

Living with Multiple Cultural Identities and its Effects on Self-Esteem

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The current research examines the role of balancing various cultural memberships during adolescence on identity development. We examine cultural coexistence abilities and internal cultural reconciliation as predictors of self-esteem in students living with multiple cultural identities. One hundred sixty university students ($M_{\text{age}} = 19.23$) completed the modified *Multicultural Identity Integration (MII) Scale*, the *Multicultural Identity Integration Scale (MULTIIS)*, and the *Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSES)*. The analysis revealed that higher MII scores, which indicate lower cultural compatibility, were associated with lower self-esteem. Moreover, increased MULTIIS integration scores, signifying higher identity integration, were associated with improved self-esteem. However, self-esteem was not predicted by gender or age. These findings support the existence of a relationship between one's capacity to hold multiple cultural identities and their self-esteem, but do not support previous findings linking gender to self-esteem.

Keywords: multicultural identity, cultural coexistence, identity integration, immigration, self-esteem

Cette recherche examine le rôle de l'équilibre entre diverses adhésions culturelles pendant l'adolescence sur le développement de l'identité. Les capacités de coexistence culturelle et la réconciliation culturelle interne sont étudiées comme prédicteurs de l'estime de soi chez des étudiants vivant avec multiples identités culturelles. Cent soixante étudiants universitaires ($M_{\text{age}} = 19,23$) ont complété l'échelle modifiée d'intégration de l'identité multiculturelle (MII), l'échelle d'intégration de l'identité multiculturelle (MULTIIS), et l'échelle d'estime de soi de Rosenberg (RSES). Les analyses ont révélé que des scores MII plus élevés, indiquant une compatibilité culturelle plus faible, étaient associés à une plus faible estime de soi. L'augmentation des scores d'intégration MULTIIS, signifiant une meilleure intégration identitaire, a été associée à une amélioration de l'estime de soi. Nos résultats appuient l'existence d'une relation entre la capacité d'une personne à posséder de multiples identités culturelles et son estime de soi, mais n'appuient pas les études antérieures ayant établi un lien entre le genre et l'estime de soi.

Mots-clés : identité multiculturelle, coexistence culturelle, intégration identitaire, immigration, estime de soi

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Since the Industrial Revolution, connecting with others has become easier, consequently transforming the planet into a global village (Wang, 2007). More recently, international corporations and the global trade system have become the head of this phenomenon, turning the world into a multi-national market (Wang, 2007). Computers, the development of rapid transit systems, telephones, and other communication services have made the planet more interdependent and interconnected than ever. As the world transformed, it became easier to move between countries and across continents. Indeed, there were 341,000 immigrants to Canada in 2019, which was only the fifth time in history that over 300,000 individuals were accepted within a single year (El-Assal, 2021). With this trend toward globalization, it is becoming increasingly common for people to be exposed to many cultures throughout their lifetimes (Huynh et al., 2018).

Understanding the Role of Culture

Culture refers to the way of life of a particular group of people through which they establish an accepted worldview, a value system, and a network of social relationships (Wang, 2007). Moreover, Wang argues that culture is not static; it is contested regularly and grows out of widespread acceptance of selected habits and customs. Culture can even change when brought into contact with other cultures, suggesting that people are not objects of cultural pressure, but rather are beings who can evaluate various influences and choose to reject or integrate them into their lives (Wang, 2007). With the rise in globalization, international moves have become more frequent and distant (Hoerding & Jenkins, 2011). These authors argue that families' openness and willingness to live abroad have drastically increased over the last few decades. Most Global North and many Global South countries are multi-ethnic (Tung, 2008). Due to this cultural heterogeneity, there is frequent inconsistency between what people express as their country's cultural norms and the values or behaviours they have internalized (Todeva, 1999). Zolfaghari and colleagues (2016) provided one of the first empirical demonstrations of how an individual juggling multiple cultural dimensions may yield situation-based behaviour, which is induced by the context of the individual's surroundings, enabling them to manage "flexible" identities.

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The Intersectionality of Culture and Identity

Personal and social factors combine to form one's identity (Fearon, 1999). Identity is unique to each person and simultaneously related to a broader social group (Buckingham, 2008), discerned by unspoken rules that dictate membership. Thus, identity refers to personal attributes and characteristics that cannot be expressed in terms of group memberships, while concurrently representing the alignment with certain social categories.

One's ability to adapt their identity to function effectively in contrasting settings and contexts can be described as a tool for survival (Trueba, 2002). Trueba further stated that a unilinear acculturation process for immigrants moving directly from one culture to another is not functional or even possible. This construct reflects the extent to which people adapt when exposed to behavioural (e.g., lifestyles) and psychological (e.g., values) components of another culture through contact with different cultural contexts or groups (Han & Pong, 2015; Redfield et al., 1936). On the contrary, their resiliency and successful integration into a novel community are the results of their capacity to participate in new ways of life. They are expected to fit the mould that employers and other societal power-holders desire, and often must acquire novel verbal and non-verbal communicative skills without depriving their instinctual self that is accustomed to their home culture. Cultural identity can thus be understood as the dynamic experience of aligning with as well as enacting the beliefs and actions, among other aspects, of a particular group (Chen & Lin, 2016; Yampolsky et al., 2016). Chen and Lin (2016) explained that immigrants commonly balance identifying with, or seeking acceptance into, multiple groups. Furthermore, the way one experiences his or her intersecting cultural identities could vary depending on the physical context, the people involved, or the matter at hand (Chen & Lin, 2016; Downie et al., 2004). This idea of navigating multiple cultures is known as cultural coexistence.

Implications on Self-Esteem

Biculturalism, referring to the coexistence of two distinct cultural identities, can invoke a sense of pride, uniqueness, as well as community, and yet still cause greater expectations of the self, identity confusion, and internal conflict (Haritatos & Benet-Martínez, 2002). This conflict is heightened when experiencing particular types of threats to the acculturation process, like discrimination and strain on intercultural relations (e.g., being labelled, alternatively, as too "white-washed" or too dissimilar from others). Haritatos and Benet-Martínez (2002) observed that low levels of proper bicultural coexistence correlated with greater

cultural distance, where the identities are more distinct and compartmentalized. The authors stated that it may worsen when participants feel culturally isolated, putting these individuals at risk of undergoing adverse repercussions. In summary, some individuals who identify as bicultural perceive their dual identities as integrated and compatible, while others see these identities as oppositional and challenging to integrate (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002).

Studies have found that successful integration of cultural identities leads to a mature sense of self, which is beneficial to mental well-being by aiding adolescents with attaining higher levels of self-esteem (e.g., Chen et al., 2008; Marcia, 1980). Genkova et al. (2014) reviewed work that has also found that acculturation into a new culture while maintaining one's heritage cultures can predict positive adaptation and higher life satisfaction through improved self-sufficiency. However, another study showed that conflicting cultural identities are linked to greater psychological distress (Ward et al., 2011). Such identity crises may occur when an incompatible aspect of a new identity is being integrated into the existing self-representation, leading to adjustment difficulties (Szabo et al., 2016). Consequently, negative feelings surrounding identity can be observed when people enter into a system representing novel values and norms. Understandably, attachments to these existing images of the self are present during moments of intercultural contact. Szabo and colleagues suggested that self-esteem, which is the evaluative feature of the self-concept (Baumeister, 1997), might function as a protective factor throughout periods of life where there are greater demands and obstacles on one's social identity.

Youth who fall into these scenarios of balancing more than two cultural memberships are often labelled as "third culture kids" (Gillies, 1998, p. 36). These can be children of missionaries, businesspersons, diplomats, and military personnel who temporarily or permanently live outside of their native country. The process of resettlement involves an ecological transition, requiring an adjustment to novel physical and socio-cultural contexts (Genkova et al., 2014, p. 84). This results in changes to one's existing perceptions of norms and values, the network of interpersonal relationships, living conditions, or even social position and economic status, possibly yielding adverse effects such as feelings of inferiority, anxiety, grief, depression, and low self-esteem (Miller et al., 2020). Baumeister (1997) wrote that people with lower self-esteem are more likely to state that their behaviour differs across situations, compared to individuals on the higher end of the self-esteem spectrum. If a sense of alienation from the host culture develops, then a person may feel disconnected and

withdraw from the process of establishing norms and novel values. Regarding differences in gender, Khanlou and Crawford (2006) found that while immigrant adolescent women shared similar experiences to men, variability in self-confidence existed where newcomer men were perceived as having more confidence than women. These mixed findings lay out a base that we can use to advance the ways we think of multiculturalism and self-esteem.

The Present Study

Despite the work reviewed thus far, few studies have examined biculturalism and having more than two cultures in one's identity. Additionally, when examining young migrants, few studies focus on their psychological adaptation. Self-esteem may be a subjective evaluation of personal worth but is a key dimension to consider in the context of mental well-being. There is uncertainty surrounding whether the ease with which individuals navigate multiple cultures is associated with varying levels of self-esteem. This study attempted to account for these gaps in the literature by investigating one's internal conflict when navigating multiple cultures and the methods used for personal identity configuration.

The goal of our research was to further examine the implications of living with multiple cultural identities on self-esteem. The main interest lies in the role of balancing multiple cultural memberships on identity development during late adolescence, which may have repercussions on general well-being later in life. These early experiences play an important role in consolidating a representation of the self, particularly the experiences that involve belonging to various ethnic, cultural, and racial groups (Hoerstring & Jenkins, 2011), as they provide individuals with social rules and appropriate behaviours for specific cultural situations. The process by which these guidelines are assimilated affects competence and well-being (Downie et al., 2004). However, as illustrated before, divergent information from cross-cultural environments or being born into multi-ethnic families can cause a person to encounter difficulties in forming a solid cultural identity. This paper seeks to add to the existing work in this field by establishing a stronger understanding of the problems faced by those living with multiple cultural identities. Given the above literature, two research questions were formed: 1) how is self-esteem affected by having multiple cultural identities, and 2) how is self-esteem among individuals with more than one cultural membership affected by their ability to consolidate those identities? The hypotheses were as follows:

1. a) There will be no difference in self-esteem levels between individuals identifying with

one, two, and more than two cultures.

2. a) Participants with poor internal cultural coexistence will be associated with lower ratings of self-esteem (Haritatos & Benet-Martínez, 2002; Szabo et al., 2016; Ward et al., 2011).

Participants with better integration and reconciliation of multiple cultural identities will be associated with higher ratings of self-esteem (Chen et al., 2008; Marcia, 1980).

Method

Participants

The participants were students from University of Toronto Scarborough, recruited from the introductory psychology participant pool. Additionally, students that filled out a mid-semester pre-screening survey during the preceding semester who had indicated that they identified with three or more cultures were emailed a targeted invitation to participate in the study, and 199 responses were collected through Qualtrics software. After filtering out outlying data using the procedure outlined in the statistical analyses section, the final sample consisted of 160 participants: 129 women, 29 men, and two identifying as other (e.g., non-binary, more than one gender, etc.). Age ranged from 17 to 43, with a mean of 19.13 years of age ($SD = 2.92$).

Measures

Demographic Information. Participants were asked to indicate their gender, their age, their spoken languages, the countries that they have lived in for at least four months and their respective lengths of stay, their birth country, their current country of residence, their level of belongingness to each country as a percentage adding up to 100, as well as their perception of which cultures they identify with the most (maximum of 3). First, subjects selected between one, two, or more than two memberships, then were asked to type out their cultures with no ranking necessary. If more than two were chosen, they were instructed to put down the ones they identified with most. To allow for a variety of answers and alleviate any confusion about what cultural identity is, students were told to not worry about answering in a way that satisfies a textbook definition. They were encouraged to count any associations they have with any particular group of people. Of the 160 students, 22% of responses endorsed having one cultural identification ($N = 35$), 61% were bicultural ($N = 98$), and 17% indicated having more than two cultures ($N = 27$). The most frequent cultures endorsed were as follows: 69% of individuals self-identified with Western culture (including, but not limited to, Anglophone Canadian,

French Canadian, U.S. American, British, and Dutch); 36% listed an East Asian culture (including, but not limited to, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Hong Kongese); 29% listed a South Asian culture (including, but not limited to, Pakistani, Indian, Sri Lankan, Nepali, and Bengali); 11% recorded a Southeast Asian culture (including, but not limited to, Malaysian, Vietnamese, Filipino, and Indonesian); another 11% identified with a West Asian culture (including, but not limited to, Arab, Middle Eastern, Persian, Armenian, Qatari, and Afghan); 8% listed a Black American culture (including Black-Canadian, Jamaican, Guyanese, and West Indian); and 6% listed an African culture (including, but not limited to, Egyptian, Sudanese, Eritrean, Ghanaian, and Congolese).

Cultural Coexistence. A modified version of the *Multicultural Identity Integration (MII) Scale* from Downie and colleagues (2004) was used to measure one's perception of the ease with which they navigate their multiple cultures, as well as their strategy for interacting with individuals from other cultures (i.e., simultaneously, or separately). The MII is an expanded version of the *Bicultural Identity Integration Scale–Pilot Version (BIIS-P)* from Benet-Martínez and colleagues (2002), created to detect differences in identity integration among bicultural individuals and understand the underlying psychological processes with acculturation. Both the BIIS-P as well as the MII illustrate the implications for the social adjustment and well-being of ethnic minorities and immigrants. The modified version of the MII used in this study, containing 15 items, was included to determine the participant's perceived compatibility between their heritage culture(s) and dominant Canadian culture. Scores were calculated by averaging all 15 values from the measure, with increased scores suggesting poor cultural harmonization abilities. With permission from one of the original authors, three statements were reworded to reflect an anglophone Canadian culture in Ontario, as the questionnaire was originally designed to examine harmonization with francophone Canadian culture in Québec. Examples of items used were "My behaviour changes based on which culture I am interacting with" and "In general, my heritage culture (s) could be described as conflicting with North American culture." Participants rated the extent to which they agreed with each item on a 9-point Likert-type scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 9 = *strongly agree*).

Identity Integration. Yampolsky and colleagues' (2016) *Multicultural Identity Integration Scale (MULTIIS)* was used to investigate one's capacity to balance multicultural identification. It has been utilized to understand the identity configuration experiences that multicultural individuals of various

backgrounds and combinations often undergo. This 22-item measure asked participants to indicate how much each type of statement represented their personal experience on a 7-point scale (1 = *Not at all* to 7 = *Exactly*). Questions were designed to collect data across three subscales: categorization (identifying with a predominant cultural group over others), compartmentalization (keeping multiple cultural identities isolated from each other within the self), and integration (cohesively connecting and reconciling all cultural identifications). All prompts were administered in random order. Examples of a categorization and compartmentalization item included, "One of my cultures is more relevant in defining who I am than the others," and, "When I'm in one cultural context, I feel like I should play down my other cultural identities," respectively, while "My cultural identities fit within a broader identity" demonstrated an integration item. Only integration items were analyzed. The integration scores were determined by averaging the provided values of the eight items from the respective subscale. Higher scores demonstrate better identity reconciliation.

Self-Esteem. *The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSES)* (Rosenberg, 1965) was chosen as the dependent variable measure to gather one's perception of worth and acceptance by gauging both positive and negative feelings about the self. The RSES has been commonly used to collect self-esteem data from adolescents that may be balancing divergent information regarding cultural memberships and navigating acculturation while developing an ethnic identity (e.g., Giang & Wittig, 2006; Hoersting & Jenkins, 2011; Phinney & Chavira, 1992), as well as in a variety of other contexts and populations. The measure employed a 4-point Likert-type scale (1 = *strongly agree* to 4 = *strongly disagree*), where half of the statements were worded positively (e.g., "I feel that I have a number of good qualities") and the rest were negative (e.g., "I certainly feel useless at times"). Scores were computed by reverse-coding negative self-esteem items, assigning each of the four scalar points a new value (*Strongly Agree* = 3, *Agree* = 2, *Disagree* = 1, *Strongly Disagree* = 0), and summing them, with higher total scores reflecting greater levels of self-esteem.

Procedure

Upon signing up for the study, participants gained access to a Qualtrics survey link that automatically assigned them an ID to anonymously award credit upon completion. The survey contained all necessary materials. After reading through the digital consent form and agreeing to participate in the experiment, students shared their demographic information. Following that portion, individuals were presented

with the modified Multicultural Identity Integration (MII) scale. Next, the Multicultural Identity Integration Scale (MULTIIS) was administered. Finally, participants completed the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSES). Once finished, students read through a debriefing form and were prompted to select the confirmation button at the bottom of the screen. The individuals then received their credit through the Qualtrics-SONA integration function.

Statistical Analyses

The dataset was first filtered for unusual lengths of completion time. In this study, 24 participants were removed that fell outside of the upper and lower limits, which were 30 minutes (the length of the study that students agreed to complete and for which ethics review approval was granted) and 4.61 minutes, respectively. The lower limit was set by taking the total word count for the shortest version of the survey (1843), where the participant has only lived in one country, and dividing it by 400. This generous cut-off was selected by using Brysbaert's (2019) meta-analysis regarding the average reading speed. While a speed of over 400 words per minute is plausible, it is more likely to indicate inattention, ultimately contributing to the variance in error (Aguinis et al., 2013). The next criterion ensured that the remaining sets of data were completed entirely. Accordingly, the data of seven students were removed because they had either left some questions blank or did not disclose all of their cultures. Lastly, given that culture is a complex, frequently shifting idea, we chose to define it following the methodology of the creators of the MULTIIS (Yampolsky & Amiot, 2016). This included having an affiliation with a country, ethnicity, religion, or language. Eight individuals did not provide a valid cultural identity by describing memberships that fell outside this framework (e.g., being a part of a particular age group, holding a certain sexual identity, or participating in a specific hobby) and their data were excluded. The final 160 data sets were scored and analyzed using R (R Core Team, 2021) operating within RStudio (RStudio Team, 2021).

Results

A preliminary analysis that examined the relationship between gender and self-esteem was performed. A boxplot was created to help visualize the distribution, which can be seen in Figure A1. Participants that had identified as other were excluded as there were too few responses. A Kruskal-Wallis test was conducted to determine any statistical significance between the two groups ($H(1) = .115, p = .734$). Since this finding was not significant, data was collapsed across genders to test the first research question. Another boxplot, illustrating the association

between RSES scores and the number of self-declared cultural identities, can be seen in Figure A2. As expected, the Kruskal-Wallis test revealed that there was no significant difference in self-esteem across the varying levels of identities (one, two, or more than two) ($H(2) = .390, p = .823$), supporting hypothesis 1a. For the second research question, monocultural individuals were removed from the analysis as it would be unclear what their responses to the two measures of interest reflected, considering that the scales were designed to capture attitudes towards and views on balancing more than one cultural identity. Several scatterplots were made to compare age, MII scores, and MULTIIS integration scores with RSES scores, which can be found in Figures B1, C1, and C2, respectively. Higher scores on the MII ($M = 5.33, SD = .93$) denote lower cultural compatibility, while increased MULTIIS integration scores ($M = 4.15, SD = 1.04$) indicate higher identity integration. Totals on the RSES closer to 30 reflect greater levels of self-esteem (women: $M = 17.95, SD = 5.48$; men: $M = 18.41, SD = 5.48$). Another Kruskal-Wallis test for gender and self-esteem amongst individuals with more than one cultural identity showed no significant difference so the gender data was collapsed once again ($H(1) = .799, p = .372$). An additional plot can be seen in Figure B2, displaying the MII and MULTIIS integration scores together. To better test the strength of their relationship, a correlation analysis between the two was implemented ($r(123) = -0.299, p < .001$). Given that the two were significantly related, separate additive models were set up to examine each variable without violating the assumption of non-collinearity. Both multiple linear regressions were conducted using age and gender as predictors of self-esteem ($M = 17.88, SD = 5.60$), with one including MII scores and the other MULTIIS integration scores. Results indicated that the overall model with the MII scores was significant ($F(3,119) = 3.525, p = .017, R^2 = .06$), while the MULTIIS integration score one was not ($F(3,119) = 2.256, p = .085, R^2 = .03$). Hypothesis 2a was supported, as it was found that MII score negatively predicted self-esteem ($\beta = -1.57, t = -2.88, p = .005$). Evidence for hypothesis 2b was also established, as the MULTIIS integration score positively predicted self-esteem ($\beta = 1.03, t = 2.14, p = .035$).

Discussion

The current study investigated the relationship between cultural identity and self-esteem. As hypothesized, there was no significant effect between the number of cultures and self-esteem. The models had a very low overall adjusted R2 of .06 for the MII scores and .03 for the MULTIIS integration scores, which means that only about six and three percent of the findings were explained by the independent

variables used, respectively. Since whether the individual spoke the language associated with the identified cultures, whether the participant lived in a country that is predominantly made up of that culture, birthplace, and ratings of belongingness were excluded from the analyses, the lack of explanatory power of the remaining variables is understandable. Many other factors, such as the ones listed prior, are likely playing a role in moderating the effect of multiple cultural identities on self-esteem. Surprisingly, there was no significant relationship between gender and self-esteem. Previous research has demonstrated that gender differences in self-esteem are well known and accepted. Khanlou and Crawford (2006) found that while newcomer female youth share similarities to men in their adjustment to life in a new country, they also differ in areas such as their circumstances, resources, and self-perceptions, leading the authors to suggest that newcomer males have greater confidence. Similarly, Guruge and Butt (2015) explained that female youth experience greater mental health challenges compared to male youth. Given these past findings, it was initially expected that women students would show lower levels of self-esteem compared to men. However, the preliminary analyses did not reveal a significant difference between genders. This could be due to the unevenness in sample size for each gender identity, such that there was over four times the number of women in this study compared to men. Additionally, self-esteem is shaped by various factors and social contexts (Nguyen & Hale, 2017). Self-esteem may likely be impacted by the experiences of feeling isolated or culturally alone in a certain area, leading one to lack a sense of belonging, which contrasts with being perceived as included (Moore & Barker, 2012). Nguyen and Hale (2017) use educational institutes to illustrate an environment where factors, like the racial composition of a student body, influence the relationship cultural identity has on self-esteem. Considering that the COVID-19 global pandemic has largely transitioned the structure of educational institutions to a virtual setting, many individuals were able to study in their home country. If the location of where the participant completes the survey is where they feel like they belong most, their self-esteem might be higher than if they felt less connected to their heritage culture by being away from home.

The second hypothesis of there being a negative effect of cultural coexistence on self-esteem was supported, suggesting that as one's ability to navigate multiple cultures improves, positive self-perception increases (see Figure C1). This effect can be understood as evidence that those with a stronger ability to balance their multiple cultural identities experience greater levels of self-worth and less psychological distress. Of course, it makes sense that

the way one deals with conflicts that could arise from having several cultural memberships would have implications for well-being (Szabo et al., 2016; Ward et al., 2011). The third hypothesis, that integration and reconciliation of cultural identifications would positively predict self-esteem, was weakly supported. This establishes a trend demonstrating that self-esteem levels rise with an increased capacity to balance multicultural identities. Whether a student can integrate all aspects of their differing cultures into a larger self-concept or struggles to find a way to bring them together affects their subsequent positive affect and overall self-esteem (Chen et al., 2008). Further insight might have been gained by comparing the influence of the other MII subscale scores: categorization and compartmentalization.

While a pattern of relationships was observed through the analyses, the findings do not indicate causality. Given that this study was run using a correlational self-report design, the variables of interest would need to be tested experimentally to demonstrate the causal directions. Other major limitations stem from the quality of the sample. After cleaning the data, 20 percent of the sets were omitted. The 160 participants remaining comprise a relatively small sample consisting of students from a single university. Future studies should incorporate participants from several institutions across the country. With a larger sample, there could also be a more equal distribution of the number of cultures endorsed, which would assist in strengthening the analysis. Furthermore, the geographical environment when filling out the survey might yield changes in the levels of self-esteem experienced, specifically by those away from their native/dominant country. Thus, the next step could be controlling for differences in location. Additionally, having multiple collection points to work with would improve reliability in MII scores, MULTIIS scores, and RSES scores. This is because other factors may affect responses (e.g., mood, receiving a poor grade, household environment). Thus, being able to average together many measures of a particular value, at different test times, could form a more convincing case for the relationships that these variables have with each other. Moreover, hidden internal timers within the survey system itself might make it easier to gauge participant carelessness and response bias, such as neutral responses or acquiescence bias. Finally, on its own, self-declaring the number of cultural identities is weak. To correct this, a more sophisticated method should be implemented, such as examining if the national language is spoken, the amount of knowledge one has about the customs, as well as their ratings of belongingness, among other factors. This would help establish whether that culture is truly impacting the individual and collect insight into the level of

commitment, which could aid in gauging how familiarity and attachment may impact an individual's overall cultural identity and subsequent self-esteem.

Despite these shortcomings, the findings of this study provide evidence of a relationship between one's capacity and proficiency to live with multiple cultural identities and self-esteem. Reduced internal cultural compatibility predicted lower self-esteem, while improved integration marginally predicted higher self-esteem. These data advance research on multicultural identity integration as well as spark insightful discourse about the challenges faced by these individuals, particularly in adolescence, and how they experience identity development. These integrative experiences of being a member of various racial, ethnic, or cultural groups play a crucial role in forming a representation of the self and may affect overall well-being throughout life

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MULTIPLE CULTURAL IDENTITIES

Appendix A

Figure A1

Distribution of Self-Esteem Scores Across Genders

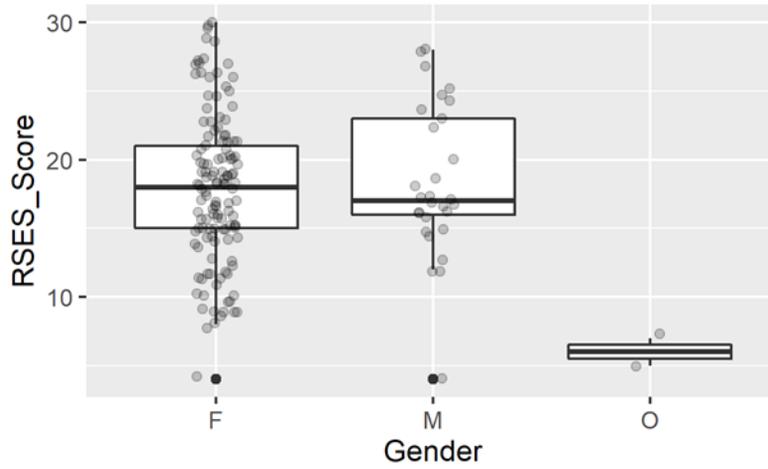
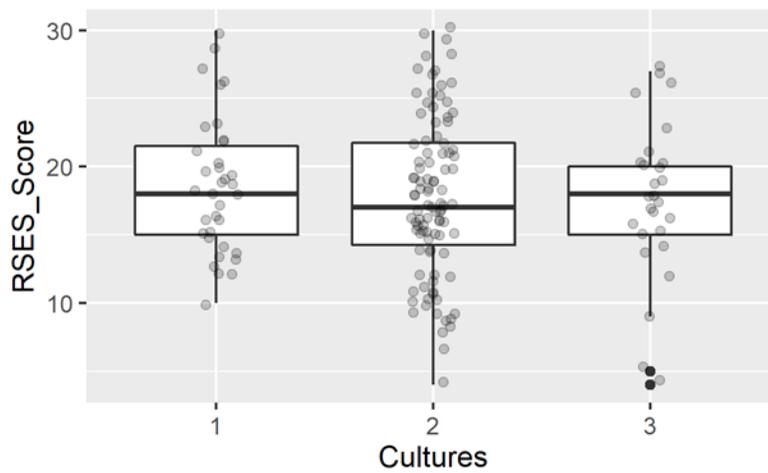


Figure A2

Distribution of Self-Esteem Scores across Number of Cultural Identities



Note. 3 refers to holding more than 2 identities.

Appendix B

Figure B1

The Relationship between Age and Self-Esteem Scores

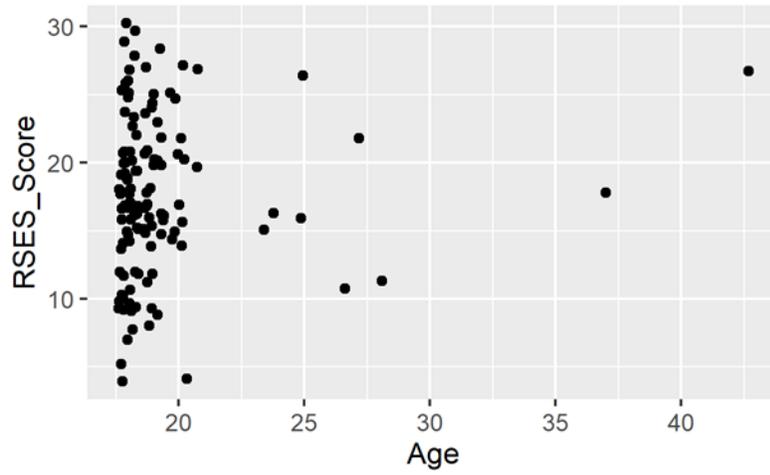
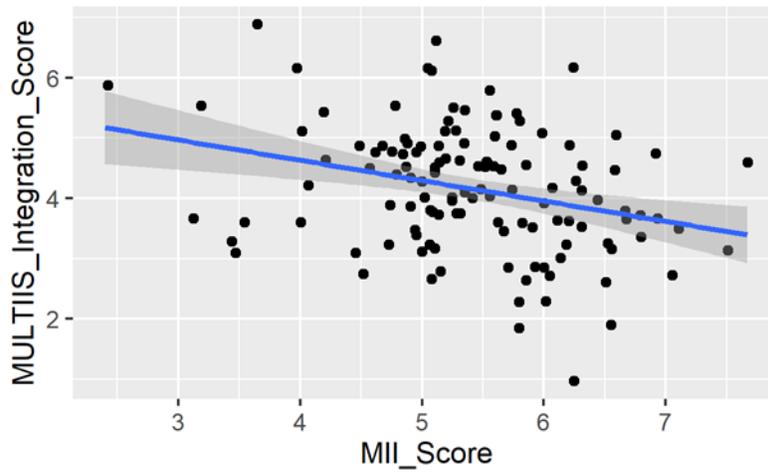


Figure B2

The Relationship between Multicultural Identity Integration (MII) Scores and Multicultural Identity Integration Scale (MULTIIS) Integration Item Scores



MULTIPLE CULTURAL IDENTITIES

Appendix C

Figure C1

Multicultural Identity Integration (MII) Scores Displayed as a Predictor of Self-Esteem.

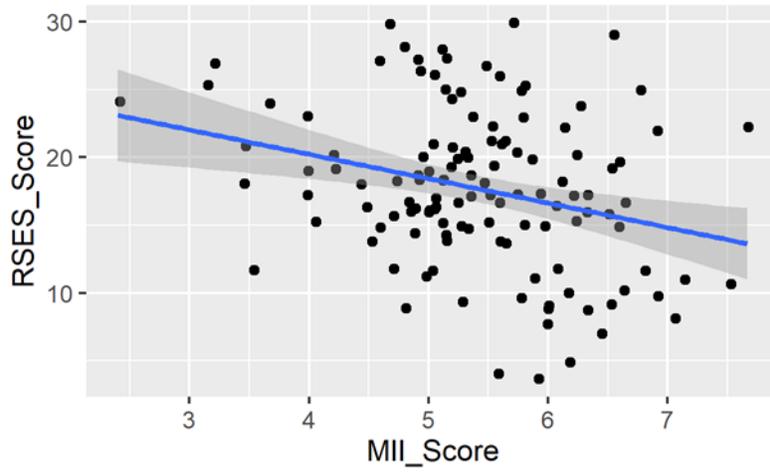


Figure C2

Multicultural Identity Integration Scale (MULTIIS) Integration Item Scores Displayed as a Predictor of Self-Esteem

