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Social Contexts in Ethnic Identity Development: How Does it Affect Bicultural Stress

Between Generations?

By

Carolyn Tran

A Thesis

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

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

2021

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Social Contexts in Ethnic Identity Development: How Does it Affect Bicultural Stress

Between Generations?

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March 22, 2021

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ABSTRACT

Bicultural stress is the unique stress which occurs when a bicultural individual tries to navigate between two different cultures, namely their heritage culture and mainstream culture. This study investigated bicultural stress using Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems model. This study posits that family, peers, community, and media interact to influence feelings of bicultural stress. A sample of 147 undergraduate visible minority Canadians at the University of Windsor was recruited for this study. They completed an online survey comprising standardized self-report measures and openended questions. Results were analyzed using statistical analyses and a thematic analysis. Findings from this study provided a detailed and complex illustration of the bicultural experience. It was found that second-generation Canadians experienced more bicultural stress compared to their third-generation peers. Also, regression analysis indicated that ethnic identity, family cultural socialization towards heritage culture, perceived discrimination, and generational status contributed to feelings of bicultural stress. Results from the thematic analysis indicated that bicultural Canadians have a shared bicultural experience. Participants described when they first realized their bicultural identity, and their responses revealed the different ways they used to navigate their bicultural identity. Lastly, this study investigated the effects of first name on bicultural stress. Participants revealed their experiences of name-based microaggression and the solutions they developed to make things easier for other people. Findings from this study revealed personal and intimate experiences with which bicultural Canadians have struggled in different social environments of their lives. This study can open avenues of research on microaggressions experienced by bicultural Canadians in school and workplace settings.

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DEDICATION AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I dedicate this thesis to my family, friends, and coworkers who supported me throughout this entire journey. I am very grateful for your love, support, and encouragement. Thank you for being by my side.

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Social Contexts in Ethnic Identity Development: How Does it Affect Bicultural Stress Between Generations?

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Canadian multiculturalism tells a story of the journey to start a new life in a new country. Immigrants, or first-generation Canadians, bring culture from their homeland to Canada. Aspects of one's culture include style of dress, food, language, religion, values, assumptions, and attitudes. A first-generation Canadian's culture transfers over to their children, or second-generation Canadians, where they are socialized to their heritage culture at a young age (Wang et al., 2015).

Second-generation Canadians are unique from their immigrant parents as they may grow up learning their parents' culture as well as Canadian culture (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2006). Often, these two cultures may be different from each other and the individual may have to find ways to navigate between the two. Having to learn both cultures makes the individual "bicultural." At times, this navigation results in feelings of stress, namely "bicultural stress" (Romero & Roberts, 2003). Each generation of Canadians may influence the next and may experience different stressors in relation to their adjustment and sense of belonging in Canadian society. This study focuses on second-generation and third-generation visible minorities and how they navigate between their parents' heritage culture and Canadian culture.

This study examined the bicultural experiences of second-generation and thirdgeneration Canadian visible minorities, or bicultural Canadians for brevity. This research welcomed participants to share their experiences regarding their navigation between their heritage culture and Canadian culture. This study employed a different approach to

biculturalism and bicultural stress. First, using Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems model allowed the understanding of bicultural stress from a different perspective. This model captured the dynamic and complex nature of bicultural stress by revealing relationships across environmental contexts that interact in a non-linear fashion which shape the bicultural experience. Second, the inclusion of third-generation visible minorities indicated whether they experienced some form of biculturalism and bicultural stress, which has been largely ignored in the current literature. Additionally, this study explored the effects of ethnic first names in an individual's life, which aimed to expand the limited body of research in this area.

Finally, this research was conducted to address my personal experiences related to this topic. As a Vietnamese Canadian, I had to navigate between my parents' Vietnamese culture and society's Canadian culture. At a young age, I realized that I was different from my peers due to language barriers and cultural differences. For example, I could not bring certain foods to school, dress in ethnic clothing, nor speak Vietnamese at school. I sought comfort in people who were like myself. I could not help but feel that other children had gone through the same experiences. As I got older, I realized that my experiences were relatable to my second-generation Canadian peers', regardless of ethnicity. Understanding that a shared experience exists between different groups shifts research from exploring differences to understanding similarities. In turn, this shift in perspective may contribute to an understanding of what a "sense of community" means and what makes a community cohesive for visible minorities in Canada.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Defining the Term "Visible Minority"

The terms "ethnic minority" or "minority ethnic groups" are often used in research to describe individuals who do not belong to the majority European American population. In this thesis, the term "visible minority" will be used to specify the target population. Visible minority is defined as, "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour" (Statistics Canada, 2017). The Canadian visible minority populations consist of the following groups: South Asian, Chinese, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Arab, Southeast Asian, West Asian, Korean, and Japanese (Statistics Canada, 2017). For brevity, this paper will use the term "bicultural Canadians" when addressing participants who are second- or third-generation and visible minority. The terms "second-generation" or "third-generation" Canadians will be used to address specific samples.

Generational Statuses

First-Generation Canadians

Moving to a new country and adjusting to a new culture is rarely easy. Immigrants go through a process called acculturation, which is the process of adapting to a new culture (Berry, 1980, 1997). Attitudes to acculturation depend on two questions: a) to what extent does the immigrant (or member of an ethnic minority group) wish to maintain or give up their cultural attributes? b) to what extent do they wish to have contact with or avoid others outside of their group? (Berry & Sabatier, 2011; Roysircar & Maestas, 2002). There are four strategies to acculturation: integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization (Berry, 1997). According to Berry (1997), *integration* is

the maintenance of cultural attributes of both the heritage and host cultures. *Assimilation* occurs when one gives up the heritage culture and accepts only the host culture. *Separation* is the retention of the heritage culture and the rejection of the host culture. *Marginalization* is the avoidance of both cultures (Berry, 1997). Difficulties arise when there is a cultural gap between an individual's native country and their new country, which can result in acculturative stress (Rogers-Sirin et al., 2014).

Second-Generation Canadians

Second-generation Canadians are individuals who were born in Canada and have at least one parent born outside of Canada. Individuals who identify as second-generation are typically described as "bicultural" due to their interaction between their heritage culture and the mainstream culture (Stroink & Lalonde, 2009). Bicultural individuals use an integrational approach to acculturation by trying to maintain cultural attributes of their heritage culture and their mainstream culture. The intermix of cultures gives the bicultural individual a feeling of "balance" (Schwartz & Unger, 2010) which establishes an increased sense of belonging to the mainstream society while reducing the feelings of "otherness" as well (Phinney, 1990).

When comparing immigrant parents and their second-generation children, studies have found that second-generation children tend to adopt mainstream culture more rapidly than their parents, thus, resulting in a dissonance between parents and children's cultural values (Choi et al., 2008). The dissonance between cultural values increases intergenerational conflict between different generations (Rogers-Sirin et al., 2014). The existence of intergenerational conflict could explain differences in family expectations, education, career, and dating and marriage (Chung, 2001).

Further research has shown that second-generation Canadians are faced with their own stressors in mainstream society. First, immigrant parents rely heavily on their children to bridge the gap between their heritage culture and mainstream culture (Romero & Roberts, 2003). For example, second-generation children are obligated to translate or interpret English when their parents face language barriers (Romero & Roberts, 2003). At the same time, parents expect their children to be proficient in their native language (Brown, 2011). Another stressor is the mislabelling of their ethnic identity by others. Studies have shown that second-generation youth feel that it is important to be identified with a hyphenated identity, but due to their ethnic visibility, others appear to perceive them as their heritage identity only, which increases their sense of "otherness" in mainstream society (Chu et al., 2017).

Third-Generation and Later Generation Canadians

Although third-generation Canadians make up almost 61% of the Canadian population, little is known about their identification as a member of a visible minority group (Statistics Canada, 2013). Third and later generation visible minority individuals are a heavily under- researched group. When third-generation bicultural youth are studied, researchers tend to study their bilingualism and not their bicultural experience nor their bicultural stress.

Mills (2001) studied third-generation bilingual individuals in the UK and found that although the participants can speak their native language, complex or abstract topics led them to revert to speaking in English. Additional research by Alba and colleagues (2002) found that the majority of third and later generation children spoke only English at home. They suspected that these children would lose their native tongue as they grew

older. In order to prevent loss of native language, Tran (2010) suggested the promotion of language retention by using it frequently at home. He encouraged parents to play an active role to help their children retain their native language.

Due to the lack of research on third-generation individuals, little is known about their bicultural stress or whether they experience such stressors. Research on bilingualism does not explain additional stressors third and later generation Canadians may experience. There is a need for more research on this under-studied group.

Visible Minority Stress Theories: Minority Stress, Acculturative Stress, Bicultural Stress

There are many minority stress theories that haven been proposed in the current literature. Each theory was taken into consideration during the development of this research project. These theories have overlapping similarities but also have differences that may not apply to the targeted population. The stress theories that are unique to visible minority populations are minority stress, acculturative stress, and bicultural stress.

Minority stress is stress that is unique to individuals who belong in a minority or oppressed group (e.g., LGBTQ+, ethnic minorities, etc.). Meyer (2003, 2007) described minority stress as unique, chronic, and socially based. It is related to stable underlying social and cultural structures. Stress results from experiences of stigma, prejudice, and discrimination from hostile and stressful social environments.

Acculturative stress occurs when individuals experience changes in their lives due to immigration. It was introduced as an alternative term to "culture shock" (Berry, 1970). It is caused by stressors that can affect how an individual adapts to a majority society

(Padilla & Berrero, 2006; Roysircar & Maestas, 2002). Berry (2006) stated that these stressors are unique to immigration, such as living conditions before immigrating, separation of families, experiencing stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination. These problems may occur when immigrants have intercultural contact with those from the majority culture.

Immigrants and international students experience events that challenge their cultural understanding about how to live in a different society. Research has found that ethnic visibility, perceived cultural distance, and perceived discrimination affect feelings of acculturative stress (Rogers-Sirin et al., 2014; Sue & Sue, 2003; Tan & Liu, 2013). Additional research on female Saudi college international students and acculturative stress indicated a strong relationship between English proficiency and smooth acculturation (Al-Krenawi et al., 2020). While these stressors to acculturative stress are controllable and surmountable, they cannot be dealt with easily by assimilation. Acculturative stress may result in adjustment to majority society by the selective, accidental, and deliberate loss of heritage cultural behaviours (Berry, 2006). These losses of behaviours can improve how individuals perceive their fit within majority society.

Bicultural stress is the perceived conflict that arises from navigating and seeking acceptance within two sets of cultural norms, values, and languages (Romero & Roberts, 2003). Other researchers describe bicultural stress as a negotiation between two cultures that may have conflicting values (Wei et al., 2019). Bicultural stress is defined by discrimination stressors, family stressors, monolingual stressors, and peer stressors (Romero & Roberts, 2003).

Although minority stress and acculturative stress theories can be applied to this research, bicultural stress theory is specific to second-generation and later generation Canadians. Bicultural stress theory encompasses the unique stressors that occur with visible minorities. These stressors are family and peer stressors, which are not studied in minority stress theory nor acculturative stress theory. Consequently, the present study will primarily use bicultural stress theory to guide this research.

Ethnic Identity Development

Phinney (1990) described ethnic identity as one's psychological relationship and attitude to one's own ethnicity. This attitude about one's own ethnicity becomes more than just a label (Phinney, 1989). There are many theories of ethnic identity development, such as social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), acculturation theory (Berry, 1980), and ego identity formation (Erikson, 1968). Benet-Martinez and Haritatos (2005) suggested that there are gaps in the current literature about bicultural identity and contended that traditional acculturation studies have been looking at biculturalism as a uniform construct. For example, they argued that an individual and their peers could both be labeled as "integrated," but their individual differences in experiences may vary. To address this gap, Ajrouch et al. (2016) wrote about another approach to ethnic identity development: an ecological approach (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory

Bronfenbrenner (1979) described the ecological environment like a set of Russian dolls; each structure is nested inside the next. He proposed that an individual's psychological state changes as a result of exposure and interaction in specific environmental contexts. Bronfenbrenner (1979) argued the importance of how the

individual *perceives* their environment, rather than the "objective" reality of it (p. 4). There are four environmental levels to Bronfenbrenner's theory. Each of these levels has a different impact on the developing person. The first level in Bronfenbrenner's theory is the *microsystem*. The microsystem is the immediate environment with which the individual interacts. Immediate environments include the individual's home and/or classroom. The second level of his theory is the *mesosystem*. The mesosystem is the relation between the microsystems. For example, a child's experiences at school could affect whether they will withdraw at home, or vice versa. The third level is the *exosystem*. The exosystem describes events that occur in which the person is not present but could also affect their development. For example, negative mass media news coverage regarding the individual's visible minority group could affect how the individual perceives their ethnic group within their community. Lastly, the final level in Bronfenbrenner's theory is the *macrosystem*. The macrosystem involves the larger cultural context surrounding the person. Bronfenbrenner described the macrosystem as the "blueprint of society" (p. 289). According to this theory, these four environmental levels interact and shape how an individual develops their identity.

Bicultural Stress and Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory

Due to the pressures and struggles from conforming to Canadian society and maintaining ties with one's heritage culture (Berry & Sabatier, 2011), individuals who are second and later generation Canadians may experience bicultural stress (Roysircar & Maestas, 2002; Romero & Roberts, 2003; Wei et al., 2019). Bicultural stress is the perceived conflict that can arise from navigating and negotiating between two cultures with conflicting values, norms, and languages (Romero & Roberts, 2003; Wei et al.,

2019). It is defined by discrimination stressors, family stressors, monolingual stressors, and peer stressors (Romero & Roberts, 2003). Bicultural stress has been typically studied in second-generation or later generation adolescents (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005; Romero & Roberts, 2003).

Bicultural stress arises from bicultural socialization, which is when an individual learns how to navigate and function within the minority culture and the majority society (De Anda, 1984). Components of bicultural stress include perceived feelings of cultural alienation, cultural confusion, and cultural conflict (Roysircar & Maestas, 2002). Research has shown that aspects of bicultural stress internalize as an inferiority complex which may cause an ethnic individual to dismiss their own ethnic culture as inferior to the mainstream society (Feng-Bing, 2009).

Stress is frequently the response to the pull to maintain ethnic ties to one's heritage culture. Similar to acculturative stress, the strain of bicultural stress may affect how an individual perceives their fit within the majority society. There may be overlap between cultural norms and mainstream norms, but the unshared values can result in feelings of stress (De Anda, 1984). For example, collectivist and individualistic cultures can have different views on children's moving out to live independently from their parents. In collectivist cultures, moving out is seen as being selfish, whereas it may be interpreted as freedom in individualistic cultures (Hofstede, 1997). Bicultural individuals may experience stress when they are caught between these two conflicting ideas.

Previous research on bicultural stress found that amongst Black, Hispanic, and Asian ethnic minority groups of adolescents, Asian Americans desired to belong in a different ethnic group, preferably white (Phinney, 1989). Romero and Roberts (2003)

found that adolescents of Mexican descent felt bicultural stress when they were required to be fluent in both their native language and the dominant culture language. To date, bicultural stress research has not studied the interactions between different contexts in which bicultural stress occurs. The contexts of family, peers, community, and media may contribute to how an individual develops their ethnic identity, their sense of biculturalism, and their perceived bicultural stress in Canadian society.

Bicultural Stress and Family

Family is the first contact that an individual has while growing up. Umaña-Taylor et al. (2006) found that familial socialization through exposure to one's heritage language, symbols, and traditions is a central component in ethnic identity development in Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Vietnamese, and Salvadoran youth. First-generation parents are selective in teaching and socializing their children in the values, beliefs, and practices of their heritage culture (Schonpflug, 2009b; Tam, 2015). Furthermore, extended family, community, and social networks can also be sources to help an individual learn about their heritage culture (Cheshire, 2001). Research has shown that first-generation parents believe that cultural transmission of their heritage culture is important for their children (Mchitarjan & Reisenzein, 2015). An example of a cultural behaviour that parents socialize in their children is their heritage language (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2006).

Heritage language is mainly learned within the context of the home. The ability to communicate with parents and relatives in one's native language helps maintain the bond the individual has with their families and surrounding communities (Mills, 2001). Brown (2011) interviewed Korean parents and found that parents had opposing opinions on language learning. On one hand, parents wanted their children to be proficient in English

in order to climb up the social ladder. On the other hand, parents believed that knowing one's heritage language is important to remain "rooted" in one's culture. Research has shown that bilingual children actively engage in maintaining their heritage language and English. For example, Bloch and Hirsch (2017) found that bilingual children switched from English to their native language at home in order to maintain their roots and communicate with their parents.

Bilingualism may differ for second-generation parents and their third-generation children. Research has shown that most third-generation visible minority individuals only speak English in their households, compared to their second-generation and firstgeneration counterparts, who can speak their native tongue (Alba et al., 2002; Mayr & Siddika, 2018). Family expectations of being bilingual can pose as a stressor that contributes to bicultural stress. Mills (2001) found that third-generation youth were more comfortable with speaking in English, but they knew that speaking their native language was important to their identity.

Bicultural Stress and Peers

Peers may have an effect on ethnic identity development and bicultural stress as well. Youth want to feel like they can fit in with their peers. The pressures for peer acceptance are high, especially during the adolescent years when youth are constructing their identities (Phinney, 1990). Bicultural individuals must navigate between different cultures and decide which aspect of their cultures they should shed or retain in order to fit in with their peers in Canadian society (Berry & Sabatier, 2011).

Bicultural individuals try to avoid being too "FOB (fresh off the boat)" or too "white-washed" since there are stigmas that are attached to individuals who retain their

heritage cultures too much (i.e., being too "FOB") or do not know their heritage culture at all (i.e., being perceived as white-washed) (Pyke & Dang, 2003). In an interview by Pyke and Dang (2003), interviewees expressed their experiences of fitting in with white peers. One interviewee disclosed:

I don't really mind being called whitewashed. I feel that it's a compliment in some ways 'cause that shows that my friends see me as one of them. I feel like part of the white race or something. I'm not saying that Koreans are bad but it seems that to be white is to be the best (Pyke & Dang, 2003, p. 161).

From the same study, a different interviewee disclosed:

I think it is bad when some Asians who get whitewashed... place themselves; ... above Asians. They almost have the attitude, "I made it because now I'm hanging out with this crew. You guys aren't as good as me." (Pyke & Dang, 2003, p. 161).

Finding the "acceptable middle ground" in a bicultural identity is considered as "normal" to bicultural individuals (Pyke & Dang, 2003). Peers may help shape what is considered as a "middle ground" for visible minority individuals.

Bicultural Stress and Community

Although positive experiences in school and the community support the development of a positive bicultural identity (Gonzalez et al., 2014; Schwartz & Unger, 2010), individuals who identify as a member of a visible minority group may experience obstacles of bicultural stress due to their ethnic visibility in Canadian society. Research identified that Korean Canadians believed that "whiteness" was an "invisible"

requirement to being Canadian (Shin, 2016, p. 38). In a similar study, Chinese individuals living in Australia felt that their physical appearance set them apart from their Anglo-Australian peers (Liu, 2015). Taylor (2007), a second-generation Barbadian Canadian, expressed his struggles of being ethnically visible in Canada. Taylor (2007) expressed his frustration by addressing his visible minority status as an erasure for his family's Canadian history. He believed that being a visible minority limits how you are perceived as a "Canadian."

Research has shown that there is an impact to an individual's life if they have experienced perceived discrimination at school. Discrimination is when an individual is treated differently and often negatively due to their race, age, or sex (Contrada et al., 2000). Oxman-Martinez and colleagues (2012) found that youth reported feeling like an outsider due to perceived ethnic discrimination by their peers and teachers. They found that perceived discrimination by teachers predicted a lower sense of self-esteem, lower social competence in peer relationships, and lower academic competence in a sample of children from China, Hong Kong, and the Philippines living in Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver, and the Prairies.

Additionally, an overlooked aspect of ethnic visibility is an individual's first name. As described by Watzlawik et al. (2016), an individual's first name is a personal identification label that distinguishes an individual from other individuals. In other words, an individual's first name is part of their identity. There are struggles with having an ethnic first name compared to Anglicized first names in mainstream society. For example, a field experiment by Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004) found that resumés with an Anglicized name received 50% more call-backs than resumés with ethnic first

names. In another study pertaining to ethnic first names, the authors found that individuals who had an ethnic first name lacked job opportunities compared to individuals with an Anglicized first name (Watson et al., 2011). In an academic setting, researchers in Kansas found that e-mails requesting meetings with professors received more replies if the sender has an Anglicized name (Alex) instead of an ethnic name (Xian) (Zhao & Biernat, 2017). The researchers concluded that by adopting an Anglicized name, ethnic minority individuals will be perceived by white Americans to be similar to themselves, instead of being perceived as an outsider (Zhao & Biernat, 2017). Consequently, anticipated perceived discrimination on the basis of one's name may pose as a stressor to individuals within mainstream society. Ethnic minority individuals may engage in "resumé whitening," which is defined as downplaying any racial cues in their resumés in order to avoid discrimination by employers (Kang et al., 2016).

Bicultural Stress and Media

Media is another possible source of influence in ethnic identity development. Media portrayals and representations of ethnic minority groups influence how their own group members view themselves and how others view them (Daha, 2011). Taylor and colleagues (1995) investigated media portrayals and found that stereotypes in media were powerful in magazines. For example, African Americans were represented as either stars or outcasts, Asian Americans were depicted as "all work, no play" and tended to be portrayed in advertisements related to technology or business, and Hispanic Americans appeared stereotypically family-oriented since they made more frequent appearances in family settings (Taylor et al., 1995). They suggested the need for greater representation of

visible minorities in advertisements that are not in stereotypical settings (e.g., the portrayal of Asian Americans in a variety of nonbusiness settings).

Mastro and Greenberg (2000) conducted a systematic review of prime-time TV shows and their portrayal of ethnic minority groups. They found that in the 1960s, ethnic minority characters were underrepresented, "invisible," and stereotypical. In the 1990s to 2000s, media representation of ethnic minorities increased, but some groups were still underrepresented (e.g., Native Americans and Asian Americans). In addition, their review showed that Latino Americans were stereotypically portrayed as poor, uneducated, or as criminals.

Members of some ethnic minority groups have reported that they were afraid of being reduced to a stereotype because of the media's negative portrayal of their ethnic group. Studies have shown that after the events of 9/11, male Arab American adolescents were aware of negative stereotyping of their ethnic group (Kumar et al., 2014). They expressed how the news outlets influenced their peers and their peers' parents to accuse them of being terrorists. The effects of the stereotyping caused one participant to assume that Americans do not like Arab Americans (Kumar et al., 2014). As a result, research has shown that individuals may represent themselves as a different ethnicity to avoid negative stereotypes about their own ethnicity (Daha, 2011).

Furthermore, positive stereotyping may cause strain in interpersonal relations. Asian Americans/Canadians frequently experience the "model minority" stereotype in which they are misrepresented as adopting the "ethic of hard work" and are "highly competent" in mainstream society (Park, 2008; Son & Shelton, 2011). Son and Shelton (2011) found that Asian Americans living with European American roommates

experienced higher levels of stress and a strong perceived need to fit in. Asian Americans struggle with not wanting to confirm the "model minority" stereotype, as well as feeling the pressure to be successful (Shin, 2016; Son & Shelton, 2011). Both positive media representation, such as the model minority stereotype, or negative media representation, such as harmful labels, can have a powerful impact on how bicultural youth identify themselves.

The Current Study

Further research is needed to address gaps in the current literature about ethnic identity development and bicultural stress. First, third-generation Canadians have been largely ignored in the current literature. Current research on third or later generation bicultural youth has focused on their heritage cultural losses (Mayr & Siddika, 2018), but not on how they perceive these losses. When third-generation bicultural youth are included as research participants, they are typically grouped with second-generation bicultural youth (David et al., 2009). As seen in previous studies (e.g., Kwak & Berry, 2001; Stroink & Lalonde, 2010), researchers do not group first-generation and secondgeneration samples together because there are distinct differences between these two generations. The lack of research on later generation Canadians assumes one of two things: 1) that their experiences are the same as second-generation youth or 2) that they do not experience bicultural stress at all. These assumptions overlook later generation's unique stressors and experiences. Furthermore, the inclusion of third-generation Canadians is expected to assist in determining whether it is appropriate to combine second- and third-generation Canadians together in research samples.

Additionally, there is a gap in the literature in that bicultural stress has rarely been examined through the lens of an ecological systems approach. Bicultural stress has been studied strictly by measuring individual predictors (Romero & Roberts, 2003) as contributors to bicultural stress. Previous bicultural research has also relied on standardized questionnaires, which can be a limitation due to the lack of context behind each response. Furthermore, Stroink and Lalonde (2009) stated that a limitation to their study was the lack of "situational specificity" (p. 61), which does not capture the full context of bicultural stress. Romero and Roberts (2003) acknowledged that their study could not assess all stressors to provide a comprehensive picture of bicultural stress. The current research addressed these gaps by including open-ended questions along with standardized self-report measures, which provided greater opportunity for participants to contextualize their responses. The intention of the current study was to provide greater information on how the interaction of social contexts (family, peers, community, and media) may shape one's sense of biculturalism and their bicultural stress.

In addition, the effects of one's first name have not been explored intensively in ethnic identity development literature. Research in human relations has demonstrated that an individual's ethnic cues (first name and skin tone) may cause employers to have negative assumptions about the individual and their group affiliation (Derous et al., 2017). Previous studies have tended to address the problems that result from having an ethnic first name (e.g., fewer call-backs from employers, fewer email responses from professors, etc.), but not the perceived effects to the individual's ethnic identity. The current study explored the effects of first names in bicultural Canadians and how they shape ethnic identity development and bicultural stress.

To summarize, the current research employed an online survey that used both standardized self-report measures and open-ended questions. Generational differences in bicultural stress were investigated in the current study. Bicultural stress was measured in the context of influences of family, peers, community, and the media (see Appendix A for visual model). This study had four purposes: 1) to compare predictors of bicultural identity development in relation to bicultural stress in second- and third-generation Canadian visible minorities, 2) to investigate the effects of social contexts that influence how an individual perceives their sense of belonging in Canadian society, 3) to identify common experiences that bicultural individuals may share, and 4) to explore ethnic first names as a potential source of bicultural stress.

Studies show that individuals who find a balance between their two cultures have more positive psychological outcomes (Chu et al., 2017). The current research investigation might help to inform community or education programs about bicultural stress and what contributes to the perceived feelings of sense of belonging in Canadian society. Findings from this study will advance our understanding of the impact of environmental contexts as a contributor to bicultural stress and how they might differentially impact two generations of Canadian visible minority groups.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

This study addressed the following questions:

1) How does bicultural stress differ between second- and third-generation Canadians?

2) Which constructs of ethnic identity development (e.g., peer and family culturalization toward heritage and Canadian culture, first name, perceived discrimination, media, and ethnic identification) contribute the most to bicultural stress?

3) Are there shared common experiences amongst bicultural individuals?

4) What are the effects of first names on bicultural Canadian visible minorities?

A primarily quantitative research design which also included open-ended questions was utilized to examine bicultural stress in members of second- and thirdgeneration Canadian visible minorities. It was hypothesized that individuals who identify as second-generation Canadian would experience more bicultural stress compared to individuals who identify as third generation. Furthermore, it was hypothesized that the roles of family culturalization towards own's heritage culture and the media would contribute the most to bicultural stress. Additionally, it was hypothesized that bicultural individuals would have a shared common experience with each other. Finally, it was hypothesized that having an ethnic first name would increase an individual's sense of bicultural stress.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Overview

A quantitative design with additional open-ended questions requiring short answers was used for this study. A *t*-test, a multiple linear regression, and correlations were used to analyze survey data. These statistical tests were used to analyze generational differences in bicultural stress, constructs that contribute to bicultural stress, and how these constructs correlate with each other in relation to bicultural stress.

A thematic analysis was used to analyze qualitative responses from the openended questions. Qualitative data were exported from Qualtrics and imported into Microsoft Excel. A contextualist method to thematic analysis was used to analyze emerging themes and patterns that might be missing from the quantitative data. According to Braun and Clarke (2006), a contextualist method acknowledges the ways in which participants make meaning of their experiences and the ways that the broader social context impinges on those meanings. This method was compatible with Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems model, which posits how our environmental contexts can shape our experiences in society. A thematic analysis has many advantages: it is theoretically flexible, relatively easy and quick to learn, and accessible for researchers with little or no experience of qualitative research.

Participants

A sample of 150 undergraduate students was recruited from the University of Windsor's Psychology Participant Pool. Screening questions were used to screen for eligible participants (Appendix B). Participants who identified as second- or thirdgeneration visible minorities were eligible to participate in this study. Second-generation

Canadians are individuals who were born in Canada and who have at least one parent born outside of Canada. Third- (or later) generation refers to individuals who were born in Canada with both parents born in Canada. To be eligible: 1) participants had to identify as a member of a visible ethnic minority group, and 2) participants must have been born in Canada.

First-generation Canadians and international students were not included due to the confounding variables associated with the use of these groups. Barriers to using immigrant and international student samples were their length of time living in Canada, possible language barriers, and their state of acculturation. In addition, since the current study investigated bicultural stress, it did not apply as well to immigrant and international students, since they are commonly studied using an acculturative stress model (Roysircar & Maestas, 2002).

Table 1 (below) presents detailed participant demographics in this study. One hundred fifty participants were recruited through the University of Windsor's Psychology Participant Pool, but three participants did not meet the eligibility criterion of "visible minority." After removing the ineligible participants, 147 participants remained. There were 129 second-generation participants and 18 third-generation participants. The mean age of the remaining 147 participants was 20.72 years (SD = 3.87 years) and ages ranged from 17 to 48 years. There were 129 female participants, 17 male participants, and one participant who identified as non-binary.

Participants were of diverse ethnic backgrounds. The largest percentage of participants identified as Middle Eastern, followed by East and Southeast Asian, South Asian, Black or having multiple ethnicities. The smallest percentage of participants

identified as South American. Additionally, participants were asked about their ethnic identification and how others perceived them (Table 2.1 and 2.2). Approximately 66% of second-generation participants and 44% of third-generation participants labelled themselves with a hyphenated identity. When asked about their perceptions of how others perceive their ethnic identity (see Table 2.2), second-generation participants gave mixed responses between "Canadian," a hyphenated identity (e.g., (heritage culture) Canadian), or just their heritage culture. In contrast, 44% third-generation Canadians believed that others perceive their ethnic identity as "Canadian."

Table 1

Demographic Categories	п	%
Age		
17	1	0.68
18-24	133	90.4
25-34	8	5.44
35-44	2	1.36
45-54	1	0.68
Not specified	2	1.36
Gender		
Female	129	87.7
Male	17	11.5
Non-binary	1	0.68
Ethnic Identification		
Black or African Canadian or Caribbean Canadian	21	14.2
East Asian or Pacific Islander or Asian Canadian	22	14.9
South Asian or South Asian Canadian	27	18.3
Middle Eastern or Middle Eastern Canadian	50	34.0
Latin or Central or South American or Latin Canadian	5	3.40
Multiple ethnicities	22	14.9
Generational Status		
Second-generation	129	87.7
Third-generation	18	12.2
Academic Major		
Psychology	64	43.54
Double majors	21	14.2
Social Work	7	4.76
Human Kinetics	14	9.52
Natural Sciences (Bio, Chem, Physics)	14	9.52
Health Sciences (Nursing, Biomedical Sciences)	14	9.52
Education	4	2.72
Other	6	4.08
Criminology	3	2.04
Year of Study		
1 st year	28	19.0
2 nd year	38	25.8
3 rd year	37	25.1
4 th year	37	25.1
5 th year or beyond	7	4.76

Frequency and Demographic Information

Table 2.1

I am	n	%
Second-generation		
Canadian	35	27.1
(heritage culture) Canadian	85	65.9
(heritage)	9	7.0
Other	0	0
Third-generation		
Canadian	9	50
(heritage culture) Canadian	8	44.4
(heritage)	1	5.6
Other	0	0

Table 2.2

Frequency of other's perceived ethnic identification

Other people see me as	n	%
Second-generation		
Canadian	45	34.9
(heritage culture) Canadian	40	31.0
(heritage)	39	30.2
Other	5	3.9
Third-generation		
Canadian	8	44.4
(heritage culture) Canadian	2	11.1
(heritage)	3	16.7
Other	5	27.8

Measures

Demographics

Demographic data were collected from participants. Information included age, gender identity, ethnicity, and generational status. Demographic information was used to categorize second-generation and third-generation participants. Additionally, demographic information was used to see whether group differences existed within the data (See Appendix F).

Ethnic Identification

Construction of one's identity establishes a sense of belonging in a society (Phinney, 1990). Research has shown the importance of a hyphenated identity to secondgeneration ethnic minority groups. The ethnic identity questions that were used in the present study were adapted from Asghari-Fard and Hossain's (2017) and Chu et al.'s (2017) studies. Participants were asked how they identified themselves (Asghari-Fard & Hossain, 2017) and how they perceived others to identify them (Chu et al., 2017). An example answer would be, "I am Vietnamese Canadian" and "Other people see me as Vietnamese." Combining measures from these two studies enabled the measurement of an individual's self perception as well as how others perceive their ethnic identity (See Appendix I).

Language proficiency

The Language Proficiency and Language Use Scale (Berry & Sabatier, 2011) was used as a self report measure to assess an individual's extent of understanding, speaking, reading, and writing in their ethnic language and national language (e.g., English) (See Appendix J). It used a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 5 (all the time).

This scale was used on second-generation adolescents of Vietnamese, Korean, and South Asian descent. Cronbach's alpha coefficients of .78 were obtained for the ethnic language proficiency section of the scale, and .91 for the national language proficiency section of the scale (Berry & Sabatier, 2011).

In this study, additional qualitative questions were added to this scale (e.g., "Who do you speak [ethnic language] to the most?"). The ethnic language proficiency scale had a Cronbach's alpha of .88. The English language proficiency scale had a Cronbach's alpha of .68. The Language Proficiency and Language Use Scale was utilized to measure the degree of bilingualism in bicultural individuals in the present study.

Cultural Socialization

The Cultural Socialization Scale (Wang et al., 2015) was used to assess family and peer influences on socialization toward heritage and mainstream cultures. It was adapted from Umaña-Taylor and Fine's (2004) familial heritage cultural socialization measure. There are four subscales within the Cultural Socialization Scale: family socialization toward the heritage culture, family socialization toward the mainstream culture, peer socialization toward the heritage culture, and peer socialization toward the mainstream culture (See Appendix K). Each item used a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (never) to 5 (always). This measure was constructed by overt and covert methods of cultural socialization. An example of an overt socialization item was, "My parents encourage me to respect my cultural values and beliefs." A covert socialization item was, "My family decorates home/wears clothes with things that reflect my cultural background." Data for this measure was collected from African American, Latino, and other race/ethnicity in the US. Each subscale yielded high internal consistency ranging with Cronbach's alpha ranging from .88 to .94 (Wang et al., 2015).

In the present study, this scale was used to measure family and peer influence on socialization toward heritage and/or mainstream culture. The subscales yielded high internal consistency reliability coefficients: family culturalization toward heritage culture (α = .91), family culturalization toward Canadian culture (α = .71), peer cultural socialization toward heritage culture (α = .95), and peer cultural socialization toward Canadian culture (α = .83).

Perceived Discrimination

The Perceived Discrimination Subscale from the Acculturative Stress Scale for International Students (ASSIS; Sandhu & Asrabadi, 1994) was used to measure ethnic minority experiences of perceived discrimination within the community (See Appendix L). It is an 8-item subscale, and each item is rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). An example item was, "I am treated differently because of my race." This scale demonstrated high reliability, with a Cronbach's alpha of .90 obtained in a sample of Chinese international students (Wang et al., 2015). Additionally, Cronbach's alpha of .90 was also found in the current study. The Perceived Discrimination Subscale was used in the current study to explicitly evaluate community-based experiences of perceived discrimination in members of ethnic minority groups.

Media Portrayal of Ethnic Groups

The author developed items to measure attitudes toward media portrayal of ethnic groups. (See Appendix M). It was a three-item scale rated with a 6-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree). Items in this scale asked whether media portrayals of one's ethnic group were positive, accurate, or reinforced stigma. An additional open-ended question asked "Please explain further" to examine participant perceptions of media portrayal of their ethnicity. This scale demonstrated good reliability, α = .71.

Ethnic Identity Measure

The Revised (12-Item) Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (Roberts et al., 1999) measures how people differed on how important their ethnicity is to them, how they feel about it, and how much their behaviour is affected by it. This scale has two subscales measuring affirmation/belonging (sense of group membership and attitudes toward the individual's group) and exploration (activities to learn about one's ethnic group) (Roberts et al., 1999). However, the scale can be measured by the mean of all the items. Items were rated using a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 4 (strongly agree) to 1 (strongly disagree). An example item was "I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to." This measure demonstrated high internal consistency, with Cronbach's alphas ranging from .81 to .89 across different ethnic groups (Roberts et al., 1999). Its reliability was high in the current study as well, α = .88. This scale was explicitly used to measure an individual's feelings about their own ethnic group. See Appendix N.

Bicultural Stress Scale

The Bicultural Stress Scale (Romero & Roberts, 2003; Romero et al., 2007) is comprised of 20 items that address everyday stressors in school, peer, and family contexts. The Bicultural Stress Scale was used with minor changes: "Canadian" replaced "American" and "my native language" replaced "Spanish" (See Appendix O). An example item from the Bicultural Stress Scale would be "I feel that it will be harder to succeed because of my ethnic background." Items were rated on a 5-point Likert scale 1 (Never happened to me) to 5 (Very stressful). This scale yielded high internal consistency with European Americans ($\alpha = 0.94$), Latino Americans ($\alpha = 0.94$), and Asian Americans ($\alpha = 0.95$) (Romero et al., 2007; Romero et al., 2007). This scale was used to measure an individual's overall feelings of bicultural stress. The BSS demonstrated high internal consistency reliability in this study with Cronbach's alpha of .84.

Sense of Belonging in Canadian Society

Questions were developed by the researcher to ask participants the extent to which social contexts (e.g., family, peer, community, and media) influenced their sense of belonging Canadian society (See Appendix P). It used a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (Not at all) to 5 (Very much). In addition, participants were asked if there were other factors that influenced their sense of belonging. This four-item scale demonstrated good reliability, α = .71.

Open-Ended Questions

Participants were asked open-ended questions about their experiences growing up in Canada as a member of a visible minority group. Participants were asked about their realization of being bicultural, their positive experiences, their negative experiences, what

they chose to maintain or let go of regarding their heritage culture, their experiences with their first names, and their opinion of media representation of their ethnic group. These questions focused on the personal, social, and societal contributors to an individual's identity development (See Appendix G). Data collected from open-ended questions investigated the existence of common themes shared across participants, as well as the examination of unique perspectives pertaining to biculturalism.

Some open-ended questions were also included after a measure. For example, in the Language Use and Proficiency Scale (Berry & Sabatier, 2011), the participants are asked how well they could understand, speak, read, and write in both their ethnic language and national language. An open-ended question that was included was: "Who do you speak [ethnic language] to the most?" The addition of these open-ended questions added breadth and context to the current study.

First Name

Items were constructed to measure an individual's attitude toward their first name. (See Appendix H). Participant were asked for their first name, their preferred name, and the extent to which they agreed with three statements about their first name, using a 6point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree). A sample item from this measure was, "I believe that my first name does not affect how other people perceive me." Data collected from this measure investigated how their first name related to their bicultural stress in Canadian society. Additionally, responses to an open-ended question regarding one's experiences of their first name were analyzed using thematic analysis. Cronbach's alpha was .56 for the three-item measure.

Design and Procedure

The study received ethics approval from the Research Ethics Board at the University of Windsor. The study was advertised through the University of Windsor's Psychology Participant Pool. Participants who were eligible to participate in the study were able to sign up for the study. The study was completed online through Qualtrics. Qualtrics is a web-based survey platform used to conduct online survey research. The link to the online survey was made available to participants who signed-up for the study.

After clicking on the link, eligible participants were presented with the consent form (Appendix C) which outlined the purpose of the study, the risks that might occur during the study, participant eligibility, and study compensation. Participants who did not consent to the study were immediately redirected to exit the survey. Participants who did not meet the eligibility requirements were redirected to the ineligibility contact page (Appendix D).

Participants who consented to participate in the study proceeded into the survey. They were asked to complete the series of standardized measures and open-ended questions described in the Measures section. At the completion of the online survey, participants were asked to provide their name and e-mail address to receive their study compensation. The survey took no more than 30 minutes to complete. Participants were compensated for their time with .5 bonus point towards their eligible courses, in accordance with the University of Windsor Psychology Department Participant Pool policies.

Ethical Considerations

A number of ethical issues were considered during this study. One concern was the possibility of participants feeling some distress due to the sensitive nature of the topic. Participants might have felt uncomfortable sharing their experiences growing up in Canada if they had experienced upsetting situations. Participants had the option to skip a question if they felt uncomfortable answering it. At the end of the survey, the participant was presented with additional support and resources to consult if they had experienced any discomfort or distress (Appendix E).

A withdrawal option was included at the end of the survey. This option was included for participants who wished to not have their data included in the results. Participants were not penalized for withdrawing from the study if they chose to do so. To ensure the protection of participant information and their data, the data was exported from Qualtrics and stored on a password protected computer to secure participant information in a confidential manner.

Data Analysis

Quantitative analysis

All analyses for the current study were performed using SPSS version 23, JASP version 0.14.00, and Microsoft Excel. The quantitative data obtained were analyzed using several statistic methods: *t*-test, Multiple Linear Regression (MLR), and correlations. Assumptions were examined for each statistical method, as outlined in the results chapter.

Prior to conducting the analyses, the data were screened for ineligible participants. There were two eligibility requirements for this study: the participant must identify as a visible minority and they must have been born in Canada. Although 150

participants completed this study, there were three participants who passed the screening eligibility but did not identify as a visible minority. These participants were removed from the data set, reducing the sample size to 147 (see Table 1 for demographic information).

Data recoding was performed by reverse-coding items as needed. Scale scores were created, using either the mean of the scale or the sum of the scale, depending on the instructions for the scale. Scale means, standard deviations, and reliabilities are displayed in Table 3. Intercorrelations between each pair of measures are displayed in Table 4.

Missing values analysis found 41 missing values, with most of the missing values found in the Cultural Socialization Scale. Little MCAR's Test indicated that data were missing at random for all variables, $\chi^2(2769) = 2788.27$, p = .395. Since the values were missing at random, an Expectation Maximization (EM) was used to impute missing data.

Thematic Analysis

Braun and Clarke's (2006) list of six phases of conducting a thematic analysis was used as a guide for analyzing this data:

Phase 1: Familiarizing self with data. Data were exported from Qualtrics and imported to Microsoft Excel. Each qualitative question was organized into one file but separated by different sheets. The Excel file was kept on a password-protected hard drive. All data that were exported were confidential and organized by participant number, with the exception of "first name" data. Participants who identified as a third-generation Canadian were highlighted in the data set. By doing this, comparison between secondgeneration and third-generation Canadians was easier to identify. After the data were

organized into their respective sections, I familiarized myself with the data by reading each answer multiple times to generate initial codes.

Phase 2: Generating initial codes. Initial codes were generated by reviewing each open-ended question separately from each other. Codes were extracted from participants' answers and moved to Excel columns next to their responses. For example, if a participant mentioned "parents" and "school" as an answer as to when they realized their biculturalism, the two codes were placed in separate columns in Excel. After the initial codes were completed, a new Excel file was created so the codes could be moved and sorted under relevant themes pertaining to the research question.

Phase 3: Searching for themes. Each code from the first Excel file was manually sorted and organized into the new Excel file. Codes that had similar answers were moved under one column. Codes that did not relate to any themes were moved to a separate column. The columns expanded based on trends and patterns that emerged in the data. I reviewed both Excel files simultaneously to ensure the codes extracted from the first Excel file were organized to reflect emerging themes in the second Excel file.

Phase 4: Reviewing themes. Candidate themes emerged and were refined. Some codes that were inconsistent with the rest of the data set were not reported in the results. Additionally, subthemes emerged from several main themes, which will be addressed in the results chapter. The data were reviewed by my supervisor to confirm that the patterns within the themes were representative of the open-ended questions.

Phase 5: Defining and naming themes. Each theme was developed from different open-ended questions. Themes were defined based on the commonality within the data from each question. Subthemes emerged through the process of refining themes.

Phase 6: Producing the report. Braun and Clarke (2006) suggested that the results of a thematic analysis must be concise, coherent, logical, non-repetitive, and interesting. As complicated as a thematic analysis is, it should be able to reveal a story about the participants and their experiences with biculturalism and bicultural stress in their everyday lives. The data extracted are presented in Chapter 4. As mentioned by Braun and Clarke (2006), data extracts should make a compelling argument in relation to the research question. A thematic map was provided to give readers a visual representation of the complex story of biculturalism in second-generation and third-generation Canadian visible minorities.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

This chapter will present the findings of bicultural stress in second-generation and third-generation Canadian visible minorities. One hundred forty-seven participants from the University of Windsor shared their bicultural experiences through an online survey which had open-ended questions, scales, and questionnaires. Participants who completed this study were given a participant number to protect their identity. In order to investigate the effects of first names while protecting participant identity, participant names were labelled as "ethnic" or "non-ethnic" in the data set. Name origins were determined by researching the etymology and history of the participant's first name. The following findings will address each research question and its corresponding hypothesis.

Assumption Testing

Outliers

Univariate outliers were detected using standardized *z*-scores with the cut-off value of 3.29 (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). A total of five outliers were found, which were on the English Language Proficiency Subscale and the Cultural Socialization Scale – Family to Heritage Culture Subscale. Outliers on y were assessed using studentized residual scores with a cutoff of ± 3.36 with p = .001 and no outliers were found. Mahalanobis distance was used to find multivariate outliers [$\chi 2(9) = 27.88$, p = .001] and three outliers were found. Influential observations were analyzed using Cook's distance with a cut-off of approximately 1 and there were no outliers found. Since there were no outliers that were influential observations, multivariate outliers were not a concern and were kept in the data set.

Sample Size and Statistical Assumptions

Sample size was not an issue for the *t*-test and the regression model. Despite the unequal sample sizes between second-generation Canadians (n= 129) and third-generation Canadians (n= 18), Levene's Test of Equality of Variances suggested that there were no violations of the assumption of homogeneity of variance for bicultural stress between second- and third-generation Canadians, p > .05. Further, the totality of the sample size was not an issue for the regression model. According to Pituch and Stevens (2016), a reliable regression model requires 15 subjects per predictor variable in the social sciences. The current study's sample size was larger than Pituch and Stevens' (2016) recommendation.

Normality was analyzed using visual inspections of histograms, skewness and kurtosis ± 2 , Levene's Test for Equality of Variances, and Shapiro-Wilk's Test of Normality. All scales indicated normal skewness and kurtosis except for the English Language Proficiency Subscale which had the skewness of -5.38 (*SE*=.20) and kurtosis of 34.55 (*SE*=.40). Visual inspection of histograms was satisfactory except for the English Language Proficiency Subscale. As mentioned above, Levene's Test for Equality of Variances suggested that there were no violations of the homogeneity of variance assumption for bicultural stress between second- and third-generation Canadians, p > .05. Additionally, Shapiro-Wilk's Test of Normality suggested that there were no deviations from normality, p > .05.

Homoscedasticity, Linearity, Independence of Errors and Multicollinearity

The output of the regression indicated that there were no issues with homoscedasticity, linearity, independence of errors and multicollinearity within the data

set. Homoscedasticity and linearity were visually inspected using scatterplots. Tolerance value outputs were about .2, which suggest an absence of multicollinearity. Durbin-Watson statistic was used to test the independence of errors assumption. Durbin-Watson output was 2.05 which suggests an independence of errors in the results (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013).

Table 3

Measure	Possible	Actual	n	М	SD	α	
	Range	Range					
BSS	1 - 5	0.00 - 2.75	147	1.34	.61	.84	
First name	1 - 7	5.00 - 21.00	147	11.03	3.81	.56	
Language Proficiency							
Ethnic Language	1 - 5	1.00 - 5.00	147	2.87	1.18	.88	
English Language	1 - 5	4.00 - 5.00	147	4.97	.12	.68	
CSS							
FCS-HC	1 - 5	1.00 - 5.00	147	3.95	.79	.91	
FCS-MC	1 - 5	1.00 - 4.17	147	2.99	.68	.71	
PCS-HC	1 - 5	1.00 - 5.00	147	2.50	1.03	.95	
PCS-MC	1 - 5	1.00 - 5.00	147	3.02	.68	.83	
Perceived Discrimination	1 – 5	8.00 - 39.00	147	21.31	7.26	.90	
MEIM	1 - 4	1.92 - 4.00	147	3.18	.50	.88	
Media	1-6	3.00 - 15.00	147	7.12	2.96	.71	

Means, Standard Deviations, and Reliabilities for Scales and Subscales

Note. BSS = Bicultural Stress Scale; CSS = Cultural Socialization Scale; FCS-HC = Family Cultural Socialization – Heritage Culture; FCS-MC = Family Cultural Socialization – Mainstream Culture; PCS-HC = Peer Cultural Socialization – Heritage Culture; PCS-MC = Peer Cultural Socialization – Mainstream Culture; MEIM = Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure

Table 4

Inter-Correlations among Study Measures

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. BSS	-	.30***	.03	.04	.11	07	08	.10	.40***	13	14
2. First name		-	.08	.01	.16	14	.04	.09	.28***	02	06
Language Proficiency											
3. Ethnic Language			-	.02	.48***	.17*	.42***	.16	01	.38***	.03
4. English Language				-	.08	.06	08	.09	14	.001	005
CSS											
5. FCS-HC					-	04	.40***	.17*	07	.45***	13
6. FCS-MC						-	.08	.30***	05	.15	.01
7. PCS-HC							-	.16	.12	.45**	08
8. PCS-MC								-	04	.20*	21**
9. Perceived Discrimination									-	.02	09
10. MEIM										-	26***
11. Media											-

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

BSS = Bicultural Stress Scale; CSS = Cultural Socialization Scale; FCS-HC = Family Cultural Socialization – Heritage Culture; FCS-MC = Family Cultural Socialization – Mainstream Culture; PCS-HC = Peer Cultural Socialization – Heritage Culture; PCS-MC = Peer Cultural Socialization – Mainstream Culture; MEIM = Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure

H1: Individuals who identify as a second-generation Canadian will experience more bicultural stress compared to individuals who identify as third-generation Canadian.

Student's independent *t*-test was used to analyze the differences in bicultural stress between second- and third-generation Canadians. There was a significant difference in the scores for bicultural stress between second-generation Canadians (M= 1.38, SD= .60) and third-generation Canadians (M=.94, SD=.52); t(145)=2.93, p < .05. The findings suggested that second-generation Canadians experienced higher levels of bicultural stress compared to their third-generation peers.

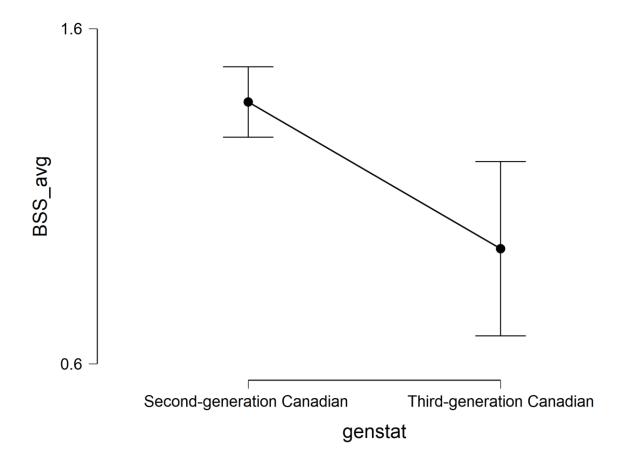
Table 5

T-test Results Comparing Second-Generation and Third-Generation Canadians and their Bicultural Stress

Generational status	n	Mean	SD	<i>t</i> -cal	df	р	Cohen's d
Second-generation	129	1.38	.60	2.93	145	.004	0.74
Third-generation	18	.94	.52				

Figure 1

Bicultural stress differences between second-generation and third-generation Canadians



Note. BSS_avg = Average bicultural stress. Genstat = generational status.

H2: The roles of family and the media will contribute the most to bicultural stress.

To address the question of which construct of ethnic identity development is a stronger predictor of bicultural stress, hierarchical multiple regression analyses were conducted with bicultural stress as the outcome measure. Ethnic identity, first name, language proficiency, family and peer culturalization, perceived discrimination, and media were predictors. Generational status was included in the second regression model. The final regression models are presented in Table 6.

Model 1 of the regression model for bicultural stress was significant, $R^2 = .30$, F(10, 136) = 5.91, p < .001. Examination of the squared semi-partial correlation coefficients indicates that ethnic identity ($sr^2 = .05$), family cultural socialization towards heritage culture ($sr^2 = .04$), and perceived discrimination ($sr^2 = .17$) made significant unique contributions to the prediction of bicultural stress, accounting for 4%, 5% and 17% of the variance, respectively.

The inclusion of generational status in Model 2 of the hierarchical regression model for bicultural stress was also significant, $R^2 = .33$, F(11, 135) = 6.14, p < .001. Here, ethnic identity accounted for 5% of the unique variance in bicultural stress ($sr^2 =$.05), family cultural socialization towards heritage culture accounted for 4% of the unique variance in bicultural stress ($sr^2 = .04$), perceived discrimination accounted for 18% of the unique variance in bicultural stress ($sr^2 = .18$) and generational status accounted for 4% of the unique variance in bicultural stress ($sr^2 = .04$).

Table 6

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Bicultural Stress

	Model	1			Model	2		
Predictor Variable	β	t	sr ²	R ²	β	t	sr ²	R ²
MEIM	24	- 2.64*	.05	.30	24	- 2.77*	.05	.33
First name	.12	1.60	.02		.10	1.31	.01	
Language Proficiency								
Ethnic Language	.07	.77	.004		.06	.72	.004	
English Language	.05	.73	.004		.06	.81	.004	
Cultural Socialization								
Family to Heritage Culture	.23	2.45*	.04		.19	2.12*	.03	
Family to Canadian Culture	02	23	.0003		.02	.22	.0003	
Peers to Heritage Culture	17	-1.94	.03		15	-1.72	.02	
Peers to Canadian Culture	.11	1.36	.01		.10	1.23	.01	
Perceived Discrimination	.41	5.28**	.17		.41	5.40**	.18	
Media	12	-1.51	.02		13	-1.67	.02	
Generational Status					18	-2.49*	.04	

Note. N = 147; * p < .05 ** p < .01

MEIM = Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure

H3: Bicultural individuals have a shared common experience with each other.

Thematic Map Breakdown

Participants were presented with open-ended questions (e.g., "When did you realize that you were bicultural?"). Responses were analyzed with a theoretical thematic analysis to investigate the shared common experiences amongst bicultural individuals. According to Braun and Clarke (2006), this approach is appropriate for coding specific research questions, thus making it a suitable approach for analyzing the open-ended responses.

Initial codes were extracted from the responses and the codes were broken down to a latent level. The theme and subthemes that emerged during the coding process are visually presented below. Each theme is described in detail in the section that follows.

Figure 2

When did you realize that you were bicultural?

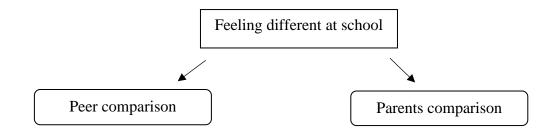


Figure 3

What are some positive aspects of being bicultural?

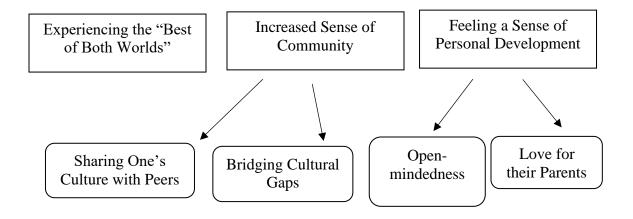


Figure 4

Can you describe an example of a time when it was difficult for you to choose between your heritage culture and Canadian culture?

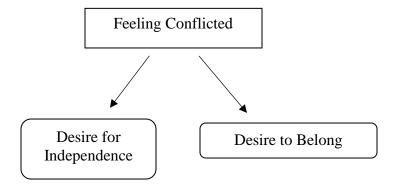


Figure 5

What aspects of your heritage culture do you choose to not maintain?

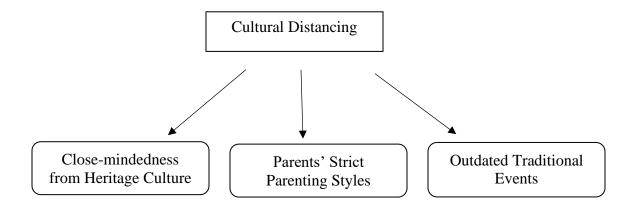


Figure 6

What aspects of your heritage culture do you choose to keep?

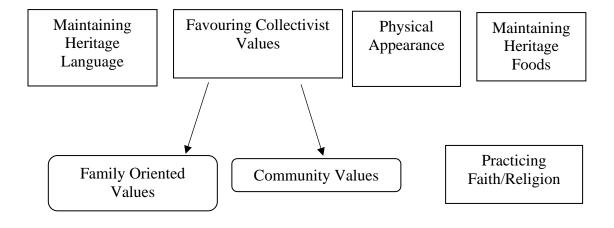


Figure 7

Can you describe a time in which your first name affected your experiences or

interactions with people?

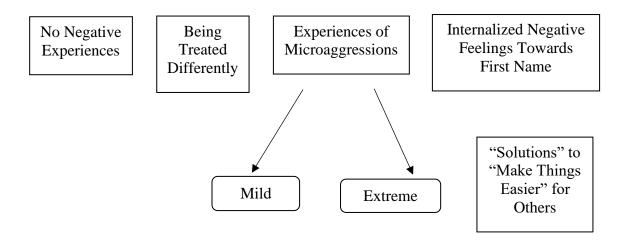
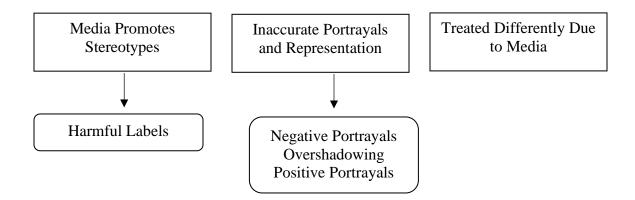


Figure 8

Opinions on media.



Thematic Analysis

Question 1: When did you realize that you were bicultural? One prominent theme emerged from this question: feeling different at school. Two subthemes emerged from this theme, which were peer comparison and parent comparison.

Theme: Feeling Different at School. A prominent theme in this context was that participants realized they were bicultural when they started school. School is a large component of Canadian youth's lives since most of the hours in their day are at school. Ontario youth spend, on average, six hours per day at school from ages 4 to 18 years old (Statistics Canada, 2017; Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants, 2015). Many participants indicated that their realization of being bicultural started around 4 to 5 years old, which is the average age for a child to attend junior and senior kindergarten. A few participants shared that they experienced feeling bicultural during their teenage years. These participants mentioned that they went to a predominantly white school [83, 110, 141], in which they were the visible minority.

Subtheme: Peer Comparison. A pattern emerged in the school-age context in which participants reported the experience of feeling "different" when they compared themselves to their peers at school. Some participants stated that they were the only visible minority in their class. Others mentioned that they realized they were bicultural when they interacted with other children.

At a young age, bicultural individuals compared themselves to their peers by comparing their languages, their school lunches, their home lives, and their style of dress [11, 23, 24, 45, 84, etc.]. A common story that participants shared was the differences in school lunches. Participants said that they were questioned by their peers when they brought their ethnic food for lunch [50, 64, 84, 110, 137, 142, 144]. When questioned, the participants reported feeling like they were seen as "weird" or "odd" by their peers. Additionally, participants mentioned that they did not speak English as well as their peers

since they did not speak English at home. By comparing themselves with their nonvisible minority peers, they realized that they were different.

Subtheme: Parent Comparison. Another pattern emerged in the school-age context in which participants compared their parents to their peers' parents [2, 12]. Participants realized that their peers spoke "perfect English" to their parents, whereas they would have to speak their native language [127, 133]. Participants stated that they grew up in an "ethnic household" in which they differed from other families and acknowledged that their parents were immigrants, and their culture at home was heavily influenced by their parents' home countries. Their parents emphasized the teaching of their heritage culture; specifically, the language, the holidays, traditions, and values. These values heavily shaped participants' experiences of biculturalism. Participant 133 shared her story in which she compared her peers and parents:

When I started going to kindergarten, and noticed everyone was speaking English with their parents, whereas I was speaking my language with my mother and father when they would drop me off. Also when I would go outside to play with neighbours and noticed that their parents spoke perfect English.

Question 2: What are some positive aspects of being bicultural? Although

participants experienced the difficulties of feeling "different" due to their biculturalism, they also expressed the positive aspects of being bicultural. Three themes emerged from this context, each focusing on the benefits of being bicultural.

Theme: Experiencing the "Best of Both Worlds." In this study, many participants [15, 58, 60, 115] labelled their bicultural experience as the "best of both

worlds." The "best of both worlds" experience was described as experiencing, integrating, benefiting, and learning about both their ethnic culture and Canadian culture [21, 31, 43]. Participants believed that by being bicultural, they are having a broader experience in life with an emphasis on diversity [47, 51, 53]. Participants stated that the bicultural experience is an experience that many other people would not have, which makes their experience unique [76]. Although many participants mentioned an integration and balance between two cultures, one participant mentioned that by experiencing two cultures, she believed that the "Western" culture is "easier" compared to her heritage culture [45]. This comparison would not exist if she was not bicultural.

Theme: Increased Sense of Community. An increased sense of community emerged as a theme under this context. This theme was split into two subthemes to reflect bicultural Canadians' roles as advocators for connecting communities together.

Subtheme: Bridging Cultural Gaps. Many participants stated bilingualism and multilingualism as a positive aspect of being bicultural [3, 4, 12, 25, 108, 110, 114, 117, 122, etc.]; however, their use of their multilingualism is more than just knowing their language, but rather how they use it. In this study, participants explained that they use their language to connect with others such as newcomers in Canada, relatives, and other people who speak the same ethnic language. By knowing their ethnic language, bicultural Canadians overcome language barriers and close the gap between immigrant Canadians and the mainstream community. They serve as translators, interpreters, and communicators for their ethnic group. Participants believed their knowledge of their ethnic language has a purpose, and that purpose is to increase other people's sense of community as well as their own. As Participant 28 shared:

Some positives aspects is that I know more than 2 languages. I know English, French and Arabic. I can speak and understand my relatives. I can tour Lebanon. I can meet new people here in Canada if they speak Arabic as well. I have also helped many people in the airport and in a hospital because they could not speak English which made me feel really good and proud. I get to eat such delicious food and listen to fun music. I get to see and understand two different perspectives which can lead me to be even more open minded.

Subtheme: Sharing One's Culture with Peers. This subtheme revealed bicultural methods of increasing sense of community with their peers by sharing their culture. Participants in this study mentioned "sharing culture with other people" numerous times [43, 44, 47, 69, 80, 141, etc.] One participant specifically stated that she wanted to share their culture with people who have only one culture. Participants felt a connection when they shared their culture. They believed that by sharing their culture, they are increasing diversity and their social networks.

Some positive aspects of being bicultural include sharing my heritage and cuisine with my non-Chinese friends. I also get to partake in celebrations and traditions that are both Canadian and Chinese, and I have had the chance to learn and experience the different lifestyles of people from different countries. One of the best things about being bicultural is being able to speak another language. I may not be fluent in Cantonese but it is always nice to be able to carry [on] a conversation with those who speak Cantonese but are not fluent or strong in the English language. (P 80)

Theme: Feeling a Sense of Personal Development. This theme encompasses the personal development of participants as they grow up in a bicultural environment. Personal development was shaped by their family, peers, and their community.

Subtheme: Open-mindedness. Open-mindedness was the most prevalent theme within the positive bicultural context. Participants had different ways of describing open-mindedness such as "accepting of others," "understanding how to view and handle different perspectives," "learning to appreciate differences," "sparking interest in other cultures" and many more examples. Open-mindedness helps participants understand sensitive topics such as immigrants' feelings and hardships [78, 113] as well as cultural differences [4, 37, 99, 114]. Bicultural Canadians believed that they were well-versed in being understanding by allowing different perspectives from other people [64, 65, 87, 94]. One participant mentioned that she was more open-minded compared to people who are not bicultural, using her parents as an example. Additionally, one participant stated that open-mindedness allowed her to challenge her thinking to become more critical and analytical [97].

Subtheme: Love for Their Parents. Participants shared that they understand the struggles their parents have faced during immigration. Several participants stated that they enjoyed learning about the history, traditions, values, and language of their parents' culture [3, 16, 17, 51, 95,114]. By being bicultural, they are driven to learn and experience the special and unique culture that their parents have grown up with. One participant [30] shared that she wanted to understand how her parents grew up compared to how she is being raised in Canada. This comparison revealed that immigrant parents

faced hardships in their home country, and by immigrating to Canada, they wanted their children to have a better life than they did:

It offers a different perspective of the world. I enjoy Lebanese food, music, and traditions. Also listening to my parent's stories about growing up in Lebanon, helps me realize how good we have it here in Canada. (P 30)

Question 3: Can you describe an example of a time when it was difficult for you to choose between your heritage culture and Canadian culture? Although participants expressed positive aspects of being bicultural, they also encountered difficulties when they had to choose between their heritage culture and Canadian culture. One theme emerged from this question: feeling conflicted.

Theme: Feeling conflicted. Feelings of conflict arose when participants were confronted with their desire for independence from their parents and their desire to belong with their peers.

Subtheme: Desire for Independence. Participants' desire for independence was reflected in their decision-making regarding their relationships [4, 18, 33, 76, 77, 79, 81, etc.] their wanting to move out [97, 113, 122, 124], their choice of education [4, 13, 123], and their wanting to use recreational drugs [29, 65, 72, 76]. Many participants believed that their parents restricted them from pursuing the things they wanted to do. Participants avoided conflict with their parents by avoiding controversial topics such as pursuing a romantic relationship. One participant [113] stated that she chose her independence over her parents' wishes, resulting in conflicts:

My relationship is very complicated. My parents do not accept the fact that Canadian girls often move out to live with their boyfriend when they are in college/university and begin their life as a couple. My parents were very strict and demanded that I get marry first before I can actually move out and live with my boyfriend. A lot of arguments ensued, and both parties (me and my parents) were hurt in the process. It was difficult for me in choosing to leave my family, and stay with my boyfriend. My parents felt betrayed, and felt ashamed of me because in my culture, an unmarried girl who chooses to live with her partner is considered a slut/whore.

Another participant hid her romantic relationship from her parents, in order to keep them happy. These struggles relayed by second-generation participants differed from a third-generation bicultural perspective in this study. One third-generation participant [20] stated that she did not face any struggles with her parents:

Because I feel that from both my parents sides they were brought up to try to adapt to the Canadian society and therefore their lifestyles and the raising of my siblings and I have reflected this.

Subtheme: Desire to Belong. This theme revealed the conflict that bicultural Canadians had to face with struggles to find a "middle-ground." Participants shared that their peers made them feel different. One participant [36] stated that it was hard to act "natural" because she was the only person of colour at her high school. Another participant [8] said that she would have to adjust her behaviour (e.g., outspokenness) to blend in with a new environment (e.g., new school). In order to fit in, many participants chose to remove certain ethnic cues about themselves such as packing Canadian lunches

instead of their ethnic food to school [51, 64, 111, 137]. Two participants shared their experiences of feeling different because of food:

It was mostly more difficult in grade school, being such a young age, with almost all of my classmates being white. I have been bullied at a younger age by other kids in my grade school because of my cultural differences. I did not always follow or think the way other kids did. I looked different, and dressed different. It was hard for me to show my true self to children who were not yet taught about cultural differences, who lived in Canada their whole lives. I definitely felt like a minority and not as important as all the other kids. I remember bringing my favorite Lebanese food to class and other kids mocking the way the food looked or smelt. This definitely takes a toll on you at such a young age. Hopefully newer generations can teach their children to be more aware and respectful of cultural differences. (P 44)

When I think of I time that is difficult for me to choose between either culture, I narrow down to strictly my diet. Growing up I always had rice and fish as a child living in a Vietnamese household. Now while the majority of kids got sandwiches for lunch, I as a 5-year-old, would get rice with some kimchi and beef tips. I hated every lunch as a kid and although I loved the food my mother would pack for me, I just wanted to be like all the other kids. It wasn't until high school when I was able to care less as to what I ate at school. (P 64)

This desire to fit in was not only influenced by Canadian peers, but also by their surrounding community. One participant [6] said that he was proud to be Canadian and was criticized by his community by accusing him of not being proud of his own heritage

culture. Another participant [3] was told that she was not a "real" African because she was born in Canada. This theme shows that although bicultural Canadians felt the need to connect their communities together, they face challenges when their sense of belonging feels compromised.

Question 4: What aspects of your heritage culture do you choose to not maintain? As bicultural Canadians navigated between their heritage culture and Canadian culture, they began to let go of certain aspects of their heritage culture. One prominent theme emerged from this question: cultural distancing.

Theme: Cultural Distancing. This theme encompasses participants' responses to different aspects of their heritage culture which they did not wish to maintain. Three subthemes emerged from this theme, which were closed-mindedness from heritage culture, parents' strict parenting style, and outdated traditional events.

Subtheme: Closed-mindedness from Heritage Culture. Many participants mentioned that they would not want to keep the closed-mindedness from their heritage culture. Some prime examples of closed-mindedness included sexism, racism, homophobia, narrow thinking, gender roles, controversial beliefs and opinions, lack of understanding toward mental health, and judging others based on their life decisions [2, 20, 25, 31, 39, 42, 50, 61, 62, 65, 106, 142, etc]. Participant 88 described how she chooses not to maintain several things from her culture:

The aspects of my heritage culture that I do not choose to maintain are the understanding or more say the lack of understanding that my culture holds towards mental health and the ways in which it effects individuals, and can carry

with them till the rest of their life. Additionally, I choose to not participate in the racial and segregational teachings of my culture as it is commonly known that they view people of colour as less then. Lastly, I stand against the ignorant understanding that my culture carries towards equal rights and women's rights.

Subtheme: Parents' Strict Parenting Styles. Participants shared their feelings of frustration that arose from their parents' strict parenting style. Participants stated that their parents' parenting style restricted them from having a normal childhood, like going to sleepovers [5] or building romantic relationships [18, 114]. Some participants [81, 145] mentioned that their parents had hit or criticized them in order to "improve" their behaviour. Some participants suggested that they chose not to carry on the same parenting style with their future children. Additionally, a few participants [51, 145] mentioned the academic pressure that parents put on them and said that they would not want to maintain that pressure with their future children. Participant 145 recounted her story in detail:

There are many aspects I choose to not maintain such as the role of a daughter in my culture. It is often expected that daughters should be obedient/respectful to parents. Even if your parents were wrong to you, it's expected for you to stay silent. I believe that respect is a two-way street - you have to give respect in order to gain respect back. Another aspect of my heritage culture that I choose to not maintain is the idea that refusing to show love to a child will set them up for success. Many Chinese parents place too much pressure on their children, calling it "tough love" that will help them academically succeed - however they do not

consider the harmful mental health repercussions that will appear in the child's life in the future.

Subtheme: Outdated Traditional Events. Participants expressed difficulty in maintaining traditional events, especially if the events appear to be "outdated," such as arranged marriages. Other events included some holidays and celebrations what would be celebrated in their parents' heritage country but would not be carried forward to the next Canadian generation.

Question 5: What aspects of your heritage culture do you choose to keep? Bicultural Canadians indicated many components of their culture that they would like to maintain. This resulted in five themes: food, language, values, appearance, and faith/religion. One participant [103] expressed that she would like to keep all the values while mentioning other components of her culture (e.g., language, food, traditions, etc.):

I choose to keep the values. Latin American culture is very family-oriented, as well as very influenced by religious beliefs. Although I am not very religious, the values that the church holds are based on love and compassion, which are things I value as well. Having a love and respect for your family is essential to establishing good relationships with them, and having support. I also choose to keep the language, the food, and other traditions. I love that I am able to say I speak Spanish, and would never want to lose the ability to speak it. Traditional foods are things that remind me of my culture and allow me to celebrate it at any time I chose. Traditions, such as holiday traditions, other religious-based days, and special events are more ways that I choose to keep celebrating my roots

Theme: Maintaining Heritage Foods. Food was the most prevalent answer that emerged from this context. This theme tells a transformative story for participants. A previous theme indicated that food was a distinguishable component of their culture that made them feel different from their peers. To elaborate, food was an aspect of culture that participants would hide from their peers, especially during school lunches. Now that bicultural Canadians are young adults, they want to maintain their heritage food. One participant [145] mentioned the passing down of cultural recipes as an important component of maintaining her culture.

Theme: Maintaining Heritage Language. Many participants indicated that they wanted to maintain their language. They described their language as "deeply-rooted" into their culture. One participant mentioned that passing along her heritage language to her future children was important to her [142]. Some participants mentioned verbal communication [11, 12, 42], indicating that understanding and speaking the language was important. The majority of participants did not specify whether they would maintain the reading and writing of their language. When asked who they spoke their ethnic language to the most, many participants listed their parents and relatives (e.g., grandparents and extended family) as their answer.

I personally think language and mannerisms is something important to me to be able to communicate with family and older members of the community. I like for everyone to be comfortable when interacting so if that means I ensure that I am switching over as needed I will gladly do so. (P 141)

Two third-generation Canadians [100, 146] did not consider language as a component of their culture they would maintain. They stated that although their heritage consists of multiple languages, they only spoke English.

Theme: Favouring Collectivist Values. In this theme, participants indicated that they favoured collectivist values. They specifically emphasized family-oriented values and community values.

Subtheme: Family Oriented Values. In this study, many bicultural Canadians mentioned the importance of family as a component to their culture that they wished to maintain. Bicultural Canadians described family-oriented values as respect for elders [18, 106, 112, 126, 127, 143], family closeness [37, 89, 90], having cooperation amongst family members [64], and taking care of family [88, 116]. Participants viewed their family as a whole unit [64]. They enjoyed big family gatherings during holidays [80], which strengthened their family ties. Participants in this study expressed their love and respect for their families. Although participants mentioned their frustration with their parents' strictness and parenting style, that frustration did not reduce the amount of love they expressed for their parents. Some participants stated that they wanted to give back to their parents by taking care of them when they get older [49, 88, 116].

As much as it stresses me from time to time and it is somewhat guilt induced, I tend to keep the loyalty to the family. At one point in my life I wasn't like this but now I realized that my family will forever come first no matter what. I will take care of them until I die. Togetherness and being caring despite many things is something I choose to keep. (P 116)

Subtheme: Community Values. Community values were another component of one's culture that participants indicated that they wished to maintain. Community is important to bicultural Canadians. Participants shared that they enjoy their sense of community [12, 90, 118, 122] and want to maintain their genuine caring for other people. Their sense of community opens opportunities to come together with others [72]. Some participants responded with personal traits such as humility, respect for others, work ethic, kindness, hospitality, manners, and interpersonal awareness (e.g., being aware of the needs of others) [29, 30]. These traits can contribute to one's emphasis on community values.

Theme: Physical Appearance. Some participants listed visible components of their culture as something that they wanted to maintain, especially pertaining to their appearance. Participants indicated that they would like to maintain their traditional clothing, their hairstyles and natural hair, and special jewelry. One participant [9] described this as "staying true to your culture and background."

Theme: Practicing Faith/Religion. The final theme that emerged from this context was faith and religion. Participants shared that they wanted to maintain "religious aspects" of their culture. These aspects varied from morals [44, 70, 82, 93, 129], to going to church/the temple/mosque every week [73, 100, 113, 137] to religious practices such as praying and fasting. Participants said that religion taught them values of compassion, humility, and love which they would like to maintain in the future. One participant [114] explained that religion had been a comfort and had made her feel closer to her "true self and culture."

Question 6: Can you describe a time in which your first name affected your experiences or interactions with people? First names were explored in the bicultural Canadian context. Participant names were sorted and labelled as "ethnic" or "non-ethnic" in the data set. Name origins were determined by researching the etymology and history of the participant's first name. Five themes emerged: no negative experiences, being treated differently, microaggressions, "solutions" to make things "easier" for others, and negative feelings about one's first name.

Theme: No Negative Experiences. Some participants in this study shared that they had no negative experiences with their first name. "No negative experiences" could mean that they had no issues with their name or had positive experiences with their name (e.g., receiving compliments). Participants who had no negative experiences with their name said that their names were very common or generic [48, 71, 76, 114, etc.]. A few participants with an ethnic first name said that they were told that their name was unique and they had received compliments for their name [42, 45, 94].

One participant described her experience as having a generic first name but had problems with her ethnically-identifying last name [133]. Some participants who had no negative experience with their first name mentioned that they "can see how names can be an issue" or had family members who had negative experiences with their names.

Theme: Being Treated Differently. Some participants expressed the extent to which their first names affected their social interactions. They related that they had experienced struggles by peers, colleagues, and superiors due to their name being too hard to pronounce. Participants noticed that people avoided calling on them because their

names were hard to pronounce. A third-generation participant [146] shared his story about his name:

At my first job when I had to introduce myself to my coworkers. Saying and explaining my name to people was hard because they did not know how to pronounce it and found it odd that a person of my appearance had a name such as mine. They could not call on me if they needed something and struggled to start a conversation because of the pronunciation of my name. Over time they got used to it, but at first, it was a bit irritating.

Additionally, a similar issue happened to a second-generation participant [4] in this study:

People have a hard time pronouncing my name (they call me asthma and I hate it), so I always have to correct them; it's a hassle. Some teachers/professors wouldn't call on me in class because they didn't know how to say my name, so they just avoided it altogether.

Three participants indicated that they were grateful for having a "white name." They believed that they would be treated differently if they were not given an Anglicized name. For example, Participant 63 said, "my parents chose an 'easier' name so people wouldn't look at me differently because of my Arabic background." Another participant [82] explained that she would have been upset if she was given a "super middle eastern name." Additionally, having an Anglicized name prevented a participant [70] from receiving hate-speech from his co-worker:

In one experience, a co-worker told me that he hated Latinos and when he asked me where my name was from he assumed it was German and I agreed with it to provide me with ease at my job.

Theme: Experiences of Microaggressions. A prevalent theme was the experience of microaggressions. These microaggressions varied by severity – from mild to extreme.

Subtheme: Mild microaggressions. Mild microaggressions that participants experienced with their name resulted in being asked the origin of their name or their name's meaning. This would be classified as a mild microaggression, since these microaggressions might appear to reflect genuine interest in learning about one's name. Most participants in this study did not consider explaining the origin of their name as a negative experience. One participant [49] believed that the meaning of her name can be a nice icebreaker. Another participant [94] was told that her name was unique and that it is uncommon for someone to be named that in Canada:

I often get told that my name is unique, or to describe the meaning of it which has never negatively affected my interactions with people. There was an instance where I had someone say that people aren't naming their children common names anymore after hearing my name, which I thought was interesting because a common name in North America might be a not so common name in other parts of the world, so it's all relative.

One participant [61] expressed her struggles when conversing with others when asked where she was from, due to the uniqueness of her name:

I am constantly asked by strangers where I was born and when I say Canada, they ask where my parents were from. There is always an assumption that I am not Canadian. There is also an expectation that [I] answer this question just because they want to know

Subtheme: Extreme microaggressions. Some participants in this study experienced extreme forms of microaggressions because of their name. One participant [77] relayed a memory in which someone struggled with her name and did not bother correcting themselves:

when walking across the stage to receive my medal for a science fair, the speaker added "or something like that" after struggling to pronounce my name, making me feel embarrassed about it.

Another participant [80] felt uncomfortable and annoyed when people would ask about her Chinese name:

When I was born I was given both an English and Chinese name, though only my family members (parents, aunts, uncles, grandparents, etc.) call me by Chinese name. My English name never gave me problems but whenever I told my friends or classmates that I had a Chinese name as well, they would always ask me to say and write it. I never like to speak Chinese out in public when I was younger, so I always felt uncomfortable when I was asked to say my Chinese name. At times I would become annoyed since people would repeatedly ask me to say it and a lot of the time I refused. I never really liked being around those who would beg me to

say my Chinese name as I would become irritated and annoyed quite quickly at the continuous request.

Some participants who have an Anglicized name reported that they were accused of appearing "white" or were "white passing":

Frequently asked why I have such a "White name" and what my real name was because they assumed I was using my name to benefit myself to appear "white" over the phone and on paper work. (P 24)

My name is European even though I do not appear that way. That's strongly influenced by my mom and her family. The only time it affected me really was during certain job interviews, they weren't "expecting" someone that looks like me when they see the very European name "Marie" on a resume. (P 38)

Other extreme forms of microaggressions included being denied job opportunities. Two participants claimed that this occurred because of their name [22, 140].

Theme: "Solutions" to Make Things "Easier" for Others. Participants indicated that they have come up with ways to make things "easier" for other people who struggle with their name. Participants reported using various strategies like correcting the other person multiple times or offering a nickname. Some participants give up on teaching the other person by not correcting them or opting to use a fake name during quick interactions (e.g., when ordering coffee) [93].

Bicultural Canadians felt the need to make it easier for the other person, by shifting the blame onto their name. One participant shared that she did not want to come off as rude when she corrected other people's mispronunciation of her name [62].

Another participant tried to reassure the other person that her name was just hard to remember, and that it was okay to not know it [135]. A participant believed that she would be avoided if her name were too difficult to pronounce [146]. Another participant believed that conflict could arise if she were to correct other people's mispronunciation of her name [68]. Some participants in this study believed that the best solution to their name was to make the other person feel comfortable, even if they were reinforcing others to not know their real name:

[Starting] university all of my profs have mispronounced my name. While many of them say "correct me if I pronounce your name wrong" it feels rude to interrupt and correct them especially when I know most of them will try their best to say my name but they still won't get it right so it will just be awkward. It feels easier to not correct them and make them feel comfortable saying my name so they feel comfortable interacting with me inside and outside of class. (P 62)

There have been several times where people have mispronounced my name and I do not correct them. Sometimes it is just easier to allow them to say it wrong or say it in a more manageable way for them instead of correcting them each time. This [affects] my experience because they may have never actually learned my real name. Also, my name might be more forgettable compared to more common names, thereby making me more forgettable to new people. (P 51)

One participant [112] offered her peers a nickname, but was aware of the consequences of relying on a nickname, such as allowing people to forget her full name or excusing people from trying to pronounce her name:

This occurred while in grade school, and because my name was "too long" or "too difficult to pronounce", my peers gave me a nickname. I don't mind using this nickname but I think it allows people to forget my full name and excuses people from even trying to pronounce my name (which is actually quite easy). Keeping this thought in mind, I try to provide a nickname (if at all) later when meeting new people.

Theme: Internalized Negative Feelings Towards First Name. Some participants internalized negative feelings toward their name. They described their experience as feeling extremely different. They prepared themselves for others to mispronounce their names. They felt embarrassed when their name was mispronounced. Other participants described their experience as feeling awkward or feeling dreadful when people mispronounce their name. Others said that they felt like they were targeted because of having an ethnic name. One participant shared that the constant mispronunciation made her hate her own name [121]. Other participants expressed the frustration they have faced regarding their names:

Growing up many people thought my name was funny and joke and often wondered why my parents would name me something like that. They failed to understand the cultural meaning and significance behind it and the beauty and reason my parents saw when choosing it. This often made me dread times I had to hear someone try to pronounce my name. (P 87)

Every time I introduce myself to someone new, I always prepare myself for the fact that (a) they will forget or (b) they will pronounce it wrong, so whenever I introduce myself I always say "its a hard name to remember" then I offer a

nickname to make it easier (even though in my personal opinion, my name is not that hard). (P 135)

Question 7: Opinions on Media. Participants were asked to rate their opinion on a 6point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 6 = strongly agree) on three questions pertaining to media: 1) media portrayals of my ethnic group are positive, 2) media portrayals of my ethnic group are accurate, and 3) media portrayals of my ethnic group reinforce stigma. Results indicated that participants did not tend to agree that media portrayals of their ethnic group were positive (M= 2.50, SD= 1.32). Additionally, participants did not express agreement that media portrayals of their ethnic group were accurate (M= 2.27, SD=1.22). Lastly, participants tended to agree that the media reinforces stigma against their ethnic group (M= 4.62, SD= 1.78).

Participants were asked to explain their answers. Three themes emerged from their written responses. Participants believed that the media promoted stereotypes, included inaccurate portrayals and representation of their ethnic group, and influenced other people to treat them differently.

Theme: Media Promotes Stereotypes. Many participants expressed their frustration with media. The majority of participants revealed that their ethnic groups were stereotyped through different media outlets, such as the news, TV shows, and movies [51]. These stereotypes encourage a one-dimensional and homogenized representation of their ethnic group [2]. Often, these stereotypes are exaggerated by the media.

Subtheme: Harmful Labels. Participants described their experience with stereotyping by sharing the harmful labels that were placed onto them. Generally,

participants believed that their ethnic groups were portrayed as poor, uncivilized, uneducated, and bad. In their responses, participants said that they felt like antagonists when they expressed their feelings about media portrayals.

Many participants who identified as Middle Eastern Canadian have been labelled as "extremist," "terrorist," "violent," "savage," and "oppressed." Middle Eastern Canadians stated that the media is fueled by Islamophobia:

Coming from a middle eastern background, I most definitely know how the media twists the truth about my ethnic group. I believe that most people here have been conditioned by mainstream media to think very negatively about Arabs and what they believe. I think that the media creates such a strongly negative image on Arabs (usually based on violence and aggressiveness). (P 44)

All Palestinians/Arabs/Muslims are portrayed as terrorists, horrible people, oppressive people, woman hating, lgbt hating, aggressive, men are depicted as ugly and grotesque and women are sexualized and exoticized (huge orientalism in medias). Palestinians are also seen as instigators, anti semetic (they think religion is based off of ethnicity or race....). The list just goes on... (P 97)

Black Canadians in this study expressed that the media paints non-White people in a "violent criminal light," [23] especially during the Black Lives Matter movements. Black Canadians stated that the media labels them as "thugs," "criminals," "angry," "ghetto" and "poor", and suggested that these labels erase the successes that Black people have had throughout time:

Being Black, the media stereotype us a certain way. This makes others develop this schema of you or people that look like you, which isn't fair; we don't do that the other way around. For example, look at the BLM protests, the media (when they covered it), often showed buildings burning or the extreme violence as if that were 100% of the protests. When, in fact, that was some, but nevertheless it feeds into the stereotype of Black people as angry/violence/something to be tamed/controlled. And when we speak on any pertinent issue, we cannot be educated or assertive, just angry/mad Black [gender]. (P 38)

Theme: Inaccurate Portrayals and Representation. Bicultural Canadians in this study believed that the media depicted inaccurate portrayals and representations of their ethnic group. Participants said that the media provides a one-dimensional portrayal of their ethnic group and that the focus on negative portrayals overshadowed positive portrayals.

Subtheme: Negative Portrayals Overshadowing Positive Portrayals. Many participants in this study addressed the issue of media focusing its stories on negative portrayals. One participant [105] described that bad things are "magnified" in the media. These negative portrayals create a stereotype of ethnic groups being the "bad guy" or "villain":

There are people within our ethnic groups that do bad things, as there are within all ethnic groups. So in my opinion, it's not fair that the media portrays the people within my ethnic group as villains while other people from other ethnic groups who do things that are equally as bad, or even worse, are not slandered by media outlets. In most TV shows, movies, news outlets, etc. arabs are generally

portrayed to be terrorists. In most movies and TV shows there are never main characters who are Arabic unless they are some sort of villain. (P 25)

Other participants [114] shared that she wished the media could show the beauty and positive side of her heritage country:

Although my ethnic group is diverse in many ways, we are constantly portrayed firstly as a group where everyone looks, acts, talks the exact same way. We are rarely shown as countries with various different beliefs and cultures and most of the time grouped into the same sections. We are portrayed as living in warstricken countries and although there are wars destroying the Middle East it seems people also forget that we have beautiful cities and thousands of years of history to show. We are portrayed as people who terrorize other countries and where there is always unrest and death. Once in a while you see a positive depiction of my ethnic group and yet the majority of the time we are portrayed as antagonists, as killers, those who need to be arrested or stopped before hurting others.

Several female Middle Eastern participants felt uncomfortable by media's misrepresentation of Muslim and Arab women. They felt that the media exoticizes their gender and culture [22, 97]. Other women expressed their frustration about media portrayal of women who practice Islam. Two participants [28, 60] described a scene in a show in which an Arab woman feels "liberated" after removing her hijab:

There are many TV shows where it shows an Arab woman with a hijab and then in the next episode, she takes it off and pretty much does everything that goes against our Muslim religion[...] Almost every minority has had some type of

representation except for Arabs. I have yet to see a TV show or movie having a Arab lead that is true to their religion as well and not just defying it because of social influences. There is not TV show or movie an Arab can relate to. (P 28)

According to participant 84, "Media portrays black people positively in music, athleticism but not in other aspects. Black people are often not showcased as intelligent or thoughtful but often talented." This implied that the media picks and chooses which aspects they want to portray of Black people.

Participants called for a need to display ethnic culture better. They believed that the media is uneducated about their culture, which reinforces misinformation and stereotypes. One participant voiced that at least social media allows different portrayals of culture [84]; however, news and TV shows are inflexible. Participants believed media to be a powerful tool in shaping and reinforcing generalizations of their ethnic groups. Participants in this study acknowledged that by consuming media, people become misinformed by what they read and see. Participants want their culture's achievement and its beauty portrayed more often. They want to combat negative portrayals of their ethnic groups.

Theme: Treated Differently Due to Media. A theme emerged in which participants shared their personal and intimate experiences of being treated poorly. They believed the media has played a role in their mistreatment. For example, Asian Canadians in this study mentioned that people were blaming them for the COVID-19 pandemic [16, 20, 80, 117]. Other participants reported having been bullied at a young age due to media's constant labelling of "terrorists" of the Muslim population:

Because brown folks and Muslims were labeled terrorists in the media when I was young - a couple of kids would call me and other people in my race terrorists during elementary school. I've seen older people that should be more intelligent do this (to others) too. Of course, it causes a stigma. (P 102).

Once again, people who may not be as educated on my ethnic group and base their thoughts off of the articles they read, the movies they see and the news they hear may hold a bias towards us. They may see us as horrible people or simply feel uncomfortable around us. I can't count the number of times I have seen my parents get worried because they couldn't translate a word from Arabic to english and they felt guilty about it, or when I speak my native language in public and my sister tells me to speak in english because she is embarrassed. The stigma surrounding my culture doesn't just affect people in general, it starts hurting individuals. I've heard people tell my parents to "go back to their country" and when people are surprised when I tell them I go back to my homeland because they think it's nothing but ruins and bombings or they tell me "don't die when you go there". It's the small things that show the stigma that surrounds us. (P 114)

H4: Ethnic first names increase an individual's sense of bicultural stress.

A correlational analysis was used to analyze whether first names correlated with bicultural stress. There was a positive correlation between the effects of first names and bicultural stress, r = .30, p = < .001, N = 147.

Additional correlational analyses were used to analyze each item in the First Name scales and their correlation to bicultural stress (Table 7). Each item in the first name scale was significantly correlated with bicultural stress, p < .05.

Table 7

Variable	1	2	3	4
1. Bicultural Stress				
2. Affects how people perceive me	-0.24	**		
3. Have to explain name	0.19	* -0.40	***	
4. Affects sense of belonging	-0.24	** 0.28	*** -0.228	3 **
<i>Note</i> * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001				

Note * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** 1 = Average bicultural stress

2 = I believe that my first name does not affect how other people perceive me.

3 = When introducing myself, I anticipate having to explain my name to other people.

4 = I believe that my name does not affect my sense of belonging in Canadian society.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

This study explored bicultural stress through the lens of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems model. In order to capture each level of the ecological system's model, participants in this study were asked about their family, peers, community, and media influences on their heritage culture compared to Canadian culture. Four research questions guided this study: 1) how does bicultural stress differ between second and third-generation Canadian visible minorities? 2) which constructs of ethnic identity development contribute the most to bicultural stress? 3) is there a shared common experience amongst bicultural individuals? 4) what are the effects of first names on bicultural visible minorities?

In the current study, family, peers, community, and media represented the nested structures which characterized Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems model (i.e., microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, and macrosystem). Since the ecological systems theory posits that each level interacts with each other to shape youth development, the following findings may overlap across different ecological levels (e.g., peers and ethnically diverse schools).

The results indicated that relationships with peers and parents were microsystem and mesosystem influencers of bicultural stress. Additionally, previous research has overlooked teachers as an influencer of bicultural stress. The exosystem level was revealed through participants' open-ended responses. Generational status was an exosystem factor. Further, participants who grew up in an ethnically dense vs. ethnically diverse community may have different experiences of bicultural stress as well. Lastly, community-based discrimination and media misrepresentation were revealed as

macrosystem influencers of bicultural stress. The following key findings illustrate how family, peers, community-based discrimination, and media portrayal shaped bicultural stress in second-generation and third-generation visible minorities.

Key Findings

Generational Differences in Bicultural Stress

As predicted, second-generation Canadians reported more bicultural stress compared to their third-generation Canadian peers. These findings are novel since very little research has examined third-generation Canadians and their bicultural stress. This difference can be explained by cultural socialization, which is the process by which an individual is taught their culture by their parents and their peers (Wang et al., 2015). Through cultural socialization, individuals may develop a sense of belonging to their cultural group (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004).

Second-generation participants shared a complex story in which they grew up in an "ethnic household" and were exposed to their heritage culture by their parents. Second-generation Canadians were taught their heritage language at a young age, they ate and packed their ethnic food for lunch, and some were given an ethnic first name. By being highly influenced by their heritage culture, they might have encountered situations in which they were faced with conflict between Canadian culture and their heritage culture. Participants experienced conflict when they felt a desire to fit in with their Canadian peers and when they were seeking independence from their parents. This was supported by the regression model, which showed that family cultural socialization towards heritage culture contributed to feelings of bicultural stress. This is consistent with bicultural stress research, which has emphasized family context as one of the main

contributors of bicultural stress (Rodriguez at al., 2002; Romero & Roberts, 2003). This difference was illustrated by a third-generation participant in this study, who described her experience by discussing how her parents were "brought to adapt to Canadian society, so they were raised feeling adapted already." Generational differences in cultural socialization may have been a contributing factor in bicultural stress between second-generation and third-generation Canadians.

Contributors to Bicultural Stress

It was found that ethnic identity, family cultural socialization towards heritage culture, perceived discrimination, and generational status were significant predictors of bicultural stress. These findings align with past research which has indicated that family, peers, and community shape the contexts of bicultural stress (Romero & Campen, 2011). Bicultural individuals who were socialized towards their heritage culture, but who have a weaker sense of ethnic identification towards their heritage culture and have experienced perceived discrimination may have increased feelings of bicultural stress. These findings are supported by previous research where it was found that high ethnic identification was a protective factor against high levels of bicultural stress (Piña-Watson et al., 2013). Further, Romero and Roberts (2003) conceptualized bicultural stress as including stressors such as perceived discrimination, negative stereotypes, intergenerational gaps between parents and children, and language. These findings were supported by the regression model as well as the thematic analysis in the present study.

Interestingly, this model also indicated that there may be overlooked contributors to bicultural stress, such as generational status and first names. The inclusion of generational status in the regression model significantly improved the prediction of

bicultural stress. Further, variables related to the effects of first names were significantly correlated with bicultural stress, which has been overlooked by previous research. First names and bicultural stress will be discussed later in this paper.

Shared Experiences between Bicultural Canadians

The current study found that shared experiences existed between and within bicultural groups, regardless of their ethnic identification. Many themes emerged and mapped onto shared experiences that have not previously been reported in the current literature. This section outlines participants' shared bicultural stories beginning with their realization of being bicultural, their personal and intimate struggles of being bicultural, their growth, and their vision of the future.

When participants were asked whether they saw themselves as bicultural, 96% of second-generation participants answered "yes." Of the 18 third-generation participants, 83% answered that they saw themselves as being bicultural as well. These results show that although generational differences exist between the two groups, each group shared the same label of "bicultural."

At a young age, participants acknowledged their biculturalism when they compared themselves with their surrounding environment, specifically at school. This finding maps onto previous research in which ethnic minority children's sense of belonging was influenced by their peers and teachers. Meeuwisse and colleagues (2010) found that ethnic minority children felt comfortable in a school setting if they had a good relationship with their teachers and peers. This model was not the same for ethnic majority children whose sense of belonging was influenced by informal relationships with their peers.

Participants in the current study highlighted different ways in which they felt a lack of sense of belonging in the school setting. For instance, participants felt their sense of belonging was compromised due to negative comments from their peers. Participants said that their peers made them feel different by commenting on their heritage food, their differences in language, and even style of dress. Some participants were bullied because of their name. Additionally, participants shared their frustration about their teachers. Teachers contributed to participants' sense of belonging by disrespecting the individual's first name. Participants met teachers who asked the meaning of their name, who consistently mispronounced their names, and who avoided students with names that were hard to pronounce. Participants who attended a diverse school experienced fewer issues with their peers and teachers.

As participants in this study grew older, they faced struggles with their parents, the community and even with their first names. As previous studies have indicated, there appears to be intergenerational conflict between immigrant parents and their secondgeneration children. Their struggles were influenced by their parents, such as their desire for independence and their desire to belong. A consistent pattern was found with previous research on intergenerational conflict. Chung (2001) found that Asian American women reported greater conflict over issues of dating and marriage because of their parents. Additionally, patterns of protective and restrictive parenting practices were found in previous research as well (e.g., Lim et al., 2008; Domenech Rodriguez et al., 2009).

As participants became more aware of their cultural differences between themselves and their parents, they began to choose what they would not like to maintain

from their heritage culture such as closed-mindedness, strict parenting styles, and traditional events (e.g., arranged marriage). The decision to let go of certain values can be explained by the perceived norms perspective (Tam, 2015). Tam (2015) explained the perceived norms perspective as the process of endorsing values that the majority population also widely endorses. Participants in this study may not want to maintain values that conflict with Canadian liberalism, which could explain why they chose to let go of opposing values.

Participants in the current study expressed the frustration they have felt when they experienced perceived discrimination, microaggressions, and media misrepresentation due to their visible minority status. In this study, perceived discrimination was a strong contributor to bicultural stress. Participants shared their experiences of perceived discrimination caused by their first names and/or media misrepresentation of their ethnic group.

Participants believed that they were purposely avoided by peers or that they experienced discrimination concerning job opportunities due to their ethnic first name. Job discrimination was supported by previous research in which participants with an ethnic first name received fewer call-backs compared to applicants with an Anglicized name (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004). Watson and colleagues (2011) conducted a study to investigate the effects of one's first name on pre-interview impressions for inside and outside sales job. Inside sales jobs were sales conducted via telephone. Outside sales job required face-to-face interactions with customers. They found that job applicants with an ethnic first name (e.g., DeMarcus) left less favourable pre-interview impressions for employers to hire him for an outside sales position. Additionally, they found that Black

job applicants with Anglicized names (e.g., Mark) left significantly higher impressions for an outside sales job position. Their study found the advantages of having an Anglicized name over having an ethnic name.

Interestingly, the current study found that job applicants with an Anglicized name did not necessarily have positive experiences when job-seeking either. Some participants with an Anglicized name indicated that they had experienced microaggressions. Some participants were accused of "white-passing." One participant recalled her experience with a potential employer. She noticed her potential employer's facial expression changing when she entered for an interview. Another participant recalled an interview where a potential employer made a comment about how they "were not expecting someone who looks like them." It appears that microaggressions exist regardless of whether the individual has an ethnic name or an Anglicized name. The differences in research findings can be explained by the different methods used between this study and previous studies. Previous research on this topic used experiments in which they explored the microaggressions from an employer's perspective. However, the current study explored experiences of microaggressions from the victim's perspective. The usage of open-ended questions in this study allowed participants to provide context behind their experiences with microaggressions, which extends findings from previous studies.

The current study investigated the effects of media from the participant's perspective. This differed from previous research which measured heavy media consumption and ethnic stereotypes from the consumer's perspective (e.g., Lee et al., 2009). Participants were asked whether the media portrayed their ethnic groups positively, accurately, and whether it reinforces stigma. Some participants rated media

positively. Their open-ended responses included answers about media's accurate portrayal of their culture's food. Additionally, participants who stated that their ethnic groups (e.g., Chaldean) have never been portrayed in the media rated the media questions positively. Most participants in this study were aware of their position of being negatively stereotyped due to media influence and exposure. According to the results, 76.2% of participants believed that the media does not portray their ethnic group positively. Similarly, 83.8% of participants believed that the media does not portray their ethnic group accurately. When asked whether media reinforces stigma against their ethnic group, 85.8% of participants agreed with this statement.

Participants' responses revealed why they had negative opinions about media. First, bicultural Canadians believed that media promotes stereotypes and creates harmful labels of their ethnic group. Participants in this study described themselves as being labeled as "terrorists," "violent," "dirty," "villains," and "antagonists" by the media. Additionally, participants did not mention any positive labels regarding media and their ethnic groups.

Negative media portrayals overshadowing positive media portrayals was a pattern that emerged from the results. Participants suggested that the media focuses on the negative aspects of their heritage country and tends to ignore its beauty. Some stated that the media is uneducated about their culture and reinforces misinformation. Vergeer et al. (2000) conducted a longitudinal study investigating exposure to newspapers and how they can affect attitudes toward ethnic minorities. They found that exposure to newspapers that reported ethnic minorities in a negative light led people to perceive minorities as a threat. Their research could explain how media exposure could lead to

negative labels of bicultural visible minorities. Bicultural Canadians shared their challenges from the community such as being threatened, discriminated against, or feeling embarrassed when their parents spoke their native language in public. These findings supported Ajrouch and colleague's (2016) argument of media as a macrosystem influence. They argued that media has an "enormous impact on group position." Participants' opinion of being an "other" revealed that their group position in Canadian society was seen as being below the majority groups' position.

Strengths and Benefits of Being Bicultural

Even though bicultural Canadians experienced struggles due to the peers, family, community, and media, they saw the benefits of being bicultural. Participants experienced growth from being bicultural. According to the findings, participants expressed appreciation for the "best of both worlds," their personal development, and their sense of community.

Bicultural Canadian grew comfortable with their heritage culture regardless of the bicultural stress they experienced. Some participants expressed their gratitude for being bicultural. They believed that their parents' culture and Canadian culture gave them the "best of both worlds." They enjoyed different foods, listened to different music, and spoke multiple languages. Some participants stated that their experiences made them unique compared to their peers. Due to the "best of both worlds," bicultural participants wished to maintain many aspects of their culture including their language, appearance, their faith and religion, and their ethnic food. At a young age, participants felt different due to their culture. As young adults, these participants tend to feel proud of their culture.

Another transformative story which bicultural Canadians shared concerned their relationships with their parents. Despite their experience of intergenerational conflict with their parents, they still expressed love for their parents and emphasized the importance of family values. Emphasis on family values mapped onto previous research which has found Asian adolescents in Canada (Korean, Vietnamese, and East Indian) wanting to maintain strong family unity (Kwak & Berry, 2001). In the current study, bicultural Canadians wished to "give back" to their parents. They want to take care of their parents when they grow old. Some participants mentioned that they do not agree with Canadian culture in which they leave their parents in old-age homes.

Bicultural Canadians envision a future of diversity and inclusion. They see themselves as having a role in the community and that role is to bridge their parents' immigrant community and the rest of Canadian community together. This finding has been supported by previous community psychology research about the role of "bridging" to create linkages between groups or communities (Townley et al., 2011). Bridging the community through shared resources and social connections was found to develop a sense of community among diverse groups (Hughey & Speer, 2002). In this study, bicultural Canadians bridge communities through their usage of their language and sharing of their culture. As Participant 141 said:

I think that it [being bicultural] gives me a unique experience to be able to connect with more people and I have the opportunity to share my culture with other people as I can be the bridge between 2 cultures.

These individuals connect immigrant communities to Canadian culture by using their language. They connect Canadian culture to their heritage culture by teaching and

sharing parts of their ethnic culture to their peers. Bicultural Canadians can increase intercultural contact by bridging communities together and in turn, reduce cultural conflict between immigrant and Canadian communities (Khan & Brushcke, 2016). By bridging their communities together, bicultural Canadians can lessen community impact on bicultural stress to the next bicultural generations.

First Names and Bicultural Stress

Correlational and thematic analysis revealed a connection between first names and bicultural stress. Since this relation has not been explored, a thematic analysis was conducted to understand participants' personal experiences and challenges regarding their first name. Although some participants stated that they had not received any negative experiences regarding their name, they acknowledged that they could see how it could be an issue. Other participants revealed that their last names tend to affect their experiences.

The first name narrative was explained by thematic analysis. Participants felt like they were treated differently via avoidance because their names were "too difficult" to pronounce. In order for participants to avoid conflict with others, they created "solutions" to make things "easier" for their peers and colleagues. Their solutions included correcting other people's mispronunciation of their name, offering a nickname, allowing the mispronunciation their name, and not bothering to correct them, or even providing a fake name during quick interactions. Some participants internalized negative feelings about their names due to the awkward situations they had experienced. Some participants said that their name is their identity, and by others not knowing how to pronounce their name, they feel like people do not know who they are.

Contributions to the Literature

The results of this study advanced previous knowledge and research on biculturalism and bicultural stress through the usage of quantitative methods and thematic analysis. This study explored a special narrative which is shared across second-generation and third-generation bicultural Canadians. In addition, it has offered insight into the effects of first names as well as issues of media.

This current study offers a more nuanced understanding of sense of community in bicultural Canadians. McMillan (1986) defined sense of community as "a feeling that members have of belonging, a feeling that members matter to one another and to the group, and a shared faith that members' needs will be met through their commitment to be together." Sense of community has four elements: membership, influence, integration and fulfillment of needs, and shared emotional connection (McMillan, 1986). The findings revealed how a shared emotional connection was a contributor to bicultural individual's sense of community. Shared emotional connections are based on a shared history (McMillan, 1986). In this study, shared events of bicultural stress strengthened the bicultural Canadian community. Participants in this study believed that biculturalism has expanded their connections with their peers who have shared both positive and negative experiences as well. Participants 50 and 145 illustrated this in their responses:

...I have friends from a variety of ethnic backgrounds, and I love being able to learn from and understand their personal values that they grew up with. This open-mindedness further ties into the fact that being bicultural has made me more accepting of people's differences and knowledgeable of our society... Personally, growing up exposed to a variety of different cultures has made me appreciate the

diversity in our world, and it motivates me to inspire others to appreciate the different cultures around us as well.

... I've gained new friends/acquaintances that have helped me resonate with both sides, but I have also met life-long friends that also share the same bicultural experiences as I, which has helped me strengthen friendships. I also have noticed that being bicultural has led for me to understand how to view and handle different perspectives.

Second-generation and third-generation Canadians was a broad sample group. The findings from this study focused on their shared experiences, despite characteristic differences among participants. Participants of different demographics were recruited in this study. Participants differed in their age, gender identification, ethnic identification, generational status, academic major, and year of study. Regardless of these differences, participants shared similar experiences in their upbringing, which illustrate an intersection of generational effects with ethnic identity (e.g., being a second-generation Canadian). These shared experiences have been largely ignored, especially between different ethnic groups. As mentioned before, these shared experiences were presented as a form of sense of community among bicultural individuals.

Another strength of this study is the inclusion of third-generation Canadian voices. Current research literature on bicultural stress has focused on second-generation populations, while largely ignoring the third-generation population. It was imperative to include third-generation Canadians for several reasons: 1) to understand their visible minority experience, 2) to understand whether they experience bicultural stress, and 3) to identify whether they are uniquely different from their second-generation peers. These

findings advance our knowledge of third-generation experiences since they differed from second-generation experiences. Generational status was found to be a contributor to bicultural stress. Differences in bicultural stress outcome may be due to generational differences in environmental contexts such as the microsystem and mesosystems. As mentioned earlier, a third-generation participant [20] described her upbringing as feeling "adapted" due to her parents being adapted to Canadian culture already. Third-generation visible minorities experienced less bicultural stress due to reduced heritage culturalization by their second-generation parents. They did not share similar struggles as their secondgeneration peers when they tried to fit in at school. Even though third-generation Canadians experienced less bicultural stress compared to second-generation Canadians in relation to their microsystem and mesosystems, they experienced macrosystem stressors through microaggressions and media misrepresentation of their ethnic group. This difference implies that some minority stressors are shared between groups. Overall, thirdgeneration Canadians experienced less bicultural stress than their second-generation peers in the present study.

A unique finding in this study was bicultural Canadians' usage of their bilingualism. Romero and Roberts (2003) believed that language posed barriers and challenges to bicultural individuals. For example, they explained that second-generation youth are pressured to learn both (their heritage and English) languages so that they can serve as translators for their parents and so they can adjust to Canadian society. This study found something different: language was a positive aspect of being bicultural. Many participants described their language and their usage of their language as a benefit, rather than a burden. Participants shared that they served as translators to their parents

and other people in the community since they could speak both their heritage language and English. Language may have been a barrier during school age where participants wanted to fit in with the peers. Participants overcame this barrier when they grew up and realized how helpful their bilingualism was. These findings imply that some stressors are not considered to be as stressful as bicultural individuals grow older. Another possible explanation could be that the feelings of bicultural stress are alleviated as an individual grows up. Bicultural stress could be a stage in ethnic identity development that individuals overcome. Little is known about understanding these results since bicultural stress research is usually conducted with an adolescent sample, and not on young adults (see Piña-Watson et al., 2015; Romero & Roberts, 2003; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2006, etc.). Further research should attempt to understand the how events that are experienced as stressors at one point in time may transition to being beneficial later in life.

This study supports media as a macrosystem influence on bicultural stress. Ajrouch and colleagues (2016) proposed media as a macrosystem influence in their article on youth identity development in Arab Americans. Their article was largely supported by the current study's findings which support the idea that ethnic minorities are underrepresented in the media but when they are represented, it tends to be in a negative light. In turn, these negative images affect bicultural Canadians and their relations with their peers at school and their treatment by their community. These negative images still hold true to this day, since many university students still believe that their ethnic groups are being mislabelled and misrepresented by the media.

This study offers insight on first names and bicultural stress. The exploration of first names can open avenues in bicultural stress research as well as research on

microaggression, self identification, perceived discrimination, and education. This research revealed that even with an Anglicized name, participants could still feel affected by their name. The results extend previous literature which implied that having an Anglicized name would increase positive experiences during interactions with majority society (see Zhao & Biernat, 2016).

Implications

The current study proposed using Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems model to understand biculturalism and bicultural stress between second-generation and third-generation Canadians. The ecological systems model allowed the understanding of the complexity of bicultural experiences. Very few participants mentioned a single influence of bicultural stress, but rather described an interaction of influences. The results from this study support the idea that many environmental levels (e.g., family, peers, community, and media) interact to influence bicultural stress. By assessing the various levels of the ecological systems model, bicultural Canadians were able to provide a holistic story of their bicultural experiences. Qualitative findings through thematic analysis extended the findings from quantitative analyses for the current study and previous studies. The usage of these two methods provided a fuller and more complete picture of the bicultural experience.

Limitations

There were several limitations to the current study. This study's findings were drawn from a highly mixed sample with diverse ethnicities. Since this study focused on shared experiences, it did not address cultural differences between cultural groups. There

are limits to the ability to generalize the findings due to different cultural contexts found between different groups.

Unequal sample sizes between groups were another obstacle. There were more second-generation Canadians in this study compared to third-generation Canadians. Third-generation Canadian samples were harder to recruit. This limitation could be explained by waves of immigration to Canada. Historically, Canada has seen an increase in diversity after the 1960s. World events, such as war and political turmoil, led to massive movements of refugees and migrants from different parts of the world to Canada ("Canada: A History of Refuge," 2020). Due to this trend, many second-generation Canadian children in Ontario represent a relatively a young population, with a median age of 29.7 years old (Statistics Canada, 2013). At the time of this study, third-generation children of many second-generation Canadians may be too young to be university students.

It was difficult to draw conclusions about shared experiences with such a small sample size of third-generation Canadians. A larger third-generation Canadian sample size would have assisted in extending the richness of the qualitative responses as well compensating for some missing data in the thematic analysis. Further, having a larger sample size would have enabled the use of two regression models to understand bicultural stress in third-generation Canadians. For this study, both samples had to be grouped together in the thematic analysis and the regression model.

Additionally, the gender distributions were unequal as well, with the majority of participants identifying as female. The bicultural experience in the current study was primarily told through a female narrative. Past research on bicultural stress and gender

differences found that bicultural stress levels were higher in male visible minorities (Piña-Watson et al., 2015; Romero et al., 2007). The current narrative may have been different if more males participated in this study.

Although this study found implications of bicultural experiences, the findings cannot be generalized to the general population outside the university setting. These experiences were assessed in an undergraduate sample, which is a unique shared experience that would not apply to every bicultural Canadian. It is unknown whether these findings would be replicated in bicultural Canadians who are not attending university or are in other post-secondary institutions. Their stories could differ from the stories the participants shared in this study.

This study was conducted during times of peak interest in social justice issues. Data collection occurred between June and October 2020, which might have affected participants' responses, particularly regarding media. The summer of 2020 was marked by widespread strenuous protests of the police killing of George Floyd in Minneapolis, Minnesota. In the present study, Black Canadians referred to media's negative coverage of the Black Lives Matter movements in their responses. Asian Canadian participants referred to media's negative and racially biased coverage of the COVID-19 pandemic. While the intense focus on social justice issues that characterized this period of time is historically significant, results of this study might have differed if data collection occurred during a less turbulent time period.

Lastly, due to time constraints, the measures that were adapted and created by the researcher did not go through any pilot testing. Some reliabilities were low, and measures could have been revised to improve the reliability if the items had been pilot-tested first.

Further, some components of the media questions were overlooked. Some participants indicated in their short answers that their ethnic group (e.g., Chaldean) was not represented in the media, which meant that they had difficulties answering the Likert scale. This could have been prevented if the questions were pilot tested before data collection, but also adds insights to how some ethnic groups are not represented in the media.

Future Directions

This study explored a shared cultural experience that has been largely ignored in the current literature. Research has focused on group differences, which in turn ignore group similarities. This study has provided a foundation for further research to explore the shared experiences of Canadian visible minority populations and their sense of commonality.

Although this study examined second- and third-generation Canadians and their overall biculturalism and bicultural stress, future studies could explore specific instances of the bicultural experience such as their experiences with microaggressions, their bilingualism, or their ways of increasing sense of community. This project has opened many avenues for other researchers to explore.

Future studies should aim for equal sample sizes between second-generation and third-generation Canadians. In addition, more representation from bicultural men could improve this story. Recruitment should be from a community sample to diversify the population, since recruiting only university students is not representative of the bicultural Canadian experience.

In addition, future studies should use a fully qualitative design, such as semistructured interviews to understand bicultural experiences. The current study relied on typed responses to open-ended questions. Some participants were detailed in their responses, while others opted to use a few words to describe their experience. Answers might have been more detailed if participants were given a broader platform to tell their stories. Nonetheless, the current study provides a foundation to use qualitative designs in future studies of biculturalism and bicultural stress.

Conclusion

Biculturalism and bicultural stress are complex experiences for second-generation and third-generation visible minorities. The current study found interactions between an individual's social environment and their bicultural stress. A shared experience emerged from the current study. Bicultural Canadians realized their biculturalism at a young age. Bicultural stress was experienced at school in which bicultural Canadians tried their best to fit in with their peers. While trying to fit in with their peers, they engaged in behaviours that reduced ethnic cues such as by packing Canadian lunches instead of their heritage food to school. Additionally, bicultural Canadians experienced hardships such as difficulties in their relationships with their parents and discrimination by their community.

As they grew up, bicultural Canadians came to appreciate their bicultural identity. They saw their roles as the bridge between their heritage culture and Canadian culture. The results showed a developmental process in bicultural Canadians' identity. This study revealed how there is a progression in the bicultural identity. For example, things such as food or one's language, which initially induced feelings of shame, later became

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something to be proud of. Participants who grew up feeling intergenerational conflict with their parents grew up to love their parents and to appreciate their parents' hardships. Results from this study showed how bicultural Canadians' feelings about their ethnic identity improved as they grew up.

The findings from this study underscore the importance of diversity training for teachers and school settings. Teacher and peer interactions were found to be antecedents of ethnic minority student's sense of belonging (Meeuwisse et al., 2010). Schools that do not promote multiculturalism and diversity could affect students and their bicultural stress. Teachers should be trained to understand and appreciate cultural differences. Additionally, teachers should acknowledge their microaggressions and be aware of how their actions, such as mispronouncing a student's name, can impact the student's perceived bicultural stress. Teachers should be role models to students and advocate for diversity and inclusion in their classes. They should teach students to appreciate each other's differences, instead of allowing students to promote diversity, which in turn benefits students and could prevent future mental health outcomes and unhealthy behaviours that relate to bicultural stress such as depression, anxiety, and substance abuse (e.g., Piña-Watson et al., 2015).

The findings related to first names and visible minority status can open avenues of research on microaggressions in school and workplace settings. Educators and employers should be taught that microaggressions can be experienced in multiple ways. Further research should be conducted to understand first names and visible minority experiences. Research could provide individuals with support to appreciate their names and

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understand that their names are a special part of their identity. Participants in this study have shifted the blame and feelings of embarrassment onto their name, which should be investigated in future research. Overall, findings from this study can benefit individuals and organizations alike.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Current Model

ENVIRONMENTAL LEVEL	VARIABLES	OUTCOME
Individual	Ethnic identification	
	Language proficiency	
	Ethnic first name	Bicultural stress
	Sense of belonging	
Microsystem and Mesosystem	Cultural socialization from family and	
	peers	
Exosystem	First generation Canadian parents	
Macrosystem	Media portrayal of ethnic groups	
	Community-based perceived discrimination	

Appendix B: Screening Questions

Your ethnic background

- Aboriginal (North American Indian, Metis, or Inuit)
- □ White
- □ Chinese
- □ Black/African
- Southeast Asian (e.g. Vietnamese, Cambodian, Malaysian, Laotian, etc.)
- West Asian (e.g. Iranian, Afghan, etc)
- □ South Asian (e.g. East Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, etc.)
- □ Korean
- □ Japanese
- Latin American
- □ Filipino
- □ Mixed
- Caribbean
- Arab (e.g. Lebanese, Palestinian, Egyptian, Iraqi, etc.)
- □ Other

Were you born in Canada?

- □ Yes
- □ _{No}

Appendix C: Consent Form



CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Title of Study: Bicultural experiences in Canadian society

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by **Carolyn Tran** and **Dr. Kathryn Lafreniere** from the **Psychology department** at the University of Windsor. The results of this study will contribute to a Master's thesis project.

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel to contact **Carolyn Tran** (tran11a@uwindsor.ca) or Dr. Kathryn Lafreniere (lafren1@uwindsor.ca).

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This project is being conducted to fulfill a MA degree requirement for Applied Social Psychology. This project will investigate experiences of bicultural stress in second- and third-generation Canadian visible minorities. Bicultural stress is the perceived conflict that arises from navigating between two conflicting cultures, particularly one's heritage culture and Canadian culture. The main purpose of this study is to investigate shared experiences among bicultural individuals and their bicultural stress.

PROCEDURES

If you volunteer to participate in this study, you will be asked to complete questions regarding your demographic information including your age, gender, cultural group, and your generational status. In addition, you will be asked to complete short answers regarding your bicultural identity and questionnaires about your experiences of being bicultural.

POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

There are minimal risks to participating in this study, but some questions may cause discomfort. You will be asked to share your experiences of being bicultural, which could result from upsetting experiences ranging from family expectations to community-based discrimination. These questions could result in feelings of discomfort or stress. At the end of the survey, you will be provided a list of some local support resources, in case your participation in this study raises any feelings that you would like to discuss.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

By participating in this study, you will gain some experience with the research process. As well, you will possibly gain some insight regarding your personal experiences with being bicultural. The results of this study will help expand the literature on biculturalism in Canadian society.

COMPENSATION FOR PARTICIPATION

As a participant, you will receive .5 bonus point for 30 minutes of participation towards the Psychology Participant Pool, if registered in the pool and enrolled in one or more eligible courses. In

order to be eligible for a bonus point, you must meet the eligibility requirements of being either a second- or third-generation Canadian, and identify as a visible minority. You will be redirected away from the survey at the beginning and will not be given any credit if you are ineligible for this study.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission. Only the researchers working on this project will have access to the identifying information that you provide. The data will be stored in a password-protected file on a secure hard drive. Identifying information will be destroyed within three months of the end of the survey and once bonus points have been given to you.

PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to participate in this study or not. You may skip survey questions that you don't wish to answer and still remain in the study. You may also withdraw at the end of the survey by selecting the option to withdraw. If you choose to close the web browser as a form of withdrawal, you will not be compensated because there is no way to identify you.

FEEDBACK OF THE RESULTS OF THIS STUDY TO THE PARTICIPANTS

A summary of the results will be available online by January 4, 2020. You can access the results here: https://scholar.uwindsor.ca/research-result-summaries/

SUBSEQUENT USE OF DATA

These data may be used in subsequent studies, in publications and in presentations.

RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, contact: The Office of Research Ethics, University of Windsor, Windsor, Ontario, N9B 3P4; Telephone: 519-253-3000, ext. 3948; e-mail: ethics@uwindsor.ca

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANT/LEGAL REPRESENTATIVE

I understand the information provided for the study **Bicultural experiences in Canadian society** as described herein. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

Please click the PDF below to download a copy of this Consent Form. We recommend that you print this for your records.

Name of Participant

Signature of Participant

Date

SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

These are the terms under which I will conduct research.

Signature of Investigator

Date

Appendix D: Ineligibility Contact Page

Thank you for your interest in this study.

You have reached this page because you did not meet the eligibility requirements. Thank you for attempting to participate in this research study. If you have any questions or concerns about this research please feel free to contact one of the following researchers involved in this study: **Carolyn Tran** (tran11a@uwindsor.ca) or **Dr. Kathryn Lafreniere** (lafren1@uwindsor.ca).

In order for us to know that you attempted to participate but were ineligible for the study, please fill out the following information so that we can award you an "excused no-show" in the Participant Pool. If this information is not given to us, we won't know why you didn't complete the study and you will be given an "unexcused no-show", which negatively affects your participation in the Participant Pool.

Name

University of Windsor e-mail address

Appendix E: Support Resources

If you experience discomfort during or following your participation in this study, you may contact the following resources:

Student Counselling Centre Free, confidential counselling provided by professional therapists for all students. CAW Student Centre Room 293 General hours: Mon-Fri 8:30am-4:30pm Walk-In hours: Mon-Fri 1-4pm (Check website for most current hours) 519-253-3000 Ext. 4616 www.uwindsor.ca/scc

MySSP: Student Support Program Free confidential counselling 24/7 with licensed counsellors, available via call or text in 35+ languages. Download the App: MySSP 1-844-451-9700 www.mystudentsupport.com

Good2Talk 24/7 helpline for any post-secondary student problems. 1-866-925-5454, www.good2talk.ca

Appendix F: Demographics

What is your age (in years)? _____

What is your gender?

- Please specify: ______
- Prefer not to answer.

Which ethnic or cultural group do you identify with the most?

- White or European-Canadian
- Indigenous (Metis, Inuit, First Nations)
- Black or African Canadian or Caribbean Canadian
- East Asian or Pacific Islander or Asian Canadian
- South Asian or South Asian Canadian
- Middle Eastern or Middle Eastern Canadian
- Latin or Central or South American or Latin Canadian
- Multiple ethnicities Please specify: _____
- I identify as another ethnicity Please specify:

Select which generational status that applies to you:

- First-generation Canadian (I was born outside of Canada)
- Second-generation Canadian (I was born in Canada and have at least one parent born outside of Canada)
- Third-generation Canadian (I was born in Canada and both of my parents were born in Canada)

Appendix G: Qualitative Questions

- 1. To be bicultural means to experience two different cultures, specifically your heritage culture and Canadian culture. Do you see yourself as being bicultural?
- 2. When did you realize that you were bicultural?
- 3. What are some positive aspects of being bicultural?
- 4. Can you describe an example of a time when it was difficult for you to choose between your heritage culture and Canadian culture?
- 5. What aspects of your heritage culture do you choose to keep?
- 6. What aspects of your heritage culture do you choose to not maintain?

Appendix H: First name

Think about your first name and how it may affect your sense of belonging in Canadian society. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

My first name is: _____

My preferred name is: _____

(1) strongly disagree (2) disagree (3) slightly disagree (4) slightly agree (5) agree

(6) *strongly agree*

I believe that my first name does not affect how other people perceive me. When introducing myself, I anticipate having to explain my name to other people. I believe that my name does not affect my fit into Canadian society. Can you describe a time in which your first name affected your experiences or interactions with people?

Appendix I: Ethnic Identification

Select the answer you identify with the most:

I am _____

Canadian (heritage culture) – Canadian (heritage culture) Other

Other people see me as _____

Canadian (heritage culture) – Canadian (heritage culture) Other

Appendix J: Language Proficiency and Language Use

Ethnic language proficiency

How well do you understand [ethnic language]?

How well do you speak [ethnic language]?

How well do you read [ethnic language]?

How well do you write [ethnic language]?

(1) Not at all (5) Very well

National language proficiency

How well do you understand [national language]?

How well do you speak [national language]?

How well do you read [national language]?

How well do you write [national language]?

(1) Not at all (5) Very well

Additional questions:

Who do you speak [ethnic language] to the most?

Who do you speak [national language] to the most?

Appendix K: Cultural Socialization Scale

Indicate to what extent your family participates in each activity/behaviour

1 (never) 5 (always)

Family socialization toward the heritage culture

My family...

Teach/talk to me about my cultural background Encourage me to respect my cultural values and beliefs Teach/talk to me about my cultural values and beliefs Talk about how important it is to know about my cultural background Teach/talk to me about the history of my cultural background Feel a strong attachment to my cultural background Participate in activities that are specific to my ethnic group Decorate home/wear clothes with things that reflect my cultural background Hang out mostly with people who share my cultural background Celebrate holidays that are specific to my cultural background Listen to music sung or played by artists from my cultural background Prepare food of my cultural background

Family socialization toward the mainstream culture

Teach/talk to me about mainstream Canadian culture

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Encourage me to respect mainstream Canadian culture Teach/talk to me about mainstream Canadian culture Talk about how important it is to know about mainstream Canadian culture Teach/talk to me about the history of mainstream Canadian culture Feel a strong attachment to mainstream Canadian culture Participate in activities that are specific to mainstream Canadian culture Decorate home/wear clothes with things that reflect mainstream Canadian culture Hang out mostly with people who share mainstream Canadian culture Celebrate holidays that are specific to mainstream Canadian culture Listen to music sung or played by artists from mainstream Canadian culture Prepare food of mainstream Canadian culture

Indicate to what extent your peers participate in each activity/behaviour

1 (never) 5 (always)

Peer socialization toward the heritage culture

My friends...

Teach/talk to me about my cultural background

Encourage me to respect my cultural values and beliefs

Teach/talk to me about my cultural values and beliefs Talk about how important it is to know about my cultural background Teach/talk to me about the history of my cultural background Feel a strong attachment to my cultural background Participate in activities that are specific to my ethnic group Decorate home/wear clothes with things that reflect my cultural background Hang out mostly with people who share my cultural background Celebrate holidays that are specific to my cultural background Listen to music sung or played by artists from my cultural background Prepare food of my cultural background

Peer socialization toward the mainstream culture

Teach/talk to me about mainstream Canadian culture Encourage me to respect mainstream Canadian culture Teach/talk to me about mainstream Canadian culture Talk about how important it is to know about mainstream Canadian culture Teach/talk to me about the history of mainstream Canadian culture Feel a strong attachment to mainstream Canadian culture Participate in activities that are specific to mainstream Canadian culture

Decorate home/wear clothes with things that reflect mainstream Canadian culture Hang out mostly with people who share mainstream Canadian culture Celebrate holidays that are specific to mainstream Canadian culture Listen to music sung or played by artists from mainstream Canadian culture Prepare food of mainstream Canadian culture

Appendix L: The Perceived Discrimination Subscale from the Acculturative Stress

Scale for International Students

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

1 (strongly disagree) 5 (strongly agree)

- 1. Many opportunities are denied to me
- 2. I am treated differently in social situations
- 3. Others are biased toward me
- 4. I feel that I receive unequal treatment
- 5. I am denied what I deserve
- 6. I feel that my people are discriminated against
- 7. I am treated differently because of my race
- 8. I am treated differently because of my colour

Appendix M: Media Portrayal Questionnaire

Think about your ethnic group and the current media (TV, movies, news, online, radio, etc.). To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

(1) strongly disagree (2) disagree (3) slightly disagree (4) slightly agree (5) agree

(6) *strongly agree*

Media portrayals of my ethnic group are positive.

Please explain further:

Media portrayals of my ethnic group are accurate.

Please explain further: _____

Media portrayals of my ethnic group reinforces stigma.*

Please explain further: _____

Appendix N: Revised (12-Item) Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM)

In this country, people come from a lot of different cultures and there are many different words to describe the different backgrounds or ethnic groups that people come from. Some examples of the names of ethnic groups are Hispanic, Black, Asian-American, Native American, Irish-American, and White. These questions are about your ethnicity or your ethnic group and how you feel about it or react to it.

Please fill in: In terms of ethnic group, I consider myself to be

Use the numbers below to indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement. (4) Strongly agree; (3) Agree; (2) Disagree; (1) Strongly disagree

1. I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.

2. I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group.

3. I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me.

4. I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.

5. I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.

6. I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.

7. I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.

8. To learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group.

9. I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group and its accomplishments.

10. I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs.

11. I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.

12. I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.

Appendix O: Bicultural Stress Scale

Please indicate how stressful the following experiences have been for you. If you have never had the experience please circle '1': Never happened to me.

Please fill in only one answer for each item.

Never	Not at all	A little bit	Quite a bit	Very stressful
happened to me	stressful	stressful	stressful	
1	2	3	4	5

a. I have been treated badly because of my accent

b. I have worried about family members or friends having problems with immigration

c. I do not feel comfortable with people whose culture is different than my own

d. I feel uncomfortable when others make jokes about people of my ethnic background

e. I have had problems at school because of my poor English

f. I do not like it when others put down people of my ethnic background

g. I have felt that others do not accept me because of my ethnic group

h. I feel that I can't do what most Canadian kids do because of my parent's culture

i. I feel that belonging to a gang is part of representing my ethnic group

j. I do not understand why people from a different ethnic background act a certain way

k. I feel that it will be harder to succeed because of my ethnic background

1. Because of family obligations, I can't always do what I want

m. I have felt pressure to learn my native language

n. I have felt that I need to speak my native language better

o. My friends think I'm acting 'White'

p. My parents feel I do not respect older people the way I should

q. I have had to translate/interpret for my parents

r. I have felt lonely and isolated because my family does not stick together.

s. I have had to help my parents by explaining how to do things in Canada

t. I have argued with my boyfriend/girlfriend over being too traditional

Appendix P: Sense of Belonging

To what extent...

(1) Not at all (5) Very much

Does your family influence your sense of belonging in Canadian society?

Do your peers influence your sense of belonging in Canadian society?

Does the community influence your sense of belonging in Canadian society?

Does the media influence your sense of belonging in Canadian society?

What other factors influence your sense of belonging in Canadian society? Please explain: _____

VITA AUCTORIS

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