after reading this invitation, you can access the survey from the following link:

We value your input and hope that you will consider participating in this study. Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Matthew L Nice, M.S., LPC, NCC  
Ph.D in Counselor Education and Supervision Student  
Duquesne University, School of Education

## Appendix C: Questionnaire

1. What is your gender identity?

- Male
- Female
- Transgender
- Non-Binary
- Another gender identity, please specify
- Prefer not to answer

2. What is your racial or ethnic identity?

- American Indian or Alaska Native
- Asian
- Black or African American
- Hispanic or Latino
- Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
- White
- Other
- Prefer not to answer

3. What is your age in years?

- 18-23
- 24-29
- Other

4. What is your exact age in years?

5. What is your sexual identity or sexual orientation?

- Heterosexual or straight
- Homosexual
- Bisexual
- Another sexual identity, please specify
- Prefer not to answer

6. What is your current religion, if any?



- Catholic
- Protestant
- Christian Orthodox
- Jewish
- Muslim
- Buddhist
- Sikh
- Atheist (do not believe in God)
- Agnostic (existence of God is unknown)
- Other, please specify
- Prefer not to answer

7. What is your yearly income?

- Under \$15,000
- \$15,000 - \$24,999
- \$25,000 - \$34,999
- \$35,000 - \$49,999
- \$50,000 - \$74,999
- \$75,000 - \$99,999
- \$100,000 - \$149,999
- \$150,00 and over

8. What is your employment status?

- Employed Full-time
- Employed Part-time
- Self-Employed
- Unemployed
- Student
- Prefer not to say

9. What is your highest level of education?

- Less than a high school degree
- High school degree
- Some college
- Trade school or vocational degree
- Associated degree
- Bachelor's degree
- Master's degree
- Doctorate degree

10. What is your current living status?

- Alone (out of parents' or guardians' home)
- Partly alone, partly in my parents' or guardians' home)
- In a dormitory or student apartment
- With my partner (out of parents' guardians' home)
- In my parents' or guardians' home

11. What region of the country do you currently reside?

- Midwest (Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, and Wisconsin, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, and South Dakota)
- Northeast (Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New England, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Vermont)
- South (Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, Washington D.C., and West Virginia)
- West (Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming)

**Instructions:** Below are five statements that you may agree or disagree with. Using the 1 - 7 scale below, indicate your agreement with each item by placing the appropriate number on the line preceding that item. Please be open and honest in your responding.

In most ways my life is close to my ideal.

- Strongly Disagree*
- Disagree*
- Somewhat disagree*
- Neither agree nor disagree*
- Somewhat agree*
- Agree*
- Strongly Agree*

The conditions of my life are excellent.

- Strongly Disagree*
- Disagree*
- Somewhat disagree*
- Neither agree nor disagree*
- Somewhat agree*
- Agree*

*Strongly Agree*

I am satisfied with my life.

*Strongly Disagree*

*Disagree*

*Somewhat disagree*

*Neither agree nor disagree*

*Somewhat agree*

*Agree*

*Strongly Agree*

So far I have gotten the important things I want in life.

*Strongly Disagree*

*Disagree*

*Somewhat disagree*

*Neither agree nor disagree*

*Somewhat agree*

*Agree*

*Strongly Agree*

If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.

*Strongly Disagree*

*Disagree*

*Somewhat disagree*

*Neither agree nor disagree*

*Somewhat agree*

*Agree*

*Strongly Agree*

**Instructions:** In the questions below, there are several statements regarding your relationship with your parent(s)/guardian(s). For each statement please mark your level of agreement.

**1= Completely Untrue, 5= Completely True**

When I have problems in my relationships with people, I ask my parent(s)/guardians(s) for advice.

1      2      3      4      5

When something goes wrong, I call my parent(s)/guardians(s).

1 2 3 4 5

When I am in doubt about important decisions, I turn to my parent(s)/guardians(s)

1 2 3 4 5

When I'm in distress, I turn to my parent(s)/guardians(s)

1 2 3 4 5

If I have problems, I usually count on my parent(s)/guardians(s) help.

1 2 3 4 5

My parent(s)/guardians(s) respects my wishes.

1 2 3 4 5

I like to chat with my parent(s)/guardians(s).

1 2 3 4 5

My parent(s)/guardians(s) understands my problems.

1 2 3 4 5

I can talk openly to my parent(s)/guardians(s)

1 2 3 4 5

I think my parent(s)/guardians(s) wants to know too much about me.

1 2 3 4 5

I think my parent(s)/guardians(s) wants to know too much about my friends.

1 2 3 4 5

I think my parent(s)/guardians(s) asks too many questions about my work or studies.

1 2 3 4 5

I think my parent(s)/guardians(s) tries to control too much of my life.

1 2 3 4 5

My parent(s)/guardians(s) asks more questions about my personal life than I want to disclose.

1      2      3      4      5

When I have a problem, I try to find a solution without my parent(s)/guardians(s) help.

1      2      3      4      5

I can make important decisions without my parent(s)/guardians(s) help.

1      2      3      4      5

I can manage most things in my life without my parent(s)/guardians(s) help

1      2      3      4      5

If I have problems in my personal life, I solve them independent of my parent(s)/guardians(s).

1      2      3      4      5

When I do something wrong, I worry about my parent(s)/guardians(s) response.

1      2      3      4      5

If I had problems at work or school, I would worry that I would disappoint my parent(s)/guardians(s)

1      2      3      4      5

I fear that I could disappoint my parent(s)/guardians(s).

1      2      3      4      5

**Instructions:** In the questions below, there are several statements regarding your relationship your awareness of your identities on a typical day. For each statement please mark your level of awareness or salience.

**1= Not at all, 5= Extremely**

How aware are you of your ethnicity/race on a typical day?

1      2      3      4      5

How aware are you of your gender on a typical day?

1      2      3      4      5

How aware are you of your sexual orientation on a typical day?

*1*      *2*      *3*      *4*      *5*

How aware are you of your spirituality on a typical day?

*1*      *2*      *3*      *4*      *5*

How aware are you of your socio-economic class on a typical day?

*1*      *2*      *3*      *4*      *5*