

1-1-2011

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**COLLECTIVE IDENTIFICATION IN ARAB AMERICAN EMERGING ADULTS:
DOES AFFIRMATION TO ETHNIC, NATIONAL, FAMILY AND RELIGIOUS
GROUPS PREDICT POSITIVE ADJUSTMENT?**

by

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DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Graduate School

of Wayne State University,

Detroit, Michigan

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

2011

MAJOR: PSYCHOLOGY (Cognitive,
Developmental, and Social Psychology)

Approved by:

Advisor

Date

DEDICATION

For my brother Haisam.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I would like to thank my committee members – Ty Partridge, Marjorie Beeghly, Doug Barnett, and Jina Yoon for being positive and supportive throughout this process. Second, I could not have done this without the support of my husband, Dan Poinsett. Even after a long day of work, he would come home and take over all parental duties so that I could work on this. Baby – thank you for putting up with me during this long and tedious process and thank you for always encouraging me to do what makes me happy. I must also thank my parents, Khalil and Jamila Zaban for imparting on me the importance of education and for giving me the opportunity to pursue it. Finally, it would not be right to end without thanking my sisters, Lena, Rana, and Hannah, who over the years gave many hours of their time to watching the children so that I could pursue this degree.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Eriksonian theory or ego-identity theory (1969) highlighted the construction of identity as a critical developmental task in adolescence and emerging adulthood. During this period of time, young adults must find a niche in the several available group memberships and categories available to them (Kiang, Yip, & Fulgini, 2008). Adolescents and young adults may have to negotiate membership into several groups simultaneously, yet researchers have typically focused on only one categorical membership at a time (Kiang et al., 2008). Social group memberships are important to study not only because they provide members with resources, support, and security but also because they

“create norms, conventions, and meaning frameworks that individual members use to interpret and make sense of both their own selves and the external world. As such, the meaning of the self and the world essentially are anchored with reference to the social groups within which individuals live” (Hong, Roisman, & Chen, 2006, pg. 135).

Consequently, it should not come as a surprise that concurrently holding multiple identifications is associated with psychological well-being (Domanico, Crawford, & DeWolfe, 1994). When individuals identify with multiple groups they have a repertoire of group identities from which they can select and use during threats to self [concept] (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Pittinsky, Shih, & Ambady, 1999), as in situations where they may be stereotyped or discriminated against (Roccas & Brewer, 2002).

Young adults with low levels of identification across several domains of identity including ethnic, American, religious, and family identities reportedly had the lowest levels of positive affect, the highest negative affect, and lowest self esteem in one study (Kiang et al.,

2008). This finding makes sense with regard to the self-complexity literature that suggests that having multiple representations of oneself is linked to greater cognitive flexibility, which can help to buffer individuals from the effects of stress (Linville, 1987).

Although individuals confront identity issues throughout their lives, young adulthood appears to be the time in which they are most ripe for confronting these issues (Syed & Azmitia, 2008). In industrialized nations, young adults have an extended period of time to explore identity issues; marriage and family in these contexts can be delayed due in part to the pursuit of higher education which may last until late into young adulthood. This period has been referred to as *emerging adulthood* (Arnett, 2004). Theoretical formulations such as Erikson's suggest that college is the best time to study identity and its relationship to adjustment; by college, emerging adults have had some time to reflect on their identity. The experience of college attendance in itself may encourage identity exploration, particularly since there is an increase in exposure to people from different backgrounds (Eccles et al., 2003; Syed & Azmitia, 2008) and consequently, to novel ideas that an individual may not have considered otherwise (Montgomery & Cote, 2003). Despite these notions, many of the models of identity development are developed for young to middle adolescents.

Identity has received a great deal of attention in recent years; however, the meaning of identity can shift as it is explored in different disciplines; this has contributed to the lack of consensus regarding the applicability and meaning of the concept (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000), as well as whether it can be viewed multidimensionally or as a single construct (Phinney & Ong, 2007). In a proposal for a conceptualizing framework of identity, the term *collective identity* (CI) was proposed by Ashmore, Deaux, and McLaughlin-Volpe (2004); this referred to group membership that was psychological in nature or "personally acknowledged as self-defining in

some respect” (Ashmore, et al., 2004, p. 81). In addition to the component of self-definition, Ashmore and her colleagues suggest that CI also must refer to a categorical membership that is shared with a group of others that have something in common. A CI can be distinguished from personal identity because personal identity is not shared with a group (Sedikides & Brewer, 2001) and is what “sets one apart from all others” (Ashmore et al., p. 82). It can be distinguished from relational selves and social roles because the former refers to personal relationships, while the latter conceptually holds the same face value in any social structure (Ashmore et al., 2004). For instance, social roles are not useful for distinguishing gender (as a role) within the same culture – social roles do not reflect (within-group) individual differences. CI is a term that can identify individual differences within one culture. This study will examine individual differences in overlap between self and ingroup on ethnic, national, family, and religious group affiliations in Arab American emerging adults. Ingroup identifications will be referred to as CIs in this study.

There has been a movement toward the examination of identity multidimensionally (e.g. Ashmore et al., 2004; Umana-Taylor, Gonzales-Backen, & Guimond, 2009). However, a multidimensional approach comes at a cost. For instance, one measure of CI is often too specific to a particular CI to be applied to another. If adapted, it may not translate appropriately. Other issues concern the nature of the measure – some measures of identity ask about the behaviors (or content) associated with the identity, others ask about the feelings of affiliation, affirmation, or attachment to the group, and yet others assess attitudes towards the group. For instance, measures of ethnic identity may ask about ethnic behaviors, such as eating the food or speaking the language of the ethnic group (Felix-Ortiz, Newcomb, & Meyers). Although these are possible indicators of the presence of the ethnic identity, they do not necessitate attachment to

the group. Though they may correlate, the behaviors should be considered distinct from the identity itself (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Phinney & Ong, 2007). Having tools available to researchers that can measure CIs with the same metric and within the same theoretical framework can help to alleviate potential problems with validity. One is more likely to encounter issues related to validity when aiming to assess the relationship of several CIs to a given outcome in the same research study; this may occur if the researchers are forced to use measures that emerged from different theoretical perspectives, even though he/she believes that the underlying construct of each CI is the same. I believe that what is needed is a measure of identity that can be adapted to diverse CIs. It must be broad enough so that it can be adapted to measure a wide array of ingroups, but still sensitive enough to pick up individual differences in outcomes.

Although there are many frameworks/perspectives within which one can consider identity, there is evidence to suggest that CI can be simply defined as the affirmation/interdependence between self and the ingroup (e.g., Tropp & Wright, 2004; Phinney & Ong, 2007). This can also be viewed as an affirmation or an assertion that one belongs to any particular ingroup. In the current study, this notion will be examined. Two measures tapping interdependence and affirmation/attachment to the ingroup will be examined. The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure – Revised (MEIM-R) and the Inclusion of the Ingroup in the Self (IIS) measure will be adapted and used to predict indices of adjustment in emerging Arab American adult college students in ethnic and American identity (EI and AI), as well as less researched identifications, such as family and religious identifications (FI and RI).

The MEIM-R and the IIS were selected because of their ability to measure affirmation or feelings of closeness to an ingroup. The original MEIM is a widely used measure that in

addition to measuring commitment (affirmation), also measures exploration. The benefit of using such a measure is that one can examine the role that affirmation plays separately from exploration or if needed, the “total identity” score can be used. A downside to the use of this measure is that although it can be adapted to many CIs, the wording of the items may be awkward, particularly when considering the items that pertain to exploration. For instance, it may read a little awkwardly to ask a respondent whether they have “talked to others in order to learn more about my friends” [... or gender, political affiliation, or any other group which typically may not be associated with much explicit exploration during adolescence or young adulthood]. For that reason, another measure purporting to measure affirmation/attachment will be adapted due to its more global nature.

The IIS potentially provides a purer measure affirmation/attachment to the ingroup than the MEIM-R and has the added benefit of being a one-item question. This one-item pictorial measure inquires about the extent of “psychological” overlap between the self and the ingroup. When the overlap is great, this implies a greater affective connection between the two. Through its global approach to the measurement of identity, it is adaptable to the measurement of almost any ingroup identification. However, the ease of adaptation may come at a cost – it may not be able to pick up on important individual differences in the configuration of CIs to the prediction of adjustment.

The examination of identity within a framework of affirmation to ingroup may contribute valuable insight to the Positive Youth Development (PYD) movement, as identity has been thought to be one of many pathways to positive development (Furrow, King, & White, 2004). This movement is a strength-based view of youth that emerged from developmental systems approaches, partially in response to outmoded “disease” models (Lerner, Almerigi, Theokas, &

Lerner, 2005). The goal of this movement is to identify the roots of resiliency and the strength of youth, while focusing on prevention of problem behavior rather than on treatment (Lerner et al., 2005). Community-based organizations whose philosophy is based on PYD often teach skills that promote skill building and leadership, while promoting civic participation and social interactions with community institutions (Lerner et al., 2005). It has been suggested that this kind of engagement promotes the development of the 5 Cs of PYD: competence, confidence, character, connection, and caring (Dowling et al., 2005). Overall, the goal of the PYD movement is to concurrently view youth positively, while also identifying the sources of youth *thriving* (Dowling et al., 2004).

Positive Youth Development research lends itself well to the study of ingroup identification. It has been suggested that ethnic identity and religious identity can be a factor that can contribute insight to PYD (King & Furrow, 2008; Le, Lai, & Wallen, 2009). In that light, “researchers need to examine factors and processes that facilitate flourishing and growth” (Le, Lai, & Wallen, 2009, p. 303). I suggest that other ingroup identifications, including family, national identifications can also be promising factors to examine as antecedents to positive youth behaviors.

Based on the evidence from PYD and the identity literature, a few assessments can be made. First, being actively involved with a group is a way to promote (a) feelings of emotional closeness and belonging to the group while simultaneously (b) bolstering one’s self esteem, feelings of competency, leadership skills, and self efficacy – particularly if one is an “active” affirming member. In a sense, encouraging engagement with important social groups can facilitate the development of the 5 Cs of PYD. Therefore, the PYD framework is illuminating of a resource that can be found in engagement with desirable social groups. The assumption is that

engagement with important ingroups influence identification and presumably, these groups can serve as valuable personal resources in the development of the 5 Cs. Ultimately, this can result in resilient youth who are both socially competent and who contribute to their communities. Several studies show support for a positive link between aspects of identity and moral standing to civic engagement (e.g., Colby & Damon, 1992; Youniss, et al., 1997).

Much of the research concerning identity within a PYD framework is conducted on religiosity and spirituality; PYD provides a natural framework for the study of religious identity since it has been related to prosocial concern (Furrow et al., 2004) and measures of thriving (Dowling et al., 2004), which are some indices of positive development. Religion has been found to be related to adolescent moral development (King and Furrow, 2004). Beyond simply playing a protective role, religious youth seem to have resources available to them that non-religious youth did not have including higher levels of personal restraint, greater levels of parental support, and more “school spirit” in the sense that they reported higher levels of engagement with, as well as feelings of affiliation to their schools (Wagener, Furrow, King, Leffert, & Benson, 2003). In addition, a strong religious identity was related to greater amounts of volunteering (Donahue & Benson, 2005) and stronger commitments to education (Youniss, McLellan, & Yates, 1999). Serow and Dreyden (1990) reported that religious valuation was the only positive predictor of community service participation, while Eccles, Barber, Stone, & Hunt (2003) found that community service and religious activities predicted lower rates of drinking and drug use; others have found religiosity to be related to greater success coping with stress (Donelson, 1999) and youth that have a better understanding of themselves (Furrow et al., 2004). Religious identification can serve as an impetus for positive development. For this reason, it is important to conceptualize methods of measuring religious identification and other important

ingroup identifications, particularly those that may co-vary with religious identification (including national and family identifications).

Erikson (1964, 1965) proposed that religion can promote feelings of belongingness, while contributing to one's feelings of purpose. Erikson (1968) also suggests religion was one of the key areas that underwent serious questioning during identity exploration in young and emerging adulthood (Sanchez & Carter, 2005; Sciarra & Gushue, 2003). Finally, a strong religious identity enables the development of a "worldview" (Erikson, 1968). The development of the worldview corresponds to an orientation or feelings of connection toward society (DeHaan & Schulenberg, 1997). Clearly, positive youth development is to some extent contingent on the successful development of the worldview. Although religious identity is important to many people irrespective of their status either as an immigrant minority or a majority group member, there may be a "special psychological function" of religion in the lives of minority group members (Abu-Rayya & Abu-Rayya, 2008, p. 148), perhaps even more so for Muslims living outside of the Middle East (Haddad & Smith, 2001).

Often it is difficult to disentangle the effects of religious identification from the effect of cultural/ethnic identification. Markstrom-Adams & Smith (1996) point out that oftentimes religious and ethnic identification are intertwined for Jewish people. In concordance with this finding, Hutchinson and Smith (1996) include religion as an aspect of ethnicity. Abu-Rayya and Abu-Rayya (2009) in a study of Christian and Muslim Palestinians found a modest correlation between these two identities ($r = .31$). In addition to this significant correlation, Abu-Rayya & Abu-Rayya found that higher levels of ethnic and religious identification predicted more well-being, including higher levels of positive affect, lower levels of negative affect, higher self esteem and more positive relationships with others, irrespective which religious group they

identified with. They reported correlations between religious identity and measures of well-being to be stronger than the correlations between ethnic identity and measures of well-being. Finally, when they removed the effects of ethnic identity, they found that religious identity was a better predictor of well-being. Due to the difficulty in ascertaining where the effects of identity starts and those of ethnicity begin, it is clear the importance of measuring *both* religious and ethnic identities, particularly with minority samples.

Although religious identity may play a special role in the identity formation of minority youth, most research has focused on ethnic identity and its role to adjustment in this group. However, some have pointed out the important of examining other aspects of identity, particularly religious and national identity as they appear to play an important role for ethnic minorities (e.g. Abu-Rayya & Abu-Rayya, 2009; Sabatier, 2008). In addition, contemporary identity researchers also point to the importance of considering ecological factors that may influence identity formation, including parent acculturative behaviors (Henry, Biran, & Stiles, 2006) as well as parent-child relationship factors (e.g., Sabatier, 2008; Umana-Taylor, Bhanot, & Shin, 2006). For instance, there is evidence for a role of parental behaviors in reports of young adult well-being. In particular, behaviors associated with openness to national (American) culture, as well as behaviors that are intended to preserve ethnic minority values and traditions (Henry, Stiles, Biran, & Hinkle, 2008). An authoritative style of parenting provides a context that makes it most likely for children to accept and internalize parental influence (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). At least where ethnic identity is concerned, parents who permit appropriate amounts of autonomy, paired with warmth, create contexts where ethnic pride and affirmation can be cultivated (Rosenthal & Feldman, 1992; Supple, Ghazarian, Frabutt, Plunkett, & Sands, 2006). The appropriateness of parental behaviors depends on the context; in this case, parental

acculturative behaviors may be reflected in the perceived support, warmth, and stress in the relationship between children and their parents.

In line with these ideas, Umana-Taylor, Bhanot, & Shin (2006) supply an ecological approach to the study of ethnic identity development that shows the importance of considering the critical role that parents play in identity development through familial ethnic socialization (FES). It was found to play a significant role in the amount of exploration, commitment, and affirmation one had with their ethnic group. The Perceived Parental Acculturation Behaviors Scale (PPABS) to be used in the current study taps a similar construct when we consider parental preservation behaviors. It has the added benefit of being a scale that was specifically developed for young adult Arabs. The need to study parent-child relationship and identity research is important beyond adolescence, particularly for minorities of a “collectivistic” orientation. Research shows that perception of less family support and more family acculturative stress (having different values than other family members) is associated with moderate biculturals (Britto & Amer, 2007).

There is a need for identity research in minorities to move beyond ethnic ingroup theories to a framework that can explain identification with multiple ingroups. This is particularly important for ethnic minority groups like Arab Americans because they are understudied in the identity literature. It is important to study certain identities in concert, particularly when evidence suggests they may be intertwined for ethnic minority groups (i.e, family, ethnic, religious, and national identities). The goal of the current study is to gain insight about the contribution of particular CIs to indices of adjustment rather than an examination of parental factors in Arab American emerging adults. However, it is important to consider parental factors, particularly when the minority group under consideration is one that is can be described as

family oriented or that ascribes to collectivist values, particularly with respect to the contribution they may make behaviorally to identity development.

Study Aims

The general aim of this study to gauge the configuration and importance of important ingroup identifications – in a sense, this study is exploratory. The MEIM-R and the IIS are well-suited to this task because these measures are broad enough to be applied to a wide array of CIs. In part, the intent of the study is to isolate measure(s) that work well for the measurement of diverse CIs. I feel that measures intended to assess group affirmation/attachment may best fit the bill. The other intention is to see which CIs (or combination of) explain measures of adjustment in emerging adults. I propose to investigate the feasibility of an ingroup affirmation approach to identity in an understudied population while measuring both CIs with burgeoning research (religious and family identity), as well as identities with more accepted means of conceptualization and measurement (ethnic and American identity). The MEIM-R will be investigated to see if it conforms to the two-factor model of exploration and commitment to the ingroup in Arab emerging adults, as it has for other minority group samples. A cluster analytic approach will be used to look at CIs in conjunction with one another (measured with both the MEIM-R and the IIS), while also predicting the measures of adjustment – this will assess the predictive ability of CIs measured with the MEIM-R and the IIS. The most predictive measure (either CIs measured with the MEIM-R or the IIS) will be used for the remaining analyses. Finally, I will investigate which group identifications best explain scores on positive and negative affect, depression, self esteem, and ego competence beyond the role that parent-child relationship satisfaction and micro-ecological factors such as parental acculturative behaviors may play. To summarize:

Aim 1: Investigate the viability of a two-factor (commitment and exploration) model of family, ethnic, national and religious identification on the MEIM-R with a sample of Arab American emerging adults. Due to the mixed findings surrounding the two-factor model, no hypotheses will be made regarding the feasibility of such a model in the current study.

Aim 2: Examine the ability of the MEIM-R versus the IIS to predict differences between individuals with different configurations of identity across four ingroups: ethnic, national (American), family, and religious identifications. It is hypothesized that higher levels of identification across the four CIs will be associated with positive indices of adjustment. It is hypothesized that the commitment dimension of the MEIM-R and scores on the IIS will both do well in the prediction of adjustment indices. However, it may be that the MEIM-R does not conform to the two factor model, in which case, the total MEIM-R scores will be used. If this is case, one might expect the identities measured with the MEIM-R to do a better job at explaining adjustment scores since it also asks about behaviors related to the identity (exploration behaviors).

Aim 3: Identify the relative importance of CIs for each measure of adjustment, including positive and negative affect, depression, self-esteem, and ego competence, beyond what is contributed from parental factors, as this is understudied in Arab American emerging adults. It is hypothesized that being highly identified to one's family, ethnic, American, and religious groups will be related to positive indices of adjustment. The paucity of the research on the dynamics of this collection of CIs paired with the fact that there is little available on Arab American identity does not permit the specification of detailed hypotheses regarding the relationships between CIs to indices of adjustment. However, it

is thought that parental acculturative behaviors will contribute to adjustment. Specifically, it is hypothesized that parental preservation will contribute to religious, family, and ethnic identity while parental openness will be related to American identity. The extent to which parental acculturative (preservation and openness) behaviors contribute to adjustment will be examined.

Theoretical Perspectives on Identity

A number of theoretical perspectives have contributed to the identity literature and they stem from several disciplines including sociology, anthropology, and psychology. This work will focus on three popular perspectives (Umaña-Taylor, Diversi, & Fine, 2002). The first is the ego identity perspective, which stems from Erikson's ego identity theory (1968). The second is social identity theory, most closely linked to the work of Tajfel (1981). The last approach is the Acculturation perspective, which we will discuss from Berry's (1997) approach. These three approaches at least to some extent, apply to the questions proposed in the current study.

Ego identity perspective. Erikson's (1968) ego identity theory postulates that identity formation is an essential task for young adults. He suggests that successful identity development is related to positive outcomes during adolescence, while success at this phase sets the stage for more advanced phases of development. Erikson proposes that *commitment* or the resolution of a particular component of identity will depend on the process of *exploration* (Umaña-Taylor, Yazedjian, Bamaca-Gomez, 2004). The process of exploration was viewed as an attempt to sift through many potential elements of identity, which included possible goals, values, and beliefs (Schwartz, Zamboanga, Weisskirch, & Rodriguez, 2009). This could mean talking with friends and family members, as well as doing research like reading books or visiting locales that informed the identity under investigation. This process is assumed to lead to

commitment (Bosma & Konnen, 2001). The commitment is reflected in the internalization of the role a particular identity plays in relationship to one's broader conception of self (Erikson, 1959). This provides supports for the notion that a model of affirmation or "psychological overlap" between self and ingroup is appropriate for the consideration of diverse ingroup identifications.

Elaboration of the ego-identity approach can be seen in work focusing on the identity status model originally proposed by Marcia (1966, 1980). Marcia operationalized Erikson's work and created a model that allowed for the classification of individuals based on the degree of exploration and commitment to one of four "statuses". These statuses were labeled *diffuse*, *foreclosed*, *moratorium*, and *achieved*. The identity status model has been widely studied and examined with relationship to important psychosocial outcomes such as self-esteem (Marcia, 1994) and psychological well-being (Josselson, 1994). However, some have suggested that the statuses proposed in this model do not approximate developmental stages, and that the model is more of a descriptive system of trends by which activity related to identity formation can be considered (Meeus, Iedema, Helson, & Vollebergh, 1999).

It has been suggested that identity formation is more difficult for members of ethnic minority groups (Markstrom-Adams, 1992; Rotheram-Borus & Wyche, 1994). Difficulty may arise in identity formation for ethnic minority groups because they are negotiating identification with a less powerful group; in concert, they may face unique challenges including stereotyping and prejudice (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987). Consideration of these issues prompted the development of specific identity measures for ethnic minority groups. Phinney's (1989) work was an instance of this. Phinney proposed a three-stage model of ethnic identity that implicated the underlying processes of exploration and commitment in identity formation. In the first stage,

there was little to no exploration related one's ethnic identity or what was labeled the *unexamined* stage. In the second stage, *moratorium*, individuals began a period of exploration which would lead individuals to resolve and internalize their ethnic identity and become *achieved* individuals.

The research on three-stage model of ethnic identity produced the original MEIM was a 20-item scale, with 14-items measuring EI with three subscales (affirmation, ethnic identity achievement, and ethnic behaviors) and the remaining six items measuring Other Group Orientation (OGO) (Phinney, 1992). The factor structure of the original MEIM reported by Phinney (1992) suggested two factors for the 20-item scale – one with 14 items loading onto the EI factor and one for the six items measuring OGO; in two later studies, the single factor structure of EI (the 14-items) was also confirmed (Phinney et al., 1994; 2007). Factor analyses found evidence for a single factor (Phinney et al., 1994; 2007), these two studies discuss the three inter-related subscales making up the EI factor as if there were three factors; Phinney & Devich-Navarro (1997) reported means and standard deviations for the subscales though they report a single factor (see Worrell, 2006 for a full review of these issues).

Few studies are using the full 20-item MEIM as of late; many researchers are opting instead to use the 14-item EI scale, while excluding the six-item OGO subscale. Several of these studies have had large, diverse samples of African American, Asian American, and Hispanic participants (e.g., Roberts et al., 1999; Spencer et al., 2000). These two large scale studies produced evidence for a two-factor model on the 14-item scale. Even though more recent work supports the original claims of the single factor properties of the MEIM (Worrell et al., 2006), Phinney and Ong (2007) shortened the MEIM (to the 6-item MEIM-R) and showed that

this measure could reliably be conceived as two constructs of *commitment* and *exploration* as prior studies have found (e.g., Roberts et al., 1999; Spencer et al., 2000) .

As previously suggested, not everyone has been able to substantiate the claim of the two factor model (e.g., Juang & Nguyen, 2010; Gaines et al, 2010). Though there is currently little consensus regarding the dimensionality of the MEIM, researchers have isolated commitment as an important dimension of group identity (see Ashmore et al., 2004 review) and it is said to be distinct from specific attitudes regarding the content of the identity (Cokley, 2005 in Phinney & Ong, 2007). It is reflected in attachment to one's ethnicity or ethnic group (Phinney, 1993). Despite potential issues with the MEIM's ability to measure two dimensions reliably, the underlying items on the test ask specifically about a respondent's attachment to their ethnic group, which is ultimately what the current study seeks to explore – whether a model of affirmation/attachment using the MEIM-R can be useful in the study of multiple ingroup identifications.

Social identity theory (SIT). The focus of this approach is on how group membership influences self-concepts (Tajfel, 1981). According to this theory, individuals strive to maintain positive social identities. Therefore, the degree to which individuals will affiliate with any particular social group is based on a host of factors including how that group is perceived by the individual and others in society (Umana-Taylor et al., 2002). Early work in SIT focused on self-categorization and what that categorization meant to the individual on an emotional level (Tajfel, 1981). Later work focused on the influence of group membership saliency in individual thoughts and actions (Terry & Hogg, 1996). More recently, research in this area has begun to consider the influence of ingroup identification to an individual's perceptions, feelings, and behaviors. This research has found that those who view themselves as ingroup members feel

close and similar to others in the ingroup (Doosje, Ellemers, & Spears, 1997), which may influence behavior in a number of ways including responses to group threat (e.g., Doosje, Ellemers, & Spears, 1995). Developed more recently within SIT tradition, is the view that focuses on tapping individual differences in the interconnectedness between self and the ingroup. These differences have been found to be relatively stable individual differences that are used to guide individual perceptions and interpretations of social cues and situations (Tropp & Wright, 2004). This interconnectedness is presumed to reflect group affirmation/attachment.

Acculturation perspective. Acculturative behavior is typically considered if the identity under question is ethnic or national (American) identity. Researchers operating from this perspective consider the influence of acculturative processes on changes in ethnic identity (Umana-Taylor et al., 2002) and/or its influence on national identity. This perspective highlights the importance of social-contextual influences on identity development for both the immigrant and their children. For instance, does an immigrant use the national language or celebrate the national holidays and traditions? Does an immigrant strive to maintain their native culture and traditions? The answers to these and other relevant questions influence how and if an immigrant will develop an integrated “bicultural” identity with regard to both their native and national identities. Theoretically speaking, a parent’s acculturative behavior can also influence the acculturative behavior of their children. Children who participate in national traditions that are different from their own ethnic heritage traditions will probably develop a stronger national identity. It is presumed that preservation behaviors toward the maintenance of ethnic culture can serve to reinforce the development of the ethnic and national identification. It is also possible that preservation behaviors affect family or religious identification, since these are identities may overlap.

There are three dimensional approaches to the assessment of acculturation: the unidimensional, bi-dimensional, and fusion models. In these models, acculturation is captured by the extent to which the individual maintains their heritage culture or adapts to the majority culture. The uni-dimensional model places maintenance *and* adaptation as polar opposites. Thus one cannot be viewed as high on cultural maintenance and high on majority culture adaptation. In the bi-dimensional view, maintenance and adaptation are treated as dimensions that are viewed independently, that when combined create four acculturation orientations (Berry, 1997; 2006). The bi-dimensional model is by far the most prevalent and accepted model of acculturation in the literature today (Arends-Toth & Van de Vijver, 2006; Bourhis, Moise, Perreault & Senecal, 1997).

In Berry's (1997) model of acculturation, cultural adaptation and cultural maintenance occupy an axis, each either high or low. *Separation* occurs when one is low on cultural adaptation, but high on cultural maintenance. *Assimilation* occurs when one is high on cultural adaptation but low on cultural maintenance. *Marginalization* occurs when an individual is low on both dimensions. *Integration* occurs when one is high on both dimensions. There is evidence to show that integration is probably the most adaptive strategy for immigrants, while marginalization is the worst (Berry, 1997; Ward; 1996). Individuals that appear to follow the integrated strategy can be called bicultural individuals or individuals that feel identified to both their American and ethnic heritage. These individuals are reportedly more flexible, which helps them adapt and feel less isolated as an ethnic minority (Bautista, de Domanico, Crawford, & DeWolfe, 1994).

The adaptiveness of individual strategies of acculturation may vary by context. For example, in a sample of Palestinian adults between the ages of 17 and 38, it was found that

participants had generally higher rates of ethnic (Palestinian) identification than national (Israeli) identification and while religious and ethnic identity contributed to well-being in this population, national identity did not (Abu-Rayya & Abu-Rayya, 2009). The authors of this study suggest that perhaps Berry's approach to acculturation is appropriate in "multicultural" or "melting pot" societies (see Berry, 2006 for review of these terms). This approach may not be appropriate for settings outside of this context or where there are ethno-political tensions (Abu-Rayya & Abu-Rayya, 2009). Berry's (2006) work suggests that we must consider not only individual strategies to the process of acculturation, but also the strategies of the dominant group toward the minority. He suggests that acculturation is not uniform across ecologies and is a dynamic process.

The process of acculturation in immigrant parents influences both ethnic and national identification in children born outside of the parent's native country. The influence of preservation and openness may extend beyond the obvious group identifications of ethnic and national identity, but also to religious and family identifications. This may occur as immigrant families adopt new modes of thinking and doing in the host country, which affects the salience of the customs and traditions of the old country (where oftentimes, there is little distinction between one's cultural, religious, and family traditions – there may be more homogeneity in the "old country" which makes it easier to maintain these values/traditions). One can argue that in a melting pot society such as the United States, it would be difficult to maintain a specific set of values and traditions (i.e., traditional, family-oriented, Iraqi Muslim), while swimming in a sea of other cultures and traditions. Special considerations must be made to maintain cultural practices and beliefs; there is evidence that immigrant parents in the United States make attempts to preserve their cultural heritage and transmit that information to their children (Henry, Stiles, Biran, & Hinkle, 2008). The problem with this approach is that it considers religious and family

factors as covariates of ethnic and national identifications, rather than as distinct identities. For instance, Berry (2006) has found that as acculturation to the host culture increases, decreases in religiosity are observed; as ethnic identity affirmation goes down, it is implied that so does religious identity. Without independently measuring each of the ingroup identifications, we may not uncover the true relationships between group identifications and the effects of the acculturative process.

Considerations and current issues. Conceptualizations of identity are not limited to these three perspectives. Identity has been conceptualized in many ways, with current thought suggesting that identity is a multidimensional concept (e.g., Ellemers, Kortekaas, & Ouwerkerk, 1999; Jackson & Smith, 1999) though researchers often disagree on the importance of these dimensions (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004). It has been suggested that the numerous interpretations and shifts in terminology referring to “ingroup identification” has marred the term (see Jackson & Smith, 1999). The authors of the MEIM-R and the IIS contend that despite the numerous conceptualizations of ingroup identification, more parsimonious measurement methods can be used. This is because “at its most basic level...the concept of ingroup identification [can be conceptualized as] the degree to which the ingroup is included in the self (Tropp & Wright, 2001, pg. 586) and that the basis of “[ethnic] identity is a sense of self as a group member...” (Phinney & Ong, 2007, pg. 279).

In order to further the understanding of basic underlying processes important to ingroup identity formation, there must be a unified, more basic mode of identity measurement. The creators of the MEIM-R suggests that most important aspect of [ethnic] identity is the feeling of belongingness (Phinney & Ong, 2007). The IIS may be an ideal measure to use where the intent is to measure individual differences in basic identification to ingroup (Tropp & Wright, 2001). It

is likely that these two instruments could be used to measure different domains of identity. However, to my knowledge, these two measures have not been adapted to measure ethnic, national, family, and religious identifications within the same study.

Many research programs focus solely on ethnic identity development even though individual identifications may extend to several other groups (Kiang et al., 2008). In fact, ethnic identity is only one of several possible identifications that may have positive developmental consequences (Cross & Fhagen-Smith, 2001; Yip & Cross, 2004). Furthermore, measures are needed that can reflect variability in individuals within cultures (Betancourt & Lopez, 1993) and the extent to which individuals within any culture or subculture value any particular group membership (Tropp & Wright, 2001).

There is little consensus regarding what constitutes “personal identity” and what falls under the umbrella of ethnic identity. Erikson (1980) described personal identity as the “consistency and coherence of one’s overall sense of self” (Rodriguez et al., 2010, p.325), which is a general definition that seems to imply that ingroup memberships can define personal identity. In practice, however, personal identity appears to be an umbrella term that covers anything that is not ethnic identity. Oftentimes, “personal identity” work examines gender, religion, and occupational identities. Beyond that, “personal identifications” have largely been studied with Caucasian samples, while ethnic identity is typically studied only with ethnic minority samples (Swartz, 2005). If the group in question is a minority, then “personal identity” characteristics oftentimes are described as markers or indicators for ethnic identification. For instance, Phinney’s (1990) paper identified a number of indicators of ethnic identity used in studies, such as religious affiliation and practice, friendship, and political ideology and activity, which mirror some aspects of personal identity more recently covered by

Swartz & colleagues (2009). The literature then suggests that for ethnic minority groups, the most influential identity is ethnic identity and that it determines other aspects of personal identity. Britto and Amer (2007) use the term “cultural identity” to describe the interplay between religion, ethnicity, and national identity (Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006; Raman, 2006) which supports the idea that one’s ethnicity is more than how one looks, their parent’s birthplace, and what language they speak.

Testing current models of identity is important to addressing the diversity in Western society (Sneed, Swartz, and Cross, 2004). Much of the work on identity has focused on immigrants of color (Rumbaut, 1994). Spencer and colleagues (2001) suggest that the predominant models of racial or ethnic identity are not appropriate for the study of White identity development because for many of the ethnic groups the models were created for, skin color partially defines the identity (Spencer, Nol, Stoltzfus, & Harpalani, 2001). Arabs are considered “White” as far as the United States government is concerned (Britto & Amer, 2007), so it may not be appropriate to adapt racial identity measures for this group. A model of affirmation to ingroup is desirable in that there are no underlying assumptions concerning physical characteristics like skin color or other aspects of an individual’s general appearance.

Though there has been much identity work with diverse groups including Latinos (e.g. Umana-Taylor et al., 2002; Umana-Taylor et al., 2009a; 2009b), African Americans (e.g. see Quintana, 2007 for review), Native Americans (e.g., Jones & Galliher, 2007), and Asian Americans (e.g., Lee & Woo, 2004; Roberts et al., 1999), few studies have looked at the identity of Arab Americans. Thus overall, the examination of Arab American ethnic and national (or American) identity is lacking. Because aspects of personal identity are not typically examined in

ethnic minorities, little is known about Arab religious and family identity and how these intermingle with ethnic and national (American) identifications

In this paper, collective identity (CI) is the term that will be used to describe ethnic, American, religious, and family identifications. This term allows for the examination of each of these identities on equal footing, without giving precedence to any particular one. This may be important when studying Arab American identity because of the paucity of this research. Also, the application of measures stemming from each of the theoretical perspectives, including important aspects of ego identity, social identity theory, and the acculturation perspective within the same study will help us to consider multiple influences in concert. This is important to understanding how ethnic identity and personal identities co-mingle and contribute to adjustment in Arab American emerging adults.

Collective Identity and Self: Attachment and Interdependence

Tajfel (1981) defined social identity as being a part of the individual's self concept. This is a result of individual acceptance of group membership, as well as the value and emotional significance associated with the membership. The work of Aron, Aron, Tudor, and Nelson (1991) with their concept of "overlapping selves" showed that a relationship partner can be viewed as a part of oneself. The work of Smith and colleagues (Smith, Coats, & Walling, 1999; Smith & Henry, 1996) went a step further and showed that one's ingroup can also function in a similar manner; group membership also can be a part of the mental representation of oneself. Similar notions are endorsed by the authors of the IIS. Specifically, they suggest that identity can be defined by the extent to which one experiences feelings of interconnectedness in conjunction with the psychological acceptance of the ingroup into the self (see Tropp and Wright, 2001).

Even though group membership has oftentimes been viewed as the extent to which the self and the ingroup overlap, there have been very few studies that assess identity directly in this way. This may be because the current multidimensional orientation to CIs does not support global measures of identity. The IIS is a one-item pictorial measure that was adapted from Aron et al. (1991) that asks individuals to indicate the pair of overlapping circles that best exemplifies the relationship between themselves and any particular ingroup, (see Appendix B). Tropp and Wright (2001) were able to show that this single-item global measure was valid; with this measure they found support for the conceptualization of collective identity as the overlap between self and ingroup, supporting the notions about CI originally put forth by Smith and colleagues (1999).

Some have suggested that the viewing of CI in this way originated from the work on Attachment theory originally postulated by Bowlby (1980, 1982) (i.e., Ashmore, et al., 2004). Attachment theory was an evolutionary approach that sought to explain the evolutionary adaptiveness of the proximity seeking behavior of infants, as well as the behavior of their caregivers who were internally motivated to protect and nurture them. Bowlby postulated that early attachment experiences would influence the “working models” of the self as worthy or unworthy of love and affection, while concurrently shaping notions about the relative availability (dependable or not) of the attachment figure. This “working model” would then influence the thoughts, emotions, and behaviors of an individual over the course of their lives, particularly in romantic relationships (e.g., Simpson & Rholes, 1998; Collins & Read, 1990). These mental models of self and others heavily influenced attachment work with adults. In their study of couples, Aron et al., (1991) found that reaction time was significantly slowed for participants

when characteristics that were inconsistent with their spouses' were presented. Dissonance in aspects of one's attachment relationship slowed processing time.

Fraley and Waller (1998) proposed that attachment be defined in a two-dimensional space with the axes being *attachment anxiety* and *attachment avoidance*. Work by Collins and Read (1994) and Baldwin and colleagues (1996) also endorsed this two-dimensional view. This led to the proposition that the mental representations of all types of relationships, not simply romantic or intimates ones, but also those of a more general nature, would influence affective and behavioral outcomes (Smith, Murphy, and Coats, 1999). For instance, an individual may have several representations of different types of relationships, each with a different level of valence and accessibility depending on whether or not they are recently and/or are frequently activated (Higgins, 1996). One's behavior in any particular relationship is not determined solely by the initial caregiving relationship. Rather, one's attachment behavior may be multiply determined by any number of relevant representations (Smith, Murphy, & Coats, 1999).

Baumeister and Leary (1995) argue that the bonds between members of a group are just as important as feelings of attachment in interpersonal relationships. The need for this attachment to the ingroup is evidenced by the attachment that is exhibited even to the symbolic representations of the group, such as to a national flag or historically relevant architectural or other artifacts (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004). This motivation or need to belong to a group makes sense from an evolutionary perspective, since our ancestors would have been less likely to survive had they not had the protection of the group (Caporael, 1997).

There are parallels in the research between attachment in interpersonal relationships and those to groups. These parallels show that attachment theory may enlighten our understanding of the process and function of ingroup identification (Smith, Murphy, & Coats, 1999). To illustrate,

Smith and colleagues (1999) were able to establish the validity of conceptualizing group attachment with the dimensions of anxiety and avoidance with the *Social Group Attachment Scale*. This scale included items from Collins and Read's attachment scale (1990) and Bartholomew and Horowitz's attachment style self-report prototypes (1991), revised to refer to social groups rather than to romantic relationships. Using this measure, they were able to show that group attachment was related to group membership outcomes, such as satisfaction and social support from the group. These outcomes endured over time and were distinct from interpersonal attachment.

The formation of group attachment seems to depend on the extension of the self to the group and this occurs based on (1) shared fate and interconnectedness with group (cognitive factor) and (2) feelings of closeness and caring about other group members (affective factor) (Ashmore, et al., 2004). The IIS is presumed to tap these factors in a global fashion. In validating the IIS, Tropp and Wright found that the IIS correlated with a measure of one's private regard for an ingroup and with importance of one's group memberships to one's sense of self. They were also able to show that reaction times for participants with high *IIS* scores (high self-ingroup overlap) were significantly slowed when responding to self-descriptive characteristics that were not descriptive of the group. Furthermore, there were no differences in response times for participants with low *IIS* scores, suggesting that these two groups have different cognitive representations of their relationship with the group (Tropp & Wright, 2004).

The *MEIM-R* measures both exploration and commitment/affirmation in ethnic identity, though conceptually this measure can be applied to a variety of CIs (Phinney & Ong, 2007). Exploration is a pre-requisite for the development of an "achieved identity" or for commitment to occur (Phinney, 1993). However, other work suggests that there may not be a developmental

order to exploration and commitment (Meeus, 2011). Exploration in CI development is very strongly moderated by environmental influences, particularly during adolescence and emerging adulthood since this is the time when autonomy-granting occurs. This autonomy puts adolescents and emerging adults in context (such as college) where they might be exposed to discrimination, prejudice, and individuals from other backgrounds (Phinney, 1996).

One's home environment may also play a role in exploration. Sabatier (2008), in her study of ethnic and national identifications found that the greatest contribution to exploration were perceptions of the parent-child relationship. It is possible that adolescents with either open or controlling parents may exhibit more or less exploration depending on the amount of autonomy granted by the parent. In addition, adolescents in later stages of identity development may question their parents' values, which may set off additional exploration behavior (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2009).

Attachment/affirmation may not be as subject to developmental transitions as exploration is (Umaña-Taylor, et al., 2009) since some have suggested that attachment to one's ethnic group occurs prior to adolescence (e.g., Rotheram-Borus, Lightfoot, Moraes, Dopkins, & LaCour, 1998). A study by Pahl and Way, (2006) showed no changes in affirmation through a span of four years. Attachment/affirmation to group may depend on early family socialization and is not expected to change during adolescence (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2009). Since it is thought to be relatively stable, attachment/affirmation may be the best picture of ingroup identification at any given point in the lifespan.

Collective Identifications and Adjustment

Much of the research on social identifications in ethnic minorities has focused on the role of ethnic identity. Ethnic identity has been linked to a number of positive outcomes and indices

of adjustment such as self-esteem and mental health (e.g., Umana-Taylor, Diversi, & Fine, 2002; Pinney, Cantu, Kurtz, 1997; Phinney & Chavira, 1992), self-confidence and purpose in life (Martinez & Dukes, 1997), greater academic achievement and school adjustment (Acoach & Webb, 2004; Spencer, et al., 2001), coping with discrimination (Phinney & Chavira, 1992), and general well-being (Umana-Taylor, et al, 2002; Yip, Seaton, & Sellars., 2006). Ong, Phinney, & Dennis (2006) found that high scores on ethnic identity were related to college GPA for students of a lower socioeconomic status.

Though there are many positives to ethnic identifications, there has been some conflicting evidence. For instance, Jones & Galliher (2007) found higher levels of exploration on the exploration scale of the MEIM (Phinney, 1992) to be associated with lower grade point averages for adolescent girls. In addition, it has been observed that high cultural identity is associated with heavier drug use (James, Kim, & Armijo, 2000), while others have shown no relationship between substance use and high levels of cultural identity (Strunin & Demissie, 2001). Very little research has been conducted with Middle-Eastern young adults and substance usage beyond smoking behavior, where it was found that those who had a stronger religious identification were less likely to engage in smoking behaviors (e.g., Soweid, Khawaja, & Salem, 2004).

Parental socialization is important when we consider these contradictory findings. On the one hand, cognitive development (Caughy, Nettles, O'Campo, and Lohrfint (2006) and lower rates of depression (McHale et al., 2006) in African Americans was related to parental socialization of racial-ethnic pride. On the other hand, it has been observed that strong identification with one's racial-ethnic group was detrimental in some instances, particularly in contexts in which there is discrimination (Quintana, 2007). Low levels of ethnic affirmation and exploration was related to higher self esteem in one diverse sample of Latinos, Asians, and

African American youth (Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006). This should make sense in some cases, considering discrimination may make identifying with the minority group undesirable. From a social identity theory, we might expect that psychological distancing would occur. From an ecological acculturation perspective we would expect that the discrimination would make that aspect of identity salient. Studies within this perspective have found that this saliency can express itself in a greater identification with the group in question (Rumbaut, 1995; Umana-Taylor, Bhanot, & Shin, 2006).

Ethnic identity has been examined to some extent in conjunction with *American* (AI; or national) identity, oftentimes from an acculturation framework. From an acculturation framework, this has often meant that ethnic identity depends on acculturative processes (Umana-Taylor, Diversi, & Fine, 2002). Thus, individual choices in adopting “mainstream” traditions (such as American holidays) or speaking the “mainstream” language will influence the manifestation of ethnic identity. Therefore, to fully understand ethnic identity, those working from an acculturation framework have sometimes concurrently examined the role of the national or American identity.

The role of national or *American identity* (AI) is particularly important for youth living in the United States (Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz, 1997), especially considering that up to 30% of youth in the United States are children of immigrants (Feliciano, 2006). Despite the fact that a large fraction of Americans in the United States are ethnic minorities, oftentimes, being American is equated with being “White” (Bush, 2005). American identity can be thought of as a superordinate “macro-identity” (Gaertner, Dovidio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993). They suggest that identification with a superordinate group (like AI) under which all other groups can be are

subsumed, is one way that group prejudice and biases can be reduced. This is the idea that something that there is something “bigger than us” as we share being American.

The implications of being an ethnic minority who strongly identifies with American identity is unclear. Yip and Cross (2004) found that Chinese Americans had similar mental health outcomes regardless of whether they had a strong ethnic identity or American identity. This suggests that what really matters is having some type of identity (Yip, Kiang, & Fuligni, 2008) rather than a particular configuration of CIs. However, other research has found benefits for bi-cultural individuals who identify with both their ethnic and national affiliations (for a discussion on the *integration* strategy see Berry, 1997).

Family identity (FI) is understudied even though the family is perhaps the most important socializing agent for young adults (Kiang et al., 2008). It has also been suggested that family also represents a salient social identity (Fuligni & Flook, 2005) that is the earliest and most proximal influence on life course development (Parke, 2004). Curiously enough, not much research has focused on family as a CI, particularly in emerging adults. Research on familial identifications has focused on the role that family identity plays in work-family conflict and gender roles (e.g., Bagger, Li, Gutek, 2008; Aryee & Luk, 1996). Other work suggests that family-oriented ethnic minority groups tend to have more empathic stress that contribute to depression presumably because of their strong family ties (Nicolas, Desilva, Prater, Bronkoski, 2009). Recall Ashmore et al.’s (2004) proposal that attachment to ingroup depends on two factors: interconnectedness and feelings of closeness. Empathic family relationships, particularly those that predict outcomes in minority groups may be a manifestation of a family identity at work, where empathy towards others in the family implies feelings of closeness. Arab Americans have been described as family-oriented (Abudabbeh, 1996) and many emerging

adults in this group remain with their parents until marriage, particularly the females. Thus, family identity may be particularly important CI to consider with respect to adjustment for Arab Americans.

Even though there has been little research concerning FI in the traditional sense, there has been work linking family interdependence to a number of important outcomes. Most of this work has found evidence for the effect of family interdependence as a protective resource (Ong et al., 2006) that can determine academic adjustment (Schneider & Ward, 2003). In addition to interdependence and FI, it is important to consider the family context as well, particularly as it pertains to the parent-child relationship. Supportive, warm, and overall satisfying parent-child relationships are important to the process of identity development. We know that consistent parental support can be viewed as a “baseline resource” for positive developmental outcome (Ong et al., 2006). This support is presumed to be particularly important when it may be difficult for an adolescent to internalize positive [ethnic] images of themselves, as in the case where they feel they do not fit in or where prejudice and discrimination is perceived (Romero & Roberts, 2003). This work is severely limited in identities outside the realm of ethnic identity. It is also important to see if American, religious, and family identities are influenced to the same extent by the parent-child relationship context.

There is some research emerging about *religious* identity (RI) (Kiang et al., 2008). Identification with a religious group has been shown to be related to different facets of psychological health and well being (Furrow, King, & White, 2004; French & Joseph, 1999) and young adults tend to report that religion is at least moderately important in their lives (Pearce & Thornton, 2007) and to their identity development (Smith and Denton, 2006) However, many studies that investigate the positive influence of religious affiliation do not focus on minority

groups (Abu-Rayya & Abu-Rayya, 2009), even though it has been proposed that one's religion is a facet of one's ethnic identity (Abu-Rayya & Abu-Rayya, 2009; Hutchinson & Smith, 1996). Ethnic minority groups can also face discrimination for their religious affiliations. Discrimination toward Muslims has increased dramatically (Sheridan, 2006) and there is evidence for negative attitudes toward the Jewish population (Cohen, Jussim, Harber, & Bhasin, 2009). As previously mentioned, there may be a greater need for group interdependence and for family support, particularly where there is a perception of discrimination. Certain groups, particularly Arab American Muslims may be particularly vulnerable to the effects of weak feelings of affirmation and strained parent-child relationships if they perceive discrimination and prejudice.

There are many reasons why ethnic, American, family, and religious group affiliations were chosen for this study. First, these identities are possibly the most influential on the development of a ethnic minority individual, yet are understudied. Ethnic identity has been the most researched, followed by American identity, though typically as a referent to ethnic identity from an acculturation framework. This particular grouping of identities was studied by Kiang et al., (2007) and Yip, Kiang, & Fuligni (2008), who cited a similar rationale. Finally, given the cultural history of the Arab people and the age group of interest, these are likely to be the most salient CIs to the target sample.

The Arab Community in Metro-Detroit

The Arab American sector of the United States is a rapidly growing and sizeable population, with 1.2 million people reporting Arab ancestry in the United States in 2000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). This was an estimated 38% increase since the 1990 Census. More than one third of Arab residents reported Lebanese ancestry (37%), followed by Syrian and Egyptian

groups (12% each) as the largest Arab groups in the United States. This brief also suggests that there are close to 116,000 Arabs in Michigan (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000), the largest concentration of Arabs in the United States. Other estimates report more than 440,000 Arabs in Michigan (Arab American Institute in Hassoun, 2005).

The first Arab immigrants were Lebanese and Syrian and arrived to Michigan early in the 20th century seeking work, with the goal of returning to their homeland after conditions improved (Ajrouch, 2000). According to Awad (1992), opportunities for economic and educational advancement was the main motivation for migration to the United States in the late 60's until the late 70's when escaping civil war and Israeli invasion was a strong motivator (in Ajrouch, 2000). Most Arab immigrants came here by choice and economically could afford to do so; therefore, the most recent wave of immigrants from Lebanon tends to be sociodemographically advantaged than other immigrant minority groups (Reardon-Anderson, Capps, & Fix, 2002). In fact, recent estimates suggest 85% of Arabs are reported to have a high school diploma and 17% of Arabs have a post graduate degree (which is twice the American average). Consistent with this, Arabs tend to earn more money than the average American (Brittingham & de la Cruz, 2005)

Despite the growing number of Arabs in this country, very little work has been conducted attempting to understand Arab American families in the United States (Henry et al., 2009). Arab Americans are a diverse group – politically, economically, and religiously. However, the common thread between different Arab sects is the shared history, language, and cultural heritage (Arab Detroit, 2009). Arabs have been described as family-oriented, with the family members serving as the main source of social support (Abudabbeh, 1996). In addition to the strong family orientation, a hierarchical interdependence pattern characterizes this group, where power is held by males and older members of the family (Barakat, 1985). Because of this

orientation, Arab parents may expect their children to follow their expectations rather than their own personal aspirations (Timimi, 1995), making the examination of perceived parental acculturation behaviors particularly important for this group.

CHAPTER 2

METHODS

Participants and Procedure

The sample included 146 Middle Eastern (Arab) participants recruited from undergraduate psychology courses or the Arab Student Union ($M=21.27$, $SD=3.27$ years old). The sample was 67% female. Most participants were of either Iraqi or Lebanese descent (73%), while the remainder of the participants hailed from Yemen, Palestine, Egypt, and Jordan, in descending order. Participants were asked to indicate the Arab group that best categorized them while also indicating their ethnic group affiliation by responding to the question “I consider myself to be a _____”. Both items were open-ended. All participants included in this study opted for pan-ethnic labels on at least one of the ethnic identity items, indicating either that they were “Arabic”, “Arab-American”, or “Middle Eastern”. Lebanese participants tended to label themselves “Lebanese” or “Lebanese-American” while about 74% of Iraqis labeled themselves “Chaldean”. Sixty-one percent of the participants were born in the United States and with the exception of 8 participants, all were second generation (U.S. born with at least one foreign born parent). There were very few differences on any study variables between immigrant and U.S. born participants, with the exception of scores on parental openness ($t(136) = 2.49$, $p < .05$). Interestingly, average parental preservation ratings between immigrant and U.S. born participants did not differ from one another.

Roughly half of the sample reported gross annual household incomes between \$10,000 – \$40,000, 35% reported incomes between \$50,001 – \$110,000, while the remaining 10% reported incomes above \$110,000. Five percent reported incomes below \$10,000. Income did not vary

by ethnic subgroup (country of origin). The Hollingshead index (Hollingshead, 1979) was also calculated and this too did not vary by ethnic subgroup.

Due to the small number of participants from the countries of Yemen (20), Palestine (9), Egypt (5), Syria (2), and Jordan (2), these subgroups were collapsed into one group. The other two groups were the Lebanese and Iraqi/Chaldean groups, for a total of three groups. Preliminary analyses indicated no differences between these ethnic subgroups on important demographics as well as measures of adjustment including scores of depressive symptomology, positive and negative affect, ego competence, or self-esteem (see Table 1). There were also no differences between ethnic subgroups on the level of identification with any of the CIs. This appeared to be a generally homogenous sample. However, there was a statistical difference at the $p < .05$ level in parental preservation scores ($F(2, 135) = 3.47, p = .04$). The effect size, calculated using eta squared was .05, a small to medium effect size according to Cohen's (1988) classification. Post-hoc comparisons indicate that the mean score for Iraqis/Chaldeans ($M = 1.93, SD = .77$) was significantly different from the collapsed "Other" group, which was comprised mostly of Yemeni participants ($M = 2.34, SD = .74$).

Participants were recruited with SONA, an online data collection site available through Wayne State University's department of psychology. Students enrolled in undergraduate psychology classes were invited to participate for instructor approved extra credit. All participants in the current study completed a SONA prescreen in which they indicate their ethnic group affiliation. The study was only open to those individuals who endorsed an Arab/Middle Eastern ethnic label in the prescreen questionnaire. Interested individuals signed up to participate in SONA, and following, they were re-directed to another online survey program which collected their responses. A small fraction of the total sample (13%) was recruited

through the Arab Student Union at Wayne State University. An email was sent to the president who then forwarded the email to his constituents. Participants from this pool had the opportunity to donate \$5 as compensation to one of three organizations (American Cancer Society, Children's Miracle Network, or Conservation Fund).

Measures

Collective Identities

Family identity. Family identity (FI) was measured with the MEIM-R (Phinney & Ong, 2007) and the IIS (Wright & Tropp, 2001), adapted to reflect family identity (See Appendix A) (Labeled MEIM-R-FI and IIS-FI, respectively). On the MEIM-R, participants were presented six items assessing commitment and exploration to one's family ranging from 1 *strongly disagree* to 5 *strongly agree*. For instance, participants were asked whether they endorse items such as "I have spent time trying to find out more about my family history" and "I have a strong sense of belonging to my own family" ($M = 4.17$, $SD = 1.04$, $\alpha = .95$). On the IIS, participants were asked to endorse a pair of 7 sets of circles that overlap to varying degrees that "you feel best represents your own level of identification with your family" ($M = 6.27$, $SD = 1.36$). Total average scores for the MEIM-R were computed. Endorsing the set of circles with greater overlap on the IIS indicate greater feelings of affiliation with one's family. Due to the negative skew for both the MEIM-R and IIS for FI, responses were re-coded as either "high" (scoring above the mean) or "low" on FI (scoring below the mean). There were no gender differences on this CI.

Religious Identity. Religious identity (RI) was also measured with the MEIM-R and the IIS adapted to reflect religious identity. For instance, on the MEIM-R participants were asked to endorse whether they "have often done things that will help me understand my religion better"

and “I understand well what my religious group membership means to me” ($M = 4.20$, $SD = 1.71$, $\alpha = .96$). Assessment of religious identity on the IIS asked participants to endorse the pair of circles that “you feel best represents your own level of identification with your religious group” ($M = 5.55$, $SD = 1.71$). Average total scores were computed for the MEIM-R, higher scores indicating greater feelings of affiliation with one’s religious group. On the IIS, an endorsement of the pair of circles with the greatest amount of overlap indicated the most possible feelings of closeness/affiliation with one’s religious group. Responses were negatively skewed on both the MEIM-R and IIS for RI, so responses were dummy-coded and participants re-labeled as either “high” (scoring above the mean) or “low” on FI (scoring below the mean). There were no gender differences on RI.

American Identity. American identity was measured with the MEIM-R and the IIS adapted to reflect American identity (MEIM-R-AI and IIS-AI, respectively). For instance, on the MEIM-R, participants were asked if they “have often talked to other people in order to learn more about American culture” or whether they “have a strong attachment to American culture” ($M = 3.45$, $SD = 1.02$, $\alpha = .93$). Assessment of American identity on the IIS asked participants to endorse the pair of circles that “you feel best represents your own level of identification with American culture as a group” ($M = 4.27$, $SD=1.69$). Total average scores were computed on the MEIM-R. On the IIS, an endorsement of the pair of circles with the greatest amount of overlap indicated more feelings of closeness/affiliation with one’s ethnic group. There were no gender differences on AI.

Ethnic Identity. Ethnic identity was measured with the original MEIM-R and an adapted version of IIS. On the MEIM-R participants were asked if they “have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group” and whether they “have spent time trying to find out more

about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs” ($M = 3.83$, $SD = .97$, $\alpha = .92$). On the IIS, participants were asked to endorse the pair of circles that they “feel best represents your own level of identification with your ethnic group” ($M = 5.07$, $SD = 1.65$). Average total scores were computed for the MEIM-R, higher scores indicating greater feelings of affiliation with one’s ethnic group. On the IIS, an endorsement of the pair of circles with the greatest amount of overlap indicated most possible feelings of closeness/affiliation with one’s ethnic group. Since responses were negatively skewed for both the MEIM-R and IIS, responses were dummy-coded and participants re-labeled as either “high” (scoring above the mean) or “low” on FI (scoring below the mean). There were no gender differences on EI.

Indices of Adjustment

Positive and negative affect. The I-PANAS-SF (Thompson, 2007) was used to assess positive ($M = 13.38$, $SD = 3.38$, $\alpha = .86$) and negative affect ($M = 5.54$, $SD = 3.98$, $\alpha = .76$). This is a 10-item scale with 5 each positive and negative mood states (e.g., upset, ashamed, alert, hostile, inspired...) rated on a five point scale ranging from 1 *never* to 5 *always*. This scale is cross-culturally valid and correlates strongly with subjective well-being. Females ($M = 6.09$, $SD = 3.18$) had significantly higher scores on negative affect than males ($M = 4.52$, $SD = 2.87$; $t(135) = -2.87$, $p < .01$), but there were no gender differences on positive affect scores.

Depressive symptomology. The CES-D (Radloff, 1977) is a self reported measure of depressive symptomology that was designed for measuring depression in the general population. Items ask how often in the last week the respondent has experienced different types of depressive symptomology (i.e., “I did not feel like eating”). This is a 20-item measure with values of items ranging on a scale from 1 – 4 (1 = Never, 2 = 1 – 2 days, 3 = 3 – 4 days, and 4 = 5 – 7 days). Total score may range from 0 to 60, with scores beyond 16 used as a cutoff for significant levels

of depressive symptoms (Radloff, 1977) ($M = 15.49$, $SD = 10.18$, $\alpha = .90$). There were significant gender differences ($t(133) = -2.96$, $p < .05$), so that females ($M = 17.31$, $SD = 9.77$) reported more depressive symptoms than did males ($M = 11.95$, $SD = 10.12$).

Self-esteem. The Rosenberg self-esteem scale (Rosenberg, 1965) assesses feelings of self-regard and is designed for use with adolescents. It is a 10-item self-report measure on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 *strongly disagree* to 5 *strongly agree*. This measure includes items such as “I feel that I have a number of good qualities.” This scale is widely used and found to be reliable ($M = 22.64$, $SD = 5.94$, $\alpha = .91$). Scores between 15 and 25 are within the normal range, while scores below 15 suggest low self esteem. There were significant differences on self-esteem ($t(137) = 2.07$, $p < .05$), suggesting that females ($M = 21.86$, $SD = 6.06$) reported significantly lower levels of self esteem than males ($M = 24.04$, $SD = 5.78$).

Ego competence. The *Psychosocial Inventory of Ego strengths (PIES)* (Markstrom, Sabino, Turner, & Berman, 1997) is a 32-item scale measuring psychosocial maturity and ranges from 1 *does not describe me very well* to 5 *describes me very well*. This measure assesses numerous strengths including hope, will, purpose, competence, fidelity, love, care, and wisdom presumed to tap Erikson’s eight ego strengths. The four item competence subscale was used for the current study with sample questions such as “I have strengths that enable me to be effective in certain situations” and “I am involved in a variety of activities that allow me to use my skills and abilities” ($M = 15.07$, $SD = 3.34$, $\alpha = .72$). There were gender differences for scores on ego competence ($t(135) = 2.40$, $p < .05$), so that females ($M = 14.55$, $SD = 3.11$) had lower perceived competence scores than males ($M = 15.98$, $SD = 3.61$).

Substance use. Cigarette, argeleh (hookah), alcohol, marijuana, and prescription drug use frequency was assessed by asking participants to indicate how many times they engaged in the

behavior in the past month. Zero indicated *no use* while 3 indicated *frequent usage*. A total substance usage score was calculated by summing frequency endorsements. This score has a potential range of 0 (no use) to 15 (frequent use of substances) ($M = 1.27$, $SD = 1.87$). Jones & Gallier (2007) used a similar method of calculating total alcohol and substance use in Navajo adolescents. With the exception of argeleh usage (60% endorsed “no use” and 27% endorsed “a few times”) and alcohol (60% endorsed “no use” and 30% endorsed “a few times”), other substance usage was rare (over 90% “no use”) in this sample. There were no gender differences in substance use scores.

Parent measures

Perceived parental acculturation. The Perceived Parental Acculturation Behaviors Scale (PPABS) was used to assess participant perception of parent acculturative behavior (Henry, Biran, & Stiles, 2006). For instance, they respond to questions such as “Do your parents eat American food?” and “Do your parents urge you to marry a person from your own cultural background?” This scale is presented in a standard 5-point Likert scale with 0 *never* to 4 *always*. This measure contains two subscales measuring Perceived Parental Openness (PO) ($M = 2.12$, $SD = .81$, $\alpha = .71$) to American culture and Perceived Parental Preservation (PP) ($M = 2.14$, $SD = .79$, $\alpha = .83$) of ethnic minority culture. Average scores were computed for each subscale. PO appeared to be strongly correlated with AI ($r = .44$) but not to the indices of adjustment. PP was related positively to positive affect ($r = .22$) and to negative affect ($r = .27$). There are no gender differences on ratings of PO or PP.

Parent-child relationship satisfaction. Three items on a Likert scale ranging from 0 *very little* to 4 *a great deal* assessed warmth, support, and the amount of stress (reverse coded) in the relationship participants had with their parents and were adapted from the National Youth

Survey. Total scores were calculated for mother and father, respectively ($M = 8.97$, $SD = 2.59$; $M = 7.90$, $SD = .3.33$). Participants also rated their overall satisfaction with their relationship with mother and father separately ($M = 3.28$, $SD = 1.15$; $M = 2.95$, $SD = 1.40$, respectively). There were no differences between males and females on overall rating of satisfaction with parents. The correlation between the total score composite for each parent and the overall parent satisfaction ratings for each parent were $r = .75$ for mother and $r = .79$ for father. The total composite scores for each parent were summed and average scores were obtained to yield a total score for overall parent-child relationship satisfaction ($M = 8.42$, $SD = 2.55$). Higher scores indicate the participant's perception of more warmth, support, and less stress within the parent-child relationship. The total parent-child relationship satisfaction score will be used in the current study.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

Relationship between study variables

Bivariate correlations between CIs and adjustment variables are reported in Tables 2 and 3. Table 4 shows correlations the MEIM-R and the IIS measuring the four CIs. Although the initial focus will be on clusters of CIs, it is interesting to note that, with the exception of a small correlation with positive affect ($r = .20$) and with self-esteem ($r = .18$), AI was not significantly correlated with the other measures of adjustment. The largest correlation was between positive affect and RI ($r = .45$). Significant correlations ranged between $.20 - .45$. With the exception of the significant (but small) negative correlation between depressive symptomology and FI ($r = -.20$), CIs were not correlated with depressive symptomology and negative affect. Most significant correlations were between CI's and positive affect, self esteem, and to a lesser extent – ego competence. It appeared that CIs were mostly related to indices of positive adjustment rather than to negative indices like depressive symptomology and negative affect.

Parent-child relationship satisfaction was correlated with all indices of adjustment and these correlations ranged from $.27$ to $.41$ in magnitude. Parent-child relationship satisfaction was significantly related to all CIs, regardless of whether measured with the MEIM or the IIS. The magnitude of correlations ranged from $.30$ to $.39$ on the MEIM-R and ranged from $.20 - .36$ on the IIS (including friends and gender). Parental openness to American culture was related negatively to preservation behaviors ($r = -.36$), but was not related to parent-child relationship satisfaction or any measure of adjustment, including self esteem, depression, positive and negative affects, ego competence, and depressive symptomology. Parental preservation behaviors were both significantly and positively correlated to positive and negative affect,

though weakly, ($r = .22$ and $r = .27$) but not related to self-esteem, ego competence, and depressive symptomology. See Table 5 for correlations between parent variables and indices of adjustment.

Validity of the two-factor MEIM-R

The six items of MEIM-R for each CI were subjected to a factor analysis using SPSS version 19.0. Prior to running the factor analysis the correlation matrix was examined (Table 2). This revealed many correlation coefficients .30 and above. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin values were all above the recommended value of .6 (Kaiser, 1970, 1974) and the Bartlett's test of sphericity was statistically significant for runs with each CI (Bartlett, 1954). Together this supported the feasibility of a factor analysis with the MEIM-R for each CI.

Initial extractions revealed that the two factor model proposed by Phinney & Ong (2007) for the MEIM-R was not supported in the current study. Results suggested a single factor for each CI and for each, only one component emerged with an eigenvalue exceeding 1. The component explained 72% of the variance for EI, 73% of the variance for AI, 80% of the variance for FI, and 86% of the variance in RI. The examination of the scree plot showed a clear break after the first component for each CI. Due to these results, it was concluded no further investigation (or rotation) would be necessary. Further analyses will use the MEIM-R total scores for examination against the IIS measure. Table 4 includes correlations between CI measured with MEIM-R and with the IIS.

CI Clusters and Adjustment measured with the MEIM-R

To see if unique configurations of scores on CIs could be discerned and if they could predict adjustment differentially, scores for each CI using the MEIM-R were subjected to a cluster analysis. This study employed a K-means approach to classify participants into one of

two groups based on their scores on the four CIs. The first cluster ($N = 50$) scored lower than average across the board on the four CIs than the second cluster. This group was labeled “Low Collective Identity” (LCI). The second cluster ($N = 97$) was labeled “High Collective Identity” (HCI) (See Table 6).

Independent samples t-tests were conducted to explain differences in cluster membership on adjustment scores. There were no significant differences in cluster membership based on gender, income, or ethnic subgroup. There were also no differences on measures of depression, negative affect, and ego. However, there were significant differences on self-esteem between LCI ($M = 21.02$, $SD = 6.00$) and HCI [$M = 23.92$, $SD = 5.60$; $t(138) = -2.95$, $p = .004$]. This was a moderate effect ($\eta^2 = .06$) as proposed by Cohen (1988). There were also differences in scores on positive affect for LCI ($M = 12.56$, $SD = 4.14$) and HCI [$M = 14.01$, $SD = 3.76$; $t(139) = -2.18$, $p = .03$]. This effect was small to moderate ($\eta^2 = .03$).

In addition to the differences in adjustment, there appeared to be differences on some parenting variables, including perceived parent-child relationship satisfaction between the LCI ($M = 7.73$, $SD = 2.49$) and the HCI clusters [$M = 8.95$, $SD = 2.48$; $t(137) = -2.95$, $p = .005$; $\eta^2 = .06$]. There were also differences on parental openness between LCI ($M = 1.83$, $SD = .76$) and HCI [$M = 2.34$, $SD = .77$; $t(136) = -2.63$, $p = .01$; $\eta^2 = .05$]. Though marginal, there were no differences between clusters on the measure of parental preservation ($p = .058$).

CI clusters and adjustment measured with the IIS

As was done for the MEIM-R CI scores, scores for each CI on the IIS were subjected to a cluster analysis. This also employed a K-means approach to classify participants based on their scores on the four CIs. With the IIS, there were few appreciable differences between clusters with respect to scores on the CIs, with the exception of the scores on AI (See Table 6). The first

cluster ($N = 57$) was labeled “Low American identity” (LAI) and the second cluster ($N = 87$) “High American identity” (HAI).

There were no differences between clusters on adjustment scores when CIs were measured with the IIS. However, there were differences on the parenting variables. Parent-child relationship satisfaction between LAI ($M = 7.73$, $SD = 2.49$) and HAI [$M = 8.95$, $SD = 2.48$; $t(137) = -2.95$, $p = .005$], for which an eta squared of .06 results in a moderate effect size. There were differences on parental openness between the LAI group ($M = 1.83$, $SD = .76$) and the HAI group [$M = 2.34$, $SD = .77$; $t(136) = -3.36$, $p = .001$] had an eta squared of .08, a moderate to large effect size. Finally, there were also differences between the LAI group ($M = 2.51$, $SD = .67$) and HAI group [$M = 1.95$, $SD = .78$; $t(136) = 2.37$, $p = .019$; eta squared = .04) on parental preservation scores.

Assessing relative contribution of CIs to measures of adjustment

Hierarchical multiple regressions were conducted to assess the relative contribution of each CI to the indices of adjustment. To decide which CIs corresponded to each indicator of adjustment in terms of variance that can be explained, correlation matrices were examined. Correlations of .30 or greater between any particular indicator of adjustment and the CIs were included in the following regression analyses. AI was not included in any of the following regressions since it did not meet these criteria. In addition to the CIs specified in this study, the IIS was also adapted to measure one’s overall affirmation with two other group identifications: friends and gender. These two identifications also were not significantly correlated to any other the adjustment indices at a .30 level so they also were not included in the regression analyses. Correlations and significance levels for these two variables can be found in Tables 3. Only EI and RI measured with both the MEIM-R and the IIS and their correlations with positive affect,

self esteem, and ego competence were at the magnitude necessary for inclusion into regressions. In each case, the magnitude of the correlations between the CIs and adjustment measured with the MEIM-R and the IIS were relatively close (See Tables 2 and 3). To assess the relative contribution of significant CIs to measures of adjustment, one measure needed to be chosen. Since cluster analyses supported the notion that MEIM-R had more predictive utility than the IIS for measures of positive adjustment, scores for CIs measured with the MEIM-R will be included in the following regressions.

The relationship between CIs and self-esteem

After examining the correlations between the different CIs and self esteem, only RI met the criteria for inclusion into the following regression, as it was the only CI that was correlated with self-esteem at a .30 or above. A hierarchical multiple regression was conducted to evaluate a model where RI explains variance in self esteem, after controlling for the possible effect of gender and parent-child relationship satisfaction. When gender and parent-child relationship satisfaction were entered in Block 1, the overall model explains 19% of the variance. Once RI was entered in Block 2, the overall model explained 25% of the variance (23% adjusted). After the effects of gender and parent-child relationship satisfaction are removed, RI explains an additional 6% of the variance in self-esteem, which is a significant contribution (F change = 9.60, $p < .01$). The model as a whole is significant ($F(3, 134) = 14.36$, $p < .001$). All entered variables contributed significantly in the final model with gender explaining 2.9% of the variance, parent-child relationship satisfaction explaining 8.8% of the variance, and RI explaining 5.5% of the variance (see Table 6).

The relationship between CIs and ego competence

Only EI and FI met the criteria for inclusion into the hierarchical multiple regression to assess the relative contribution of CIs to ego competence. After gender and parent-child relationship satisfaction are entered in Block 1, the overall model explained 11% of the variance. When EI and RI are entered into the model in Block 2, the overall model explained 21% (18% adjusted) of the variance in ego. Removing the effects of gender and parent-child relationship satisfaction, EI and RI explain an additional 10% of the variance in ego, which is a significant contribution (F change = 8.35, $p < .001$). The model as a whole is significant ($F(4, 135) = 8.58$, $p < .001$) but only gender and RI make significant contributions in the final block, explaining 4.5% and 4.6% of the variance, respectively.

To test for the feasibility of a mediating effect of RI on the relationship between EI and ego competence, another hierarchical multiple regression was conducted, again controlling for gender and parent-child relationship satisfaction in Block 1. In Block 2, EI was entered followed by the entry of RI in Block 3. The overall model was significant ($F(4, 135) = 8.58$, $p < .001$). Results show support for mediation; the initial significant contribution of both parent-child relationship satisfaction and EI in the first and second blocks, cease to be significant after the inclusion of RI in the final block (see Table 8). An indirect test of mediation using a Sobel test was conducted (Sobel, 1982). To show mediation using the Sobel test, two regressions are run. The first regression specifies that the IV predict the mediator, while the second regression specifies the prediction of the DV with both the IV and the mediator. The unstandardized regression coefficients and associated standard errors for the IV from the first regression and the mediator from the second regression were entered into an online Sobel test calculator. Results of the Sobel test indicate the presence of a mediating relationship between EI and ego competence by RI (Sobel test statistic = 2.37, $p < .05$).

The relationship between CIs and positive affect

The two CIs that were correlated with positive affect to the magnitude necessary to be included in the regression were RI and FI. However, due to the high correlation between these two variables ($r = .69$), both could not be included in the model. Tabachnick & Fidell (2001) warn against the inclusion of two variables with a correlation of .70 or above. Due to apparent importance of RI in this current sample and other samples with Arab Americans, paired with the paucity of research on the viability of FI as an “ingroup,” it was decided that the following regression would exclude FI.

Results of the hierarchical multiple regression with RI explaining variance in positive affect while controlling for parent-child relationship satisfaction was significant ($F(2, 134) = 18.77, p < .001$), where only RI made a significant contribution in the final model. The final model explained 22% of the variance in positive affect of which RI explained 13% beyond parent-child relationship satisfaction (See Table 9 for model details).

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

A main goal of the study was to examine the viability of a model of affirmation/commitment in the measurement of diverse group identifications in an understudied population, by adapting two measures of affirmation/commitment to ingroup. The IIS (the pure measure of affirmation) did not uncover individual differences in CI configurations (clusters) in adjustment. However, the IIS was able to discern differences between clusters on the parent variables. The MEIM-R total scores include items referring to affirmation/commitment, but include also exploration items as well. The MEIM-R total scores were used in the current study because factor analyses indicated no differentiation between the affirmation/commitment items from the exploration items. For these reasons, the results do not allow for definitive confirmation or disconfirmation of the viability of a model of affirmation to the measurement of diverse CIs.

The two-factor model of group identification proposed by Phinney & Ong (2007) was not supported when it measured all CIs including family, religious, ethnic, and American identities. These results differ from other studies that found that the original MEIM was made up of two factors (e.g., Sabatier, 2008; Roberts et al., 1999; Meeus & Dekovic, 1995) but not unlike studies that also could not find support for the two-factor model (Gaines et al., 2010; Lee & Woo, 2004). Gaines et al. (2010) in addition to not being able to find evidence for a two-factor model, also could not find support for a one-factor model; instead, they propose a three factor model with an affective, cognitive, and behavioral component. Lee and Woo (2004) also reject a two factor model in favor of a three factor model. Spencer et al. (2000) suggest that due to the relatively high correlation between the two dimensions (exploration and commitment), the items on the

MEIM may be representing one factor. Phinney and Ong (2007) suggest that differences observed between studies is a result of the different analytical methods used; they suggest that a confirmatory rather than an exploratory approach would be best suited to resolving the inconsistencies observed. That said, the results of the current study regarding the uni-dimensionality of the MEIM-R are not surprising, considering not only the prior inconsistencies between studies regarding the number of factors (see Worrell et al., 2006 for a review), but due to the theoretical orientation and findings of the preliminary work with the original MEIM suggesting it represented a single factor. The dimensionality of the MEIM-R has for the most part been examined with ethnic and to a lesser extent, adapted to measure American identity. Results pertaining to the uni-dimensionality of the MEIM-R for family and religious identifications were not unlike those for American and ethnic identity, which suggests that the adaptation of the MEIM-R for family and religious identifications may be viable option.

This study used the MEIM-R, the most recent version of the original MEIM (Phinney & Ong, 2007). To my knowledge no study has used this version of the MEIM-R to measure a diverse array of identifications. Therefore, it is difficult to say whether what was found about the factorability of this measure is typical. It is promising that while there is contention surrounding the dimensionality of the original MEIM, the six item version used in this study revealed evidence for one factor like several other large and diverse studies that applied the longer version; this suggests that the 6-item MEIM may be as good as the 14-item original MEIM measure, with the added benefit of being shorter in length. This is good for researchers who would like to measure different CIs and are looking for a measure that can be adapted. To adapt and use the original 14-item MEIM to the four CIs measured in this current study would have

yielded considerably more items, which would have substantially increased the length of the survey and burdened the respondents.

There are a number of possible reasons for the differences in results between the current study and the Roberts et al. (1999) study that found two factors with the original MEIM. First, the Roberts et al. study was quite large, with a sample exceeding 5,000. Also, participants of the study were substantially younger than in the current study (grades 6 – 8), which may have some important implications for self and identity integration, as well as the perceived distinctiveness of exploration versus commitment items to participants. Another important distinction between the current study and the Roberts et al. study is that the groups included in the study are Caucasians, African Americans, and Mexican Americans. These groups are substantially different both historically, economically, and culturally from Arab Americans, which also may have influenced the interpretation of particular items on the MEIM-R for the current sample.

An additional reason for the difference between the current study finding no distinction between exploration and affirmation/commitment items could be related to the context in which the current study was conducted. Due to the cultural diversity found in the Metro-Detroit area, Arabs have the opportunity to be simultaneously submerged in American, Arab, and religious affiliations. This may mean that less exploration is necessary. Exploration may be greater in contexts where the saliency of the identity is high; that is, in contexts in which there are few individuals and access to information for a particular group, there is a greater motivation for an individual to explore their group affiliation (see discussion in Umana-Taylor et al., 2006; 2009). In the case where access to a group or information about a group is limited, an interested person has to make more of a concerted effort to explore any particular social group affiliation. In this case, exploration may be less relevant and may not have been meaningful to participants in this

particular demographic area. This may have influenced the participants' interpretation of the items on the MEIM-R.

A secondary aim was to examine configurations of CIs that would reflect individual differences to see if these could explain scores on indices of adjustment. Results of the cluster analysis with the MEIM-R showed two groups: a (1) the HCI group who were exceptionally attached on all measures of CI than the (2) LCI group who were somewhat lower on average across the four CIs. The clusters are consistent with the correlations between CIs. Participants who tend to be higher on any particular identity, tended to rate the importance of the other CIs higher as well. Results revealed differences between the HCI and the LCI clusters on self-esteem and positive affect, but not depressive symptomology and negative affect. This highlights the possible buffering effect CIs may have – such as the positive feelings and the self-esteem bolstering qualities highly identifying with several social groups may produce. Interestingly, there were no differences between clusters on ego competence, negative affect, or depression. This suggests that although being highly connected to several important social groups can bolster positive adjustment, being less connected does not necessarily hinder overall adjustment and well-being. This was the same conclusion that Kiang et al. (2008) came to when they found that individual who highly identified with one ingroup did not differ on adjustment with those who identified with more than one. It is important to keep in mind though, that in the current study, few people reported very low levels of identification/attachment with the groups measured.

Beyond showing that the MEIM-R clusters differed on two important aspects of positive adjustment, the clusters also showed differences on parent-child relationship satisfaction. The HCI group reported higher ratings on perceived parent-child relationship satisfaction as well as

on ratings of parental openness to American culture. These results could mean that emerging adults who are highly involved with multiple groups are happier in general (as evidenced by their higher positive affect scores), so are more likely looking through “rosy colored glasses”. Therefore, they perceive higher levels of warmth, support, and lower stress in their relationship with their parents. Alternatively, these findings could also suggest that children who report that their parents are open to American culture (are acculturated) experience less intergenerational conflict, so are more satisfied in their relationship with their parents. This is consistent with the fact that the correlation between parental openness and parent-child relationship satisfaction is positive and significant.

Though clusters differed significantly on parental openness, they did not differ on parental preservation. This supports Berry’s (1997) two-dimensional approach and his ideas that in multicultural “melting pot” societies, like what is found here in the United States, one can simultaneously be concerned with preserving one’s cultural heritage and traditions, while also incorporating host culture traditions into their lives. Though the parental preservation behaviors inquired about in the current study can be construed negatively (parental pressure to dress differently than peers, not being allowed to date, and being encouraged to limit romantic relationships to individuals who share your cultural background) and can be associated with rigidity, they were not associated solely with the LCI clusters who had lower scores on positive affect and self-esteem. This suggests that PP behaviors do not have to hinder happiness. Henry and colleagues (2008) suggest that parental preservation scores were associated with lower levels of well-being until parental control was accounted for. Once parental control was considered, there were no differences between high and low parental preservation in well-being outcomes.

Overall though, the scores on parental preservation behaviors were just on the lower side of average in the current study.

The risk for poor bi-cultural development in the children of immigrants seems to stem from authoritarian parents who demand control and obedience when paired with high parental preservation behaviors. Lim and colleagues speculated that parent-child conflict and parenting styles characterized by low warmth and high control would mediate the relationship between acculturation gaps and youth distress (Lim, Yeh, Liang, Lam, & McCabe, 2009). Though they did not find evidence for a mediating relationship, they did find that conflict with parents as well as parenting style contributed to youth distress above and beyond the effects of acculturation gaps. Parent-child conflict stemming from acculturation gaps and/or controlling parenting styles are expected to influence the adjustment of youth. However, parents can still insist on preservation behaviors if they also permit appropriate levels of autonomy without hindering well-being; in these situations, well-being can be enhanced by ethnic preservation behaviors (Henry et al., 2008). More research is needed on the positive influence of parental preservation. The pattern of correlations from the current study suggests that parental preservation behaviors in the context of healthy and satisfying parent-child relationships may support the development of a bicultural identity.

Parental preservation and openness were not related to depression, self-esteem, and ego competence. Parental preservation was only modestly correlated with positive affect ($r = .22$) and negative affect ($r = .27$), while parental openness was not related to any adjustment variables. From what can be ascertained from the correlations, in the current study it appears that parental preservation behaviors can contribute both to stress and to happiness. This could also implicate a relationship between satisfying relationships with parents serving as a buffer

against potentially stress-inducing parental preservation behavior. These results could also be due to the fact that both parental preservation and openness were at moderate levels. It may be that the effects of parental acculturative behaviors do not have an effect until the levels reach the extremes on either end.

In the current study, parental preservation was uncorrelated with parent-child satisfaction, but it is possible that a satisfying parent-child relationship provides a fertile ground for the transmission of values concerning family, religion, and culture/ethnicity, prompting these young adults to further explore and affirm/commit to these groups. More research is needed on the role that parental preservation or family ethnic socialization plays in Arab Americans (see Umana-Taylor, 2007 for a discussion on FES).

A second cluster analysis was conducted for the CIs measured with the IIS to see how this purer measure of affirmation or connectedness to the ingroup would fare against the MEIM-R, which inquired about exploration behaviors. Overall, the IIS clusters (HAI & LAI) seemed to be driven by AI and there were few discernable differences between clusters on measures of adjustment. However, the IIS was able to discern differences between clusters on parent variables, much like the MEIM-R could. The individuals in the HAI group were more likely to rate the relationship with their parents as more satisfying, while also reporting greater levels of parental openness and less parental preservation behaviors.

The results from the IIS suggest that for Arab Americans RI, FI, and EI are closely related and the individuals in these clusters differ on AI. This suggests that may be little difference in how Arab American emerging adults interpret affirmation/commitment with respect to religious, ethnic, and family ingroups. Perhaps the amount of exploration behavior is what differentiates individuals with respect to the contribution it can make in adjustment, which is

why the MEIM-R showed differences in adjustment. If that is true, these results may suggest that a pure model of affirmation is not recommended; rather, items pertaining to exploration may play a large part in why positive adjustment tends to be related to multiple social group identifications.

Prior research has suggested the importance of exploration (e.g., Marcia, 1966, 1980; Phinney, 1989) and its relationship to outcomes including grade point averages (Phinney, 1992) and drug use (James, Kim, & Armijo, 2000). Though we focused on the role of affirmation here, there are suggestions that exploration is not only important but potentially more intertwined with commitment than earlier work would suggest (Luyckx Goossens, et al., 2006; Luycky, Goussens, Soenens, & Beyers, 2006; see Meeus, 2011 for a review). In addition to this, the process of affirmation/commitment may depend to a greater extent on the nature of the parent-child relationship. There is evidence to suggest that commitment in identity exploration led to increased support from mothers (Beyers & Goossens, 2008). Less support from mother was related to earlier identity exploration and early exploration is linked to lower levels of commitment over time (Meeus, 2011); problems with commitment in identity development seem to co-exist with higher levels of anxiety (Crocetti, Klimstra, Keeijsers, Hale, & Meeus, 2009). In other words, exploration can start at an early age if the parent-child relationship is weak (child perceives little support from mother). These findings also suggest this exploration contributes to less commitment over time, which renders potential improvements in maternal support less likely to occur. A pure measure of affirmation may not be sufficient when we consider the dynamics of exploration and commitment with respect to parental factors.

The inability of the IIS to discern differences among groups on the measures of adjustment could be related to the fact that this was a pictorial measure; due to its subjectivity, it

may have been difficult for participants to interpret. This is contrary to the initial notion that a pictorial measure would be easier for participants to interpret, particularly when we consider pictorial measures are not new to identity research (i.e., Harter & Monsour, 1992; Strauss & Goldberg, 1999). In addition to this, pictorial measures have been recommended for the study of multiple social identities (Amiot, Sablonniere, Terry, & Smith, 2007). Tsai and colleagues suggest that it is important to consider “aspects of culture that are not easily articulated” (Tsai, Ying, & Lee, p.326) and it was thought that the IIS would address this issue because it essentially asked the respondent to endorse a level of attachment pictorially (as working models of attachment are not considered to be consciously available). This does not necessarily mean that a model of pure affirmation/attachment is not viable in the study of identity, but it suggests that additional measures, particularly those that consider the behaviors associated with the identity could help to clarify the issues.

The third aim was to identify the relative importance of CIs for adjustment including self-esteem, positive and negative affect, depression, ego competence. Though the paucity of the research on these identifications in Arab Americans made it difficult to propose specific hypotheses, it was proposed in the current study that parental preservation would be related to EI, FI, and RI, but not to AI. Although AI was related to parental openness ($r = .44$), it was not strongly related to the indices of adjustment. In addition, parental openness was not strongly related to the indices of adjustment. It was also hypothesized that parental preservation behaviors would be related to indices of adjustment to EI. Results indicate that EI too, with the exception of its relationship to ego competence, was not strongly correlated with the indices of adjustment at the magnitude necessary for inclusion into regression analyses. Furthermore, EI was only weakly associated with preservation scores ($r = .20$).

Overall, due to the weak correlations between acculturation variables, adjustment, and CIs, it appeared that parental acculturation behaviors were not particularly important to emerging adult adjustment or identity formation. Though this may be the reality, it is also possible that there were shortcomings of the instrument used to measure acculturative behaviors, the PPABS, which can be implicated in these results.

This PPBAS may not have been a good choice for the measurement of parental acculturation behaviors because the behaviors it measures may depend highly on the context. If the familial ethnic socialization research is any indication, the behaviors of parents may depend highly on the context. For instance, in low saliency geographic areas where Arab groups are visible, parents may not have to make a concerted effort to transmit ethnic values onto their children. Would the PPBAS have been more predictive of adjustment in a more salient (less Arabs) context? Another problem with the PPBAS is that it does not consider the differences between Arab subgroups on religious affiliations. Some of the items may not be as relevant to acculturation as the authors intended; instead they may reflect co-variations between Arab and being Muslim. For instance, the item “Do your parents urge you to dress differently from your American peers” may apply to Arab Muslim women but not to Arab Christians and men (due to the expectation that Muslim women should dress conservatively). This may be tapping the importance of religion and modesty, which may be confounded with ethnic behaviors, but ultimately may reflect religious values and the morals that correspond to it (preservation behaviors were correlated with RI at an $r = .22$). Except in the case of a Muslim woman who wears a head covering, Arab Americans tend to be relatively inconspicuous. In addition to this, there may be differences between Muslims from different countries of origin. Lebanese Muslims tend to be described as more “Westernized” than other Muslim Arab groups,

so they may not conform to the particular style of dress or conservative behaviors characteristic of Iraqi or Yemini Muslims. Though specific religious affiliations were not inquired about in the current study, almost 1/3 of the sample reported Chaldean affiliations (member of the Chaldean church). Basic research may need to take place asking Arab Americans to list off what makes them Arab, Muslim, Christian, etc...and see to what extent these descriptors overlap. A narrative approach to identity in this population may be necessary.

A final issue with the PPABS is the age range that it may apply to. Though it was validated in a sample of college-aged students, it may be better to examine parental openness and preservation (and family ethnic socialization) behaviors in middle and high school students rather than college students. Despite being from a “collectivist” culture and for the most part still residing with parents while attending college, the participants in the current study can still be considered adults. As adults, they are probably given some free reign over their behavior and may be exposed to less parental preservation behaviors.

Though acculturation variables measures with the PPABS remained largely uncorrelated with CIs and outcome, other important relationships were uncovered. For instance, it was observed that only RI predicted significant unique variance in measures of positive adjustment including self esteem, ego competence, and positive affect, beyond the contribution of parent-child relationship satisfaction. These results corroborate the findings of Abu-Rayya and Abu Rayya (2009) who also report that religious identity was more strongly associated with indices of well-being than ethnic identity (including positive affect and self-esteem, as in the current study). Bivariate correlations indicate that the magnitude of correlations between RI and the positive indices of adjustment are the strongest in magnitude when considering all other CI-adjustment relationship (also, magnitude was comparable across MEIM-R and the IIS). For the most part,

CIIs were not associated with negative indices of adjustment (depressive symptomology and negative affect).

Because of the presumed “collective” nature of Arabs, it is possible that the participants in this study, through no choice of their own (i.e., mandated by family and cultural pressures), developed affirmation towards “cultural” identifications (religious, familial, and ethnic) with repeated interactions. This immersion whether strategic or inadvertent is feasible since almost all participants in this study still lived at home with their parents, siblings, and extended families. In addition, over 60% of the sample endorsed that their neighborhood was moderately to mostly Arabs. In other words, the most adaptive approach in this particular social context may be to develop strong attachment to these groups, as many in this sample appear to have done. With the majority of the sample endorsing high scores on RI, FI, and EI, it was clear that to this sample of Arab Americans – religion, family, and ethnicity are central to their lives and to their personal identities. The modest-to-high pattern of correlations between these three CIIs also suggests that this may be the case. In particular, the correlation between RI and FI was particularly high in Arab American emerging adults. This suggests that RI and FI may be one and the same for this sample. Future studies should test the feasibility of a composite “cultural identity” score that includes family, ethnic, and religious affiliations in the prediction of adjustment through a framework of affirmation as it may not be appropriate to study these CIIs individually within this group.

With the exception of small significant correlations with self-esteem and positive affect, AI did not seem to follow the pattern of the other three CIIs since it had among the lowest correlations with measures of adjustment across the board. There was a significant positive correlation between AI and EI when measured with the MEIM-R, but AI was not related

significantly to any other CI. Recall that acculturation is partially determined by the orientation or attachment one has developed for his or her native culture and that of the host culture. The context can sometimes encourage biculturality (high AI and high EI). Othertimes, the context engenders a monocultural identity. To illustrate, Sabatier (2008) points out that in her study, French Algerians had a monocultural identity (national identity and ethnic identity were negatively correlated) while the French Vietnamese tended to adopt a bicultural identity (national identity and ethnic identity positively correlated). The Vietnamese in her sample tended to be more highly educated and live in less ethnically dense neighborhoods. In this study, the pattern between AI and EI suggest a bi-cultural orientation – these two identities were significantly and positively related when measured with the MEIM-R, despite the fact that many participants live in ethnically dense neighborhoods.

A reason why American identity did not correlate with measures of adjustment may be a product of its saliency in this sample (see Quintana, 2007 for a discussion on saliency and context). For example, it has been observed that typically, no greater self-esteem is derived from an EI when the group in question is a member of the “White” majority, unless the “White” majority group member is a non-dominant context (i.e., a White student in a predominately Latino school). Phinney (1992) suggests that this positive effect on self-esteem results when the identity in question (in her discussion, EI) is salient. In other words, for “White” majority group members here in the U.S. where an individual may be one of many “White” majority group members, there is little saliency to an “ethnic identity”. Thus, there is very little contribution one way or the other to adjustment. It is possible that AI did not provide the bolstering effects it could have on adjustment is because for this group, which seems to present bi-culturally (positive correlation between AI and EI), AI is simply not salient. Being American permeates

many aspects of the Arab American emerging adults' life: the clothes they wear, the language they speak, the food they eat, and their choices regarding entertainment. We may find the positive effect of AI on self-esteem that we expect if we studied individuals who emigrated back to their homeland after living long-term in the U.S. Presumably, in this situation, AI would become salient and from this saliency, perhaps more exploration and affirmation would follow.

Interestingly, AI was correlated with parent-child relationship satisfaction at the same magnitude as other CIs. This could be reflecting the agreement between children and their parents about the relative importance of being affiliated and immersed in American culture. This agreement could be related to the positives associated with being American, such as the freedom to pursue higher education and the opportunities available for financial gain. These are qualities of American culture Arab immigrant parents are likely to appreciate, especially considering historically these are important reasons for why ethnic minority groups migrate to the United States. The overall ratings of parental preservation scores were slightly below average, which support the notion that Arab parents, at least to some extent, express some acceptance of American cultural values. That said, we might have expected their children to have rated them higher in parental openness to American culture, but this was not the case. It appears that the bicultural orientation adopted by this particular sample is not contingent on the behaviors of their parents. If this is the case, we might not expect AI to hinder parent-child relationship satisfaction. If we are to use the generally positive reports of parent-child relationships and the correlation to greater AI scores as an indicator, it appears that Arab parents are supportive of the bicultural approach their children seemed to have adopted, though they may not actively promote it.

American identity was not correlated with the measures of adjustment. It is possible that Arab Americans may not gain as much from relating to Americans. First of all, it could be that highly relating to Americans may cause tensions at home with parents and other family members. Obviously, perceptions of prejudice/discrimination by Arab Americans may dampen exploration and the development of affirmation to American's as a group. Though these are possibilities this is unlikely the case for this sample the distribution of affirmation to Americans approximating normality (i.e., few respondents claimed very low identification with Americans as a group). Sellers and Shelton (2003) show that African American college students were only affected by discrimination when they did not place a value on being a member of their race. The respondents in the current study placed a high value on being Arab therefore may not be as susceptible to the effects of discrimination as other racial and ethnic groups may be. Future research should examine the role of religion (being Muslim or Christian) in perceptions of prejudice and discrimination in Arab Americans and how this influences the development of an AI. It is likely that anti-Arab sentiments are associated with the religion typically associated with Arabs (Islam), rather than the ethnicity.

The results indicate an important role for RI; this finding is useful to a PYD perspective, as it has been argued that religiosity and spirituality is one pathway (King, Furrow, & White, 2004) to the development of the 5 Cs. A person who possesses the 5 Cs is "primed" for feelings of connectedness; this person may more readily form feelings of connectedness with several other generally important social groups, like family and ethnic ingroup identifications. This may be the process occurring within this group on the CIs measured. Perhaps attachment to family leads to acceptance of family values, promoting religious and ethnic identification, which could ultimately "prime" for the development of an American identity.

Though multiple identifications are thought to contribute to overall adjustment and well-being, there may be situations in which this does not occur. For instance, Park (1928) described the “marginal man” – the individual who has overextended himself to many groups, yet simultaneously feels detached from them (Hong, et al., 2006). Ingroup attachment may function so that a limited numbers of affiliations are best for adjustment. This would allow an individual to focus on personally important affiliations and allow for deeper, more personal connections with the group. In light of the findings regarding highly identified individuals (HCI) scoring higher on positive affect and self-esteem, as well as perceiving more satisfying parent-child relationships (both HCI and HAI) in the current study, the notion of the “marginal man” does not appear to be supported.

Since the current study focuses on the principals of the PYD perspective and the IIS was not able to discern differences on indices of positive adjustment, the main analyses were run with the CI data collected with the MEIM-R. Several regressions were conducted in order to assess the order of relationships between the CIs and the measures of adjustment. The examination of the correlation matrix shows that only EI, FI, and RI were important to the positive indices of adjustment. After a more in-depth examination, it was clear that only RI was contributing significantly to the prediction of self esteem, ego competence, and positive affect.

When self-esteem and positive affect were considered, the only CI that predicted significant variance was RI. When the ego competence scale was considered, results indicated that RI mediated the relationship between EI and the ego competence scale. In all regressions, RI predicted significant variance above and beyond parent-child relationship satisfaction and the effects of gender (except for positive affect where gender was not controlled for). These results indicate that RI is important for the self esteem of Arab American emerging adults which differs

from other studies, like Markstrom (1999) who found no effect of religious involvement on self-esteem. The current study was concerned with identification with ingroup rather than the behavior associated with religiosity. Others who have conceptualized the role of religion as an aspect of identity found significant relationships between self-esteem and RI that are similar to what was observed in the current study (Abu-Rayya & Abu-Rayya, 2009; Kiang, et al., 2008).

These results show evidence for the interconnections between different aspects of social identity and how they can contribute to positive adjustment. Ethnic identification is related to perceptions of competence through its contribution to RI. In part, this suggests that strong ethnic commitments could reinforce religious identity or possibly provide a fertile ground for the dissemination of religious values (which manifest themselves as religious identity). This is different from the research of Kiang et al. (2008) with a diverse group of Caucasian, Latino, Filipino, and Asian college students. For their sample, they report no liabilities for individuals with low RI, so long as they identified with some group. However, it is important to note that the intercorrelations among EI, FI, and RI were stronger in this study than in the Kiang et al. study, implying Arab American CI configurations may differ from other minority groups. Religious identifications may be more important in Arab Americans than in other ethnic minority groups.

Positive Youth Development research on religiosity and spirituality corroborate these findings in that religion can contribute to developmentally adjusted youth through the promotion of positive attitudes and actions (Donahue & Benson, 1995; Wagener, King, Leffert & Benson, 2003). Furrow et al. (2004) suggest that religion can be a resource. Despite not measuring the frequency of religious behaviors (church attendance, prayer, and other religious observance), there still remained a significant effect of religion on indices of positive adjustment. It appears

that feeling connected to one's religion is enough to produce effects on self esteem, positive affect, and feelings of competence. In addition to that, it appears that EI can contribute to one's sense of religious belongingness.

There is ample research to corroborate the view on the relationship between religiosity (Kerestes, Youniss & Metz, 2004) and religious values (Serow & Dreyden, 1990) to civic engagement. The importance of religion in the lives of adolescents was linked to an increased likelihood of participating in community service (Younis, McLellan, & Yates, 1999). King and Furrow (2008) explain that religion can be viewed through the lens of social capital theory (Bordieu, 1985). Trust and a shared code (Fukuyama, 1995; Morrow, 199; Putman, 1995; Rahn & Transue, 1998; Tsai & Ghoshal, 1998) allow individuals to gain "capital" or support from various group affiliations. King and Furrow (2008) show that religious youth are more involved socially with non-parental adults, giving them a wider base of support on an individual basis, but this can provide an atmosphere ripe for social interactions and trusting relationships. They also suggest that the role of religion can be viewed as a social influence (King and Furrow, paraphrasing Erikson, 1968). Perhaps other identifications can be viewed as such.

Religions like Islam and Christianity that are endorsed by the majority of Arabs (Awad, 1992) promote the idea of transcending personal preoccupations and instead focus on fidelity and commitments in both personal and spiritual domains. If this is the case, then we might expect religious individuals to potentially be "primed" to develop prosocial concerns. This can be one explanation why FI and RI were highly correlated. Similarly, the connectedness with ethnic group fit these criteria, particularly if the interactions you have with your ethnic group tend to be with individuals of the faith, while family can reflect both ethnicity and religion – they three identifications serve to reinforce one another.

Another important ecological factor important to consider is multiculturalism. A multicultural context is important to consider since it is thought to produce individuals who are flexible (Ramirez, 1983) while promoting feelings of belongingness (Tan, 1999) and greater affirmation to ethnic group (Martinez & Dukes, 1997). It can also be associated with greater tolerance of individuals of other groups. Multiculturalism can be defined where no group represents more than 50% of the population (Graham, 2006), while others suggest that multiculturalism must be defined subjectively (i.e., Le, Lai, & Wallen, 2009; Tan, 1999). Could then religious diversity can also serve some important functions for cognitive flexibility, promoting feelings of belongingness and produce stronger feelings of affiliation to one's own religious group? More research is needed to see whether RI can influence the relationship between cultural and religious diversity and indices of adjustment.

Already there is evidence for family interconnectedness and reports of higher levels of prosocial involvement (Furstenberg, Cook, Eccles, Elder, & Samaroff, 1999), a relationship which is thought to be mediated by social capital (Coleman, 1988 in King & Furrow, 2008). There are benefits to be derived from religious identity when we consider it from a social capital perspective (King & Furrow, 2008). To some extent, more connections and resources that one possesses will increase as individuals become affirmed members of different groups. It is easier to achieve goals if you have the resources and help of the ingroup. This view seems like a promising one; more research is needed to show whether the theory of social capital can explain the positive benefits derived from other ingroups, like American and ethnic group identifications.

Despite family interconnectedness being a source of social capital, in this study, FI was not as highly correlated with measures of positive adjustment as one might expect being that family is a represents a salient social identity (Kiang et al., 2008) and the majority of the sample

still lived at home with their family. It is possible that a measure of family interconnectedness or obligation may be more appropriate to assessing the role of family to adjustment. Traditional methods of assessing ingroup identifications may not be appropriate for the assessment of family identity because although one can identify and be attached to one's family, the family may not represent an ingroup. In addition, adapting the MEIM-R to family identity may be awkward (i.e., asking participants to rate the extent to which they "talked to other people in order to learn more about my family" or "I have done things that will help me understand my family better"). Finally, inquiring about family in this way may not adequately describe the process of familial attachments or commitments, much like asking a "White American" about their ethnic identity. It may not be meaningful to inquire about attachments to family in this way, particularly since most people have strong family affiliations making family identity a poor measure of individual differences. More research is needed to assess the validity of conceptualizing family as an ingroup identification.

Another issue concerns the interpretation of religious identity as an ingroup. The current study assesses ingroup identifications as the amount of affirmation an individual has with others who are members of the group. Religiosity (adherence to the beliefs and principals of the religion) and the extent to how connected one feels to others who share that religion (i.e., other Muslims or Catholics) do not have to correspond to one another. One can strongly feel connected to their faith while feeling disconnected from others who share their faith. Did the participants interpret the religious identity items as an average of these two things? It may be that what is needed is a separate measure of commitment to the faith itself along with a measure of affirmation to the religious ingroup.

Another conceptual issue arises regarding the feasibility of interpreting the ingroup identifications of Arab Americans separately. Specifically, is it meaningful to ask about the extent to which respondents feel connected to others in their ingroups, when the individuals in their ingroups may overlap? If the individuals perceive their family members, the members of their religious organizations, and their ethnic group as the same people with the same qualities, then this should influence how they rate their connectedness to the people that make up these ingroups. In addition, it may be that RI for Arabs is a baseline “in or out” identity that does not vary on a continuum (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). In fact, this could be the case for EI and FI too. If they all overlap with one another, this would suggest that studying identity within this group as degrees of closeness to ingroup members is not meaningful. Thus, this will limit the variability found between ingroup identifications which will affect the interpretability and generalizability of the results. Again, it may be that a “cultural identity” model of affirmation that reflects interconnections between family, ethnic, and religious identifications may be ideal in this situation. More research is needed on the viability of viewing identity in this way.

Conclusions and Limitations

The results of the cluster analysis indicate that a model of pure affirmation is not predictive of positive adjustment. Measures that include behaviors, such as exploration behaviors may better explain the relationship between CIs and adjustment. While the results of the cluster analyses are interesting and support various speculations, it is important to keep in mind that these results need to be taken with caution. Cluster analysis is very sample dependent, so replication is necessary. Also, the clusters were not validated with other measures that could show differences between clusters (i.e, family obligation, acceptance of American values for the participants, FES behaviors, etc...). Also, it is possible that these results may be due to the

homogeneity in participant scores on measures of EI, RI, and FI, which may be why cluster membership appears to be driven by AI (more heterogeneity in AI scores than in EI, FI, and RI scores).

Another limitation of this study is that it does not address issues of stereotyping and prejudice, which may have been important, especially considering the political climate following September 11th. However, considering that geographical areas in which the minority in question is visible (many other ingroup members live in the area) tends to promote ethnic identity (Duncan, Boisjoly, Levy, Kremer, & Eccles, 2003; Markstrom, Berman, & Bruschi, 1998) and Arab Americans may be more physically inconspicuous and tend to be of a higher socio-economic status than the average American minority group, this particular group may be less susceptible to discrimination and prejudice. In addition to this, there is evidence for multiculturalism in the Metro-Detroit area. This cultural diversity produces more empathy towards others of different groups (Duncan, et al., 2003). If this is true, then we might expect that Arabs in the context of the Metro-Detroit area to be less discriminatory towards others while simultaneously experiencing less discrimination and prejudice. Even though the risk for the experiences of bigotry may be less likely in this ecological context, there is very little available in terms of empirical work that assesses these perceptions in Arab Americans. And so, in that regard, more research is needed before we can assume that there are few negative effects of prejudice and discrimination to the well-being and adjustment of Arab American emerging adults in low-saliency (high visibility) contexts.

Another limitation of the study is that it did not focus on a diverse set of parental behaviors that could contribute to family and religious identities (the PPABS only addressed “American” and ethnic behaviors). We know that when parents strive to socialize their children

to aspects of their culture, they may promote more outings to community organizations as well as exposing their children to extended family (Lu, 2001). A popular community organization parents may turn to in socializing their children to their culture are religious institutions. This makes sense since this context tends to draw people of similar ethnic backgrounds, which may serve to strengthen both EI and RI simultaneously. Also, exposure to extended families may strengthen familial identifications as well as serving to strengthen ethnic identifications. Future studies should ascertain the behaviors associated with each of the CIs. For example, how often is the child encouraged to visit relatives, the mosque, or functions through cultural institutions by parents? Again, more qualitative work is needed in this regard.

The identities included in the study are certainly not exhaustive. Research has suggested that several other possible groups might also be important in identity as well as adjustment, like gender, political, and occupational group identity. However, the identities used in this study are included because others (e.g., Kiang et al., 2008 & Yip & Cross, 2005) have used them and they are most relevant to the age group under investigation. The identities examined in the current study were predetermined. It might be useful, particularly in this understudied group, to allow participants to identify themselves the social group affiliations they value. Future research should investigate the self-identified configuration of important social group affiliations.

Future work may want to take a more dynamic approach to assessing CIs (i.e., Kiang, et al., 2008) and in particular focusing on the context in which the sample was collected. Collective identifications are not static across geographic contexts and much research has shown this. For instance, one study of Turkish-Dutch Muslims showed that EI and national identity related negatively to religious identity (Verkuyten & Yildez, 2007) but in a sample of ethnically diverse American college students, it was found that EI and AI were significantly positively

correlated (e.g., Kiang, et al., 2008). In addition, more research needs to be conducted in order to address whether particular configurations of CIs differentially predict adjustment (see Kiang et al., 2008; Yip et al., 2008). Arab individuals, particularly in different ecologies may differ in how they derive benefits of identity – either through many, few, or a particular personally salient CI. In this case, ethnic, family, and religious identities seemed to be particularly salient for Arab Americans. Future studies are required to see if this relationship holds up in other contexts with Arab Americans (including those living in less ethnically diverse geographic areas).

It is important to keep in mind that the current study only provides a snapshot of multiple group identities and does not assess the complexity of the cognitive representations of CIs within the self over time. Amiot and her colleagues suggest the investigation of social group identities longitudinally is important to advance the area of identity. Amiot et al. propose a cognitive-developmental model to explain how multiple social identities are reconciled within the overall self-concept over time (Amiot, Sablonniere, Terry, & Smith, 2007). In this model, they propose a series of hierarchical, increasingly complex configurations where both the multiplicity and the integration of different social identifications interact. The current study found that RI seemed to account for the majority of the variance in positive adjustment indices, above and beyond the effect of the other CIs. It is interesting to consider these results within Amiot et al.'s model. If RI is the primary social group identity for Arab American emerging adults, with all other social identities subsumed beneath it, this would imply a case of dominance. Dominance is associated with less complexity and thus, is presumed to produce lower levels of well-being (see Amiot et al., 2007 for the full description of the model). A limitation of the current study is its inability to assess the relative dominance of a particular identity within the self-concept or the level of complexity found with regard to the relationships among CIs.

Scores between measures of EI, FI, and RI, regardless of whether they are measured with a pure measure of affirmation/commitment or one that considers exploration behaviors, appear to be quite high. This suggests that in Arab American emerging adults, it does not make sense to study separate identifications, particularly if they are not distinct. Future work should investigate the feasibility of a cultural identity that includes aspects of family, ethnic, and religious affirmation (like Britto & Amer, 2007 suggest). One might want to examine the complexity of these three identifications with respect to Amiot's (2007) view, perhaps through a composite "cultural identity" score. To what extent is there a hierarchy within these identities and how are they integrated are they within the self-concept? Is the complexity with regard to these three identifications related to indices of positive adjustment more strongly than when they are considered independently?

Another way to improve the predictive ability CI has to adjustment, a more detailed multidimensional model of individual CIs may be preferred (incorporates aspects of identity that go beyond that of commitment/affirmation to ingroup). One way of doing this is using Phinney's (1990) model of ethnic identity and applying it to other ingroup identifications. In this proposal, she suggests that there are five dimensions of ethnic identity researchers should consider, including the label [group label], identification, belongingness, involvement, and attitudes towards the ethnic group. A more comprehensive study would consider all of these dimensions for the understudied identities, including family, American, and religious group identification in Arab Americans. Considering the current study found evidence of a unique role for RI and the contribution of EI to RI, future work with Arab Americans should focus on the role that this configuration of identifications plays in adjustment, perhaps applying Phinney's (1990) more detailed approach. This approach more closely mirrors the more contemporary

multidimensional view of identity of Ashmore and colleagues (Ashmore et al., 2009). This work could deepen our understanding of how identity is constructed for all groups, not just ethnic minority groups.

As previously mentioned, more qualitative work is needed. Prior qualitative work has focused mostly on ethnic and national identifications with Caucasians, African Americans, Hispanics, and Asians. Rodriguez and her colleagues provide an example of qualitative work that could benefit the understanding of Arab American identity processes and outcomes (Rodriguez, Schwartz, & Whitbourne, 2010). In this study, they wanted to know the difference between Black, Latino, and White university students in their perceptions of what an “American” is and to what extent they felt like an American. They found that minorities felt perceived as “less American” than their White peers. Content analyses also revealed that to be American is to be less connected to family and community. A sample of Lebanese American high school students living in ethnically dense neighborhoods echoed similar sentiments, so that while they had complaints about the negative effects of community and family interconnectedness (created more monitoring and community gossip), they suggest that these are also the factors they most appreciated about their culture (Ajrouch, 2000). The valence of each identity (the commitment/affirmation to ingroup) does not allow us to make assumptions about the content of the identity. In this regard, much more work is needed to understand the multiple social identifications that are important to the lives of Arab American emerging adults.

Overall, this sample seemed to represent a healthy, well-adjusted group of Arab American emerging adults. The group seemed to be doing well academically and they reported generally low levels of alcohol and drug use. Participants seemed to feel highly connected to theoretically important social group affiliations including family, ethnic, American, and religious

groups as evidenced by their high scores on measures of CIs. Most participants report satisfying relationships with parents and do not report high parental preservation scores that could be linked to rigidity or to lower levels of parental acculturation. For the most part, CIs and satisfying relationships with parents contributed as expected to positive indices of adjustment. This evidence suggests that Arab Americans are developing positively in the unique niche of the Metro-Detroit area. This group seems to be thriving despite potentially being “misunderstood, misrepresented, and negatively portrayed” (Erikson & Al-Timimi, 2001, p. 308), which makes them an ideal group to study from a PYD perspective. However, it is important to note that the results of this study may not generalize well to other minority groups, particularly those who are considered “high risk.”

Translational Considerations

In the current study, CIs are examined on equal footing. Simply because we are examining identity within an ethnic minority group does not imply that ethnic affiliations are the most salient aspect of identity. Religious identifications appear to play an especially important role in the psychological adjustment of Arab Americans. However, psychotherapeutic approaches do not necessarily promote religiosity or spirituality (Sciarra & Gushue, 2003). In addition, psychologists may be ill-equipped to handle spiritual/religious issues in therapy, which may result in the neglect of this topic during therapy (Magaldi-Dopman & Park-Taylor, 2010). The results of the current study suggest that it may be important for practitioners and counselors to consider their client’s religious identification – particularly that of their Arab clients. Therapists and practitioners can help by being sensitive to individual client needs in this regard and by encouraging religious exploration where appropriate (Magaldi-Dopman & Park-Taylor,

2010; Sanchez & Carter, 2005), as it appears religious identity can serve as a resource for Arab Americans.

APPENDIX A

TABLES

Table 1

Means and Standard Deviations for Arab Subgroups on Demographic and Adjustment Variables

	Lebanese		Iraqi/Chaldean		Other		F	Sig
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD		
N	53		55		39			
Income	4.40	1.90	4.97	0.28	4.85	2.12	2.12	0.12
SES	41.75	17.35	41.13	21.66	52.00	3.94	2.94	0.06
GPA	3.42	0.36	3.22	0.42	3.25	0.40	2.78	0.07
Drug Use	1.25	1.70	1.71	2.23	1.33	1.74	1.26	0.29
Depressive symp.	15.38	11.07	17.37	9.85	14.00	9.13	1.01	0.37
Positive Affect	13.56	4.29	13.08	4.28	13.70	3.66	0.46	0.63
Negative Affect	6.14	3.50	5.57	3.41	4.58	2.35	2.65	0.07
Self esteem	22.74	6.04	21.98	6.16	23.91	5.07	0.86	0.07
Ego Competence	11.86	3.34	10.96	3.31	10.70	3.23	1.48	0.23

Table 2

Correlations between adjustment, parent-child relationship satisfaction, and CIs measured with the MEIM-R

	AI	EI	RI	FI	P-C relate
Depression symptomology	-0.09	-0.06	-0.11	-0.20*	-0.36**
Positive Affect	0.20*	0.02	0.45**	0.31**	0.30**
Negative Affect	0.03	0.02	0.04	-0.10	-0.31**
Self-Esteem	0.18*	0.23**	0.35**	0.24**	0.41**
Ego Competence	0.07	0.35**	0.30**	0.27**	0.27**

*p<.05 **p<.01

Table 3

Correlations between adjustment indices and CIs measured with the IIS

	AI	EI	RI	FI	Friends	Gender
Dep. Symp.	-0.08	-0.18*	-0.20*	-0.11	0.02	-0.22*
Pos. Affect	0.03	0.12	0.35**	0.30**	0.08	0.11
Neg. Affect	-0.11	-0.07	-0.11	-0.10	-0.02	-0.11
Self -esteem	0.17*	0.27**	0.39**	0.20*	0.10	0.24**
Ego Comp.	0.04	0.30**	0.32**	0.28**	0.07	0.20*
P-C relate	0.19*	0.25**	0.36**	0.43**	0.27**	0.20*

*p<.05 **p<.01

Table 4

Correlations between MEIM-R & IIS on CI measures

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
IIS-EI	1.00	0.07	0.46**	0.30**	0.21*	0.12	0.45**	0.10	0.35**	0.35**
IIS-AI		1.00	-0.03	0.00	0.22**	0.25**	-0.00	0.54**	-0.03	0.03
IIS-RI			1.00	0.41**	0.25**	0.14	0.43**	0.05	0.62**	0.43**
IIS-FI				1.00	0.25**	0.35**	0.35*	0.07	0.32**	0.39**
IIS-FRDS					1.00	0.35**	0.12	0.17	0.03	0.12
IIS-GEN						1.00	0.06	0.13	0.15	0.13
MEIM-EI							1.00	0.21*	0.50**	0.48**
MEIM-AI								1.00	0.17*	0.27**
MEIM-RI									1.00	0.69**
MEIM-FI										1.00

*p<.05 **p<.01

Table 5

Correlations among parent variables and adjustment indices as measured by the MEIM-R

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
P-C relate	1	.27	-.01	.30	-.31	.41	.27**	-.36
Openness		1	-.36**	.15	-.13	.12	.01	-.04
Preservation			1	.22*	.27**	-.01	.01	.12
Pos. Affect				1	-.15	.52**	.54**	-.22*
Neg. Affect					1	-.49**	-.30**	.62**
Self-esteem						1	.70**	-.69**
Ego Comp							1	-.55**
Depressive Sym								1

*p<.05, **p<.01

Table 6

Final cluster centers for the MEIM-R and the IIS

	LCI (N = 50)	HCI (N = 97)
MEIM_EI	1.18	1.52
MEIM_AI	2.32	4.01
MEIM_RI	1.36	1.75
MEIM_FI	1.39	1.79

	LAI (N = 57)	HAI (N = 87)
IIS_EI	1.58	1.76
IIS_AI	2.56	5.40
IIS_RI	1.64	1.62
IIS_FI	1.61	1.68

Table 7

Results of multiple regression with religious identity as a predictor of self-esteem, controlling for gender and parent-child relationship satisfaction

Model		B	SE B	β	R ²	R ² Δ	F change
1	(Constant)	17.98	2.36		.19		15.72**
	Gender	-1.96	.99	-.16			
	P-C Relate	.94	.18	.40			
2	(Constant)	15.06	2.47		.25	.06	9.60**
	Gender	-2.14	.96	-.17			
	P-C Relate	.74	.19	.32			
	RI	3.05	.98	.25			

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

Table 8

Results of multiple regression with ethnic and religious identity as predictors of ego competence, controlling for gender and parent-child relationship satisfaction

Model		B	SE B	β	R ²	R ² Δ	F change
1	(Constant)	14.42	1.44		.10		6.94**
	Gender	-1.31	.59	-.18			
	P-C Relate	.32	.11	.24			
2	(Constant)	13.20	1.47		.15	.05	8.25**
	Gender	-1.51	.58	-.21			
	P-C Relate	.23	.11	.17			
	EI	1.65	.58	.24			
3	(Constant)	12.05	1.49		.20	.05	7.47**
	Gender	-1.53	.56	-.22			
	P-C Relate	.16	.11	.12			
	EI	.87	.63	.13			
	RI	1.76	.64	.26			

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

Table 9

Results of multiple regression of religious identity as a predictor of positive affect, controlling for parent-child relationship satisfaction

Model		B	SE B	β	R ²	R ² Δ	F change
1	(Constant)	9.50	1.14		.09	.09	12.67**
	P-C Relate	.46	.13	.30			
2	(Constant)	6.13	1.27		.22	.13	22.76***
	P-C Relate	.25	.13	.16			
	RI	3.18	.67	.39			

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

Appendix B

MEIM-R

INSTRUCTIONS: People are affiliated with a number of different groups including their family, their religious group, their ethnic group and to Americans as a group. People also vary to in how much they relate to these groups. Please respond to items based on the following scale. Circle the number that corresponds to how you feel under each statement.

Ethnic Identity:

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

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree
2. I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree
3. I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree
4. I have often done things that will help me understand my ethnic background better.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree
5. I have often talked to other people in order to learn more about my ethnic group.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree
6. I feel a strong attachment toward my own ethnic group.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree

American Identity:

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

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree
2. I have a strong sense of belonging as an American.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree

3. I understand pretty well what my American group membership means to me.
 1 2 3 4 5
 Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree
4. I have often done things that will help me understand Americans better.
 1 2 3 4 5
 Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree
5. I have often talked to other people in order to learn more about Americans.
 1 2 3 4 5
 Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree
6. I feel a strong attachment toward Americans.
 1 2 3 4 5
 Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree

Family Identity:

1. I have spent time trying to find out more about my family, such as its history, traditions, and customs.
 1 2 3 4 5
 Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree
2. I have a strong sense of belonging to my own family.
 1 2 3 4 5
 Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree
3. I understand pretty well what my family membership means to me.
 1 2 3 4 5
 Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree
4. I have often done things that will help me understand my family better.
 1 2 3 4 5
 Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree
5. I have often talked to other people in order to learn more about my family.
 1 2 3 4 5
 Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree
6. I feel a strong attachment toward my family.
 1 2 3 4 5
 Strongly Disagree Neutral Strongly Agree

Religious Identity:

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

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree

2. I have a strong sense of belonging to my own religious group.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree

3. I understand pretty well what my religious group membership means to me.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree

4. I have often done things that will help me understand my religious background better.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree

5. I have often talked to other people in order to learn more about my religion.

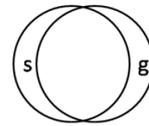
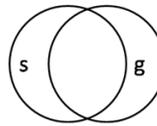
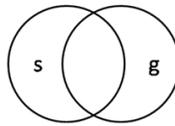
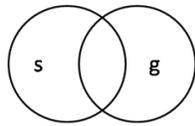
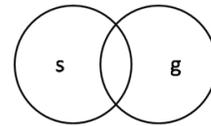
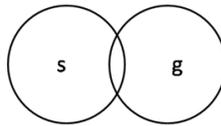
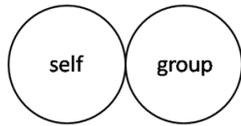
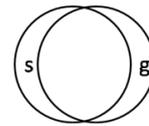
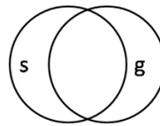
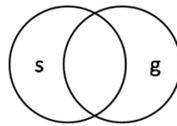
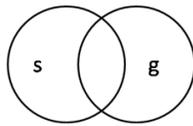
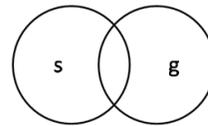
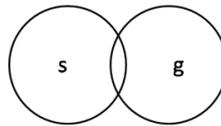
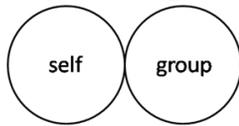
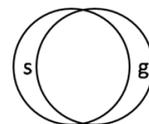
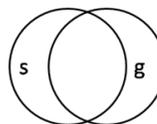
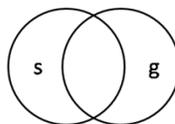
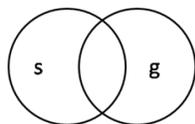
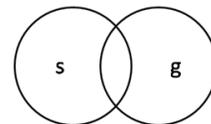
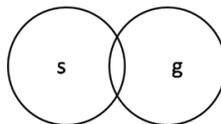
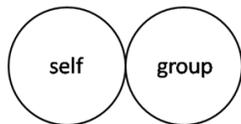
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Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree

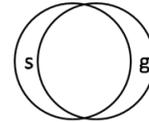
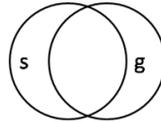
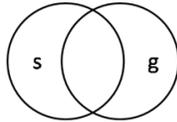
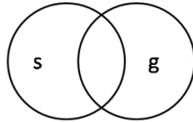
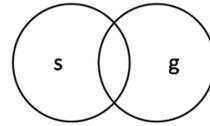
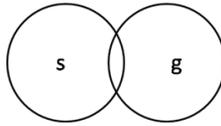
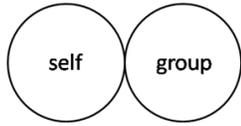
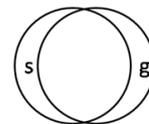
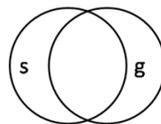
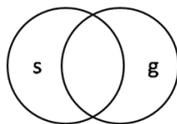
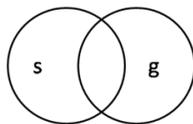
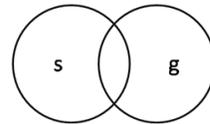
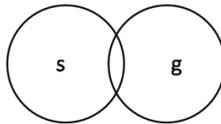
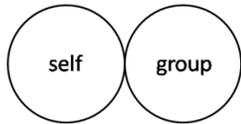
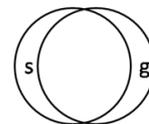
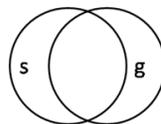
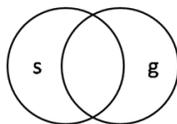
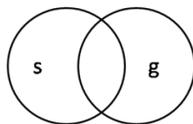
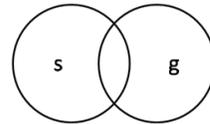
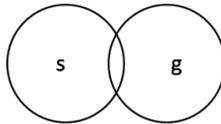
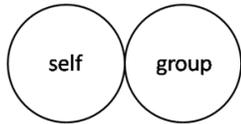
6. I feel a strong attachment toward my religion.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree		Neutral		Strongly Agree

IIS

INSTRUCTIONS: People vary in how close they feel to the groups they are affiliated with. Circle the pair of circles that you feel best represents your own level of identification with each of the listed groups. For example, if you do not identify at all with a particular group, you would circle the first set below where there is no overlap between the two circles.

1. ... your **ethnic** group.2. ... your **religious** group3. ... **Americans** as a group

4.your **family**5. ...your **friends**6. ...your **gender**

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ABSTRACT**COLLECTIVE IDENTIFICATION IN ARAB AMERICAN EMERGING ADULTS:
DOES AFFIRMATION TO ETHNIC, NATIONAL, FAMILY AND RELIGIOUS
GROUPS PREDICT POSITIVE ADJUSTMENT?**

by

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There has been little work investigating multiple social identities, though an individual can identify with several groups (Kiang, Yip, & Fuligni, 2008). The aim of this study is to investigate the relationships among theoretically significant ingroup identifications and their contributions to adjustment in Arab American emerging adults. The Inclusion of the Ingroup in Self (IIS) measure and the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure – Revised (MEIM-R) were adapted to measure affirmation to ethnic, national (American), family, and religious groups. The results indicate that a pure model of pure affirmation could not be supported – it may be important to consider exploration behaviors. Results also indicated that individuals highly identified with ethnic, national (American), family, and religious groups report higher self-esteem and positive affect, as well as better relationships with parents. Regressions indicate that only religious identity predicted significant variance in positive affect, self-esteem, and ego competence. In addition, evidence was found for a mediating role of religious identity between ethnic identity and ego competence. Implications for positive youth development are discussed.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL STATEMENT

The author was born to Lebanese immigrants in Dearborn, Michigan. She pursued an undergraduate degree in psychology. Following, she entered the graduate program in Cognitive, Developmental, and Social psychology at Wayne State University in Detroit, MI with strong interests in culture and identity. In her spare time, the author enjoys spending time with her husband and children, cooking/baking, and biking.