

**Advancing Multiculturalism in Positive Psychology: Cultivating Identity and Wellbeing from Seeds
of Adversity**

by

Andrea J. Belgrade

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Psychology)
in the University of Michigan
2021

Doctoral Committee:

Professor Fiona Lee, Chair
Professor Lorraine Gutiérrez
Research Scientist Mari Kira
Professor Ramaswami Mahalingam

Andrea J. Belgrade

belgrade@umich.edu

ORCID iD: 0000-0002-9566-2351

© Andrea J. Belgrade 2021

DEDICATION

For the diverse communities of immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers, sojourners, dreamers, and multicultural people that make America great.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I would like to thank the participants of the studies I carried out during graduate school, without whom none of this would be possible. I feel grateful to be trusted to hear their stories and learn from their experiences. Beyond the theoretical insights I enumerate in academic manuscripts and this dissertation, I would like to acknowledge my own personal transformation as I learned more about their lived experiences. Particularly, I would like to highlight the adolescent refugees I worked with in study 3. Their incredible life stories and dreams for the future further inspired me to reform our community and our country to become a place where they can further thrive and reach their full potential.

I also owe the successful completion of this degree to the University of Michigan Department of Psychology, and especially my two primary advisors, Fiona Lee and Mari Kira. Looking back on my skills as a researcher when I entered graduate school compared to the present, I can clearly see how my two advisors positively influenced my professional development. I also recall times of social support, whether it was opportunities to meet Winston the puppy or offers of a place to stay during a difficult time. I would also like to thank my other two committee members, Lorraine Gutierrez and Ramaswami Mahalingam. Even from my first year, these two professors influenced my directions as a researcher, introducing me to participatory action research and encouraging me to think critically about structures of power and marginality in research. I also would like to recognize Jacqueline Mattis. I took four courses with her while at Michigan and it was her example that taught me to think about the ethics of how I want to conduct research and the importance of challenging single stories of deficit among

marginalized groups. I would also like to thank the entire Psychology community at Michigan including the staff, faculty, and students. Particularly, I owe my success to my large team of research assistants, translators, and transcribers. The studies included in my dissertation especially relied on the assistance and brilliance of research assistants Noor Saleem and Shima Sadaghiyani who were heavily involved in these studies. Each and every person mentioned above played a major role in shaping this dissertation into what it is today.

Often underappreciated, I want to recognize the work and impact various community organizations had on my graduate work, my life during graduate school, and in the lives of the communities I worked with. These include Safehouse, Washtenaw Refugee Welcome, Jewish Family Services, Samaritas, the Hmong Cultural Center, the African Development Center, and the Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services. I would also like to acknowledge the funding organizations that contributed to the successful completion of my graduate work including the Rackham Graduate School, the Department of Psychology, the University of Michigan Library, the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, and the Center for the Education of Women.

I would like to thank the people who were there for me on my personal journey while at Michigan. Thanks in part to these people and communities, I was able to not only find my feet after a series of personal losses and challenges, but become a better, stronger person. I have been incredibly fortunate that my family has always been a dependable source of love and support, especially Mary, Miles, Sonja, Garren, Oslo, Lily, Hali, and Charlie. I owe my sense of belonging and support in Michigan to many friends and a couple primary communities of people: Graduate Rackham International and my Latin dancing friends. I also was lucky to make friendships within the field of psychology including Darwin Guevarra, my day one friend, who

has been the longest and most constant source of support and laughter at Michigan. I would also like to recognize my friends living outside of Michigan including my college friends and those I befriended on my travels. I also would like to acknowledge my crazy little poodle, Madi, who howls at me to take her on walks no matter how busy I am and who is a constant source of *chutzpah*, entertainment and love. I would finally like to acknowledge Little Bear who found his photo featured on lecture slides, snoozed in the lecture halls, and greeted students during office hours, brightening the days of the students, staff, and faculty. May his memory be a blessing.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
LIST OF TABLES	viii
LIST OF FIGURES	ix
ABSTRACT.....	xii
CHAPTER I: Theoretical Overview	1
Positive Psychology: Benefits and Opportunities.....	3
Post Adversarial Growth.....	6
Wellbeing.....	10
Hybrid Multicultural Identity (HMI).....	17
Dissertation Objectives	20
CHAPTER II: What Makes Us Complete: Hybrid Multicultural Identity and its Development (Study 1)	22
Introduction.....	22
Method	23
Results.....	27
Discussion.....	56
CHAPTER III: A Quantitative Examination of Hybrid Multicultural Identity Development (Study 2).....	58

Introduction.....	58
Method	58
Results.....	63
Discussion.....	69
CHAPTER IV: Ontological Security as a Model of Wellbeing: A Qualitative Examination of Resettled Refugees’ Wellbeing (Studies 3 and 4).....	71
Introduction.....	71
Method (Studies 3 and 4).....	72
Results (Studies 3 and 4).....	90
Discussion.....	114
CHAPTER V: Discussion.....	116
Implications for Wellbeing Theory.....	117
Theoretical Implications Regarding the Experience and Development of HMI	118
Practical Implications Regarding Refugee and Multicultural Policies	121
Limitations of Current Work.....	123
Future Directions.....	125
Conclusion.....	128
REFERENCES.....	130

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE

II.1	Demographics of study 1 participants (N = 10).	24
III.1	Demographics of study 2 participants (N = 489).	59
III.2	Study 2 scales corresponding to concepts and quotes presented in study 1.	60
III.3	Study 2 scale information	62
III.4	Variables list and descriptive data.	63
III.5	Measurement model: Factor loadings for latent variables.	66
IV.1	Demographics of photovoice participants (N = 14).	75
IV.2	Demographics of interview participants (N = 56).	78

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE

I.1	Calm before the storm	1
I.2	“They tried to bury us. They didn’t know we were seeds.”	2
II.1	First-order codes and second-order categories within their respective aggregated theoretical dimensions	28
II.2	Caption: Beautiful. Black sand, or white sand. Both are equally beautiful. Beauty after all, is in the eye of beholder. Transcript quote: “Whether it is black sand or white sand both are equally beautiful because beauty is in the eye of the beholder. So there’s no such thing as like, white is beautiful or black is beautiful or brown is beautiful. For me, everyone is beautiful. And beauty can be perceived by different people, um, in a different manner. Everything is just beautiful.” (Zara)	30
II.3	Caption: Life in a bubble has shallow roots. Participant quote: “I love terrariums but what I’m trying to bring out here is like, life in a bubble has shallow roots. Basically mean that I feel like it’s really important for us to, like, you know not stay in our own bubble. And know what other cultures has going on around the world. So... yeah that’s what I’ve been doing for the past... my life” (Germaine)	31
II.4	Caption: The journey. Participant quote: “It really symbolized for me this solo journey that I feel like I’ve been going on for the past 25 years. I grew up in predominantly white spaces at some chapters [of my story]. At other chapters, I lived in really diverse communities. And... in telling my story I feel like I have a very unique experience. Which I know is something that a lot of people who identify as multicultural would say. But really thinking through especially being in college, living outside of my home and interacting with different people and places and then moving to Atlanta and then moving to Phoenix, and then moving back to the Midwest. Um I just feel like life is a giant roadtrip that has taken me to different people and places, and I have found myself along the way and come to grips and really accepted what my unique identities are.” (Ashwini)	32
II.5	Caption: Studying abroad. Participant quote: “This represents our journey so far just riding in. People coming in, people going out, different interactions all the	34

time. It's like, not only different people but different cultures interacting all the time.” (Ian)

- II.6** Caption: It's very tough when the things taught here conflict with the things taught at home. Participant quote: “And then I was at elementary school at that point, and I would go up to some other girl that I just met, kiss her, and it would be like ‘oh my god... ahhh’ and like, I just said hi. And they would be like ‘oh you like her’ I don’t know, things like that. Just because I said hi, and that’s just how I say hi. But they’re like ‘ahhhh you love her.’ I’m like ‘no.’” (João) 35
- II.7** Caption: Wired. Participant quote: “I had to study every single religion and see what they have in common. I had to study, as well, all the cultures in the world and try and understand how they work. And I come over here so you can respect and so on. And I don’t see that happening ever here.” (Isabella) 37
- II.8** Caption: “Feminist: A person who believes in the social, political, and economic equality of the sexes” - Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie (Tesfu) 39
- II.9** Caption: When you choose a path, how do you know if it's the right one? (João) 41
- II.10** Caption: Not part of your world. Participant quote: “I’m up in my own headspace sometimes. Feeling detached from everything that’s around me. Not understanding different objects or different people. But very much still being in it and attached to it but still feeling not grounded in that but still having a front row seat to it.” (Ashwini) 42
- II.11** Caption: Is this what I’m supposed to? Participant quote: “But I just thought the dog looks like... Piña looks so funny like he’s just like ‘is this what I’m supposed to be doing?’ like it looks so unnatural for this little dog to be sitting out on a bench um in the middle of the city and that’s sometimes how I feel sometimes. I’m just like ‘aaaahhhh is this right?’ like somebody’s like kind of holding me at an angle and I’m trying to smile and, um, it all just feels a little strange. And... yeah! That’s something I experience often. Whether it’s like ‘I wanna wear this outfit today’ like ‘oh but I’m going to my parent’s in 20 minutes so I’m going to change and wear this thing that I don’t actually like’ but that’s the position I need to be held in at this moment in time. Um and I’m just gonna pose, I’m just gonna pose a little bit.” (Ashwini) 43
- II.12** Model depicting the hypothesized relationships between second-order categories and identification with a multicultural identity. 45
- II.13** Caption: Why should we blend in when we can stand out? Participant quote: “This is, um, a picture I took in the past. It’s actually in Spain. And the caption is “why would we blend in when we could stand out?” And I guess I was just trying to say that something as simple as, you know, when people want us to be like them, to assimilate to their culture. Why should we do that when we can shine in our own way and have our own, like, “I’m different and that’s okay and that’s 46

good.” You know? So there’s different ways we can all... you don’t have to be part of a crowd that nobody can distinguish. We can be our own thing and people. I think the best kind of people appreciate that for who you are.” (João)

II.14	Caption: It takes many apples to make a great desert. Participant quote: “I was like googling ‘oh how do you show, like, a multicultural identity’ and I saw like... it’s just a blend of different things. Then... so I was like, I’ll just take apples with different colors, I guess. And then my quote is, like, ‘it takes many apples to make a great desert,’ but... honestly it’s not really true but what I’m trying to say is just that we need every different culture, like, that’s what makes us complete, as a whole thing. Nobody can like, live by yourself; you need other people.” (Germaine)	47
II.15	Caption: This is a photo of a busy highway and intersection. I just happened to take it for no specific reason, but this represents the trajectory of my life. So far, I’ve lived in 4 countries around the world, which is symbolized by the road signs and the multiple ways I can go. Time is moving fast and my next move will come soon, as symbolized by the fact that it is a highway. (Yoshito)	48
II.16	Caption: The alphabet. Participant quote: “Sometimes I don’t feel like enough of... one part of me... like because I don’t know the language, sometimes I don’t feel Eritrean enough. Especially in my church, because that’s the language that is preached in.” (Tesfu)	53
III.1	Structural model depicting the precursors to developing a hybrid multicultural identity.	69
IV.1	Entrance of the gallery displaying participants’ photos, quotes, and analysis posters	87
IV.2	Second view of the gallery displaying participants’ photos, quotes, and analysis posters	87
IV.3	First and second order codes within their respective aggregated theoretical dimensions.	91
IV.4	Participant analysis poster depicting insecurity in their home country	108
IV.5	Participant analysis poster depicting finding security in resettlement.	109
IV.6	Whole participant analysis poster.	110

ABSTRACT

I examine how experiences of adversity contribute to growth among marginalized groups. This aligns with post adversarial growth theory, which highlights how people perceive psychological growth (i.e., improved social relationships, changed sense of self, and a new sense of what matters in life) after struggling with adverse life events. I specifically examine a changed sense of self through development of a hybrid multicultural identity (HMI) and a new sense of what matters in life among resettled refugees in North America.

Studies 1 and 2 focus on how people can grow from adverse experiences to form new understandings of themselves- specifically as a hybrid multicultural. HMI distinguishes itself from additive conceptualizations of multicultural identity in that it is a superordinate identity, unifying people from different cultural backgrounds into a single, shared identity. Study 1 reveals the three primary categories of precursors for the development of a multicultural identity: personal multicultural experiences, perceptions of macro-level marginalization, and culturally related interpersonal experiences. Additionally, on the basis of explicitly and implicitly observed relationships between each of the variables in Study 1, a detailed model of HMI development is presented in Study 1. Study 2 tested this model using structural equation modeling. The measurement model had good model fit (CFI= .961; TLI = .958, RMSEA = .054, and SRMR = .057) and the factor loadings were acceptable. The structural model also had good model fit (CFI = .968; TLI = .966, RMSEA = .045, and SRMR = .072) and the pathway estimates largely confirmed the model presented in Study 1. Further, Study 2's analysis highlights the importance

of culture mixing as the strongest individual predictor of HMI. This work advances current knowledge of HMI development by focusing on the development of HMI through the participants' experience of their social contexts. I specifically emphasize the developmental importance of (1) social invalidation and other negative appraisals of their social contexts and (2) the degree to which participants experienced culture mixing.

Studies 3 and 4 demonstrate how people can grow from adversity to create new life philosophies for themselves. I studied this topic using the combined data of a photovoice project with adolescent refugees and an interview project with adult refugees resettled in North America. Across these samples which varied in several dimensions including religion, age, ethnicity, and time of resettlement, a common model of wellbeing was stressed: ontological security (the confidence in the presence, continuity, and order of the things one finds important in life). We found that ontological security in the refugee context included peace of body, peace of mind, rootedness in one's self, and rootedness in meaningful connections. The participants' experience with instability and insecurity influenced their value of this wellbeing dimension, however it was apparent that ontological security remained a central aspect of wellbeing even when refugees perceived their lives to be currently stable. On the basis of this work and previous work that has stressed the importance of ontological security, I propose that ontological security is a model of wellbeing, alongside current models of subjective and psychological wellbeing rather than merely a precondition for these 'higher forms' of wellbeing.

CHAPTER I

Theoretical Overview

Being from a multicultural background there's a lot of storm for us... we pretty much don't see peace sometimes in certain areas. [...] It's like maybe there's a lot of rain but after the rain, things emerge. Beautiful things happen. (Isabella, referring to Figure I.1)



Figure I.1. Calm before the storm

Much of psychology research focuses on a simple relationship—that negatively experienced events breed poor psychological outcomes while positively experienced events relate to beneficial psychological outcomes (Vollhardt, 2009). However, some have begun to

challenge this narrow logic, recognizing that people can find meaning and experience positive outcomes stemming from their adverse experiences (Joseph, 2009; Linley & Joseph, 2005; Linley & Joseph, 2004; Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2017; Vollhardt, 2009). This sense of growing from adversity is a common narrative, expressed both in and out of the academic realm, with Christianopoulos' famous phrase populating the signs of activists fighting against injustice in the United States: "They tried to bury us. They didn't know we were seeds." (Savage, 2017; see Figure I.2). The underlying message conveys that even when people face difficult circumstances and the powers of institutional discrimination try to 'bury' them, they, as seeds, will only grow and become stronger. Isabella also eloquently describes the possibility of beauty being born from the "storms" of life. This sentiment and, more specifically, the theory of post adversarial growth (Joseph & Linley, 2005; Linley & Joseph, 2004) will serve as the underlying framework of this dissertation.



Figure I.2. "They tried to bury us. They didn't know we were seeds."

The following three chapters in this dissertation will examine how people create meaning from a wide range of adverse experiences. Specifically, I will focus on two outcomes of post

adversarial growth: first, the formation of a positive identity, and second, a re-examination of what is important in life (Joseph & Linley, 2005). I will examine these phenomena among groups of people with two distinct backgrounds. Chapters II and III will examine how a hybrid multicultural identity (HMI), which people describe as a positive identity, is developed from primarily negative evaluations of one's social context and interpersonal interactions. Chapter IV will shift to describe how resettled refugees' experiences with instability and insecurity inform the centrality and importance of ontological security for living a good life. The current chapter will outline the associated theoretical underpinnings of Chapters II-IV, including adversarial growth, wellbeing, and hybrid multicultural identity development theories. While these chapters explore the experiences of distinctly different groups of people, the underlying theme of creating meaning from adverse experiences is present and central across each chapter. Throughout the process of planning these studies, collecting data, analyzing data, and writing these chapters, I have reflected on my own positionality, as a Jewish-Christian-American woman with significant ties to international and multicultural communitiesⁱ.

Positive Psychology: Benefits and Opportunities

ⁱ Positionality Statement:

I was born to a Christian mother and a Jewish father. While religion was not a central part of our lives, this coexistence and celebration of difference within a single home greatly impacted my view of the world. I was open to the idea that there are many ways of looking at the world that are equally valid. I also was impacted by the nature of these particular cultures and their histories. For example, the history of persecution of the Jewish people, including my own family's escape to the U.S., escaping the Russian pogroms, made me keenly aware from an early age that the world is often not a safe place for marginalized minorities. Something as central as our last name, I learned, had been 'Americanized' upon arrival to the U.S. in an effort to veil our Ashkenazi background from a disapproving and discriminatory society. The community I grew up in was almost entirely white, where my half Jewish background was considered diverse. Here I was personally exposed to instances of discrimination and marginalization, where people I had considered my friends, attributed my application to college scholarships to me being a 'greedy Jew' among other negative experiences.

Upon entering college, I actively sought out experiences that would expose me to diverse world views. I found opportunities to study and live abroad in Venezuela, Nepal, Denmark, India, Sri Lanka, and elsewhere. Even while I lived in the U.S., I befriended people from all over the world and was deeply involved with the global community. My values for multiculturalism began to influence every aspect of my life, and I found a sense of home in a global, multicultural community that I had never experienced before.

I live a very different life from the participants I study. I present as a white, American woman, and I move through the world as such. I have privileges that the participants in my studies do not hold. Despite this, I related to

Psychology used to focus on three main areas: curing mental illness, making people's lives more productive and fulfilling, and identifying and nurturing high talent (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). However, in the aftermath of WWII, the world was reeling, wondering how to integrate soldiers returning home from war, many of them suffering from mental health issues as a result of the trauma they experienced in war. Funds were allocated to encourage research in areas that would solve the problems of the day (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000), and since that time, Psychology has disproportionately focused on healing negative outcomes (Seligman, 2002) and the weaknesses of people, leaving little room for research focusing on the strengths of individuals and groups (Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Finkenauer, & Vohs, 2001; Joseph and Linley, 2005; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). Amplifying and nurturing strengths is said to buffer against the individual's weaknesses and help them deal with the "storms of life" (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). While there is still an emphasis on deficit, some researchers have begun to turn their attention towards positive human functioning and how to help people reach their most optimal states (Joseph & Linley, 2005).

Still, even with this shift towards positive psychology, marginalized groups are disproportionately represented through their hardships and deficits in psychological research. Research among those who experienced significant adversity tend to focus exclusively on the

participants in that I also find myself most at home in diverse, multicultural spaces. Additionally, the struggles of resettled refugees are not relatable to my own experiences, but I did reflect on the challenges my own family faced during the Russian Pogroms many years ago. My sense of attachment to the participants may also impact the way I conducted this research. This is particularly true for the adolescent refugees in Study 3, who I continued to work with after the data was collected.

My cultural backgrounds also likely influence my approach to research and my particular topical interests. My sense of Jewishness has less to do with religion and traditions and more to do with an acknowledgement of the many traumas that my people have gone through, the ability for a group of people to persist and thrive against all odds, and a moral imperative to help fight against injustices that all marginalized groups face. My understanding of my Jewish background, as well as my own personal experiences of perceived psychological growth following adversity, likely impacted my affinity towards post adversarial growth theory. Perhaps also stemming from my long-term awareness that the world is not fair and safe for marginalized groups, I strongly believe researchers have a responsibility to use their position and privilege to produce work that advances social justice and promotes human dignity.

detrimental impact of these adverse events (Al Ibraheem, Kira, Aljakoub, & Al Ibraheem, 2017; Ryan, Huebner, Diaz, & Sanchez, 2009; Ryan, Dooley, & Benson, 2008). Additionally, in minority group psychology research, inferiority models have long existed, and they were often based on social Darwinism and eugenics. In these theories, researchers used false claims of genetic inferiority of non-white groups to assert that certain racial groups were not capable of success unless assisted by the white majority (Pedrotti, 2015). Indeed, while minorities were often not included in research, when they were, they were frequently compared to the white majority, and the conclusions often pointed out to some kind of deficit (Downey & Chang, 2014). While many marginalized groups experience challenges, their unidimensional depiction as suffering people robs them of their full, multifaceted humanity, which are less often shared in psychological literature, with some notable exceptions (Goodkind, 2006; Jayawickreme, Jayawickreme, & Seligman, 2013; Wehrle, Kira, & Klehe, 2019; Wehrle, Klehe, Kira, & Zikic, 2018).

Both refugees and multicultural individuals in the United States are often framed in terms of a single story of adversity, robbing them of their full dimensionality as people. Refugees are often seen as “sick” people (Ryan, et al., 2008), likely due to their high rates of trauma (in one study of Cambodian refugees, Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and depression rates were as high as 86 percent and 80 percent respectively; Carlson and Rosser-Hogan 1991). Researchers have speculated that this widespread public conception of the ‘sick’ and ‘vulnerable’ refugee have had denigrative effects for refugees, encouraging some refugees to take on a passive ‘victim role’ to resettlement (Peisker & Tilbury, 2003), inhibiting their successful integration into their new home country. Just because refugees experience trauma does not mean they can only be portrayed as victims; one could just as easily highlight refugees’ strength as survivors of some of

the most extreme atrocities and as people who have been able to build new lives for themselves. In this dissertation, I seek to broaden the refugee narrative beyond this single story of passive victimization.

As Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie explained regarding single stories in her widely acclaimed Ted Talk, “to insist on only these negative stories, is to flatten my experience. And to overlook the many other stories that formed me. The single story creates stereotypes, and the problem with stereotypes is not that they are untrue, but that they are incomplete. They make one story become the only story” (Adichie, 2009). Ayah Kutmah (2019), an undergraduate student who co-founded [RE]vive, an organization that serves refugees and supports them in higher education, explained how the single story of refugees as victims can have a detrimental impact on their wellbeing and potential. She explains how a single story of victimhood can be suffocating to refugees’ sense of agency.

In fact, the stereotype of refugees is one we ourselves buy into, accept, propagate, politicize, use in the humanitarian field to raise millions and millions of dollars. The stereotype is that they are weak, helpless, unfortunate. The story we propagate is that “these other people who look different than us and speak differently than us” need us to help them. They need us to save them. This is the single story we subliminally propagate within our own minds and towards others. It is this single story that suffocates refugees.

While the field of psychology is historically guilty of promoting conceptions of deficits among culturally diverse groups, positive psychology has a unique opportunity to counteract this unfortunate history within the discipline (Downey & Chang, 2014; Pedrotti, 2015). Positive psychology that focuses on the strengths of these communities and individuals can help to balance the prevailing research that has largely focused on negative outcomes and deficits of

marginalized communities. While this is true for multicultural identified people who I will be focusing on in Chapter II and III, it is especially true for the samples of refugees in Chapters IV who must deal with not only being a part of a cultural minority group in North America, but who are also seen by society as being weak and vulnerable due to the circumstances of their forced migration (Ryan, et al., 2008; Peisker & Tilbury, 2003).

Post Adversarial Growth

Post adversarial growth describes how people can perceive psychological growth in themselves after experiencing adversity. This growth often falls into three possible categories: first, that they can sense improved relationships with others, second, that they view themselves in a different and positive way, and third, they may change their life philosophy, re-examining what really matters in life (Joseph & Linley, 2005). In this dissertation, I will focus on two of those three outcomes (i.e. changes in how people view themselves and defining what really matters in life). Post adversarial growth theory represents a balance between psychology's previous focus on negatively valenced experiences and positive's psychology's shift towards human strengths (Joseph & Linley, 2005), and this theory will serve as the underlying framework for the four studies. While post adversarial growth is a broader theory to include any adversarial experience, it is built from the original post traumatic growth theory that focuses on growth after a single traumatic event.

Post traumatic growth. First introduced by Tedeschi and Calhoun in 1995, post traumatic growth theory recognizes that a person can experience personal growth resulting from trauma (Linley & Joseph, 2005; Linley & Joseph, 2004, Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2017; Joseph, 2009). Post traumatic growth is often thought of as an outcome, but it also describes a process. First, experiencing trauma is said to shatter the assumptive world, challenging people's

preexisting schemas. Following, one must accommodate their schemas to make sense of the trauma for post traumatic growth to occur. Therefore, not everyone who experiences trauma will also experience post traumatic growth (Tedeschi, Blevins, & Riffle, 2016; Chan, Young, & Sharif, 2016).

Post traumatic growth is not the same as resilience (Levine, Laufer, Stein, Hamama-Raz, & Solomon, 2009). Resilience describes having the resources beforehand to deal with the trauma while post traumatic growth occurs as a result of adaptation of core schemas that had been interrupted by trauma (Calhoun & Tedeschi, 2014). These differences in reactions to trauma were seen in a study examining bereaved individuals (Zhou, Yu, Tang, Wang, & Killikelly, 2018); the resilience group did not experience growth but rather just an absence of negative outcomes while there were others that struggled with the adverse event but eventually reported growth following this hardship. The main difference between resilience and post adversarial growth lies in the absence or presence of struggle following the adverse event and also the perception of growing from that struggle versus remaining at baseline.

Pathways to post traumatic growth. Research has just begun to examine pathways to post traumatic growth. Some studies have examined demographic differences including gender (Chan et al., 2016; Park, Cohen, & Murch, 1996; Tedeschi et al., 2016) and age (Powell, Rosner, Butollo, Tedeschi, & Calhoun, 2003; Tedeschi, et al., 2016) with mixed evidence; some studies found no effect while others favored women and younger people to experience more post traumatic growth as compared to men and older people (Tedeschi, et al., 2016). Other work has examined how psychological, cognitive, and social factors can also facilitate post traumatic growth (Chan et al., 2016; Tedeschi, et al., 2016; Tian & Solomon, 2018). Moreover, the Cognitive Growth and Stress model illustrates the positive effects of control perceptions and

event centrality in facilitating growth after trauma (Brooks, Graham-Kevan, Lowe, & Robinson, 2017). Additionally, the type of traumatic event can facilitate growth, with shared traumas targeting a specific community associated with greater perceived growth relative to individually experienced trauma (Kılıç, Magruder, & Koryürek, 2016; Tedeschi, et al., 2016).

Given the high prevalence of post traumatic growth, it is important to understand the process of post traumatic growth so that these positive outcomes can be facilitated. Studies have suggested that in samples of people experiencing a wide range of traumas, almost everyone experiences at least some sense of post traumatic growth and about half of people report moderate to significant growth (Jansen, Hoffmeister, Chang-Claude, Brenner, & Arndt, 2011; Jin, Xu, Liu, & Liu, 2014; Stein et al., 2018; Tsai, El-Gabalawy, Sledge, Southwick, & Pietrzak, 2015; Xu, & Liao, 2011). Some have suggested that with a greater understanding of the process, post traumatic growth could be further facilitated through interventions (Tedeschi, et al., 2016), helping people to not only return to baseline after experiencing trauma, but perhaps even experience a sense of growth.

Applicability of post adversarial growth theory to the current studies' samples. Post traumatic/adversarial growth theory serves to move refugees away from the medical model that has been attributed to making refugees feel like passive victims (Kutmah, 2019; Peisker & Tilbury, 2003) rather than active, empowered facilitators of their own healing. Indeed, a review of post traumatic growth among refugees found strong evidence for post traumatic growth in this population, which resulted in intrapersonal and interpersonal gains for the individuals (Chan, et al., 2016). Chan, Young, and Sharif discussed the many gaps in the literature regarding refugee post traumatic growth including the influence of resettlement experiences—which can be as traumatizing as their experiences in their home countries—the role of cultural factors,

acculturation, and discrimination in the country of resettlement. While many refugees may not name these challenges as ‘trauma,’ a series of events accumulated over time that serve to challenge the refugees’ pre-existing schemas of the world may elicit post adversarial growth.

Multicultural identified people are not medicalized to the degree refugees have been, and many of them have not endured major traumas. However, multicultural people are still often framed in terms of the adversity they face or the disparities they experience (Sue & Sue, 2003; Pedrotti & Edwards, 2009; Pedrotti & Edwards, 2016; Downey & Chang, 2014; Ryan, Dooley, & Benson, 2008). Multicultural people experience chronic adversity including but not limited to marginalization, discrimination, and microaggressions, and these experiences may also have a similar effect of shattering their assumptive world. Pedrotti (2015) discusses how marginalized people can take negative experiences like prejudice and discrimination, experiences that may not necessarily be described as traumatic, and experience growth. She describes this as a “skill that is cultivated in a specific cultural group due to their inherent experiences.”

The studies included in this dissertation acknowledge the important impacts that adversity has on refugees and multicultural people, while also focusing on how people are active agents who create meaning from these experiences, developing positive identities and constructing an understanding of ‘a good life’. My approach adheres to a perspective encouraged by many leading scholars in the field of multicultural psychology. I study people and their communities from a balanced perspective that recognizes their experiences of hardship and also celebrates their strengths and agency (Downey & Chang, 2014; Ryan, et al., 2008; Pedrotti & Edwards, 2016). Specifically, I examine how people use adverse experiences to create constructions of wellbeing for themselves and develop an HMI.

Wellbeing

The post-adversarial growth literature outlines important positive outcomes including a changed life philosophy, (Joseph & Linley, 2005; Shaw, Joseph, & Linley, 2005) described as “a sense of what really matters in life” (Joseph & Hefferon, 2013, p. 3) or “a radically changed sense of priorities [that] can accompany the increase in appreciation for what one still has” (Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004). In this dissertation, I will be examining how resettled refugees describe what makes for a good life in the context of their often-challenging life experiences. While this line of work contributes to our understanding of post-adversarial growth, it also contributes to wellbeing literature, which has been dominated by two models of wellbeing: subjective and psychological.

Subjective and psychological wellbeing. There are currently two leading schools of thought on wellbeing. The first focuses on subjective wellbeing in terms of the presence of positive affect, the absence of negative affect, and life satisfaction (Deci & Ryan, 2008; Tov & Diener, 2007). Subjective wellbeing is more traditionally examined in psychological research. Subjective wellbeing can focus on momentary affect or take on a broader scope, measuring life satisfaction (Baumeister, Vohs, Aaker, & Garbinsky, 2014). For higher subjective wellbeing, one would be motivated to increase positive affect and decrease negative affect. The specific type of ideal positive affect, whether low or high arousal, is culturally determined (Tsai, 2007).

The second school of thought on wellbeing is psychological wellbeing, and it describes growth across the life course, emphasizing the creation of meaning in one’s life in order to become one’s best self (Ryff, 1989; Ryff, Keyes & Hughes, 2003). Psychological wellbeing was proposed as a part of a critique of the reigning subjective wellbeing literature (Ryff, 1995; Ryff & Singer, 2008), which had not included important experiences or aspects of life and flourishing (i.e. meaning in life, fulfillment, and personal growth). Psychological wellbeing is described in

terms of how much that person experiences positive psychological functioning (i.e. finding meaning and self-realization; Ryan & Deci, 2001; Ryff, 1989). Ryff's psychological wellbeing theory describes six main components, which have been widely validated including in a nationally representative sample (Dodge, Daly, Huyton, & Sanders, 2012). The six components are Autonomy, Environmental Mastery, Personal Growth, Positive Relations with Others, Purpose in Life, and Self-Acceptance (Ryff, 1995; Ryff & Singer, 2008).

While subjective and psychological wellbeing are often described as distinct, diverging concepts (Linley, Maltby, Wood, Osborne, & Hurling, 2009), many scholars have recognized the interconnectedness of these two constructs (Delle Fave, Brdar, Freire, Vella-Brodrick, & Wissing, 2011; Huta & Ryan, 2010; Keyes, Shmotkin, & Ryff, 2002; McMahan, & Estes, 2011; Ryan & Deci, 2001), and this interconnectedness has been recognized to exist in many world cultures (Disabato, Goodman, Kashdan, Short, & Jarden, 2016). Recognizing that each of these perspectives of wellbeing are valid to living a good life, researchers have encouraged the combination of these concepts in research, referring to the combined presence of each as 'flourishing' (Henderson & Knight, 2012; Huta & Ryan, 2010; Keyes, 2002; Wissing et al., 2019). While subjective and psychological wellbeing each offer important insights into how people experience wellbeing, I see these theories as being limited. While these concepts have since been transferred to other population groups worldwide, they were originally developed with western samples that were fairly privileged (Ryff, 1989), and therefore may not fully represent wellbeing for people with different life experiences.

The role of ontological security in wellbeing literature. Ontological security has been described as "the confidence that most human beings have in the continuity of their self-identity and in the constancy of the surrounding social and material environments of action" (Giddens,

1991; Nunn, McMichael, Gifford, & Correa-Velez, 2016) or the “trust we have in our surroundings, both human and non-human” (Noble, 2005, p. 107). Ontological security originally emerged from identity literature, and most often is only thinly incorporated and described in the wellbeing literature as basic needs (Deci & Ryan, 2000).

Within this basic needs literature, researchers sought to identify the necessary conditions for people to thrive and have included, at minimum, such things such as access to shelter, food, and clothing (Davey, Chen & Lau, 2009; Diener, Diener, & Diener, 2009) as well as a sense of personal safety (Chase, 2013). The basic needs literature has been criticized by Gasper (2007) who encourages researchers to consider who decides what needs are considered ‘basic’ and what does it mean when someone has the means to acquire these so called ‘basic needs’ but chooses not to. The limits of what needs are considered ‘basic’ are not shared by everyone, and many researchers have extended basic needs to also include social needs such as social status (Guillen-Royo, 2008), social support (Thomas, Gray, & McGinty, 2012), education, employment (Senkosi, 2015), and community and religious connections (Camfield, Guillen-Royo, & Velazco, 2010; Ryff, Singer, & Dienberg Love, 2004). The assumption is that basic needs are merely a step that, once satisfied, makes possible the pursuit of subjective and psychological wellbeing. However, these prerequisites are not agreed upon and this work has largely ignored temporal aspects of basic needs. For example, previous literature has paid little attention to the experience of gaining and losing these basic needs and its impact on wellbeing. Ontological security addresses the weaknesses of the basic needs literature because, unlike basic needs, ontological security focuses less on the attainment of specific resources and more on the psychological state a person is trying to achieve and their confidence of maintaining that across time.

Though ontological security has not been widely acknowledged as a model of wellbeing on the same plane as subjective and psychological wellbeing, I am not the first to stress the importance of ontological security for wellbeing. Ontological security has largely been applied to populations that experience major instability and insecurity including but not limited to people experiencing homelessness (Padgett, 2007; Somerville, 2013), sex workers (Mcnaughton & Sanders, 2008), native North Americans (De Leon, 2018), undocumented Americans (Vaquera, Aranda, & Sousa-Rodriguez, 2017) and migrants (Noble, 2005). Some have also suggested that ontological security takes greater precedence among people living in these difficult conditions (De Leon, 2018). Migrants residing in Australia relied on symbols of their culture to root themselves, providing them comfort in the context of their “conflictual or chaotic world” after resettlement in Australia (Noble, p. 113). For people experiencing homelessness, a sense of rootedness (or lack thereof) to the world is described (Somerville, 2013). In an experiment where previously homeless people were provided with apartments, it was observed that ontological security, described as “a sense of control, reassuring daily routines, privacy, and the capacity to embark upon identity construction and repair” (Padgett, 2007, p. 11) was now possible given they had access to independent housing. While homelessness left people feeling like they were not rooted to the world, women attempting to leave sex work struggled with a sense of not feeling rooted to themselves and would sometimes return to sex work to feel rooted to a sense of self, though they realized this was destructive behavior (Mcnaughton & Sanders, 2008). Across many of these studies, stigmatization, racism, and a generally unsupportive society were responsible for depleted ontological security (Noble, 2005; Mcnaughton & Sanders, 2008).

Studying wellbeing and ontological security from the lens of refugees. Refugees face numerous challenges upon resettlement that threaten their sense of ontological security, from the

societal to the interpersonal level. Multiple studies have highlighted the hardships refugees face, including physical health, mental health, and environmental insecurity that persisted even after resettlement (Ajdukovic & Dean, 1998; McCarthy & Marks, 2010; Samara, El Asam, Khadaroo, & Hammuda, 2019; Tempany, 2009). Refugees also must manage negative interpersonal social interactions such as bullying. (Samara et al., 2019). Additionally, refugees face difficult social interactions on a macro level, where media often depict refugees in a negative light (Berns-McGown, 2013). Given that favorable public perceptions have been shown to be important for positive adjustment outcomes (Esses, Hamilton, & Gaucher, 2017), and that stigmatization, racism and prejudice depress ontological security (Noble, 2005; Mcnaughton & Sanders, 2008), this negative environment likely decreases refugees' sense of wellbeing and ontological security.

Refugees also face challenges stemming from interruptions of their daily life patterns. These may include but are in no way limited to the following: traumatic events, disrupted schooling, living in survival mode, loss of culture, disruption of social networks, sense of lost time or wasted time in their lives, and separation from close social supports (McCarthy & Marks, 2010; Tipping, Bretherton, & Kaplan, 2007; Wehrle et al. 2019). Others describe interruptions in institutional stability, when authority figures are no longer trusted to do their jobs to serve and protect the public (Tipping et al., 2007). Disruptions to refugee's daily lives have a detrimental impact on their ontological security, which can be further aggravated by resettlement policy.

Public policy and resettlement styles have major implications for refugee adjustment outcomes, with less interruption of daily life patterns associated with more positive adjustment. For refugees living in Zagreb, researchers found that outcomes were more positive for those who were living in with local families versus collective shelters. These positive outcomes are likely

due to the sense of continuity found through the continued sense of home life even after displacement (Ajduković & Ajduković, 1993). Similarly, in Australia, refugee claimants who spent time in detention centers demonstrated concerning negative mental health symptoms including suicidal behaviors far and above the national average (41% for men and 26% for women). Adults and children generally met the diagnostic criteria for two psychiatric disorders each (Davidson et al., 2008). For positive refugee adjustment and wellbeing, it is important to maintain some continuity, as Simich, Este, and Hamilton (2010) described in their idea of 'home.' Among refugees, this sense of home often stems from family, community, and religious ties (Ajdukovic, & Dean, 1998; Correa-Velez, Gifford, & Barnett, 2010; Davidson, Murray, & Schweitzer, 2008; Tingvold, Hauff, Allen, & Middelthon, 2012; Tran & Wright, 1986; Tran, 1987; Whittaker, Hardy, Lewis, & Buchan, 2005). Continuity is crucial for a sense of ontological security in resettlement, as is the sense of a predictable future.

Depending on the immigration policy of a given resettlement country, refugees may face uncertainty regarding their ability to remain permanently, potentially jeopardizing their sense of stability and security (Nunn et al., 2016). In the U.S. system, there is a distinction between asylum seekers and refugees; asylum seekers arrive in the U.S. and petition for their ability to stay permanently on the basis of persecution and fear of safety in their home country. In contrast, refugees in the U.S. are accepted for permanent residence before they arrive in the U.S., and so this sense of an uncertain future is far less prevalent given their differing legal status. In other countries, they do not make such a distinction. In Germany, for example, permanent residency is not guaranteed upon arrival. Refugees must first apply for temporary residency and eventually permanent residency. Refugees in Germany, therefore, must work to rebuild their lives and make plans for the future with no certainty that they will even have a permanent future in that country.

This kind of uncertainty is a major factor contributing to refugees' sense of instability (Chase, 2013; Correa-Velez, et al., 2010; Davidson et al., 2008; Davies & Webb, 2000; El-Shaarawi, 2015; McCarthy & Marks, 2010). I argue that threats to refugees' sense of stability and security likely influence refugees' construction of what it means to live a good life.

Refugees' and other vulnerable groups' descriptions of wellbeing suggests that ontological security has been too narrowly incorporated in wellbeing literature and may deserve more importance than previous wellbeing theorists have afforded the concept. Empirical research with Somali refugees showed they emphasized living a comfortable life where their needs were met. Specifically, the Somali participants named peace and security, health, education, employment and housing (Senkosi, 2015). As previously stated, Sudanese refugees in Canada described a multidimensional sense of home that was integral to their wellbeing (Simich et al., 2010). I also find that in wellbeing research, basic needs, which I rephrase to ontological security, has often been theorized very narrowly to consider the present moment's satisfaction of needs, but this is incomplete. Chase (2013) described how in her study examining asylum seekers in the U.K., stability through a sense of security is a much broader concept that includes maintaining a sense of a life narrative that also includes a person's past and future in the resettlement country. Projecting a future life that gave them a sense of "place, belonging and security into the future" was of the utmost importance for asylum seekers. This was also true among refugees living in Cairo; those who foresaw an uncertain future experienced an unstable life (El-Shaarawi, 2015). While there is limited research in this area, I find preliminary support that refugees value ontological security as a central factor in their wellbeing, aligned with literature concerning other groups who also experience instability and insecurity (i.e. people experiencing homelessness, sex workers).

Hybrid Multicultural Identity (HMI)

Shifting from wellbeing, I focus now on the development of a positive identity, a well-recognized outcome of the post-adversarial growth process (Joseph & Linley, 2005).

Specifically, I will explore how HMI is experienced and its developmental process, particularly with regards to how perceptions of the social environment influence HMI development.

The nature of HMI. The extant literature (Neufeld & Schmitt, 2018; Moore & Barker, 2012, West, Zhang, Yampolosky, & Sasaki, 2017; Banks, 2014) defines an HMI as an identity that emerges when people simultaneously identify with two or more cultures and, rather than choosing between these cultures or seeking to integrate them as aspects of their self-concept, hybridize them into a superordinate identity as a multicultural. The cultures that factor into HMI development can come from a wide variety of cultural categories including nationality, religion, ethnicity, and race, to name only a few (West et al., 2017). HMI goes beyond the sum of the cultural parts and, instead, can connect the multicultural person to other multiculturals who may have totally different cultural affiliations. As Moore and Barker (2012, p. 554) put it: “They blend their home culture with the host culture(s), thus becoming truly multicultural and achieving what has been labeled a third culture. This third culture is shared with others who have had similar experiences.” Similarly, Yampolosky et al.’s (2016, p. 168) Transformative Theory of Biculturalism conceptualizes such hybrid cultural identities (see also West et al., 2017): “one may invoke a higher-order, inclusive identity that encompasses the different cultural identities (i.e., a superordinate identity) as a means for reconciling and uniting them.” These views underlie my approach to the nature of a multicultural identity.

HMI development. When it comes to the social factors influencing the formation of HMI, the role of early immersive culture mixing has been recognized as crucial (Hong and Khei,

2014; Martin et al., 2019). Early immersive culture mixing describes the experience of young people who grow up interacting in a significant way with multiple cultures in their home environment. According to Martin and Shao (2016), such early immersive culture mixing determines the cognitive strategies that multiculturals apply in dealing with their multiple cultural identities; being exposed to multiple cultures early on produces ‘innate’ multiculturals who tend to hybridize their various cultural identities into one, superordinate cultural identity (i.e., into HMI). In contrast, ‘achieved’ multiculturals became multicultural through meaningful exposure to other cultures later in life and rather tend to switch between multiple frames and identities (Martin & Shao, 2016). Also, West and colleagues (2017) recognize hybridizing as the cognitive negotiation tactic leading to the development of HMI. Further, West and colleagues (2017) speculated that people with weak ties with each of their source cultures may “feel they have more latitude to mix cultures in idiosyncratic ways, unencumbered by strong accountability pressures from both cultures,” thus resulting in an HMI. This literature highlights the importance of exposure to many cultures in HMI development, how cultural expectations might influence how people incorporate these many experiences into identity construction, and finally how the cognitive practice of hybridizing is crucial to HMI development.

Nevertheless, HMI literature has engaged less with the question of how an individual’s unique perceptions of their social environment shape HMI. Scholars have highlighted that positive factors (i.e. diverse social networks and social support) may make multiculturals feel more accepted, while negative factors in their social environment (i.e. discrimination) would do the opposite (Yampolsky et al., 2016). Additionally, literature on identity development processes have argued that the master narrative framework is effective in understanding the impact of social contexts in identity development (McLean & Syed, 2015; McLean et al., 2018). Master

narratives describe the expected unfolding of a person's life within a particular culture (McLean & Syed, 2015; McLean et al., 2018). Especially among structurally marginalized groups, such as women and ethnic or sexual minorities, the degree to which people feel they fit the social environment, has a crucial influence on the narratives people tell about their developing identities (Lilgendahl et al., 2018; McLean et al., 2018). Structurally marginalized groups often craft their life stories based on the experience of deviating from these imposed master narratives. Similar to the marginalized groups previously studied in this literature, multicultural people are likely to experience situations where their lives deviate from one or several master narratives, some of which may be in conflict with one another. This sense of deviation may help to understand how people's perceptions of their social environments influence the development of a superordinate HMI. I explore the development of HMI and illuminate the importance of multicultural people's perceptions of their social environment in this process, while also providing insights into multicultural people crafting their identities in the crosswinds of several cultural master narratives.

Dissertation Objectives

Over the next three chapters, I present four studies that shed light on these issues, demonstrating how people can be active agents in developing identity (HMI) and constructing meaning around wellbeing (ontological security) after experiencing adversity. Chapter II explores the meaning and development of a Hybrid Multicultural Identity (HMI) using Photovoice methodology (Study 1). A model of HMI development is offered in Chapter I, and this model dictated the design of Study 2, reported in Chapter III, which sought to test the model of HMI development proposed in Chapter II using structural equation modeling. Chapter IV explores how people construct their meaning around wellbeing following adversity, particularly

in regard to ontological security. The life experiences of both Middle Eastern adolescent refugees (Study 3) and adult refugees who are Somali, Hmong, or Middle Eastern (Study 4) inform the results of Chapter IV. Chapter V will summarize the theoretical and practical contributions of this dissertation.

CHAPTER II

What Makes Us Complete: Hybrid Multicultural Identity and its Development (Study 1)

Introduction

It [Being multicultural] also gives you lots of access to other things, you know. Different communities, different places in the world. That just comes about naturally, you're not even making an effort to go out of your way to go to those places, it's just who you are and what you have access to and that's just part of what being multicultural gives you. (Yoshito)

In today's highly mobile world, it is common for people to belong to two or more cultural groups, such as countries, ethnicities, or nationalities, and an increasing number of people define themselves as biculturals or multiculturalists (Arasaratnam, 2013; Vora et al., 2018; Pekerti & Thomas, 2016). Recent literature suggested an emergent and superordinate cultural identity called Hybrid Multicultural Identity (HMI), one that synthesizes "preexisting cultures into a new and distinct form by actively combining elements of...cultures into a single end product" (West et al., 2017, p. 972). In other words, rather than having only two or more separate cultural identities, individuals with HMIs also identify with a single cultural identity that is quintessentially defined by its multi-faceted nature, where HMI is meaningful above and beyond the sum of the separate cultural groups to which these individuals belong. The present study explores HMI by examining its meaning, importance, and affective valence (cf., Ashforth, Harrison, & Corley, 2008). Moreover, I seek to understand how such an identity develops.

Research Questions

(2) How do people experience being a hybrid multicultural (i.e. more than the sum of the parts)?

(1) How do perceptions of the social environment impact the development of HMI?

Method

Due to the exploratory nature of my research questions, I took an interpretive, qualitative approach (Ponterotto, 2005). In particular, I used the Photovoice method, a form of participatory action research which prioritizes participants' personal narratives, thus empowering them and allowing them to take part in the creation of knowledge (Bananuka & John, 2014; Chmielewski & Yost, 2012; Freedman, Pitner, Powers & Anderson, 2012; Johansen & Le, 2014). Photovoice has several key features. First, participants take photographs around a particular theme and, in some cases, they create captions for their photographs (cf. Strack et al., 2018). Second, participants bring their photographs to group sessions where they discuss the photos. As such, the participants' photos, rather than the researchers' questions, provide the stimuli for discussion. Third, the group discussions are transcribed and analyzed to provide the main source of data (Valera et al., 2009; Freedman et al., 2012).

Participants

The study was conducted in a large public university in the Midwestern U.S. I recruited individuals who self-identified as 'multicultural' by posting fliers on a university campus, and by advertising the study in student organizations catered to students from different cultural backgrounds. I did not define the term 'multicultural,' but left this open to the participants' interpretation to allow potentially new insights on this construct, as suggested by West et al. (2017). I asked all potential participants to fill out a prescreening form that asked what made

them identify themselves as multicultural, eligibility questions to ensure all participants were over 18, and logistical questions to be sure they could attend the session dates and had a camera to take photos with (if a participant did not have one, I would have provided a disposable camera). Participants were offered \$75 for their participation.

I selected a sample size of ten participants, a typical sample size for Photovoice studies (as examples of studies with similar sample sizes, see Cho, Kim, & Kwon, 2019; Hergenrather, Rhodes, Cowan, Bardhoshi, & Pula, 2009; Nitzinger, Held, Kevane, & Eudave, 2019). Table II.1 includes details of participants’ gender, age, and cultural background. (To protect the anonymity of the participants, I refer to them with pseudonyms throughout the paper). The sample included four men and six women representing a variety of cultural heritages and experiences. The participants included first- and second-generation immigrants, as well as sojourners to the U.S. All were closely affiliated with the university in which the study was conducted—eight participants were students, one was a recent graduate who was working, and one was a spouse of a student. This study was approved by the university’s Institutional Review Board.

Table II.1. *Demographics of study 1 participants (N = 10)*

Participant Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Self-Described Heritage Cultures	Other Significant Cultural Experiences in Life	Place of Birth	Age Arrived in the U.S.
Ling	32	Woman	Taiwanese, Chinese origins	Japanese and Western influences, moved to U.S. to accompany husband	Taiwan	29
Zara	22	Woman	Malay and Javanese	Moved to U.S. for undergraduate education	Malaysia	18

Tesfu	18	Woman	Eritrean	Eritrean church, primarily white high school	U.S.	Birth
Germaine	23	Woman	Chinese	Multicultural Malaysian community, moved to U.S. for undergraduate education	Malaysia	18
Nima	18	Man	Persian, Muslim		U.S.	Birth
Ian	19	Man	Chinese, Taiwanese	Thai Influence, moved to U.S. for undergraduate education	Brazil	18
Yoshito	20	Man	Japanese	Japan, Ghana and U.S. residency with family	France	6-11, 14
Ashwini	25	Woman	Indian (Tamil)	Lived in diverse communities in the U.S., a primarily white community in high school, and a primarily African American community in Atlanta	U.S.	Birth
João	19	Man	Paraguayan, Ukrainian	Moved to the U.S. with family	Brazil	6
Isabella	~20s ²	Woman	Puerto Rican (Black, European, and Jibaro)	Moved to U.S. for graduate education	Puerto Rico	~20s

Procedure

Given that the majority of the participants were full-time students or in full-time jobs, I designed Study 1 to minimize the time required to participate. As such, I conducted the study in two sessions over the course of two weeks (see Strack et al. (2018) for a similar design). The first session lasted approximately an hour and served to obtain informed consent, introduce the participants to the basics of Photovoice methodology, and to explain their task to take

² Isabella’s audio recording was corrupted, and the age reported is from memory.

photographs inspired by two questions: ‘How would you describe your multicultural identity?’ and ‘How was your multicultural identity formed?’³. I also asked the participants to produce photo captions to encourage their awareness of what their photos actually mean to them (see Strack et al., 2018 and Valera et al., 2009 for photovoice studies using captions).

Participants came together two weeks later for a group discussion about their photos. I first held two parallel, simultaneous subgroup discussions, with five participants in each subgroup and lasting one hour. Both subgroups were equal in gender representation. To ensure maximum cultural diversity, no single country or ethnicity was represented twice in one subgroup. Friends were divided into separate subgroups. Each subgroup was facilitated by two members of the research team, each representing different cultural heritages. Each participant took turns describing all of their photos until everyone had shared each of their photos (as in, e.g., Valera et al., 2009). Once everyone had finished sharing, the participants were invited to comment on each other’s photos and stories. Facilitators were trained to intervene minimally.

After this, the subgroups came together for a full group (10 person), 30-minute session to share topics that emerged from the previous subgroup discussion. Each of these sessions were audio recorded and then transcribed. As typical in the Photovoice method (Nykiforuk, Vallianatos & Nieuwendyk, 2011; Wachs, 1999), the transcriptions of the subgroup and group discussions provide the main source of data.

Data Analysis

Following Braun and Clarke’s (2006) model of thematic analysis, I used an iterative process of coding using Nvivo software and thematic mapping. My aim was to capture both the

³ While in Psychological literature, there is an important distinction placed on identity formation versus identity development, we explained this question in a way that allowed for either answer, and we did not distinguish between the two with our participants.

essence of HMI and factors influencing its development. The first round of coding was open-ended and data driven. Myself and a research assistant (each representing different cultural backgrounds) coded the data independently, and together created mind maps that, in the second round of coding, helped organize the codes into second-order categories and aggregated theoretical dimensions (Caza, Moss, & Vough, 2017; Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2013). The other coder and I regularly checked in with other members of the research team to discuss the codes, categories, and theoretical dimensions (Barbour, 2001; Richards & Hemphill, 2018). After these discussions, the other coder and I would make adjustments as needed and repeat the process of coding and restructuring their thematic maps. As the final step of the analysis, I identified potential connections between the second-order categories to create a conceptual model depicting HMI development.

Study 1 Results

Figure II.1 outlines the theoretical dimensions, second-order categories, and first-order codes (cf., Gioia et al., 2013). The subsequent figures present a selection of the participants' photographs, associated captions, and when relevant, their description relating to the photographs (Belon, Nieuwendyk, Vallianatos, & Nykiforuk, 2016; Wang & Burris, 1997). Consistent with previous findings (West et al., 2017; Yampolosky et al., 2016), participants described a superordinate, emergent HMI that went beyond each of their cultural identities. HMI was described as a common ingroup identity, valued for both its psychological and interpersonal benefits. I also found three broad categories influencing the development of HMI: personal multicultural experiences, perceptions of macro-level marginalization, and culturally related interpersonal experiences.

First Order Codes	Second Order Codes	Aggregated Theoretical Dimension
Statements about... -white-dominated spaces -being with ethnic group members -diverse communities	Ingroup Representation	Social Contextual Factors
Statements about... -experiencing different local communities -moving residency -international travel	Moving Contexts	
Statements about... -"Americans" misunderstanding cultural practices -how "Americans" would not understand multicultural people's perspective	Society's Lack of Understanding Diverse Cultures	Assessment of Social Context
Statements about... -how American's do not value multicultural people and their experiences -centering whiteness -oppression of minorities in education -prevailing racial tensions	Critical Thinking about Social Inequality	
Statements about... -reflection of multicultural values in education, society -cultural diversity present in an area	Cultural Isolation	
Statements about... -conventional beauty standards -complimenting language ability of native speaker -people judging practices and pressure to change	Discrimination	Assessment of Interpersonal Experiences
Statements about... -being perceived as not being [ethnic group] enough -needing to change self to suit the ingroup -feeling out of place, not fully able to connect	Intragroup Marginalization	
-Explicit -Implicit	Common Ingroup Identity	Hybrid Multicultural Identity
-Perceived Psychological Benefit -Perceived Interpersonal Benefit	Valuing Identity	

Figure II.1. First-order codes and second-order categories within their respective aggregated theoretical dimensions⁴

Hybrid Multicultural Identity

The participants shared a common, superordinate cultural identity that subsumes their different cultural subgroups and, in their discussions of HMI, they often focused on its interpersonal and psychological benefits. I describe these themes in more detail below.

Common multicultural identity. The participants recognized a shared, multicultural identity despite each coming from vastly different backgrounds. They talked about this common

⁴ The participants often referred to the non-multicultural dominant or mainstream society members as the "Americans".

identity *explicitly* as something they all experience. “We’re talking about something that’s common to all of us, the way I interpret [being multicultural] in our head, the way I perceive it as a concept.” (Yoshito). Participants also expressed this shared identity *implicitly*. For example, instead of using words like ‘I,’ the participants used the word ‘we’ to refer to a shared HMI. “Because we have so many um... different experiences with so many different people so I think multicultural make people more open minded and more um... tolerant or inclusive towards others” (Ling).

Benefits of HMI. As Ling eluded to in the previous section, the participants saw HMI as a positive aspect of themselves. First, they perceived *psychological benefits* as their HMI enabled higher levels of flexible thinking. The participants felt they were not bound by their own experiences and could more easily shift their thinking to understand alternative perspectives. Zara said: “We can see things from multiple perspectives, so we are not boxed to just one perspective”. The participants also described *interpersonal benefits* associated with their HMI and described being more able to empathize with others; Ashwini described herself as “an ambassador for empathy” during difficult intergroup interactions in class.

One of my white-American friends is getting frustrated with how different race, or, different ethnicity students in class have reacted to things in our group project.... Um, so being able to empathize with my classmates and share that reflection with my white-American classmates.

The participants also described having enhanced appreciation of differences across people. They described the “beauty” in diversity (see Figure II.2 caption) and also the need to need to leave one’s “bubble” and explore different cultures (see Figure II.3 caption).



Figure II.2. Caption: Beautiful. Black sand, or white sand. Both are equally beautiful. Beauty after all, is in the eye of beholder. Transcript quote: “Whether it is black sand or white sand both are equally beautiful because beauty is in the eye of the beholder. So there’s no such thing as like, white is beautiful or black is beautiful or brown is beautiful. For me, everyone is beautiful. And beauty can be perceived by different people, um, in a different manner. Everything is just beautiful.” (Zara)



Figure II.3. Caption: Life in a bubble has shallow roots. Participant quote: “I love terrariums but what I’m trying to bring out here is like, life in a bubble has shallow roots. Basically mean that I feel like it’s really important for us to, like, you know not stay in our own bubble. And know what other cultures has going on around the world. So... yeah that’s what I’ve been doing for the past... my life” (Germaine)

First Step in HMI Development: Personal Cultural Experiences

Two types of personal experiences relating to cultural exposure played an important role in the development of the participants’ HMI. First, the degree of *ingroup representation* (i.e., others in the community sharing their ethnic backgrounds) was often described as contextual information to explain other concepts like their experiences with cultural misunderstandings, cultural isolation, and intragroup marginalization. Each of these were then related to the direct development of their HMI. For example, Ashwini described how living in predominantly white spaces (see Figure II.4 caption) and having friends outside her ethnic group who did not speak

her ethnic group's language, made her feel like an outsider in her culture. This sense of being an outsider eventually influenced her to seek out an identity she felt she could relate to authentically— HMI.

My parents tried teaching me Tamil as a kid but I thought it was weird and none of my friends spoke it so why would I speak it? Um... but yeah, they really wanted me to learn and now I like have the vocabulary of a two year old um... it has definitely impacted my relationship with family in India. Whenever we go back I, like, can't have a conversation with a lot of people. Um so everything they know about me is through, like, others speaking about me.



Figure II.4. Caption: The journey. Participant quote: “It really symbolized for me this solo journey that I feel like I’ve been going on for the past 25 years. I grew up in predominantly white spaces at some chapters [of my story]. At other chapters, I lived in really diverse communities. And... in telling my story I feel like I have a very unique experience. Which I know is something that a lot of people who identify as multicultural would say. But really thinking

through especially being in college, living outside of my home and interacting with different people and places and then moving to Atlanta and then moving to Phoenix, and then moving back to the Midwest. Um I just feel like life is a giant roadtrip that has taken me to different people and places, and I have found myself along the way and come to grips and really accepted what my unique identities are.” (Ashwini)

Cultural mixing. Not inherently negative or positive, the degree to which the participants moved between social contexts over time, or engaged in cultural mixing, also influenced their multicultural identities. Ashwini (see Figure II.4 caption) and Zara described how moving to different cities/countries allowed them to experience cultural mixing, which in turn contributed to their HMI.

I’ve been living in, um, Malaysia my whole life and, um, when I’m here [U.S.] I’m like ‘whoa’. There’s something else here. So yeah. This totally changed my mind about a lot of things. I would definitely say I’m multicultural because I’ve been exposed to a lot of different things when I’m studying here compared to when I was back in Malaysia.

Ian exemplified how a person can experience cultural mixing without moving between cities, and how this can occur even within the home.

I speak English with my dad; I speak Portuguese with my mom and Mandarin with my Grandparents... and with my sister I switch between English and Portuguese all the time.... I just keep switching...I’ve lived in one place my whole life and, uh, I consider myself to be multicultural because at home there’s always been like a clash between cultures. Being my dad was Chinese and my mom was Taiwanese, and in the context of, uh, Brazilian society and going to international school, I interacted all the time with different people from different places in different contexts...

Like Ashwini, many participants framed their multicultural identity as a lifelong accumulation of changing circumstances and shifting experiences (see Figure II.5 caption). They

constantly navigated different social contexts, trying to understand different worldviews and operate within a changing set of norms.



Figure II.5. Caption: Studying abroad. Participant quote: “This represents our journey so far just riding in. People coming in, people going out, different interactions all the time. It’s like, not only different people but different cultures interacting all the time.” (Ian)

Second Step in HMI Development: Perceptions of Macro-level Marginalization

While in the previous section I focused on the composition of the participants cultural social environment, here I examine their perceptions of marginalization taking place at the societal level. My analysis finds that many of these perceptions were negative as participants described cultural misunderstandings, cultural isolation, and structural social inequities. Each of these negative perceptions distanced themselves from fully identifying with the dominant culture and therefore were instrumental in strengthening their HMI, which was an alternative identity

that incorporated their many influences, including the western influences, without having to fully identify with it.

Cultural misunderstandings. The participants reported instances of cultural misunderstandings and experiences of discrimination because of their membership in non-dominant cultural groups. Here, João describes how the Brazilian greeting of a kiss on the cheek was misconstrued by his American school mates (see Figure 2.6 caption).



Figure II.6. Caption: It's very tough when the things taught here conflict with the things taught at home. Participant quote: "And then I was at elementary school at that point, and I would go up to some other girl that I just met, kiss her, and it would be like 'oh my god... ahhh' and like, I just said hi. And they would be like 'oh you like her' I don't know, things like that. Just because I said hi, and that's just how I say hi. But they're like 'ahhhh you love her.' I'm like 'no.'" (João)

Beyond misunderstandings, João also described how multiculturalism is generally not valued. For example, João shared a photograph of the American flag and described how this symbol represents a pressure to assimilate to the dominant, monocultural society. (João's photograph is not included to protect his anonymity).

My thought here was just, um, focuses on the government and by extension the culture within that government and the caption says: "the pressure to assimilate sometimes feels like it's just looming over our heads." And, so sometimes it can feel like there's, everybody wants you to do a certain thing, a certain way and if you do it any other way, it's wrong. So, it's like, it's just always there, looming, and no-one understands how it feels other than people that like have our same kind of multicultural background.

Cultural isolation. Many participants felt like communities in the U.S. were not multicultural enough and did not adequately value cultural diversity. For example, Isabella described the differences she saw in society's value of multiculturalism when she moved from Puerto Rico to the U.S., with the U.S. generally showing a lack of respect for diverse cultures (see Figure II.7 caption).



Figure II.7. Caption: Wired. Participant quote: “I had to study every single religion and see what they have in common. I had to study, as well, all the cultures in the world and try and understand how they work. And I come over here so you can respect and so on. And I don’t see that happening ever here.” (Isabella)

Ashwini also described differences in her experience of cultural isolation, when the primarily white community she lived in was not multicultural enough, while the diverse college town was.

So the elementary school I went to was in [a name of a city], a college town, so my classmates were from all over the world which was a really unique experience. So I vividly remember having teachers, like around the holidays, not just talking about Christmas like we talked about different religions or cultural holidays and I don’t think I realized how unique that was until much later in life. Where it wasn’t just like reading about it in civilizations textbooks but very much like students were encouraged to share what they celebrated at home. Um, so for me that was cool but then I moved to [a name of a state] in a town that was 94% white so needless to say there wasn’t that kind of

conversation. So I think your point of some communities being very homogenous definitely like centers whiteness and centers the idea of whiteness um... I don't know how that can happen on an institutional level where like if you look around the room and there's like one person who doesn't look like the others, if that could really be a constructive conversation?

Given that the sample identified as multicultural, it is unsurprising that they valued environments that also valued and reflected that multiculturalism. Both cultural misunderstandings and isolation raised their awareness of the richness of their multicultural identities and strengthened their identification with multiculturalism, as opposed to monoculturalism.

Critical thinking about social inequities. Some participants viewed their contexts through a lens that was very acute at identifying societal inequality (See Figure II.8). For instance, Tesfu recognized that even when there were conversations including diverse groups, the society still centered whiteness. "One way to try and focus on multiculturalness and also focus on them more deeply instead of talking about the stereotypes or like the very basic level of a country or region is to stop talking about white people so much." For Tesfu, consequently, feeling oneness and identifying with the mainstream culture was not possible because she could see the structural inequities in the society that disadvantaged her as a woman of color.

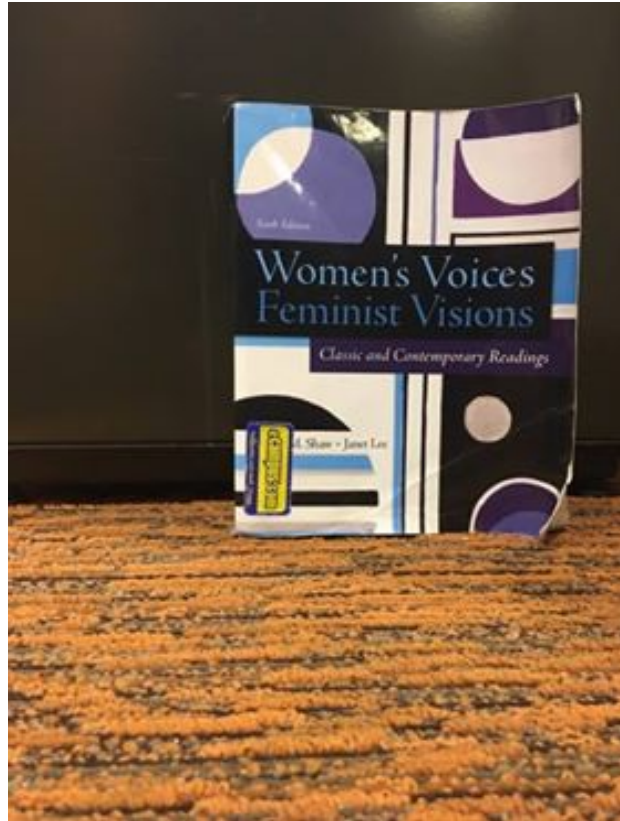


Figure II.8. Caption: “Feminist: A person who believes in the social, political, and economic equality of the sexes” - Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie (Tesfu)

The participants also recognized inequities among minority groups, and discrimination exercised even by the groups to which they belong. This strengthened their HMI, an identity not grounded in any one culture. Ashwini, who has heritage from Southern India, said:

I actually spent one summer in India and another in Atlanta, Georgia in predominately Black communities, so that was my first time being in not predominately white spaces so it was like I don't fit here either and everybody around me knows that too. So learning to adapt in other ways not just being conscious of, like... yeah... like Black and Asian tension like the history of that, like not pretending that that doesn't exist, like anti-Blackness in a lot of Asian communities is really real and so recognizing that and feeling the need to adapt to be like 'I care about you and I see you as a human.' I don't have

these kinds of... that kind of attitude that other Asians you might have encountered have had. (Ashwini)

Third Step in HMI Development: Culturally Related Interpersonal Experiences

In addition to the inequities faced by diverse cultural groups and negative cultural attitudes the participants recognized in the society in general, their personal encounters with others similarly entailed experiences of marginalization, both from the dominant and minority cultures. Therefore, I observed overlap in terms of how participants viewed their interpersonal experiences and how they viewed the larger society, with less inclusive and multicultural societies breeding negative interpersonal interactions. These negative interpersonal experiences strengthened their identities as hybrid multiculturals.

Discrimination. The participants discussed how implicit and explicit forms of discrimination from members in the dominant culture played a role in the development of their HMIs. For example, Tesfu described how struggles with her hair reflected standards of beauty that are shaped in the form of whiteness. "...Straightening... my hair is horrible. But it's what's considered pretty so I kind of have always had to do it. Just so I felt pretty enough. So that I kind of fit in." Ashwini, whose first language is English, also described discrimination when she was complimented for her English by members of the dominant culture: "people who are like 'you don't have an accent!' Well, of course not like I was born and raised here."

Referring to photo in Figure II.9, João described mainstream society members' negative judgement of not only one, but all of his cultural practices. To him, this reflected a generalized rejection of his cultural heritage.

Sometimes things that feel super natural to us and have been natural for the longest time suddenly is totally switched and is weird and different to other people and it's wrong

what you're doing and you've been doing it for your whole life and then you have to switch how you do... everything (João).



Figure II.9. Caption: When you choose a path, how do you know if it's the right one? (João)

Intragroup marginalization. The participants also described ambivalent relationships with their family members and other ethnic ingroup members. In particular, the participants found that family members aggravated the felt differences between their multiple cultural identities, thus strengthening their sense of self as hybrid multiculturals, rather than just multiculturals or biculturals. Speaking about the chasm between the buildings in the photograph in Figure II.10, and herself positioned in that chasm between, Ashwini described how she was not fully accepted as Indian by her extended family: (see Figure II.10 caption).



Figure II.10. Caption: Not part of your world. Participant quote: “I’m up in my own headspace sometimes. Feeling detached from everything that’s around me. Not understanding different objects or different people. But very much still being in it and attached to it but still feeling not grounded in that but still having a front row seat to it.” (Ashwini)

Describing her photograph in Figure II.11, Ashwini described how interactions with her family felt like a constant “façade.” (See Figure II.11 caption).



Figure II.11. Caption: Is this what I'm supposed to? Participant quote: "But I just thought the dog looks like... Piña looks so funny like he's just like 'is this what I'm supposed to be doing?' like it looks so unnatural for this little dog to be sitting out on a bench um in the middle of the city and that's sometimes how I feel sometimes. I'm just like 'aaaahhhh is this right?'" like somebody's like kind of holding me at an angle and I'm trying to smile and, um, it all just feels a little strange. And... yeah! That's something I experience often. Whether it's like 'I wanna wear this outfit today' like 'oh but I'm going to my parent's in 20 minutes so I'm going to change and wear this thing that I don't actually like' but that's the position I need to be held in at this moment in time. Um and I'm just gonna pose, I'm just gonna pose a little bit." (Ashwini)

Participants described how their experience of the world did not fit within the parameters of their family members or others that were close to them, leading to a sense of isolation from their ingroup. For example, João noted:

A lot of times through our multicultural background we feel like we have all these identities and experiences and even though people seem like they're near us and wanna

help it's not always that easy it's not always that simple to just join a group and be part of it. So even though sometimes you are in a close proximity, you can be far away still.

Relationships Between Second Order Categories

The final step in the analysis of Study 1 data was to identify relationships between the variables. This resulted in the proposed model in Figure II.12, summarizing the relationships between the concepts described above. Generally, I see personal multicultural experiences influencing participants' perceptions of macro-level marginalization which influenced the culturally related interpersonal experiences. Each of these either directly or indirectly took part in the development of participants' HMI. In Figure II.12, each pathway is marked with a number and a letter which I will use to reference specific pathways below. The pathways beginning with the number '1' are direct pathways from an influencing factor to HMI, while the pathways starting with '2' are separated by one degree and those with '3' are paths separated by two degrees.

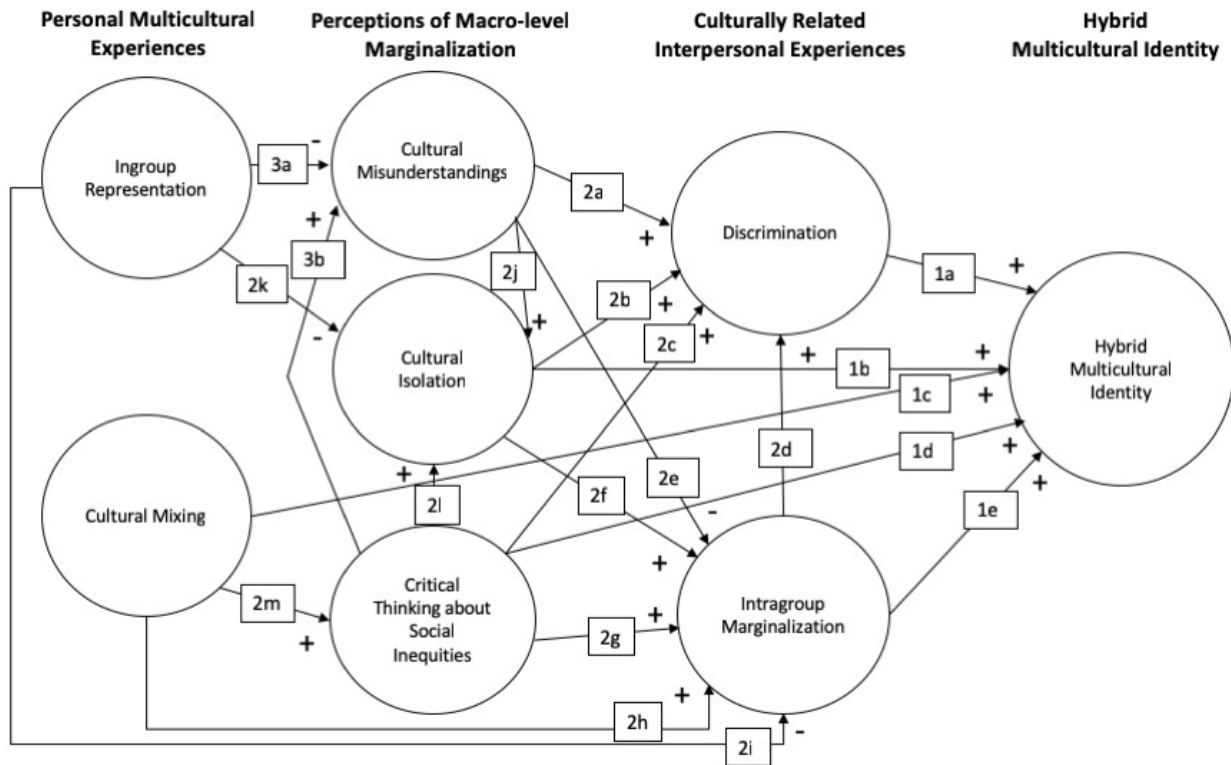


Figure II.12. Model depicting the hypothesized relationships between second-order categories and identification with a multicultural identity.

Discrimination and HMI (1a). Facing discrimination in the U.S. society, which often entailed assimilation pressures, made the participants question their belongingness to the dominant culture and pushed them to recognize their belongingness to a multicultural subculture instead (See Figure II.13 caption).



Figure II.13. Caption: Why should we blend in when we can stand out? Participant quote: “This is, um, a picture I took in the past. It’s actually in Spain. And the caption is “why would we blend in when we could stand out?” And I guess I was just trying to say that something as simple as, you know, when people want us to be like them, to assimilate to their culture. Why should we do that when we can shine in our own way and have our own, like, “I’m different and that’s okay and that’s good.” You know? So there’s different ways we can all... you don’t have to be part of a crowd that nobody can distinguish. We can be our own thing and people. I think the best kind of people appreciate that for who you are.” (João)

Cultural isolation and HMI (1b). The participants inherently valued a multicultural environment and were dissatisfied when an environment was not multicultural enough. Experiencing cultural isolation made the participants acutely aware how central to their sense of self multiculturalism is (See Figure II.14 caption).



Figure II.14. Caption: It takes many apples to make a great desert. Participant quote: “I was like googling ‘oh how do you show, like, a multicultural identity’ and I saw like... it’s just a blend of different things. Then... so I was like, I’ll just take apples with different colors, I guess. And then my quote is, like, ‘it takes many apples to make a great desert,’ but... honestly it’s not really true but what I’m trying to say is just that we need every different culture, like, that’s what makes us complete, as a whole thing. Nobody can like, live by yourself; you need other people.” (Germaine)

Cultural mixing and HMI (1c). This pattern was the most ubiquitous of all, with every participant describing how shifting between different cultures was impactful to defining oneself as a multicultural. (See Figure II.4 caption, Figure II.15 caption, and Zara and Ian’s quote in section ‘Cultural Mixing’).



Figure II.15. Caption: This is a photo of a busy highway and intersection. I just happened to take it for no specific reason, but this represents the trajectory of my life. So far, I've lived in 4 countries around the world, which is symbolized by the road signs and the multiple ways I can go. Time is moving fast and my next move will come soon, as symbolized by the fact that it is a highway. (Yoshito)

Critical thinking about social inequities and HMI (1d). Critical thinking about social inequity was an important precursor for HMI. As a result of their awareness of the structural inequities that disadvantage some groups more than others, the participants felt more distance

towards the larger society. They were therefore more likely to identify as a hybrid multicultural, an identity that embraces their western influences, but also has room to their social criticism. The recognition of societal inequity also showed in their empathy towards various discriminated cultural groups; this strengthened their sense of oneness with other, in various ways, multicultural people.

Intragroup marginalization and HMI (1e). Many participants, especially those who spent most of their lives in the U.S., described a tension that resulted from having multiple conflicting cultural influences. Internalizing influences from the dominant culture exposed them to marginalization from their ethnic culture. Not being able to completely fit into any culture, the participants formed an HMI that could accommodate and encompass all their cultural influences in the way the monocultural categories could not.

I do consider myself multicultural because... I, like, my parents immigrated here and so... like I have my culture at home but then like I was born and raised in America so... there's like the Western culture in me, sometimes that takes away from Eritrean culture. (Tesfu)

Cultural misunderstandings and discrimination (2a). Many participants, who had grown up in the U.S., described how cultural misunderstandings bred discrimination. This relationship was also inherent to Yoshito's positive experiences in the United Nations International School; being in an environment that had a deep understanding of diverse cultures facilitated understanding and accepting-ness, not discrimination and prejudice.

In international school we... you have kids from all over the world... That creates a lot of understanding and accepting-ness in each one of us towards the other, and we have lots of cultural awareness because... I attended the United Nations international school...My school really valued that diversity. (Yoshito)

Cultural isolation and discrimination (2b). Discrimination was acutely experienced by those who had lived in environments of cultural isolation. When Ashwini lived in a primarily white town where she felt culturally isolated, she perceived more discrimination and felt that she was evaluated on the basis of her race/ethnicity's stereotypes.

Thinking about like the model minority myth and definitely seeing how teachers at a very young age treated me differently because of that.... And then I got to high school, and I was like 'ahhh over that.' Um, I'm going to preform mediocrely just because I can. Um... and like I went out of my way to not do my best just to kind of reject those stereotypes. And to just present myself as, like, not part of that narrative.

Critical thinking about social inequities and discrimination (2c). The participants demonstrating critical thinking also described incidents of discrimination. Tesfu, for example, took a photo of her women's studies course textbook (See Figure II.8) that helped her to think more critically, describing how the book "taught me a lot about, um, intersectionality, um that, you know, I am oppressed but also I can be an oppressor," referencing Freire's (1970) critical consciousness literature. Her ability to think critically possibly helped her to recognize situations that were discriminatory, when others with less ability to think critically may not have been able to recognize this. For example, she described both the oppressiveness of white beauty standards for African descended people with curly hair and her reaction to this discrimination. See previous quote in 'Discrimination.'

Intragroup marginalization and discrimination (2d). Generally, experiences of intragroup marginalization went hand in hand with experiences of discrimination. I saw this connection more prevalent, and each of these experiences more common, among participants who were born in the U.S. or who arrived in the U.S. at an early age (such as Tesfu and Ashwini)

when compared to those who arrived as an adult (e.g., Ling and Germaine). I speculate that participants who were born in the U.S. or who came very early view themselves more as Americans versus having American influences like the sojourners in the sample. Even if each participant may experience the same reactions from Americans (i.e. complimenting English language skills, asking, “Where are you from?”) those who view themselves as American would understandably experience this as more discriminatory than a sojourner. Those who view themselves as Americans would also be exposed to more intragroup marginalization because their adoption of Western culture may be seen as being inauthentic and opposed to their ethnic culture.

Cultural misunderstandings and intragroup marginalization (2e). When it comes to intragroup marginalization, the participants describing how society misunderstood diverse cultures also tended to describe experiences with intragroup marginalization. These participants appeared to hover between the majority culture and their minority cultures, and they did not feel fully at home in either. Ashwini, for example, described how most Indians in the U.S. are Hindu and, being Christian, she felt somewhat marginalized from that group. She also felt that the mainstream society misunderstood her and her cultural background, making her feel isolated from mainstream culture as well: “...feeling really alone in being Indian-American, in most spaces. There’s one group in [my university] that’s specifically South Asian-American Christian. That’s the most I’ve ever felt understood, apart from my sisters.”

Cultural isolation and intragroup marginalization (2f). When the participants perceived their environment as lacking in multiculturalism, they tended to also report intragroup marginalization. In reverse, participants like Ian and Yoshito, who grew up going to international school and who regularly interacted with a number of diverse groups of people, did not describe

intragroup marginalization. Those who were in an environment that was not reflective of their multicultural identity (cultural isolation) had more interpersonal struggles both within their cultural group and with the mainstream (see path 2b).

Critical thinking about social inequities and intragroup marginalization (2g). Those who were able to think critically about societal inequity were also able to recognize when their ingroup was marginalizing them. Tesfu demonstrated in previous examples her ability to think critically as well as her experiences with not feeling Eritrean enough. She also described other instances of intragroup marginalization: “I’ve been told like ‘you’re not Black’ like you know um because of the way that I speak.”

Cultural mixing and intragroup marginalization (2h). In earlier quotes, Tesfu described her involvement with both American and Eritrean cultures. This cultural mixing impacted her experiences with intragroup marginalization. The Eritreans often did not count her as authentically Eritrean because she does not speak the Eritrean language. Her speech pattern, primarily developed in the white Midwestern U. S. community, also challenged her racial identity.

Ingroup representation and intragroup marginalization (2i). The participants were exposed to intragroup marginalization when they deviated from the intragroup culture. This appeared to happen more often among those grown up outside of their ethnic communities. For example, Ashwini and Tesfu described in earlier quotes their limited command of their ethnic languages (see Figure II.16 caption and section ‘Ingroup Representation’) which they attributed to the lack of ingroup representation in the spaces they grew up. Lacking language skills made them feel outsiders to their own cultural group.

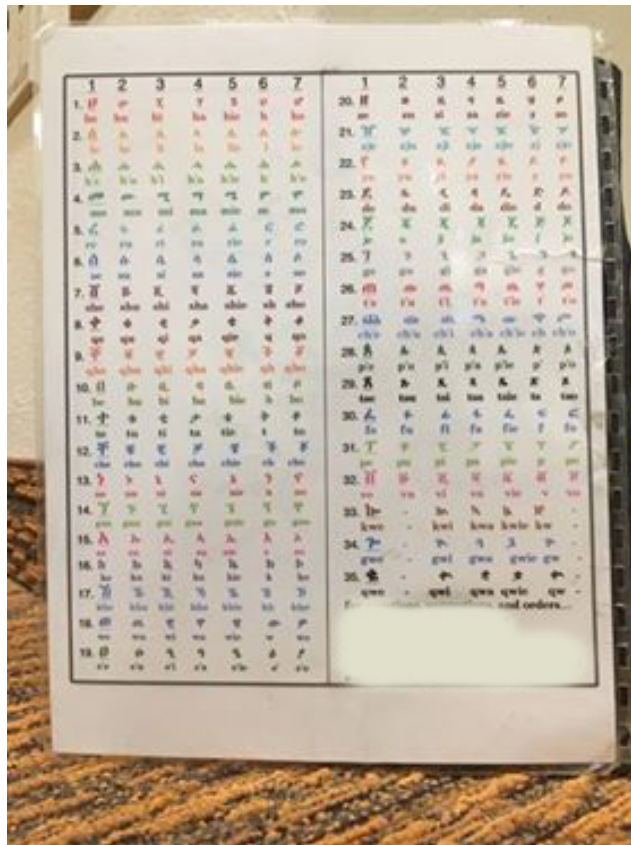


Figure II.16. Caption: The alphabet. Participant quote: “Sometimes I don’t feel like enough of... one part of me... like because I don’t know the language, sometimes I don’t feel Eritrean enough. Especially in my church, because that’s the language that is preached in.” (Tesfu)

Ingroup representation and cultural misunderstandings (3a) and cultural misunderstandings and cultural isolation (2j). Yoshito described how in a homogeneous American school there are not enough diverse perspectives to give rise to real understanding of what it is like to be multicultural. Lacking rich cultural contacts, the students would not understand diverse cultures and a multicultural environment or international culture would not develop at the school. Many participants, such as João, Ashwini, and Tesfu, described a similar pattern.

In American school where... all the kids are from America... I can understand why they don’t really value [multiculturalism] that much because it’s not really necessary for them to have it, in that context. If they’re all the same, then they don’t really... what is the

value to them in knowing what it's like to be multicultural. Uh... who is there to help them in their education to be multicultural. (Yoshito)

Ingroup representation and cultural isolation (2k). When participants were living without a community of same-ethnic peers, they tended to also describe their environment as not being multicultural enough. Participants like Isabella grew up in Puerto Rico with a community of people she considered to be her ingroup. There she did not sense cultural isolation and, instead, felt that values of multiculturalism were rich, validating her sense of who she was. When she came to the United States, she recognized how few Latinxs there were in the Midwest, especially in STEM. She described how her social environment in the Midwest did not support multiculturalism (cultural isolation). This pattern was fairly common, though some of the participants, particularly the international students, were able to create communities of friends that were from their home countries, reducing their sense of cultural isolation.

Critical thinking about social inequities and cultural isolation (2l). Demonstrating critical thinking, Ling described how after moving to the U.S., the dominant culture's pressure to assimilate was so strong that even her non-American friends began to celebrate holidays like Halloween. Both she and her husband resisted celebrating such holidays because they recognized this was not authentic but rather the influence of powerful societal pressure. In recognizing this, Ling also described cultural isolation – how her social environment in the U.S. was not supportive of multiculturalism—making these pressures to assimilate to the dominant society culture feel even stronger.

We just think, you are not Christian, but you celebrate Christmas, why? So, um, even now they celebrate Halloween. And my husband and I just been 'oh come on we're Taiwanese why Halloween?' [...] and yeah after we came here, we really have struggle.

Actually, when there were Thanksgiving, or Christmas, we are reluctant to say ‘Merry Christmas’ or yeah ‘have a great holiday,’ something like that. But we also feel like we just want to fit in.

Cultural mixing and critical thinking about social inequities (2m). Ashwini described how engaging in a number of different contexts made her think more about inequity and how the history of race relations in the U.S. might play out in her interpersonal interactions. Specifically, she described her time as an Indian American woman in a predominantly Black neighborhood in Atlanta. Ashwini recognized the history of prejudice Asians have held against African Americans and reflected on how she felt she needed to consciously combat that to show the community members that she valued them (see previous quote in section ‘Critical Thinking about Social Inequities’).

Critical thinking about social inequities and cultural misunderstandings (3b). Showing her ability to think critically, Isabella recognized the oppressive relationship between the mainland U.S. and Puerto Rico. “We’re still a colony sadly. We’re, like, oppressed as well. We’re not independent.” She also discussed at length how as a woman of color, she faced more difficulties in a STEM graduate program. Her ability to think critically seemed to enable her to evaluate the degree to which society misunderstood or understood diverse cultures, both in her home society of Puerto Rico and the mainland U.S.

[People at the university] are like ‘where are you from?’ and I have to explain and they’re like ‘that accent is not Puerto Rican.’ It’s like [speaks in a stereotypical Puerto Rican accent] hey, hey honey listen. I don’t need to talk this way for you to think that I’m Puerto Rican.” (Isabella)

Discussion

In Study 1, I found evidence that HMI was described as a superordinate identity that is “more than the sum of the parts”. The participants identified with each other, even though they represented different cultural groups. I also summarized an extensive series of direct and indirect relationships between these variables, supported by the data, aiming to paint a full picture of development. Figure II.12 summarizes Study 1’s key findings. I generally describe how the cultural context the participants live in influence their evaluations of society’s relationship with diverse cultures which in turn influences their interpretation of culturally related interpersonal interactions.

Study 1 provided some of the first empirical evidence addressing the nature and development of HMI, but also raised important questions for additional research and exploration. First, Study 1’s results were based on ten participants. Most were relatively young and highly educated, and all participants were affiliated with a large University. It is important to examine whether Study 1’s findings can be observed in a larger, more representative sample of multiculturals. Second, the small sample size of Study 1 made it difficult to examine whether Study 1’s findings can be observed while holding constant demographic factors such as socioeconomic status, cultural background, or time lived in the U.S. This is an important question to examine, as multiculturals’ experiences such as cultural misunderstanding, discrimination, and perceptions of societal inequity can differ significantly between demographic groups (Diemer & Rapa, 2016; Kwok & White, 2011; Potter et al., 2019; Roy, Raver, Masucci, & DeJoseph, 2019; Schwartz, Meca, Cano, Lorenzo-Blanco, & Unger, 2018). Third, the experiences that played a role in the development of HMI in Study 1’s participants are inter-related. For example, experiences of cultural misunderstandings can certainly impact one’s

experiences of discrimination. In essence, it is unlikely that the factors that influence the development of HMI operate separately, and it is imperative to examine how these factors relate to each other and to HMI. Last, Photovoice can introduce confounds to Study 1's findings. In particular, using a group discussion format to identify key findings can create a spurious superordinate identity among the multicultural participants, raising questions about whether HMI is indeed a social identity that transcends multicultural individuals' different cultural backgrounds.

We conducted a second study to address these issues. To complement the qualitative data collected in Study 1, Study 2 uses a survey to collect quantitative data from a large sample of multiculturals. Using the model illustrated in Figure II.12 as a guide, I conducted structural modeling analyses to examine the associations between HMI and predictors that emerged in Study 1.

CHAPTER III

A Quantitative Examination of Hybrid Multicultural Identity Development (Study 2)

Introduction

I hypothesize that each of the three categories defined in Study 1 as precursors (personal multicultural experiences, perceptions of macro-level marginalization, and culturally related interpersonal experiences) directly or indirectly impact the development of HMI, as indicated in Figure II.12. Study 2 uses structural equation modeling to test the model with a larger, more representative sample and make comparisons in effect sizes across each of the precursors. My research questions are:

1. How do perceptions of the social environment impact the development of HMI?
2. Which factors weigh the most in the development of HMI?

Method

Sampling and Data Collection

After obtaining exemption from the University Institutional Review Board, I obtained informed consent from a sample of 636 first- and second-generation immigrants using Prime Panels, offering arguably a more diverse and nationally representative sample than other commonly used online crowdsourcing sites (Chandler, Rosenzweig, Moss, Robinson, & Litman, 2019). An attention check was failed by 93 respondents (Meade & Craig, 2012) whose data were removed from the data set. I also found that, despite Prime Panels' prescreening for participants who were first- and second-generation immigrants, 33 participants were third-generation

immigrants or later, based on their selection ‘Yes, both [parents] are from the United States’. I entered the final sample of 510 participants into M-plus and removed 21 cases that had missing data on all variables (final sample: N = 489). This sample size, though not particularly large given the number of parameters in the model, is adequate by a number of indicators².

The participants’ demographic information is summarized in Table III.1. The sample was mostly women, and ages ranged from 18-97. Most spoke English as a native language, and about half of the sample was born the in the U.S. Most of the sample reported being white followed by Asian and Latino/Hispanic. While the sample was fairly educated with most holding a bachelor’s degree or more, they reported coming largely from middle to working class backgrounds. Politically, the sample leaned slightly liberal. This sample was used for all analyses described below.

Table III.1. *Demographics of study 2 participants (N = 489)*

Variables	Percent	Variables	Valid Percent
Gender		Highest completed education	
Man	35.9	Elementary School	0.2
Woman	57.6	Some High School	1.2
Missing	6.5	Completed High School	12.1
		Some College	23.2
Age		BA/BS Degree	36.7
18-22	4.5	Some Graduate/Professional	7.4
23-27	8.0	School	
28-32	12.5	Hold Graduate/Professional	19.3
33-37	11.3	Degree	
38-42	10.5	Missing	6.9
43-47	9.5		
48-52	5.7	Parents’ Native Country	
53-57	6.9	Neither from US	59.0
58-62	6.9	One from US	33.2
63-67	6.5	Missing	7.8
68-72	6.6		
73-77	2.8	Native Language	
78-82	0.4	English	62.0
83-87	0.8	Something else	29.6
88-92	0.0	Missing	8.4

93-97	0.4		
Missing	6.7		
Age of first US residency			Political Attitudes
0	42.2		Very liberal (Left leaning)
1-10	11.0		Liberal
11-20	11.8		Slightly Liberal
21-30	15.9		Middle-of-the-road
31-40	6.2		Slightly Conservative
41-50	2.2		Conservative
51-60	0.4		Very Conservative (Right leaning)
Missing	14.9		Missing
Socio-Economic Class			Ethnicity (participants could select multiple)
Poor	2.3		Asian
Working Class	32.4		Latino/Hispanic
Middle Class	50.4		Black
Upper Middle Class	13.9		White
Upper Class	1.0		Middle Eastern
Missing	6.9		Native American
			Mixed Race
			Other

Measures

The measures described in this section were selected for their correspondence to the second-order categories representing the HMI precursors described in Study 1. Table III.2 provides an example quote for each second-order category in Study 1 and a corresponding example scale item in Study 2.

Table III.2. *Study 2 scales corresponding to concepts and quotes presented in study 1*

Aggregated Theoretical Dimension	Second Order Category	Sample Quote from Study 1	Corresponding Example Sample Item from Study 2
Personal Multicultural Experiences	Ingroup representation	“I moved to... in a town that was 94% white.”	How many people are from your ethnic/cultural group in each context? i.e. grammar/elementary school
	Cultural mixing	“...interacting with different people and places and then moving to Atlanta and then moving to	I am constantly interacting with different people from varied backgrounds

		Phoenix, and then moving back to the Midwest.”	
Perceptions of Macro-level Marginalization	Cultural misunderstanding	“...that’s just how I say hi. But they’re like ‘ahhhh you love her.’ I’m like ‘no.’”	How informed does the average American seem to be about your culture?
	Cultural isolation	“So my classmates were from all over the world which was a really unique experience.... students were encouraged to share what they celebrated at home.” (R)	I feel that the environment where I live is not multicultural enough; it doesn’t have enough cultural richness
	Critical thinking about social inequities	“just being conscious of... Black and Asian tension.... anti-Blackness in a lot of Asian communities is really real.”	Certain racial or ethnic groups have fewer chances to get ahead
Culturally Related Interpersonal Experiences	Discrimination	“people who are like ‘you don’t have an accent!’ Well, of course not like I was born and raised here.”	I have been treated rudely or unfairly because of my cultural/ethnic background.
	Intragroup marginalization	“it’s like ‘I wanna wear this outfit today’ like ‘oh but I’m going to my parent’s in 20 minutes so I’m going to change and wear this thing that I don’t actually like’ but that’s the position I need to be held in at this moment in time. Um and I’m just gonna pose...”	People of my ethnic group tell me that I am not really a member of my ethnic group because I don’t act like my ethnic group
Hybrid Multicultural Identity	[Using only the aggregated theoretical dimension]	“We’re talking about something that’s common to all of us.”	How strongly do you identify with other people who are multicultural?

While I attempted to find existing, validated scales that matched the second-order categories in Study 1, I adapted measures to more appropriately measure ingroup representation, cultural misunderstanding, and multicultural identity. Given there was no existing scale that was appropriate for cultural mixing, I created my own measure. The aggregated scale details are summarized in Table III.3 and the full list of scale items are in Table III.4.

Table III.3. *Study 2 scale information*

Measure Name	α^5	Number of items	Response Scale	Source Citation
Ingroup representation	.95	10	Sliding scale, 0% (no one) to 100% (everyone) ⁶	Racism and Life Experiences Scales (Harrell, 1997)
Cultural mixing	.89	8	Likert, 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree)	NA ⁷
Cultural misunderstandings	.91	6	Likert, 1 (not at all) to 7 (knows a lot)	(Lucas et al., 2008) ⁸
Cultural isolation	.76	3	Likert, 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree)	Riverside Acculturation Stress Inventory (Benet-Martínez, 2003; Miller, Kim, & Benet-Martínez, 2011)
Critical thinking about social inequities	.95	8	Likert, 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree)	Critical Reflection: Perceived Inequality (Diemer, Rapa, Park, & Perry, 2017).
Discrimination	.90	3	Likert, 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree)	Riverside Acculturation Stress Inventory (Benet-Martínez, 2003; Miller, Kim, & Benet-Martínez, 2011)

⁵ The reported alphas reflect the participant sample's internal reliability.

⁶ Ingroup representation was considerably larger in its scale compared to the other measures (a 100-point scale), and so I transformed the scale items by dividing by 10.

⁷ We created an 8-item scale on the basis of my analysis of Study 1 participant statements on cultural mixing

⁸ The original scale measured cultural competency of physicians. I changed the wording to "average American" to fit the purpose of this study.

Intragroup marginalization	.94	4	Likert, 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree)	(Castillo, Conoley, Brossart, & Quiros, 2007)
Multicultural identity	.92	4	Likert, 1 (not at all) to 7 (very much)	(Sidanius, Haley, Molina, & Pratto, 2007)

Study 2 Results

I assessed the skewedness and kurtosis in the variables of interest to assess if they would negatively affect the model fit (see Table III.4). None of the variables were found to be problematic (Kline, 2016), and therefore I proceeded to the next step: structural equation modeling.

Table III.4. *Variables List and Descriptive Data*

Latent variables	Variable number and description	M	SD	Skew	Kurt	Missing (%)
Ingroup representation	ING1: grammar/elementary school	4.29	3.46	.38	-1.32	6.9
	ING2: closest friends in grammar or elementary school	4.17	3.56	.40	-1.36	9.2
	ING3: high school	4.27	3.26	.34	-1.22	7.8
	ING4: closest friends in high school	4.20	3.57	.34	-1.41	8.8
	ING5: college	3.79	3.04	.48	-.95	10.4
	ING6: closest friends in college	3.64	3.34	.53	-1.14	11.0
	ING7: closest friends today	3.89	3.24	.39	-1.22	7.5
	ING8: neighborhood while growing up	4.54	3.64	.22	-1.48	9.0
	ING9: current neighborhood	3.04	2.86	.76	-.58	10.0
	ING10: current workplace	2.67	2.90	.93	-.39	11.0
Cultural mixing	MC1: I am constantly interacting with different people from varied backgrounds	4.39	1.13	-.60	.14	9.0
	MC2: The various places I have lived are very different from each other	3.93	1.29	-.39	-.46	8.6
	MC3: My social circle is very diverse	4.00	1.21	-.40	-.25	9.0
	MC4: The people I spend time with tend to come from different backgrounds	4.07	1.21	-.53	-.08	8.8
	MC5: I move around a lot between different cultural contexts	3.54	1.34	-.08	-.73	8.8
	MC6: I have had many experiences where I recognize how different things can be in one location compared to another	4.28	1.13	-.69	.61	8.8
	MC7: I have lived within many cultural contexts	3.86	1.29	-.32	-.40	9.2
	MC8: I find that social norms differ across the various groups I interact with	4.16	1.13	-.54	.26	9.2

Cultural misunderstandings	LackUnd1: How knowledgeable do you feel that the average American is of your culture?	4.14	1.64	-.12	-.63	4.3
	LackUnd2: How well do you think the average American understands your culture's specific characteristics?	3.85	1.53	-.06	-.65	4.5
	LackUnd3: How informed does the average American seem to be about your culture?	3.76	1.55	.00	-.62	4.3
	LackUnd4: Do you feel as though the average American is aware of the views that he or she may have towards specific cultural groups?	3.88	1.52	.01	-.53	4.5
	LackUnd5: Do you feel as though the average American makes an effort to understand cultural differences?	3.73	1.49	.03	-.64	4.5
	LackUnd6: Does the average American seem to be aware of cultural differences?	4.13	1.54	-.19	-.57	4.7
Cultural isolation	CullSol1: I feel that there are not enough people of my own ethnic/cultural group in my living environment	3.73	1.79	.03	-1.02	4.1
	CullSol2: I feel that the environment where I live is not multicultural enough; it doesn't have enough cultural richness	3.50	1.75	.17	-.98	4.1
	CullSol3: When I am in a place or room where I am the only person of my ethnic/cultural group, I often feel different or isolated	3.37	1.70	.22	-.93	4.1
Critical thinking about social inequities	CRITCON1: Certain racial or ethnic groups have fewer chances to get a good high school education	4.14	1.36	-.57	-.21	4.3
	CRITCON2: Poor children have fewer chances to get a good high school education	4.43	1.24	-.80	.43	4.3
	CRITCON3: Certain racial or ethnic groups have fewer chances to get good jobs	4.20	1.32	-.63	-.10	4.5
	CRITCON4: Women have fewer chances to get good jobs	3.78	1.38	-.34	-.63	5.1
	CRITCON5: Poor people have fewer chances to get good jobs	4.16	1.30	-.62	-.07	5.5
	CRITCON6: Certain racial or ethnic groups have fewer chances to get ahead	4.10	1.36	-.57	-.23	4.5
	CRITCON7: Women have fewer chances to get	3.70	1.40	-.32	-.65	5.1
	CRITCON8: Poor people have fewer chances to get ahead	4.16	1.35	-.60	-.29	4.3
Discrimination	D1: I feel discriminated against by Americans because of my cultural/ethnic background	2.98	1.74	.48	-.88	4.3
	D2: I have been treated rudely or unfairly because of my cultural/ethnic background.	3.31	1.86	.25	-1.15	4.3

	D3: I feel that people very often interpret my behavior based on their stereotypes of what people of my cultural/ethnic backgrounds are like.	3.52	1.86	.14	-1.11	4.3
Intragroup marginalization	IM1: People of my ethnic group tell me that I have too many White friends	1.82	1.76	.57	-.84	9.0
	IM2: People of my ethnic group tell me that I am a 'sellout.'	1.49	1.61	.79	-.55	8.8
	IM3: People of my ethnic group tell me that I need to act more like them.	1.67	1.70	.71	-.61	8.8
	IM4: People of my ethnic group tell me that I am not really a member of my ethnic group because I don't act like my ethnic group	1.70	1.74	.72	-.62	9.0
Multicultural identity	MultiID1: How strongly do you identify with other people who are multicultural?	4.94	1.44	-.64	.30	4.3
	MultiID2: How important is your multiculturalism to your identity?	4.82	1.61	-.59	-.27	4.3
	MultiID3: How often do you think of yourself as multicultural?	4.49	1.76	-.35	-.79	4.5
	MultiID4: How close do you feel to others who identify as multicultural?	4.77	1.51	-.61	.02	4.3

We used Mplus version 8.1 with WLSMV (Weighted Least Squares, Mean, and Variance adjusted) estimation for the measurement model and the structural model analyses. WLSMV is often used when Likert-scale measures or other categorical variables are used. I ensured that the measurement model demonstrated good model fit before testing the structural model.

Measurement Model

The measurement model is used to determine how well the items load onto the latent factors. Using the cut off points recommended by Hu and Bentler (1999), the measurement model exhibited good model fit: comparative fit index (CFI) = .961; Tucker-Lewis index (TLI) = .958, root-mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA) = .054, and Standardized Root Mean Square Residual (SRMR) = .057. As recommended, I did not include the chi-square statistic given that it is known to be a problematic model fit index for sample sizes comparable to ours (Kline, 2005). Each item significantly ($p < .001$) loaded onto the specified latent variable construct and the standardized loadings were acceptable (Kline, 2016; Chen & Tsai, 2007) and

aligned with the standards of comparable papers (Bañales et al., 2019; Diemer & Li, 2011)⁹. See Table III.5 for a full report of factor loadings.

Table III.5. *Measurement Model: Factor Loadings for Latent Variables*

Latent variable and indicators	Unstandardized estimate	SE	Unstandardized estimate/SE	Standardized estimate
Ingroup representation				
ING1: grammar/elementary school	2.40	.26	9.37	.69
ING2: closest friends in grammar or elementary school	2.60	.28	9.21	.73
ING3: high school	2.50	.22	11.21	.77
ING4: closest friends in high school	2.76	.28	9.82	.77
ING5: college	2.52	.20	12.80	.83
ING6: closest friends in college	2.87	.26	11.24	.86
ING7: closest friends today	2.61	.23	11.24	.81
ING8: neighborhood while growing up	2.35	.29	8.24	.65
ING9: current neighborhood	2.36	.19	12.34	.83
ING10: current workplace	2.38	.22	10.97	.82
Cultural mixing				
MC1: I am constantly interacting with different people from varied backgrounds	.62	.03	20.90	.62
MC2: The various places I have lived are very different from each other	.65	.02	25.37	.65
MC3: My social circle is very diverse	.86	.01	62.63	.86
MC4: The people I spend time with tend to come from different backgrounds	.84	.01	60.06	.84
MC5: I move around a lot between different cultural contexts	.83	.02	50.81	.83
MC6: I have had many experiences where I recognize how different things can be in one location compared to another	.67	.02	28.12	.67
MC7: I have lived within many cultural contexts	.73	.02	33.81	.73
MC8: I find that social norms differ across the various groups I interact with	.69	.03	27.56	.69
Cultural Misunderstandings				
LackUnd1: How knowledgeable do you feel that the average American is of your culture?	.83	.01	65.40	.83

⁹ Kline (2016) suggests 200 participants may be considered a minimum sample size (Kline, 2016). Kline goes on to discuss that while imperfect, a better indicator that many scholars suggest includes using a ratio approach that measures the number of parameters in the model and compares this to the number of participants in the sample (Jackson, 2003). Though larger samples are ideal, many authors have suggested a minimum ratio of 1 parameter to 5 study subjects (Bentler & Chou, 1987; Elphinstone, Whitehead, Tinker, & Bates, 2019; Krauss et al., 2008; Marsh, Hau, Balla, & Grayson, 1998), which we exceed.

LackUnd2: How well do you think the average American understands your culture's specific characteristics?	.93	.01	121.25	.93
LackUnd3: How informed does the average American seem to be about your culture?	.92	.01	117.02	.92
LackUnd4: Do you feel as though the average American is aware of the views that he or she may have towards specific cultural groups?	.75	.02	40.72	.75
LackUnd5: Do you feel as though the average American makes an effort to understand cultural differences?	.78	.02	42.87	.78
LackUnd6: Does the average American seem to be aware of cultural differences?	.68	.02	30.63	.68
Cultural isolation				
CullIsol1: I feel that there are not enough people of my own ethnic/cultural group in my living environment	.66	.03	23.30	.66
CullIsol2: I feel that the environment where I live is not multicultural enough; it doesn't have enough cultural richness	.76	.03	28.04	.76
CullIsol3: When I am in a place or room where I am the only person of my ethnic/cultural group, I often feel different or isolated	.82	.03	26.60	.82
Critical thinking about social inequities				
CRITCON1: Certain racial or ethnic groups have fewer chances to get a good high school education	.82	.01	56.87	.82
CRITCON2: Poor children have fewer chances to get a good high school education	.80	.02	49.49	.80
CRITCON3: Certain racial or ethnic groups have fewer chances to get good jobs	.90	.01	107.32	.90
CRITCON4: Women have fewer chances to get good jobs	.88	.01	89.59	.88
CRITCON5: Poor people have fewer chances to get good jobs	.92	.01	130.89	.92
CRITCON6: Certain racial or ethnic groups have fewer chances to get ahead	.90	.01	105.16	.90
CRITCON7: Women have fewer chances to get	.90	.01	105.86	.90
CRITCON8: Poor people have fewer chances to get ahead	.90	.01	111.24	.90
Discrimination				
D1: I feel discriminated against by Americans because of my cultural/ethnic background	.91	.01	66.76	.91

D2: I have been treated rudely or unfairly because of my cultural/ethnic background.	.90	.01	66.80	.90
D3: I feel that people very often interpret my behavior based on their stereotypes of what people of my cultural/ethnic backgrounds are like.	.88	.01	61.17	.88
Intragroup marginalization				
IM1: People of my ethnic group tell me that I have too many White friends	.87	.01	60.58	.87
IM2: People of my ethnic group tell me that I am a 'sellout.'	.93	.01	111.09	.93
IM3: People of my ethnic group tell me that I need to act more like them.	.93	.01	113.54	.93
IM4: People of my ethnic group tell me that I am not really a member of my ethnic group because I don't act like my ethnic group	.92	.01	105.47	.92
Multicultural Identity				
MultiID1: How strongly do you identify with other people who are multicultural?	.84	.02	55.90	.84
MultiID2: How important is your multiculturalism to your identity?	.88	.01	72.43	.89
MultiID3: How often do you think of yourself as multicultural?	.92	.01	.82.23	.92
MultiID4: How close do you feel to others who identify as multicultural?	.89	.01	74.09	.89

Note. Unstandardized and standardized estimates represent the loading of an indicator on latent constructs.

Structural Model

The relationships between the latent constructs were examined in the structural model while controlling for four key demographic variables: the participants' current age, the age at which they arrived in the United States (those born in the US entered '0'), socioeconomic status, and gender. The structural model exhibited good model fit (Hu & Bentler, 1999): comparative fit index (CFI) = .968; Tucker-Lewis index (TLI) = .966, root-mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA) = .045, and Standardized Root Mean Square Residual (SRMR) = .072. In this analysis I found that multicultural identity is significantly directly predicted by cultural mixing, critical consciousness, cultural isolation, and intragroup marginalization in descending order by effect

size. Discrimination, notably, did not have a significant predictive effect on multicultural identity when the other predictors were included in the model, despite a significant bivariate correlation ($r(487) = .37, p < .001$). There were also indirect pathways, which can be seen in Figure III.1 where a full diagram of significant pathways between latent constructs is provided.

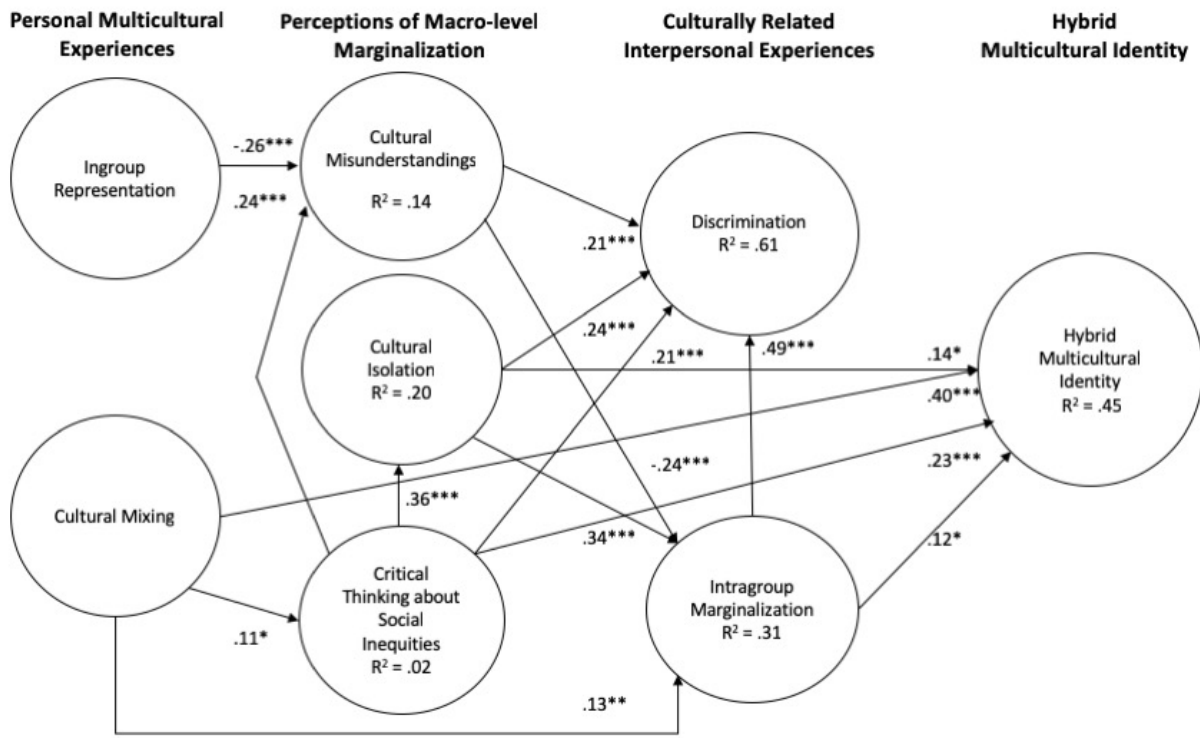


Figure III.1. Structural Model Depicting the Precursors to Developing a Hybrid Multicultural Identity¹⁰

Study 2 Discussion

Study 2 allows us to make greater claims of external validity and generalizability, and I found support for the theoretical model proposed in Study 1. Notably, higher endorsements of

¹⁰ While the entire hypothesized model was tested, only significant pathways are depicted.

experiencing cultural mixing in the social context was the strongest predictor of holding a multicultural identity, followed by an individual's awareness of societal inequality. With the exception of discrimination, each of the proposed variables demonstrated either a direct or indirect pathway to predicting a multicultural identity. Nevertheless, when regarding simple correlations, discrimination correlated significantly with a multicultural identity. Given that structural equation modeling measures the effects of each variable while controlling for every other variable to compare the relative effects, it is likely that the effects of the other variables were responsible for discrimination's null relationship in the model. I also found that the newly developed and adapted scales had good psychometrics, indicating they could be useful tools to implement in further quantitative work in this field.

CHAPTER IV

Ontological Security as a Model of Wellbeing: A Qualitative Examination of Resettled Refugees' Wellbeing (Studies 3 and 4)

Introduction

We propose a new dimension of wellbeing: ontological security, to complement the two existing theories that focus on subjective and psychological wellbeing. Ontological security (Giddens, 1991) describes “the confidence that most humans beings have in the continuity of their self-identity and in the constancy of the surrounding social and material environments of action” (Nunn, McMichael, Gifford, & Correa-Velez, 2016). It includes both a sense of security and stability. Security encompasses having access to the resources that allow for an acceptable quality of life and stability describes temporally the degree to which a person can maintain and predict to maintain these necessary conditions to living well across time.

We gathered data using photovoice methodology and semi-structured interviews with adolescent and adult resettled refugees in the U.S. and Canada to understand, in depth, how resettled refugees describe, experience, and value ontological security. As noted earlier, dominant theories have outlined concepts similar to ontological security as a precursor to “higher forms of wellbeing,” but given refugees’ significant experiences with instability and insecurity, I propose that refugees may view or express the role of ontological security differently from the relatively privileged populations from which these theories were originally developed (Gasper, 2007). In other words, refugees’ particular experiences may influence the development of a

particular life philosophy on what it means to have a good life. Additionally, in these studies I recognize aspects of ontological security as more than just basic needs, but rather a psychological state and a series of choices one makes to attain and maintain that state.

Specifically, my research questions are: (1) How do resettled refugees describe ontological security as a dimension of wellbeing? and (2) How does refugees' experience with instability and insecurity impact the centrality of ontological security in their conceptualization of wellbeing?

Methods (Studies 3 and 4)

The sample used in this study originates from two research projects with resettled refugee populations in North America. The first was a photovoice project with adolescent Middle Eastern refugees in the United States. The second was a four-site interview study that included Hmong, Somali, and Middle Eastern adult refugees in the United States as well as Middle Eastern adult refugees in Canada. I will refer to these as the interview study and the photovoice study, respectively. Given that I were exploring potential new meanings of wellbeing, I adopted an interpretive, qualitative approach (Ponterotto, 2005), allowing us to investigate the concept in an open-ended way.

Study Procedures

Photovoice (Study 3). Photovoice is a recommended method for community empowerment of traditionally marginalized groups due to its facilitation in shifting traditional power dynamics, allowing participants to co-create knowledge with the researchers (Pearce, McMurray, Walsh, & Malek, 2017). Empowerment has been highlighted as an important aspect of doing research with marginalized and disenfranchised groups like adolescent refugees (Førde, 2007). In addition, creative data gathering methods like photovoice is recommended as a more accessible research method for groups that traditionally struggle to represent their perspectives

through traditional research methods (Badowski et al., 2011; Cluley, 2017; McCarthy & Marks, 2010).

Our study was approved by the University's Institutional Review Board. The first session lasted approximately an hour and served to obtain informed consent from both the participants and their parents, explain the basics of Photovoice methodology, their task in taking photos for the second focus group session, and some pointers for how to take photographs (so they could best express their ideas). Besides demographic information I did not collect any data in this first session. I instructed the participants to produce captioned photographs before the second focus group, addressing the following questions: 'How would you describe yourself?' 'How do you describe your experience as a refugee?' 'What is 'good life' for you?' 'What helps you live a 'good life'?' While I outlined these four specific questions to give some structure, the participants often took photos that pushed the boundaries of these questions, something I see as positive because photovoice is meant to be largely a participant driven process (Bananuka & John, 2014; Chmielewski & Yost, 2012; Freedman, Pitner, Powers & Anderson, 2012; Johansen & Le, 2014). Participants were sent home with a summary sheet to help them remember the information. A few days before the second session I assembled the photos and captions onto foam boards and brought these to the sessions where the participants used their descriptions of photos to stimulate the focus group discussion.

Session two lasted approximately two hours. I began by splitting the students into three small groups based primarily on the participants' comfort with Arabic or English language, secondarily to split siblings into separate groups, and thirdly, based on their age. I made the decision regarding language because only one out of the three facilitators spoke Arabic. Siblings were split because I wanted the participants to speak freely and candidly about their families and

social contexts, and this might be less comfortable if their siblings were in the same group. Finally, the decision to split by age was because given the fairly large age range (12-18 years), I was concerned that the participants might find it more difficult to relate to each other's experiences if the ages were too diverse. I also considered that the younger participants' voices might also not be heard by the older participants. The younger might not have an opportunity to share their stories if the older participants dominated the conversation.

Interviews (Study 4). This study was determined to be exempt from the ongoing Institutional Review Board oversight. I hired a group of bilingual and bicultural interviewers to recruit subjects and conduct the interviews. These interviews were semi-structured but followed a general format that discussed background information, the participants description of wellbeing, obstacles and support to wellbeing, and a few closing questions. I did not use the word wellbeing, but rather asked about what a 'good life' would look like for them. This word choice is consistent with Senkosi's work, who conducted interviews and focus group sessions with Somali refugees (2005). The interviewers were also instructed to conduct the interviews in a way that they deemed was culturally appropriate and participants were given the chance to choose the language they spoke in the interview, which is considered a best practice in the field (McCarthy & Marks, 2010). Due to differences in style between each of these interviewers, I will describe this process in further detail in a later section. These interviews were then transcribed and translated, ideally by the interviewers themselves, although due to personnel issues, I hired extra help. In all cases, I had multiple translators so if a question arose regarding translation, they were able to consult with one another. Each interview was scheduled to last one hour, and the participants were compensated \$25.

Sampling and Participants

For a more detailed description of each study participant, see Table IV.1 for the photovoice group and Table IV.2 for the interview group. Here I will describe each recruitment group on the group level, including basic information of their neighborhood context and the interviewer’s connection to the community.

Photovoice (Study 3). The photovoice data consists of focus group transcriptions with 14 Middle Eastern adolescent participants, aged 12-18 years ($M = 14$). Most of the participants arrived in the United States two or three years prior to the study. The participants lived in an area with a high concentration of Middle Eastern people. The first author and an undergraduate research assistant, a prior refugee from Iraq, facilitated these sessions. The research team used their social networks and connections to local community organizations, along with flyers and word of mouth to facilitate recruitment. For session 2, I recruited an additional member of the lab for focus group facilitation, due to the larger number of enrollees in the study than I originally expected. This was to ensure the groups would not become too large. This third facilitator was a research assistant with Middle Eastern heritage (Iranian American), and she did not speak Arabic. The sessions took place at a community center near where the participants lived and went to school. The participants were compensated 90 dollars, given the significant time invested into the study.

Table IV.1. *Demographics of photovoice participants (N = 14)*

Pseudonym	Age	Age when Arrived in U.S.	Sex	Country of Origin	First Resettlement Country (if not US)	Focus Group Facilitator
Ahmed	13	7	Male	Iraq	Syria	Andrea
Alex	18	16	Male	Syria	Turkey	Shima

Alex (B) ¹¹	12	10	Male	Jordan	-	Andrea
Dylor (A)	13	10.5	Male	Syria	Iraq	Noor
Ibtisam (C)	13	10	Female	Syria	Egypt	Andrea
Lena (B)	13	11	Female	Jordan	-	Shima
Mais (C)	16	13	Female	Syria	Egypt	Noor
Mariam (A)	15	12	Female	Syria	Iraq	Shima
Maryam (D)	13	11	Female	Syria	Jordan	Shima
Mike (D)	17	15	Male	Syria	Jordan	Noor
Mira (D)	16	14	Female	Syria	Jordan	Noor
Mohammad	15	5	Male	Iraq	-	Noor
Roro (D)	12	10	Female	Jordan	Jordan	Andrea
Rose (B)	16	14	Female	Jordan	-	Noor

Interviews (Study 4). For the interviews, I engaged adult Somali refugees in Minnesota. The Twin Cities (Minneapolis and St. Paul) is a major center for this community, and the interviewer (a man who arrived as a Somali refugee and at the time of the study was a college student) recruited 14 people. The participants were all fairly young, ranging from 19-29 years old ($M = 24$), and arrived in the United States, on average, at age 11. While interviews were offered

¹¹ The letters next to these participants indicate that had a sibling in the study, with each letter representing a family.

in English and Somali, the participants often opted to be interviewed in English. These interviews took place in public spaces.

A member of the research team recruited a group of 15 Hmong participants living in the Twin Cities, a cultural center for their community in the United States. The Hmong arrived earlier than the Somali group (most arrived in the 1980s) and so the group was generally middle aged, with ages ranging from 40-64 years old ($M = 50$). They, on average, arrived in the United States at age 18. The interviewer is a respected figure in the community, pursuing a professional career, and he arrived as a refugee himself. The interviews were all conducted in Hmong, often in public spaces like restaurants.

One of the lab's undergraduate research assistants, a daughter of Lebanese immigrants, was connected to a Middle Eastern refugee community in Windsor, Canada through her family, and so I opened up the study to this location as well. She recruited 12 people ages 19-49 ($M = 33$) who arrived in Canada on average at age 30, and often conducted the interviews in private homes or public places, depending on the comfort of the participant. The participants were living in a community that is mostly not Middle Eastern, although they tended to form social networks with other Middle Eastern refugees.

Finally, a member of the lab recruited 15 Middle Eastern refugees aged 18-53 years ($M = 36$), arriving in the United States, on average, at age 33. They were living in a part of South Eastern Michigan that has a small population of ingroup members. The interviews were often conducted in homes in accordance to the preferences of the participants, though some were in public spaces. These interviews were conducted by an immigrant from Liberia and Lebanon working as a medical translator, studying for her master's degree. She recruited participants using her social connections and snowball sampling. The interviews were conducted in Arabic.

Table IV.2. *Demographics of interview participants (N = 56)*

Pseudonym	Age	Arrival Age	Gender	Self-Defined Cultural Background	Place of Birth	Year Arrived	Current Living Place	Interview Language	Professional Affiliation
Safiya	21	14	Woman	Somali	Ethiopia	2011	Twin Cities	English	Community service officer at Police Department in Minnesota
Ubah	28	7	Woman	Somali	Somalia	1997	Twin Cities	English	Muslim Student Program Associate at a University
Zamazam	28	15	Woman	Somali	Somalia	2005	Twin Cities	English	Fourth-grade teacher
Yusaf	26	9	Man	Somali	Somalia	2001	Twin Cities	English	Information Technology
Farah	24	12	Man	Somali	Somalia	2006	Twin Cities	English	Working student
Haji	24	12	Man	Somali	Somalia	2006	Twin Cities	English	Working Student/Volunteer at a mosque
Amina	29	10	Woman	Somali	Somalia	1999	Twin Cities	English	Insurance company
Salman	20	15	Man	Somali	Somalia	2013	Twin Cities	English	Student/worker at a hospital
Ali	23	8	Man	Somali	Somalia	2003	Twin Cities	English	Working student

Shamsa	19	11	Woman	Somali	Somalia	2010	Twin Cities	English	Student/public safety/ mentor kids/ campus tours
Yasir	23	13	Man	Somali	Somalia	2008	Twin Cities	English	Student/worker at nonprofit organization
Kaltun	26	12	Woman	Somali	Somalia	2004	Twin Cities	Somali	Nurse
Mahdi	20	6	Male	Somali	Somalia	2014	Twin Cities	Somali	Student
Ismail	21	16	Man	Somali	Somalia	2013	Twin Cities	Somali	Student
Chong Pao Thao	51	12	Man	Hmong	Laos	1980	Twin Cities	Hmong	Volunteer
Vam Meej	54	40	Man	Hmong	Laos	2004	Twin Cities	Hmong	Technician in a factory/volunteer
Neeb	53	18	Man	Hmong	Laos	1983	Twin Cities	Hmong	Own a business to sell insurance/ volunteer as the president of the Hmong 18 clan council
Yeej	55	24	Man	Hmong	Laos	1987	Twin Cities	Hmong	Service director in a local charitable nonprofit that serves disadvantaged groups
Paaj	45	6	Woman	Hmong	Laos	1979	Twin Cities	Hmong	Works in a school and summer school program

Kaj Siab	56	19	Woman	Hmong	Laos	1981	Twin Cities	Hmong	Customer service
Laj	60	20	Man	Hmong	Laos	1978	Twin Cities	Hmong	Director of a Hmong organization/Clan representative
Ntsa Lab	57	20	Woman	Hmong	Laos	1981	Twin Cities	Hmong	Custodian
Nu Long	59	21	Man	Hmong	Laos	1980	Twin Cities	Hmong	Custodian
Kiab	44	12	Woman	Hmong	Laos	1986	Twin Cities	Hmong	Teacher
Xia	64	22	Woman	Hmong	Laos	1976	Twin Cities	Hmong	Works for the Expanded Food and Nutrition Education Program/ Volunteers at her cousin's business
Thaiv	53	22	Man	Hmong	Laos	1987	Twin Cities	Hmong	Patrol officer in police department
Sua	40	10	Woman	Hmong	Laos	1988	Twin Cities	Hmong	Doctoral program student/Volunteers in a 2 Hmong nonprofit organizations
Der	52	14	Woman	Hmong	Laos	1980	Twin Cities	Hmong	Work to prepare paperwork for vendors
Cai	50	14	Man	Hmong	Laos	1982	Twin Cities	Hmong	Housing authority
Fadia	40	39	Woman	Palestinian	Syria	2017	Windsor	Arabic	ESL Student

Abdallah	30	27	Man	Palestinian	Lebanon	2015	Windsor	English	Student, Worked at a Printing Factory
Selima	19	16	Woman	Palestinian	Lebanon	2015	Windsor	English	Student
Farida	27	9	Woman	Syrian	Syria	2000	Windsor	English	Unemployed
Latif	32	31	Man	Lebanese	Lebanon	2017	Windsor	Arabic	ESL student
Rashid	49	46	Man	Palestinian	Lebanon	2015	Windsor	English	Home renovator
Nadiyya	30	27	Woman	Syrian	Syria	2015	Windsor	Arabic	Student
Amal	24	23	Woman	Syrian	Syria	2017	Windsor	Arabic	Student
Haider	36	36	Man	Syrian	Syria	2018	Windsor	Arabic	Worker at a beverage factory
Saiyyda	38	38	Woman	Syrian	Syria	2018	Windsor	Arabic	ESL student; housewife
Mohammed	31	31	Man	Syrian	Syria	2018	Windsor	Arabic	Unemployed
Mai	40	25	Woman	Iraqi	Iraq	2003	Windsor	Arabic	Used to work in a bakery and Uber but now she's taking care of her kids
Nader	20	18	Man	Syrian	Syria	2016	SE Michigan	Arabic	Student/Custodian at a school
Saleem	46	44	Man	Syrian	Syria	2016	SE Michigan	Arabic	Laborer who manages appointments in a company

Nuha	38	36	Woman	Syrian	Syria	2016	SE Michigan	Arabic	Cook in a restaurant
Rami	54	53	Man	Syrian	Syria	2017	SE Michigan	Arabic	Cook in a restaurant
Layla	20	18	Woman	Syrian	Syria	2016	SE Michigan	Arabic	Student/Children day care
Roula	41	38	Woman	Libyan	Libya	2015	SE Michigan	Arabic	Day care for a senior through care.com
Zena	35	31	Woman	Syrian	Syria	2014	SE Michigan	Arabic	Cashier at a gas station and a student
Yara	35	29	Woman	Syrian	Syria	2012	SE Michigan	Arabic	Assistant at a barber (hairdresser), volunteer at school
Lujain	25	21	Woman	Syrian	Syria	2014	SE Michigan	Arabic	Student, works at pizza restaurant and Walmart
Suha	30	27	Woman	Syrian	Syria	2015	SE Michigan	Arabic	Custodian in a school
Nadia	26	22	Woman	Syrian	Syria	2014	SE Michigan	Arabic	Baker
Yamen	47	45	Male	Iraqi	Iraq	2016	SE Michigan	Arabic	Driver at the Refugee-serving organization
Huda	37	35	Woman	Iraqi	Iraq	2016	SE Michigan	Arabic	Worker at Meijer

Nour	50	48	Woman	Iraqi	Iraq	2016	SE Michigan	Arabic	Child-care worker
Souad	37	35	Male	Syrian	Syria	2016	SE Michigan	Arabic	Custodian in schools

Data Analysis (Studies 3 and 4)

For the purpose of this study, I combined the data from the four interview groups with the data from the photovoice focus groups. I first engaged in open coding using Nvivo software, found common codes across these groups, and decided to analyze the groups as a collective. I conducted a thematic analysis using an inductive approach (Braun and Clarke, 2006) to explore new meanings that might emerge as the participants describe their conception of wellbeing. It was from this open coding that I discovered stability as a form of wellbeing. Subsequently, I organized the codes relating to stability into three levels: First order codes, second order codes, and aggregated theoretical dimensions (Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2013). Next, I conducted a temporal analysis where codes related to stability were organized by major life transitions. Specifically, I focused on how participants perceived that stability was gained and lost as time and life experiences unfolded, the meaning of stability at various times, and the participants' valuation of stability in the context of their changing life circumstances. Coding and analytic decisions were made in consultation with co-authors as well as undergraduate research assistants with personal and professional backgrounds related to refugee resettlement.

I also organized a four-session participant analysis bootcamp. This was optional and while I could not pay the participants to attend, I did suggest they could add it to their resumé, and I provided refreshments at each session. At session one, I described the purpose of analyzing the data and the kinds of outcomes that can come from research such as policy change, organizational initiatives, or public educational outreach. I also introduced them to coding qualitative data, and they were given both Arabic and English versions of the transcripts. The second session continued to work on the basics of coding, and together we went over a few examples together before the participants coded independently. I often would bring the group

together after independent coding to discuss things they were noticing in the data. Towards the end of the second session I introduced them to the idea of finding patterns in the data—looking at how one experience might seem to relate to another or how one could elaborate on a single idea with a number of more specific codes. Participants began to diagram the data using a range of techniques including Braun and Clarke’s thematic mapping along with other forms they were more familiar with like ven diagrams. In session three, we continued to think about different ways we can display the aggregated data and also what topics seemed to be coming up as the most important in the focus groups. We collaboratively came up with a rough plan for session 4 so the research team could buy the supplies they suggested. During session 4, the participants created artistic posters that described the experiences of themselves and their peers as described in the focus groups. They chose this form of displaying their analysis over and above the other forms they learned about, and I will reference them as appropriate given the scope of this chapter.

Considerations of Power Dynamics and Social Engagement

In addition to considering social identities and the impact these have on power dynamics and relationships between the researchers and the communities under study (Wallerstein, 1999), I also employed methodologies that considered the social location of the participants and worked towards mutually beneficial relationships. First, qualitative methods such as semi structured interviewing and photovoice center participant voices, allowing more space for participants to share their own narratives. Photovoice, in particular, achieves this goal through the empowerment of participants to co-create knowledge with the researchers (Bananuka & John, 2014; Chmielewski & Yost, 2012; Freedman et al., 2012; Johansen & Le, 2014). As opposed to interviews where researchers bring questions to the table that participants are expected to answer,

with photovoice techniques, the researchers present a limited set of questions or ideas that then inspire participants to take photographs depicting those topics. Participants bring these photos to the next session and the photographs are used to stimulate discussion within their focus groups. The transcriptions of these focus groups were used for analysis (Valera et al., 2009; Freedman et al., 2012).

When the transcripts were completed and translated to both English and Arabic, I organized a four-session analysis bootcamp as described above with the participants of the photovoice study so they could gain valuable research experience and also contribute to the analysis of the study that will be presented in this paper. I have also continued to engage with the participants in ways they suggested would be useful. This included bringing them to the public gallery that displayed their photographs, quotes, and analysis posters (see Figures 4.1 and 4.2), attending public science events on the University campus, and meeting with current university students to talk about their path to college. I have done less outreach with the interview participants (Study 4) due to logistical challenges such as distance, but I am working with community partners to consider the most effective ways to share the knowledge stemming from my experiences and the findings of these studies.



Figure IV.1. Entrance of the gallery displaying participants' photos, quotes, and analysis posters



Figure IV.2. Second view of the gallery displaying participants' photos, quotes, and analysis posters

Given my lack of direct and long-standing connection to the communities I aimed to study, I worked with local organizations and hired bilingual interviewers to work directly with

the interview participants. In contrast, I engaged with the photovoice participants directly alongside a bilingual undergraduate research assistant, who came to the United States as a refugee from Iraq. I recognize, especially in the current political climate surrounding refugee resettlement efforts, that identities and power dynamics likely play a role in our interactions with the participants. For example, it's possible that given all the negative public discourse surrounding refugees, that they may feel a need to "perform" for the researchers to counter the negative stereotypes. The younger participants, may feel especially uncomfortable being candid with the research team, coming from a culture that has strong hierarchies surrounding age that promote respect for one's elders. Because I was interested in the participant's impression of the process, I made a point to ask them about their impressions and experiences with the process after the data collection was complete.

Photovoice Participants' Impressions of the Process

In keeping with Double Hermeneutic Theory (Giddens, 1987), as social scientists I seek to understand participants not only from my viewpoint, but from their point of understanding as well. Therefore, I found it important to hold a small group discussion at the beginning of the analysis workshop to reflect on the process of data collection to ascertain the perspectives of the participants, in part to understand their impressions of the process and secondarily to inform best practices for any future study.

One idea that was brought up in the groups was the ease of talking and sharing experiences. The participants highlighted how having parents present would make them shy to speak; contrastingly, being in small groups with their peers was a validating experience and they felt that the other participants respected and listened to them. One participant reflected on her focus group with some degree of concern. While she herself was a Muslim, she was concerned

given that one group members highlighted the importance of Islam in most of their photos, and she supposed that the other group member who was Christian might feel less valued and welcome in the focus group.

I considered how to best split the focus groups. I opted to prioritize language preference and secondarily age. The participants agreed that it was good to split the groups by age. Both the younger participants and the older participants agreed and suggested that the other age groups would not have understood their experiences or been as aware of what was going on in their lives. There were split opinions about whether it was beneficial to divide the groups by gender. A participant from focus group C suggested this would be a good idea because the boys were not taking the experience seriously and would laugh when the girls were talking. However, in focus group B, one of the participants suggested that the boys were more serious while the girls were joking. When asked about joining all the smaller groups into a larger focus group at the end, they supported this decision because they said it helped them understand other people's experiences as refugees, and this was beneficial to them.

They also discussed language and were glad the focus groups and information session allowed for both English and Arabic. One participant also described how she sometimes did not know an English word and was glad because she learned a couple of new words during the sessions. Mike was originally going to participate in focus group C, but then decided he felt more comfortable speaking Arabic and moved to focus group C. Overall, these experiences highlight the importance of having bilingual facilitators.

I also asked about the possibility of training a peer facilitator who could have run the sessions. This would have been an adolescent refugee community member, similar demographically to the participants. I received mixed feedback from the participants regarding

this idea. Some suggested that if they saw a person with the same experiences and the same age, they might feel like the facilitator was “special” and they were not. While they would be happy for the facilitator to get this distinction, they might feel somewhat left out and wishing they had that opportunity themselves. On the other side, they also suggested this could be a positive element because if the facilitator was of similar age and background, they would share similar ways of thinking, and so that would be a good thing because they would understand the participants’ views better.

One final observation was that the participants often stated how they were happy they were a part of the project and they were happy to see the research team again. This highlights the importance and meaningfulness of sustained community involvement in community-based research. While not always possible, I suggest that maintaining the relationships with community members could help to achieve a mutually beneficial relationship. I also noted that it seemed like the participants opened up more over time, and I considered whether it would have been beneficial to begin with community engagement before collecting data in order to establish a more trusting and comfortable relationship with the participants.

Results (Studies 3 and 4)

Figure IV.3 presents the data structure depicting my conceptualization of ontological security as a dimension of wellbeing. Ontological security described both elements of stability and security, focusing on the continuity of the things that were important to the participants. This is notably diverging from subjective and psychological wellbeing in that it does not focus on positive emotions or meaning, but rather the continuity of a good quality of life. Ontological security was described in terms of two main themes: Peace and Rootedness. More specifically I name four subdimensions: Peace of Body, Peace of Mind, Being Rooted in a Sense of Self, and

Being Rooted in Meaningful Connections. These dimensions of ontological security often interacted such that the loss of one dimension made it difficult to experience the other dimensions. The refugees stressed the importance of stability and security, especially in the context of war and having to flee one’s country. However, I also found that even when ontological security had been achieved, the participants continued to define wellbeing largely as being synonymous with ontological security.

First Order Codes	Second Order Codes	Aggregated Theoretical Dimensions
Financial Security Health Sleep Personal Security	Peace of Body	Peace
Internal Balance Value Prioritization	Peace of Mind	
Visiting Public Spaces Employment Opportunity to Enroll in School Freedom from Oppression	Being Rooted in a Sense of Self	Rootedness
Cultural Connections Religion Supportive Relationships Interconnectedness with the Community	Being Rooted in Meaningful Connections	

Figure IV.3. First and second order codes within their respective aggregated theoretical dimensions

Ontological Security

On the basis of my analysis, I describe ontological security as previous literature has done: the presence, continuity, and order of the things one finds important in life. A quote from an interview with Shamsa exemplifies well the concept of ontological security. Shamsa (Somali, 19) described how the basic aspects of ontological security are often overlooked in more

privileged societies like the United States, but even after resettling in Minnesota and having these “guaranteed rights,” Shamsa included this dimension in her definition of wellbeing.

If I was back home you know right now either in Somalia or Kenya, my good life would probably be having my three meals of the day, you know. But in America... those are kind of guaranteed rights for most of us, so I don't know about a good life, I think here in America I would say having... a roof on top of our heads... having meals and... being faithful and then having God in my life is, that's something very important to me.

Through my analysis, I recognized four dimensions that constitute ontological security. With Peace of Body, I refer to the satisfaction of physical needs people have to maintain their existence, while Peace of Mind refers to a positive internal cognitive experience. While this may sound like positive affect, it is actually more in reference to a sense of being mentally settled through making choices that align with one's values, maintaining one's mental energy, and having a mind that feels clear. Being Rooted in a Sense of Self and Being Rooted in Meaningful Connections both describe how participants rebuilt their lives. Being Rooted in a Sense of Self specifically describes the things participants did to feel “human” again, or to make them feel like themselves after fundamental changes and losses in their lives. Being Rooted in Meaningful Connections focuses on people and institutions that participants connected with to feel they were not completely uprooted from their previous lives. Rather than feeling as though they were living as aliens in a foreign land, they maintained ties to meaningful connections, facilitating continuity and stability in their lives.

Peace of body. The participants experienced Peace of Body when their basic needs for physical health and wellbeing were satisfied. Peace of Body consisted of the availability of material resources for financial stability, optimal functioning of the body manifesting as health

and sleep, and personal security originating from the safety from external physical threats. While financial security, health, sleep, and personal security are described as separate concepts, I recognize how these each are interlinked. For example, without reliable financial resources, people's health will suffer due to insufficient access to healthy food or inability to pay for health care services. I also recognize how some of these components may impact constructs unrelated to Peace of Body, but in this section, I will focus the analysis on the role each construct plays in the satisfactory maintenance of participants' physical wellbeing. Shamsa, above, described how the satisfaction of some basic needs such as access to food and shelter created a sense of *financial security*. For the refugees, financial security did not refer to excessive wealth, but rather a sufficient income for paying essential bills such as groceries, rent, and utilities which are essential for physical wellbeing. Many participants made the distinction between the pursuit of excessive wealth and basic financial stability, emphasizing how others may strive to have excessive wealth, but separating themselves from such people, saying they wanted just enough to live a comfortable life. Der (Hmong, 52) described how she does not live a life of excess, but she is grateful for what she has and the financial security that her job brings her.

Even though I don't have a huge pot of money, I don't have a big house to live in my work gives me enough to live by like the rest of other people in the community. So my quality of life depends on the type of work I do and I am blessed to have my current job.

Housing in particular was mentioned quite frequently across the various groups of refugees, as a manifestation of financial security. Many had experienced unsafe housing, describing experiences with intruders, inconsiderate neighbors, and unsanitary conditions inside the home. For example, Lujain (Syrian, 25) described how she and her family switched between ten houses while living in Jordan because "many houses had insects, scorpions, things like that."

Ibtisam (Syrian, 13) described how her family's house in Michigan was broken into and how this destabilized her sense of security.

I came to Michigan and my dad was dropping off, like the stuff and whatever. There was like a homeless man who came to the house and he stole some stuff. And we were like so scared, we didn't want to live in here anymore. Like not in USA, but we told him we wanna go back to New Jersey.

Others expressed the importance of finding good, affordable, quality housing. Cai (Hmong, 50), for example, had access to public housing while attending university. Access to affordable housing had such a profound and positive impact on his life that he ultimately chose to work with the local Housing Authority to help other people who were in a similar situation as he had been.

[Public housing] has significantly helped my life. Because when we went to live there, uh, since we both went to school there, our rent never reached \$100, so that way we had shelter, there was always something to cover our heads, so rain wouldn't wet it. That was something the government helped with and it is something we never took for granted.

That's why, after I finished school, I was really focused on the importance of housing for the family or the person because, whoever it is, if you have a place to live, it is a pillar in hard times.

For the participants, Peace of Body also included *health*, both for themselves and their family members. They described not only healthy bodies and the absence of illness, but also the things they needed to maintain a healthy body, such as access to health care and quality food.

Saleem (Syrian, 46) specifically described the importance of government programs such as health insurance and food stamps which allowed himself and his family to be healthy.

Now many times the kid will be sick, and I would take him to the doctor and there is health insurance, also my work would be light and there is Food Stamp and there is... like all these things make me happy.

Many of the participants described the importance of *sleep* in their resettlement process. For many, sleep evaded them while experiencing war or while fleeing their home countries on foot. Some described being afraid of soldiers finding them, while others described tearful nights, struggling with the uncertainty and fear as they fled their home countries, not knowing what would come next. Sometimes, sleep continued to evade them even after resettlement due to the stressors they continued to face. Saiyyda (Syrian, 38) described how her family's difficult housing situation in Canada made her struggle to sleep at night. This stressor made her feel as though she was in another kind of war from the one she left in Syria, making it impossible for her to feel like she had achieved a return to normalcy.

I couldn't sleep at night. My little girl came to me crying one night saying [the neighbor] broke the wall. Turns out [he and a prostitute] were fighting, and when they were hitting each other they began banging on the walls. That was one of the times I thought they had broken the wall and come into my home. They didn't feel what my kids and I felt. I went and told them you brought me here from war to a different kind of war.

Nadiyya (Syrian, 30) described sleep as an important component to living a good life, and how she and her family struggled while living in Syria during the war.

How I feel about my home country is influenced by the amount of oppression I have witnessed there. This has been the case since the war started up until now, we could not sleep there, our kids' childhood has gone in vain.

Personal security describes safety from external physical threats. Many participants described situations in which they had witnessed either civilians or authority figures, whose job it is to serve and protect, making them feel unsafe, sometimes threatening the lives of children and other innocent people. Interestingly, even though many participants had negative experiences with authorities, several either joined the police force or military or who expressed an interest in doing so. Nader (Syrian, 20) described why he aspired to be a policeman, and how much he valued personal security both for himself and others. “[I want to become a policeman] to spread security and safety, it’s like I love to spread security.... I’d feel that I’m achieving an accomplishment and providing a favor to the country that brought me here.”

Others described close encounters with shelling and bombs which compromised their personal security. Latif (Lebanese, 32) described quite candidly how safe he feels in Canada in comparison to Lebanon, and how that impacts that his perception of the two countries.

Look, let me tell you something. I’m going to be honest with you. There is nothing more beautiful than Lebanon as a country but when it comes to quality of life, excuse my language, it’s garbage! Look I will tell you something, if I lived in a tent on the road here, I’d be safer that living in Lebanon which is my home country.... it’s impossible, impossible for me now to accept the idea of living in Lebanon.

Peace of mind. While Peace of Body focused on maintaining one’s physical existence, Peace of Mind emphasizes cognitive stability, defined by the choices and experiences associated with the maintenance of mental wellbeing. Mental wellbeing was achieved through the prioritization of important values and seeking out environments conducive to maintaining a sense of balanced energy. It manifested, firstly, as a sense of internal balance, described as mental energy and a clear mind, free of rumination, anxiety, or stress. Some participants, like Nadia

(Syrian, 26), talked about how they regained an internal balance after it is lost. “Whenever I am annoyed from something, if somebody bothers me or if I miss someone, I like to draw. I feel that I can release my energy through it.” Similarly, Yasir (Somali, 23) described how he redirects his attention through prayer and physical activity with the intention of having a clear mind and heart. While religion also connects with Being Rooted in Meaningful Connections, I include solitary prayer and spirituality to Peace of Mind. Yasir, like many others, prayed to clear his mind and regain internal balance:

Uhm I would say...it's very...spirituality is very important, you know. You need to see that you're connected, you know. And I think that's one of the things that really help me with like clear mind and everything. Just kind of praying and, you know, repenting in a sense. That kind of helps me clear my mind and clear my heart, in general. Also, you know, being physically active is a very important aspect.

Zamazam (Somali, 28) described how, when she is in large crowds, she loses her sense of *internal balance* and energy, highlighting how peace of mind is something that is not simply achieved and sustained, but rather something that requires constant attention and effort to maintain.

I tend to think of myself as someone who's very introverted. So I really lose energy when I'm in crowds or when I do something for a long period of time, something I really don't like, or something that really just sucks my energy.

Secondly, Peace of Mind emerged when the participants were able to successfully *prioritize* their most *important values*. Yeej (Hmong, 55) described how he focused less on personal achievement in order to maintain this greater priority: his positive family relationships.

But the good thing about me is that I stayed close to my wife and children. I tried to accomplish what I could only to be self-sufficient and able to support my family. Since I focused on my family, I could not achieve what others had accomplished. I think this was holding me back [focusing on the family], but when you think about it you lived a smooth life without being impoverished even though you could not achieve something higher. All you can say is that you have made to one level; your family life wasn't broken, you supported your children. You have created a good foundation to move up to the next level.

While supportive relationships also connect with Being Rooted in Meaningful Connections, here I highlight how Yeej made decisions based on his priorities to facilitate his Peace of Mind.

Being rooted in a sense of self. The resettled refugees described how the wars in their home countries made it impossible to live their lives and how resettling allowed them to return to a state they viewed as 'normal.' This sense of feeling like one's self or feeling "human" again, conveyed by the refugees, is what I mean by Being Rooted in a Sense of Self. Nadia (Syrian, 26) described this experience, "When I was in Syria, I was completely shattered towards the end from all aspects: Morally, financially, emotionally. But when I came here, I started coming back, coming back to what I used to be before." Such sense of being rooted in self was described primarily through the activities that facilitated it.

The participants often described how being able to *visit public spaces* positively impacted their wellbeing. Related to the codes regarding personal security, these kinds of activities were not always safe in their home countries, due to war and violence. Here I point out how visiting these places such as parks, restaurants, and malls made them feel like themselves. Nour (Iraqi,

50), like many other participants in the sample, described how she enjoys passing time like this. “I go out with my friends and we like go shopping in mall and I go with them to the park and we chill in coffee shops.”

The participants also described the importance of *employment* to regaining a sense of normalcy and feeling “human again”. While some felt pushed into employment too quickly before they could find their feet in the new country, many, like Haider (Syrian, 36), described how going to work was integral in their adjustment after escaping the war in their country. “From the time that I came down to work and started working I started feeling human again.”

Rashid (Palestinian, 49) described he was not able to continue to work in his field because he did not have and could not acquire Canadian experience. This inability to work in the field that he had experience in and identified with inhibited him from Being Rooted in a Sense of Self.

We came here and we were shocked that we cannot do the work that we were doing.

You have to have uh at least one year Canadian experience, okay? How are you going to get Canadian experience if they don't let you work?

Many refugees did not have the *opportunity to enroll in school* in intermediate resettlement countries, making it impossible for them to fully integrate into the society. Roro (Syrian, 12) described how in Jordan they did not allow Syrians like herself to enroll in school, “Because they didn't, they didn't let us go to school. I was like why? My mom was like they're not letting you.” Roro went on to describe her experience with school in the United States. At first, she did not want to go after being barred from school in Jordan, but with time and encouragement from her mother, she began to thrive in school.

My mom's like you got this, and you can do this and go to school. Last time I got like 4.0. And she was like, "I'm proud of you and you see, when I come to America, you start learning, you start getting stuff" so I was like, "yeah I know."

Related, the promise of a good education for one's children was a motivating factor to accept the placement in new countries such as Canada and the USA. Nadiyya (Syrian, 30) described her thought process towards accepting the offer to resettle in Canada, "I thought it would be a great opportunity for my children to study there."

Another important aspect for the refugees' returned sense of self was their perceived *freedom from oppression*. Where the participants had been facing oppression, many found themselves being forced to censor themselves and live in fear of violence and persecution. Being free from oppression allowed them truly be themselves. Mohammad (Iraqi, 15) described how free speech was an important aspect of his sense of wellbeing and how that contrasted with his family's experiences in Iraq.

I say freedom of speech... because my family protested against Saddam's rule and that's what made them fly to Syria then refuged here. So they say anything you want here, the government won't get you in trouble so that's um don't take for granted here.

Yeej (Hmong, 55) described the oppression he and other Hmong people faced from the Thai soldiers in the refugee camp who regularly would abuse the Hmong refugees, "The Thai soldiers acted badly toward us. I lived in the Xieng Khan refugee camp; a camp that they treated us like prisoners. They saw us as criminals and not as refugees, so they were really controlling and violent." He went on to describe how being free from such oppression inspired him to push past challenges to work towards a 'good life.'

Being rooted in meaningful connections. Being Rooted in Meaningful Connections refers to feeling connected to other people, groups, and even human institutions as a way to feel personally stable. The participants described the ontological security they felt as an individual as a result of their connection to groups, institutions, and institutional practices (i.e. prayer). They also described how being rooted in an identity relevant community or group such as an ethnic or religious community related to Being Rooted in a Sense of Self. Because a personal identity can be tied to group membership, these constructs are often related. While the refugees in the sample were uprooted from their home countries, many were able to maintain a sense of continuity and home by maintaining cultural connections, practicing their religion, building supportive relationships, and belonging to or being a part of a community. Through these engagements, the participants were able to sense some degree of ontological security as they worked to rebuild their lives in a very different social context.

Ubah (Somali, 28) said that maintaining *cultural connections* through customs like traditional food and heritage language was important to her and went on to describe how these cultural connections bring her community together. Maintaining their “Somali-ness” and interacting with those who share these cultural traditions allow for a sense of continuity in culture even after leaving East Africa.

The language, the food, right? Um, the cultural, in general, and the, and the sense of like Somali-ness. You know what I mean? Like the sense of um, that connection that we have, with one another. And I feel like what way to bring us together

Religion was something that remained constant in the participants’ lives, from the time they lived in their home country, their journey to resettlement, and to the present day. It therefore fostered their sense of ontological security through continuity. Participants read the Quran to feel

emotionally at peace, they felt emotional stability and relief in placing their faith that their issues could be resolved by a higher power, and they felt a sense of home by the continued practice of important cultural festival traditions such as fasting during Ramadan. While religion also contributed to the participants' Peace of Mind, here I emphasize religion as an important way to remain rooted in one's heritage, even if the practices they engaged in were solitary. Many participants, including Haji (Somali, 24), described prayer as a way to stay "grounded" in the hectic modern world. Through this individual practice, connected to a larger institution like religion, Haji describes feeling emotional balance and relief.

Uh I'd say prayer because that is one of the most integral things that you know it– it's a part of my life, it something that keeps me sane and something that keeps me 'cause as you know life and work and everything in know modern days it's so hectic you know so you need something that keeps you grounded.

Supportive relationships were integral to helping the refugees to find stability, even in the most distressing of circumstances. Relationships in the family were especially important, as these were some of the only relationships they could maintain across their lifetime. Rose (Jordanian, 16) described the importance of her father's support to her wellbeing and sense of safety.

Rose: When I hold somebody's hand, I feel safe and...

Facilitator: Who's the person that you held their hand and they made you feel very comfortable throughout your journey?

Rose: My dad

Facilitator: Is your dad important to you?

Rose: Yeah, he is the one who makes me feel happy and he cares about me

The participants also found friends with similar backgrounds and experiences to be important sources of social support, and this was particularly discussed among the Somali participants. Peers who also had moved from Africa to the U.S. could support each other to overcome the collective challenges they all faced. This support took many forms such as making friends to study with, being around people who validated their goals in life, or receiving validation from peers who experienced the same identity-related challenges. Even if they could not fully overcome these challenges, being rooted in supportive relationships brought a sense of relief and stability in spite of continued hardship. Yasir (Somali, 23) described the importance of both offering and receiving help from peers with shared experiences.

There's a lot of students who were also kind of in the same shoes as me. And so, that's really nice and amazing to kind of work with those students, work through these problems with those students. Like yeah you know, if I'm having these kind of issues, I'll ask one of my friends who kind of move from another country also and he would be having the same issues. And so, we could kind of work together.... And kind of leaning on each other for support.

Ubah (Somali, 28) explained how her friends help her cope with being in a society that is racist, xenophobic, and islamophobic. "My friends... all understand to be in society where constantly we're judged based on... our religion, our culture, and our race. That I understand, so I become very therapeutic for one another. Support in that sense."

The participants also described *interconnectedness with the community*. Between the Somali, Hmong, and Middle Eastern participants I noticed differences and similarities in how people described interconnectedness with the community. Among all the groups, they often described how the success of people in their community was tied to their own sense of

wellbeing, where the fate of the group was inextricably tied to their own. This deep connection to their community kept refugees from feeling rootless in their new country, enhancing their sense of ontological security. Chong Pao Thao (Hmong, 51) described how he supports Hmong businesses and the importance of his people's success to his own wellbeing.

Hmong are one of the poorest groups in the U.S. so when it comes to where to spend my money I will choose to spend it at Hmong businesses. Don't withhold your strength and your money too much and don't worry too much that if you spend your money on them then you will go broke and they will prosper. We have to support Hmong-owned businesses. If you support them and when they go out of business, then you will not feel bad since you have been supporting them already. You know you tend to feel the pain when Hmong owned businesses go out of business and others blame them. I usually blame myself when some Hmong owned businesses go out of business. I think it's part of my fault too since I do not go to support them. So, I am very intentional about where I go to shop.

In a similar vein, the Somali participants also described a strong sense of interconnectedness between the self and their group, where the fate of other Somali people was very tied to their own sense of wellbeing. They often acted on this belief by engaging in collective action, which brought them a sense of connectedness to their people that contributed to their wellbeing. Through both the improved situation of their group, achieved through collective action as well as the sense of connection to the community achieved through such acts, the participants described greater resulting wellbeing. Shamsa (Somali, 19) described how organizing around important issues in her community made her feel hopeful for the future.

I think moments where... communities have gathered for something... that's really affecting our community, whether it's a gender-based violence or mental health stigma... those kind of moments make me think... our community is so powerful and we can organize so much and they... make me... feel very good and hopeful for the future and... generations to come.

The Hmong participants especially emphasized how holding an important social position that was well-respected by other Hmong brought them social stability in the community and contributed to living a good life. Thaiv (Hmong, 53), who also served as a President of his clan, described how his social standing as a police officer made people in the community respect him and see him as a role model. "...being a police officer also gives you a sense of pride and that pride helps you to be a better person because everywhere you go in the community people see you as a role model."

The Middle Eastern participants in Canada and the U.S. often described how they liked to spend time with other members of their ingroup. These relationships and the activities they did together made them feel a sense of rootedness in their home. Saif (Syria, 37) described how on weekends he often goes to the park with other Arab refugee families where the adults can talk and the children can play.

We go to places and meet up with other refugees. Here there are Arab refugees, so we meet up with them, and we get to know them, and we spend time with them. Like, on Sunday we have a day off so we plan with them to go sit at the park so the kids can play at the park

Temporal Analysis of Ontological Security

I conducted a temporal analysis to better understand how the participants described ontological security throughout their journey from their homelands, to resettlement, and in their aspirations for the future. I distinguished three distinct patterns. First, the participants described a sense of lost ontological security in their countries of origin, and that served as a motivator for them to flee and resettle in North America. Second, many described feeling unstable and insecure upon arrival in North America, but the longer refugees had been resettled, the more stable and secure they described their present lives. While there was generally an increase in ontological security over time, there also were experiences of instability and insecurity in the resettlement country, a place they originally came to in search of ontological security. Third, and most importantly when it comes to the question of ontological security as an enduring aspect of wellbeing, even when the participants were in a relatively stable and secure life situation, they still valued and emphasized the importance of ontological security.

Seeking stability in resettlement. Many refugees described the lack of stability and security they faced in their home countries. As Peace of Body was endangered, Peace of Mind and Being Rooted in a Sense of Self were jeopardized as well. In their home countries, young children and adults faced violence, threatening their personal security. Roro (Syrian, 12) described her experiences in Syria, “They used to shoot at us with guns. Then we like didn't feel that safe. Last time I fell on my head because they used to (Unintelligible) then my sister hold me then I fell the ground... then all of the blood and they keep shooting on us.” Nadia (Syrian, 26) described how this feeling of insecurity in Egypt, her first resettlement country, did not continue once she resettled in the United States where she felt safe and secure.

Like we sleep comfortably, we are not scared that something is going to fall down on us. We know that we have rights here in case something was to happen. Like back when we

were in Egypt, we did not have any rights in case anything happened because we are Syrians.

Lujain (Syrian, 25) similarly described how gaining security and stability made her feel optimistic for the future, something she did not feel in Jordan, where Syrians are given less rights than Jordanians.

They made us feel like we are nothing. Here they make us feel that we are the generation of the future, that we are going to amount to something in the future. They encourage us to do things and build our future. In Jordan... our spirits were really down. We didn't feel safe. We did not feel anything.

The participants who attended the analysis workshops that took place after the photovoice study also highlighted how they sought ontological security in their resettlement. In Figures 4.4, 4.5, and 4.6, I have included photographs of the pictures they drew on a poster that depicted the insecurity and instability in their home countries and contrasted that with their experiences and perceptions of various resettlement countries where they felt relatively safe and secure.

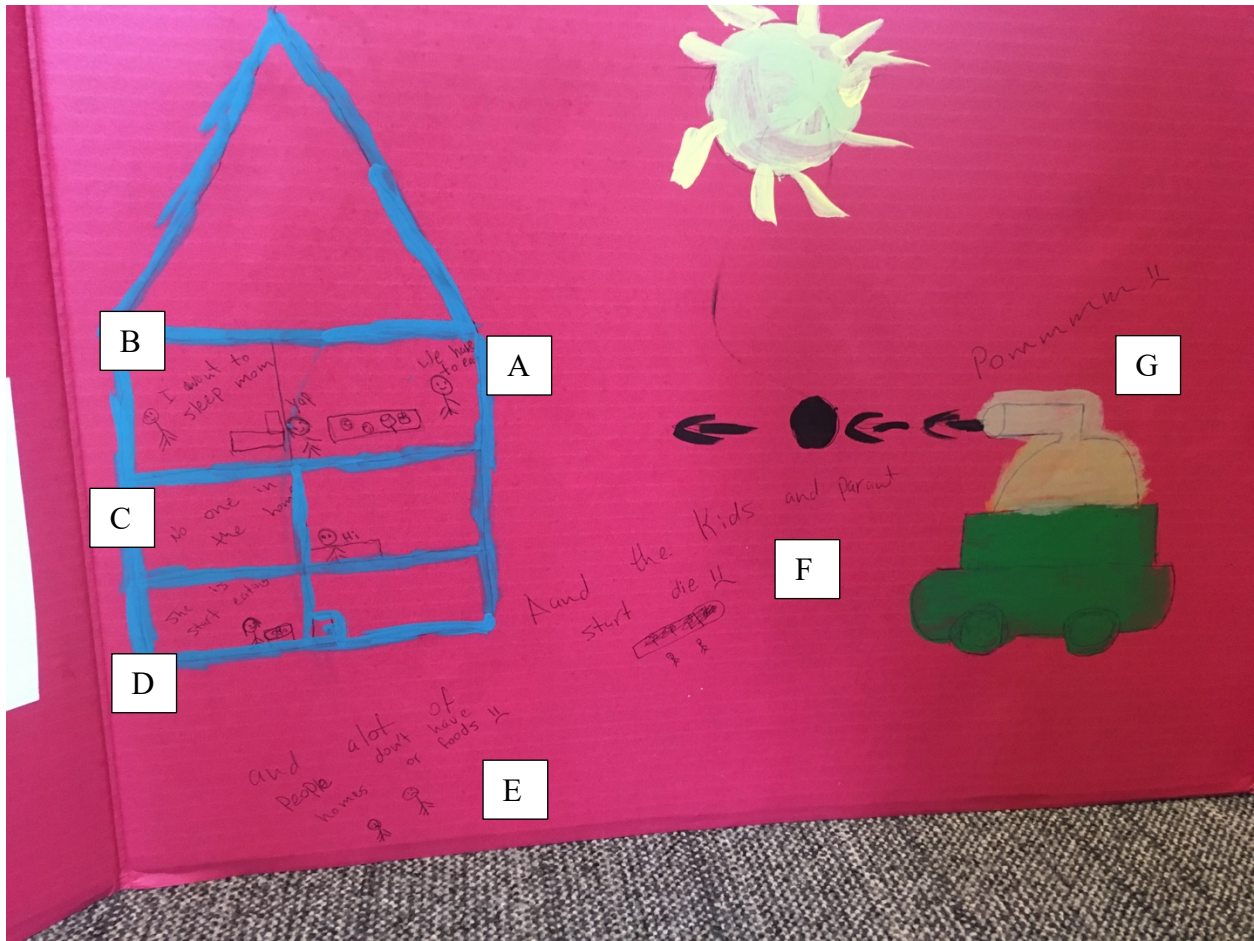


Figure IV.4. Participant analysis poster depicting insecurity in their home country¹²

¹² A = “We have to eat.” “Yap”, B = “We want to sleep mom.”, C = “No one in the home.”, D = “She is start eating.”, E = “and alot of people don’t have homes or foods”, F = Aand the kids and parent start die.”, G = “Pommmmm”

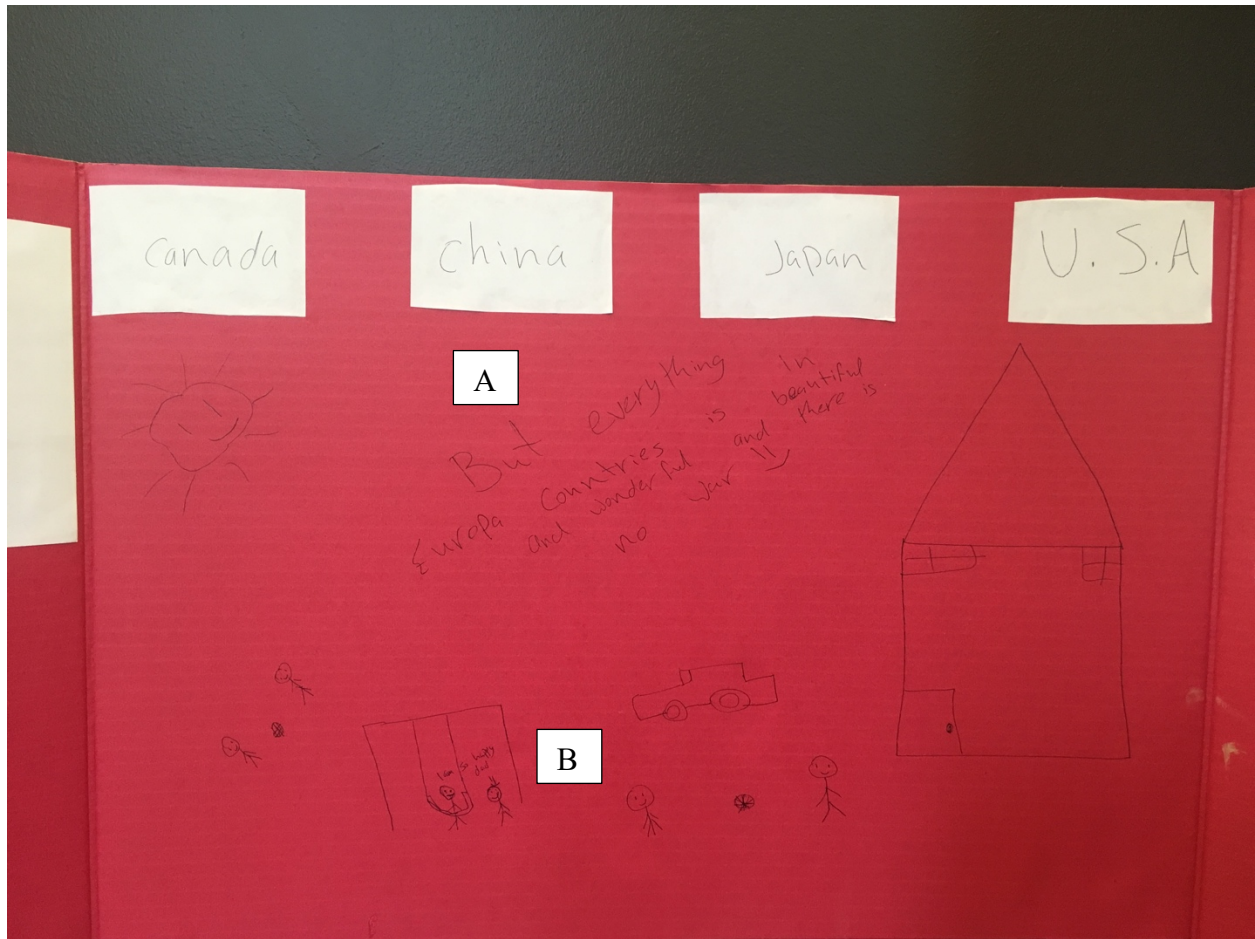


Figure IV.5. Participant analysis poster depicting finding security in resettlement¹³

¹³ Note: A = “But everything Europa countries is beautiful and wonderful and there is no war”, B = “I am so happy dad”

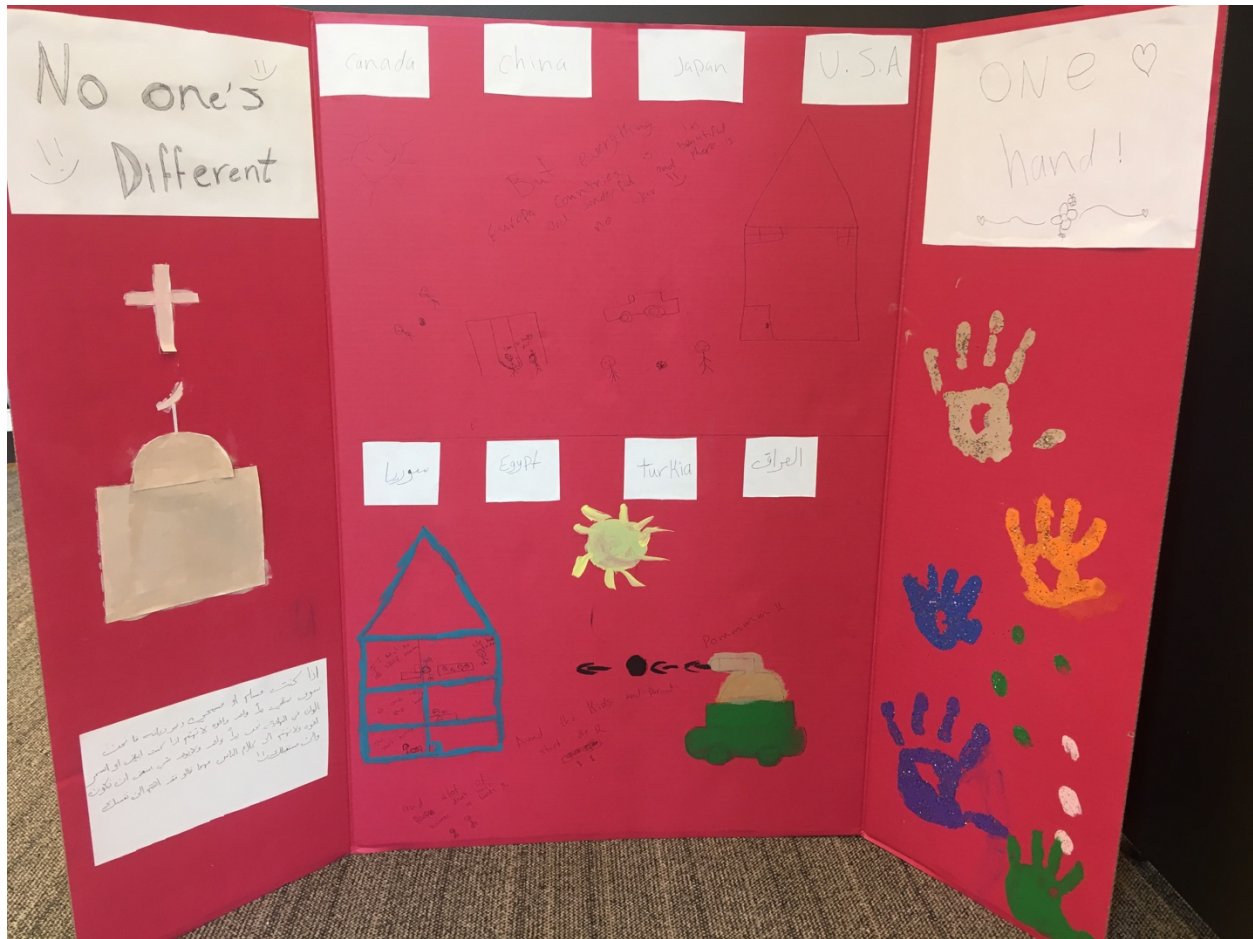


Figure IV.6. Whole participant analysis poster

Lingering instability. While many participants endorsed an improved sense of ontological security the longer they were resettled in North America, others described lingering instability and insecurity that remained. This included experiences spanning all of the four general categories described above, with some specific examples including unsafe housing, experiences with bullying, inability to pursue ideal careers and education, language barriers, inadequate access to childcare, and financial burdens, to name only a few factors.

Participants described how the effects of the trauma they and their family experienced during their journey as refugees still impacted them today, even if they were no longer experiencing those traumatic events. Stigma around mental health in their communities was

frequently named, especially in the Somali community, as a barrier to seeking help. However, while Somali participants named this stigma more often than the Hmong or Middle Eastern participants, they more often disclosed being active in seeking help as compared to the other groups interviewed. Shamsa (Somali, 19) described her own experiences with mental health and generational trauma.

As immigrants or as refugees we have this generational trauma that we kind of carry with ourselves that a lot of the times in our communities that we don't deal with, especially in the Somali community, and I think my mental health and how like it has you know over the years deteriorated because I don't really focus on that because of the stigma in our communities. So it's just that's that's that... has been something that has you know made it difficult to experience a good life, but I'm working on it right now.

Others described issues that related to cultural differences that made them feel concerned for their children's morals as they grew up in an environment that did not feel appropriate. For example, Nadiyya (Syrian, 30) described how issues with her neighbor's lewdness made her concerned for her daughter's development. "I'm telling you he took off his clothes, and we could hear him screaming at women. It seemed like he was having a wild party. I don't want my young daughters to get exposed to such experiences."

Yusaf (Somali, 26) described larger structural issues, taking into account the intersectionality of their experiences as a black refugees, that continue to threaten the Somali refugees' basic security both in the present and in the future.

Black families worry about, are our kids going to be targeted? Are they going to be shot?

Um, are they gonna have access to the drugs that are being sold on the streets? Are they

gonna have equal access to, for example, financial aid? Are they gonna be able to pay for college?

Present valuation of stability. Many participants reflected on their lives where they had experienced deficits spanning all four major dimensions of ontological security such as war, near starvation, and loss. They framed their current sense of ontological security against the struggles of their past, using this as context for why they value ontological security so much. Yeej (Hmong, 55) exemplified this pattern as he describes his past in Laos and how these traumatizing experiences impacted his hopes and dreams for the future and his focus on providing stability for his children.

For me I lived a life that I faced death for a few times already... I lived with guns in my hands. I had friends who died as a result of the war. I had friends who stayed behind when I escaped the country.... The people in my generation, most of them died. I grew up without a father who was there to teach me. I thought to myself that now that I have my own children. I cannot let my children be impoverished like me, especially when I am still alive; that is not right.... I think about the time when we tried to escape to Thailand and walked for 17 days without food to eat.

Roula (Libyan, 41), like Yeej, used her experiences with instability and insecurity to describe why ontological security is so important to her. She highlighted ideas like Peace of Body (i.e. freedom from oppression, personal security, health) and Being Rooted in Meaningful Connections (i.e. supportive relationships), all of which she sees as lacking in her home country of Libya. Roula described that her life has not been secure and stable, and this was a key factor in her current conceptualization of a 'good life'. For example, in Libya, she described threats to physical safety with a neighboring village attacking her village, lack of food, and inadequate and

unsafe insulin supplies. While her situation was different in Michigan, she experienced continued instability. She described the difficulties that come with being a single, divorced mother, made more difficult by no paid sick leave at her job and mistreatment that her son experienced. She also described her difficulties with learning English and continuing her PhD studies, which she had to give up in order to support her children financially.

Stability, stability is the most important thing to me because I haven't found myself in a stable position, you know? A person is stable if they get married to a good person and settle in a country they feel safe at, you understand? If I lived in Libya currently, it's filled with gangs and militias and as a woman you cannot drive a car, you cannot live in a house in case they break into it. Like it's a very high-risk environment you know?

Lujain (Syrian, 25) also described how security and stability is important to her, and she framed this against her experiences of insecurity and instability in Jordan where she experienced institutionalized discrimination and interpersonal prejudice on the basis of her Syrian refugee identity.

Security means a lot to me because that was not present in my country. When I left for Jordan there was also no security, they used to hate Syrians so much back there. They used to cut the water supply from us, the electrical supply, like they would destroy our spirits. They would tell us that you do not have a future, that you are beggars and uncivilized and things along those lines.

Lujain went on to compare her experiences with war in Syria and discrimination in Jordan with her life in the United States where she now feels safe and secure. "Well outside the house, I feel safe like if someone goes out in the middle of the night, it is safe here." Despite feeling secure in the present, she still values security as an essential element of good life.

The participants would often describe how they currently experienced stability in their life, but this did not curb the value and centrality they placed on stability while defining wellbeing. For example, Zamazam (Somali, 28) had experienced difficult times. “Um, my dad had died uh a couple years before that in the early 2000s and we just were just struggling to get by and we were just like it’s time to leave [Kenya].” Zamazan then compared her present situation to other people who have relatively insecure and unstable lives, and who she can help support with her savings from her vocation as a teacher. While she described that she was hoping to save the money for a better car, she recognized that her current situation was relatively stable and secure and that this person in Africa needed it more, demonstrating that she values ontological security for others, not only herself.

I had to send a large amount of money, like of savings, to Africa. Someone, um, really needed it, but I really needed the money also. And I thought to myself, I was able to save up this money for a reason, you know? ‘Cause I have a job, I have a degree that I’m using in my job. The person that I’m sending this money to, they don’t have any of that.

While Zamazam no longer struggled to “get by” like she had in Kenya, and during the time of the interview she described living a relatively stable and secure life, to a point where she can help others who are in greater need, she continued to name elements of ontological security when describing a good life, specifically being able to afford food. “Experiencing a good life is just having food on the table....”

Discussion

Studying wellbeing through the lens of the refugee experience also offers theoretical advantages; given refugees are relatively less privileged than most populations used to develop prevailing wellbeing theories, refugees provide a unique window into meanings of wellbeing.

Refugees of varied age and cultural background described the centrality of ontological security to their sense of wellbeing as well as their challenges and success with finding stability and security in resettlement. I found that security is gained and lost across the life span, and that even after being resettled, refugees often experience challenges to their ontological security.

Refugee's past experiences with instability and insecurity likely influenced the centrality of ontological security in their conceptualization of wellbeing, which remained even when the refugees described their current lives as being relatively stable and secure. Ontological security was multifaceted, including Peace of Body, Peace of Mind, Being Rooted in a Sense of Self, and Being Rooted in Meaningful Connections. These various facets were not experienced in isolation, and often if a participant was lacking in one area, it had the potential to threaten the maintenance of other dimensions. I suggest that ontological security is an important dimension of wellbeing, on the same level as subjective and psychological wellbeing, rather than a precondition to experiencing these other 'higher' forms of wellbeing.

CHAPTER V

Discussion

While much of psychological research focusing on marginalized groups is centered around stories of deficit and victimhood, I find that marginalized groups from a diverse set of backgrounds can also be active agents in creating perceptions of meaning and growth following adverse experiences. In this dissertation, I examined how two distinct marginalized groups experience post adversarial growth. As António Guterres, Secretary-General of the United Nations, asserted, “While every refugee's story is different and their anguish personal, they all share a common thread of uncommon courage—the courage not only to survive, but to persevere and rebuild their shattered lives” (United Nations, 2005). I found this truth reflected in the results in Studies 3 and 4, as refugees demonstrated their ability to actively construct a sense of wellbeing, or a changed life philosophy, in the context of their hardships. Refugees’ past experiences with instability and insecurity likely influenced the centrality of ontological security in their conceptualization of wellbeing, which remained even when the refugees described their current lives as being relatively stable and secure. Additionally, I demonstrated in Studies 1 and 2 that among hybrid multiculturals, negative perceptions of their social environment can be instrumental in the development of an HMI, which they view as positive identity growth stemming from these hardships. As Isabella expressed in Chapter I, “Being from a multicultural background there’s a lot of storm for us... we pretty much don’t see peace.... there’s a lot of rain but after the rain, things emerge. Beautiful things happen.”

Implications for Wellbeing Theory

While the participants in Studies 3 and 4 described Ryff's existing psychological wellbeing dimensions as well as the importance of happiness (subjective wellbeing) independently, ontological security was far and above the most emphasized element of wellbeing. I propose ontological security as being a separate model of wellbeing on the same plane as subjective and psychological wellbeing, but I did observe that ontological security was experienced and described as being an integral part of both psychological and subjective wellbeing. This is consistent with prior literature that described the high interrelatedness of psychological and subjective wellbeing (Delle et al., 2011; Huta & Ryan, 2010; Keyes et al., 2002; McMahan, & Estes, 2011; Ryan & Deci, 2001), highlighting the importance of ontological security within both areas of literature.

I also observed that even when resettled refugees described somewhat high degrees of ontological security in the present, they still described ontological security as an integral aspect of wellbeing rather than a precondition to experiencing other dimensions of wellbeing. This directly challenges the way ontological security has been incorporated into subjective and psychological wellbeing literature, as basic needs, which are conceptualized as mere preconditions to higher forms of wellbeing (Tay & Diener, 2011; Ryan & Deci, 2000). Instead, I observed that ontological security could be gained and lost over time, and even when it was attained, the participants regarded it as a central construct in living well.

Applicability of ontological security findings to other groups. While ontological security may be more salient for those who experience especially adverse life circumstances, all people eventually face relative degrees of fundamental life uncertainties and insecurities, and therefore, we should not disregard ontological security as a central building block for what it

means to be well in the general population. Even relatively privileged groups can experience instability and insecurity in a number of forms including job loss (Kira & Klehe, 2016), health care coverage gaps (Cassedy, Fairbrother, & Newacheck, 2008), and divorce (D’Onofrio & Emery, 2019). This suggests that ontological security, as a model of wellbeing, could have broader application beyond the groups to which it has traditionally been applied (i.e. people experiencing homelessness, sex workers, etc.). The refugee experience with instability and insecurity (i.e. being uprooted from one’s home) may also become more common in the future with predictions of large-scale displacement due to climate change (Biermann & Boas, 2008).

The number of refugees and internally displaced people are expected to dramatically increase due to climate change. An estimated 200 million people are estimated to lose their homes due to rising sea levels, and while most of these people would be internally displaced, others, especially people from low-elevation island nations, would likely become refugees (Biermann & Boas, 2008). Scholars have already begun to describe the risks to ontological security climate change may bring (Campbell, 2019; Farbotko, 2019). Therefore, while resettled refugees are a unique sample, everyone is likely to experience hardship in their lives, and some of the specific challenges related to displacement may become applicable to an increasing number of people in the coming years due to climate change.

Theoretical Implications Regarding the Experience and Development of HMI

This study is the first to qualitatively describe how being “more than the sum of the parts,” (West et al., 2017) or having an HMI, is experienced. In Study 1, the participants identified with one another, recognizing their belongingness to the same group. They also unanimously described their HMI in a positive way and recognized both psychological and interpersonal benefits as a result of holding this identity. This is somewhat paradoxical; the

experience of being a hybrid multicultural was described as positive, while the developmental journeys were described largely in terms of negative perceptions of macro-level social environments and negative culturally related interpersonal experiences.

Valence of HMI developmental experiences and perceptions. The negative experiences (intragroup marginalization) as well as negative perceptions of the society (beliefs of societal inequity and cultural isolation) were instrumental to the multicultural participants to develop a superordinate HMI that both encompassed their cultural influences and was also separated from these monocultural influences. The experience of building one's HMI was described as an isolating journey; the participants experienced distance and marginalization from both their own cultural groups and cultural outsiders. This finding is in contrast to the literature that describes the importance of identity validation and the detrimental impact of rejection in the development of a social identity (Ashforth & Schinoff, 2016; Bradford, 2006; Darr & Scarselletta, 2002; Smith, Amiot, Smith, Callan, & Terry, 2013). I propose that this may be because HMI is different from the sum of the cultural parts and not threatened by the rejection from the majority cultural group or one's ethnic groups. Quite the contrary, HMI is strengthened when such negative cultural experiences make evident the unique experience of embodying and being in the tensions between, and among the richness of, several cultures – an experience that only others with a hybridized, superordinate cultural identity can truly understand.

The literature addressing cultural master narratives offers a view regarding how a social identity can be built, especially among minority groups, is supportive of our findings. Those whose lives deviate from the cultural master narratives often define their stories in part by this deviance (McLean et al., 2018); this appears to be the case in this sample as well. As you may recall, Tesfu described how she did not fit a certain mold created by (primarily white) American

society, and it was only when she embraced who she was and stopped trying to fit that narrative that she felt like she truly found herself. Additionally, the participants often found themselves framing their experience against multiple cultural master narratives. For example, Ashwini felt she did not fit into the expectations of her parents who came from Southern India and, in addition, she did not fully fit into the cultural master narrative set out by (primarily white) American society either. Not fitting into either narrative, Ashwini had to construct her HMI as a way to incorporate these influences without having to fully ascribe to either. While these experiences of deviation from cultural expectations were often difficult, they were instrumental in developing the highly valued HMI. Therefore, I contribute to the literature on the role of cultural master narratives in identity development by offering insights into how deviations from cultural master narratives can set people on a path of developing a new identity that hybridizes various cultural parts from which they deviate.

Cultural mixing, the strongest single predictor of HMI. Responding to the call by Yampolsky et al. (2016) for studies on how perceptions of the social environment influence the development of an HMI, I found that cultural mixing was the strongest predictor of HMI in Study 2. These findings moreover both align and diverge from research regarding innate and achieved multiculturals (Martin & Shao, 2016). In Study 1, the participants did not clearly fall into either the innate or achieved multicultural categories and, instead, they described a lifelong journey of accumulating cultural experiences that layered on top of their often-multicultural home environments. In other words, not only early immersive cultural mixing was instrumental to the development of HMI, but this hybridized identity was also developed through on-going cultural mixing – an experience that was connected to ‘achieved’ culturalism by Martin and Shao (2016). Therefore, the findings align with the proposition of the Transformative Theory of

Biculturalism (West et al., 2017, p. 973): “It might even be that to hybridize is to draw on cultural ingredients beyond those from the source cultures; a multitude of cultures could come into play in forming one’s hybrid culture.” However, while cultural mixing was the strongest predictor in our model, I suggest further research is necessary to validate the scale I created to measure this construct to increase confidence in our current studies’ results.

Practical Implications Regarding Refugee and Multicultural Policies

While the negative perceptions of the society and interpersonal relations were instrumental in the development of HMI, I propose that socially validating experiences may be important for reinforcing that identity (Meeus et al., 2002; Postmes, Haslam, & Swaab, 2005). For example, when hybrid multicultural people can meet socially and validate each other’s multicultural identity, they likely strengthen their commitment to that identity. The participants did not directly state this but, in my estimation, they appeared to feel validated in their identity as a result of discussing their common experiences with the other study participants who also had an HMI. They also appeared to appreciate contexts that supported their HMI (i.e. multicultural campus events, social contexts espousing multiculturalist values). Past work has suggested that negatively appraised identity-relevant experiences (identity questioning or identity invalidation) are transformational and push people to transform their identities, while positive (identity validating) experiences actually reinforce and strengthen the pre-existing identity (Kira & Balkin, 2014). Further studies should empirically examine the potentially differential roles of positive and negative identity-relevant experiences in the development of HMI.

Spaces that espouse multiculturalism values, celebrate diverse culture, and engage in bidirectional adaptation are important for creating positive spaces for multicultural people. For example, Pedrotti (2015) suggests that school administrators could play an important role in

celebrating multiculturalism to encourage a “celebration of cultural identity” through implementation of culturally focused graduation ceremonies, wide representation of holidays, or clubs for various cultural groups. Additionally, Sakamoto, Wei, and Truong (2008) and Berns-McGown (2013) remind readers that acculturation was originally suggested to be a two-way street with both the immigrants and the host society adapting to each other to best integrate these new members of society. Sakamoto, Wei, and Truong discuss the importance of mezzo level organizations adapting to the needs of Chinese clientele residing in Canada in order to best serve them. While the data most directly connects the importance of a multicultural environment for hybrid multiculturalists, I speculate that spaces celebrating diversity would be beneficial for resettled refugees as well. Resettled refugees, like multiculturalists, occupy spaces that fall at the crosswinds of multiple cultural influences, and while they hold unique experiences tied to their refugee status, they also share experiences of cultural negotiation and culturally based marginalization like HMI.

This work also highlights important practices in refugee resettlement programs and policy. In alignment with past research, the participants stressed the importance of continuity (Simich, Este, & Hamilton, 2010) which was largely seen in *Being Rooted in Meaningful Connections* and *Being Rooted to a Sense of Self*. This sense of continuity is impossible when lawmakers decide to detain refugees (Davidson, Murray, & Schweitzer, 2008), separating families, and taking people out of a stable home environment (Ajduković & Ajduković, 1993). Refugees should not be detained but rather we should prioritize their ontological security in resettlement. Resettlement countries should facilitate continued connections to refugees’ cultural traditions so they can feel a sense of being home (Simich, Este, & Hamilton, 2010). Further, research has supported that racism and incivility in the resettlement country undermines

immigrant and refugees' attempts to feel a sense of home and ontological security (Noble, 2005). Refugee resettlement organizations need to recognize that while the traditional conceptualization of basic needs such as safety from violence, food, shelter, and clothing are necessary for refugee resettlement, a full sense of ontological security requires more than Peace of Body elements. My broader conceptualization of ontological security can help guide researchers to think how to make refugees feel like themselves again, feel mentally at ease, and feel rooted to meaningful connections that make them feel like they are home.

Limitations of Current Work

The role of intersectionality in the findings. In Chapter IV, I detailed the specific ways resettled refugees described ontological security and their experiences with this construct. Participants described Peace of Body, Peace of Mind, Being Rooted in a Sense of Self, and Being Rooted in Meaningful Connections as elements of ontological security, much like how other groups who experienced instability and insecurity described ontological security (De Leon, 2018; Mcnaughton & Sanders, 2008; Noble, 2005; Padgett, 2007; Somerville, 2013; Vaquera et al., 2017). While some of these specific descriptions might stem from the experience of being a refugee, it may also stem from other factors influencing the participants such as cultural background, gender, and religion. Every person is multifaceted, made up of the intersection of many identities (Cole, 2009; Crenshaw, 1990), and one's experiences cannot be defined by a single identity, such as refugee status. In fact, I especially heard from the Somali participants how the intersection of their multiple marginalized identities (i.e. refugee, Muslim, black, gender) impacted their experiences in resettlement. While I did not analyze this in depth, further research should center the intersectionality of refugee's experiences to better understand how refugee's experiences and life chances may be impacted by their other identities intersecting with

their refugee identity (Koirala & Eshghavi, 2017; Pittaway & Bartolomei, 2001; Vervliet, De Mol, Broekaert, & Derluyn, 2014). For example, young, Arab, refugee females living in Jordan stressed the importance of women's rights for their ontological security (Kubow, 2019).

Methodological limitations. There are a number of limitations arising from the sampling method in Study 1. Participants were recruited largely through campus channels and it was clear that the study was about multicultural identity. This likely had an impact on the type of multiculturals who participated. First, it seems likely that people who viewed their identity in a negative light would be less inclined to participate in a study about this identity. This may be the reason for the overwhelmingly positive depiction of the identity in our sample. Second, recruitment through various campus channels is likely the reason for why our sample was so young and each participant had some connection to the University. This leaves out a number of people who could also identify as multicultural yet have very different life experiences. However, even at this young age, the participants demonstrated very thoughtful identity construction, and the model proposed in Study 1 was also supported in a national, age-diverse sample in Study 2, increasing the generalizability of these findings. Further, while most college-sample studies are criticized on the basis of their lack of diversity and external validity (Miller, 1981), the Study 1 sample highlights the heterogeneity and multiculturalism within the college setting that is often overlooked.

Studies 1 and 3 included Photovoice method, which is largely described in a positive light in that it is effective for community empowerment, especially among traditionally marginalized groups who struggle to represent their perspectives through traditional research methods (Badowski et al., 2011; Cluley, 2017; Førde, 2007; Pearce, McMurray, Walsh, & Malek, 2017; McCarthy & Marks, 2010). However, I do recognize there are limitations to this

method. For example, Sanon, Evans-Agnew, and Boutain (2014) describe how photovoice in practice often does not have the social justice impact that was originally intended. Further, engaging in Photovoice can make participants into activists, which in some cases, depending on the political context, may endanger their personal safety (Wang & Burris, 1997). On a different note, Photovoice only reveals what the participants choose to reveal, and at times it can be difficult to know what was left out (Wang & Burris, 1997) and why. This drawback manifests in all methods, though in different ways. For example, in survey research the questions asked limit the breadth of knowledge and biased responses may impact the validity of the findings. While Photovoice holds many benefits, there are also shortcomings to this method that are important to address.

The degree of post adversarial growth among the participants in these studies can be interpreted only through the limitations of cross-sectional research. While many studies on post adversarial growth rely on a person's perception of growth (Ackroyd et al., 2011; Galli, & Reel, 2012; Powell, Ekin-Wood, & Collin, 2007; Roepke & Seligman, 2015), the degree to which one can make a causal claim is limited. Some suggest the gold standard study in post adversarial growth research would be a prospective, longitudinal study over the course ten years (Powell et al., 2007). Given the cross-sectional nature of this dissertation work, the claims I make are not causal and instead indicate the degree to which people perceive experiencing post adversarial growth.

Future Directions

Centering participants' perspectives. Aligning with the social justice focus of this dissertation, these studies center the voices of the participants and in the case of Study 3, I incorporate the photovoice participants' analyses and their reflections on the methods.

Researchers should take seriously the positive impact and richness that community-engaged work can bring to empirical manuscripts. By including the community members under study in the research process, the credibility of academic work can be improved (Checkland & Holwell, 1998). Additionally, by taking participant feedback, researchers have the opportunity to improve their methods. For example, the adolescent refugees described the complicated issue of selecting facilitators for the photovoice sessions and how each decision might positively or negatively impact their interactions in these groups. While I held these discussions as a reflection after data collection, researchers should consider brainstorming with community members more deeply and use this feedback in planning their study. Additionally, I highlight the centrality of Study 1's in-depth qualitative analysis in the formation of the model tested in Study 2, describing the development of HMI. This facilitated participants to steer the direction of the quantitative work, resulting in a novel scale and a model that was largely supported in my analysis, and that may drive future work regarding HMI development.

Exploration of how people experience HMI development differently across demographic variables. Future research should extend the findings of Studies 1 and 2 to better understand how people may experience HMI development differently on the basis of important demographic factors that I could only control for in Study 2. Factors like gender, age, immigrant generation, and socio-economic status, which I controlled for in Study 2, could each impact the way in which people develop an HMI. For example, I found that participants in Study 1 who arrived as international students appeared to emphasize culture mixing to a larger degree relative to negative perceptions of the social environment. While the model may generally hold across groups, certain predictors may be emphasized more among certain groups of people. While I controlled for some demographic factors in my Study 2 analyses, I did not control different

cultural affiliations such as ethnic group identity, racial identity, or religious identity, and these too may impact the developmental process and developmental experience of a hybrid multicultural, though differences were not observed in Study 1. I was unable to analyze demographic groups comparatively in Study 2 due to limited power and therefore future studies should recruit larger sample sizes that can adequately power a complex model while also making comparisons by demographic groups. Further, Study 1 and Study 2 could be replicated in other nations that espouse greater multicultural values relative to the United States. It is possible that in a more supportive macro environment, individuals will experience HMI development less through a lens of negative perceptions of the social environment, and instead through experiences that validate their multicultural background and identity.

When post adversarial growth does not occur. While I focused on the presence of post adversarial growth, there are also many people who experience major adversities and do not sense growth. It is important to understand the conditions under which people do and do not experience growth as well as to lift up the stories and life experiences of all people, not just those who experience growth. Future studies should examine the topics discussed in this dissertation but from the perspective of those who do not experience growth. This is important not only towards understanding the full range of life experiences but also to be sure that expectations of growth are not placed on those who experience significant adversity and that they are not blamed for however they manage their hardships.

Interventional research to improve refugee resettlement approaches. Earlier in this chapter, I made recommendations for refugee resettlement policy that would facilitate a return of ontological security for resettled refugees. These recommendations could be strengthened if tested in a pilot study with a subset of resettled refugees. While some aspects would be difficult

to manipulate such as federal policy, other actions could be taken to aid refugees' sense of ontological security. For example, refugees in the United States are given only three months of aid before they are forced to become independent. This was cited as a major barrier to successful adjustment. A prospective study could provide the funds to continue that support for a full year during which adult family members would be enrolled in intensive English language courses or community college courses. English language acquisition, financial stability, and access to education were among the most commonly cited needs among refugees. They were described as important elements to peace of body, as well as the ability to pursue work in their previously held career path, which would facilitate a sense of rootedness to self. This study could examine those who have access to these resources relative to a control group that receives the currently mandated three months of federal aid. The comparative assessment would continue well into their adjustment period to determine the lasting positive impact that a year's worth of aid and education could have on resettled refugees' sense of ontological security and adjustment to the United States.

Conclusion

Studies 1, 2, 3, and 4 jointly demonstrate how a diverse set of marginalized people can experience growth following adversity. Specifically, in Study 1 participants unanimously described their HMI in a positive way and recognized both psychological and interpersonal benefits as a result of holding this identity. This is somewhat paradoxical; the experience of being a hybrid multicultural was described as positive, while the developmental journeys were described largely in terms of negative perceptions of macro-level marginalization and negative culturally related interpersonal experiences (Studies 1 and 2). In contrast to literature that describes how rejection and social invalidation inhibits identity development (Ashforth &

Schinoff, 2016; Bradford, 2006; Darr & Scarselletta, 2002; Smith, et al., 2013), my model highlights the developmental importance of negative perceptions of one's social contexts, falling within the societal and the interpersonal level. I found in Studies 3 and 4, refugees actively constructed meanings of wellbeing on the basis of their experiences with adversity. Refugees of varied age and cultural background described ontological security as central to wellbeing, and this was largely due to their experiences with instability and insecurity both in their home and resettlement countries. Ontological security was multifaceted focusing on both a sense of continuity and rootedness as well as feelings of peace. I suggest that ontological security is an important dimension of wellbeing, on the same level as subjective and psychological wellbeing, rather than a precondition to experiencing these other 'higher' forms of wellbeing. While the participants in the study demonstrate their ability to be active agents in their experiences of growth as a result of adverse experiences, I suggest ways the social environment and refugee resettlement policy can be most supportive for these groups on the basis of the findings.

REFERENCES

- Ackroyd, K., Fortune, D. G., Price, S., Howell, S., Sharrack, B., & Isaac, C. L. (2011). Adversarial growth in patients with multiple sclerosis and their partners: relationships with illness perceptions, disability and distress. *Journal of Clinical Psychology in Medical Settings, 18*(4), 372-379.
- Adichie, C. N. (2009, October 7). Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie: The danger of a single story. [Video file]. Retrieved from https://www.ted.com/talks/chimamanda_ngozi_adichie_the_danger_of_a_single_story
- Ajduković, M., & Ajduković, D. (1993). Psychological well-being of refugee children. *Child abuse & neglect, 17*(6), 843-854.
- Ajdukovic, M., & Dean, A. (1998). Impact of displacement on the psychological well-being of refugee children. *International review of psychiatry, 10*(3), 186-195.
- Al Ibraheem, B., Kira, I. A., Aljakoub, J., & Al Ibraheem, A. (2017). The health effect of the Syrian conflict on IDPs and refugees. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology, 23*(2), 140.
- Arasaratnam, L. A. (2013). A review of articles on multiculturalism in 35 years of IJIR. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 37*(6), 676-685.
- Ashforth, B. E., Harrison, S. H., & Corley, K. G. (2008). Identification in organizations: An examination of four fundamental questions. *Journal of management, 34*(3), 325-374.
- Ashforth, B. E., & Schinoff, B. S. (2016). Identity under construction: How individuals come to define themselves in organizations. *Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and*

- Organizational Behavior*, 3, 111–137. <https://doi-org.proxy.lib.umich.edu/10.1146/annurev-orgpsych-041015-062322>
- Badowski, N., Castro, C. M., Montgomery, M., Pickering, A. J., Mamuya, S., & Davis, J. (2011). Understanding household behavioral risk factors for diarrheal disease in Dar es Salaam: a photovoice community assessment. *Journal of environmental and public health*, 2011.
- Bañales, J., Aldana, A., Richards-Schuster, K., Flanagan, C. A., Diemer, M. A., & Rowley, S. J. (2019). Youth anti-racism action: Contributions of youth perceptions of school racial messages and critical consciousness. *Journal of community psychology*. 1-22.
- Bananuka, T., & John, V. M. (2014). Picturing community development work in Uganda: fostering dialogue through Photovoice. *Community Development Journal*, 50(2), 196-212.
- Bradford, M. (2006). Affirmative Psychotherapy with Bisexual Women. *Journal of Bisexuality*, 6(1–2), 13–25. https://doi-org.proxy.lib.umich.edu/10.1300/J159v06n01_02
- Baumeister, R. F., Bratslavsky, E., Finkenauer, C., & Vohs, K. D. (2001). Bad is stronger than good. *Review of general psychology*, 5(4), 323-370.
- Baumeister, R. F., Vohs, K. D., Aaker, J. L., & Garbinsky, E. N. (2013). Some key differences between a happy life and a meaningful life. *The Journal of Positive Psychology*, 8(6), 505-516.
- Banks, J. A. (2014). Multicultural education and global citizens. In V. Benet-Martínez & Y. Y. Hong (Eds.), *The oxford handbook of multicultural identity* (pages of chapter). Oxford Library of Psychology.
- Barbour, R. S. (2001). Checklists for improving rigour in qualitative research: a case of the tail wagging the dog?. *Bmj*, 322(7294), 1115-1117.

- Belon, A. P., Nieuwendyk, L. M., Vallianatos, H., & Nykiforuk, C. I. (2016). Perceived community environmental influences on eating behaviors: A Photovoice analysis. *Social Science & Medicine*, *171*, 18-29
- Benet-Martínez, V. (2003). *The Riverside Acculturation Stress Inventory (RASI): Development and psychometric properties*. Technical Report, Department of Psychology, University of California at Riverside.
- Bentler, P. M., & Chou, C. P. (1987). Practical issues in structural modelling. *Sociological Methods & Research*, *16*, 78–117. doi:10.1177/0049124187016001004
- Berns-McGown, R. (2013). " I Am Canadian": Challenging Stereotypes about Young Somali Canadians. *IRPP Study*, (38), 1.
- Biermann, F., & Boas, I. (2008). Protecting climate refugees: the case for a global protocol. *Environment: Science and Policy for Sustainable Development*, *50*(6), 8-17.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *3*(2), 77-101. doi:10.1191/1478088706qp063oa
- Brooks, M., Graham-Kevan, N., Lowe, M., & Robinson, S. (2017). Rumination, event centrality, and perceived control as predictors of post-traumatic growth and distress: The Cognitive Growth and Stress model. *British Journal of Clinical Psychology*, *56*(3), 286-302
- Calhoun, L. G., & Tedeschi, R. G. (2014). The foundations of posttraumatic growth: An expanded framework. In *Handbook of posttraumatic growth* (pp. 17-37). Routledge.
- Camfield, L., Guillen-Royo, M., & Velazco, J. (2010). Does needs satisfaction matter for psychological and subjective wellbeing in developing countries: A mixed-methods illustration from Bangladesh and Thailand. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, *11*(4), 497-516.
- Campbell, J. R. (2019). Climate Change, Migration and Land in Oceania. *Policy Brief*, (37).

- Carlson, E. B., & Rosser-Hogan, R. (1991). Trauma experiences, posttraumatic stress, dissociation, and depression in Cambodian refugees. *The American journal of psychiatry*, *148*(11), 1548.
- Cassedy, A., Fairbrother, G., & Newacheck, P. W. (2008). The impact of insurance instability on children's access, utilization, and satisfaction with health care. *Ambulatory Pediatrics*, *8*(5), 321-328.
- Castillo, L. G., Conoley, C. W., Brossart, D. F., & Quiros, A. E. (2007). Construction and validation of the Intragroup Marginalization Inventory. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *13*(3), 232.
- Caza, B. B., Moss, S., & Vough, H. (2017). From synchronizing to harmonizing: The process of authenticating multiple work identities. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 0001839217733972.
- Chan, K. J., Young, M. Y., & Sharif, N. (2016). Well-being after trauma: A review of posttraumatic growth among refugees. *Canadian Psychology / Psychologie canadienne*, *57*(4), 291-299. DOI: 10.1037/cap0000065
- Chandler, J., Rosenzweig, C., Moss, A. J., Robinson, J., & Litman, L. (2019). Online panels in social science research: Expanding sampling methods beyond Mechanical Turk. *Behavior research methods*, 1-17.
- Chase, E. (2013). Security and subjective wellbeing: the experiences of unaccompanied young people seeking asylum in the UK. *Sociology of health & illness*, *35*(6), 858-872
- Checkland, P., & Holwell, S. (1998). Action research: its nature and validity. *Systemic practice and action research*, *11*(1), 9-21.

- Chen, C. F., & Tsai, D. (2007). How destination image and evaluative factors affect behavioral intentions?. *Tourism management*, 28(4), 1115-1122.
- Chmielewski, J. F., & Yost, M. R. (2012). Psychosocial Influences on Bisexual Women's Body Image. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 37(2), 224-241.
doi:10.1177/0361684311426126
- Cho, S., Kim, M. A., & Kwon, S. I. (2019). Using the photovoice method to understand experiences of people with physical disabilities working in social enterprises. *Disability and Health Journal*. <https://doi-org.proxy.lib.umich.edu/10.1016/j.dhjo.2019.03.011>
- Cluley, V. (2017). Using photovoice to include people with profound and multiple learning disabilities in inclusive research. *British Journal of Learning Disabilities*, 45(1), 39-46.
- Correa-Velez, Ignacio and Gifford, Sandra and Barnett, Adrian G. (2010) Longing to belong: social inclusion and wellbeing among youth with refugee backgrounds in the first three years in Melbourne, Australia. *Social Science and Medicine*, 71. pp. 1399-1408.
- Cole, E. R. (2009). Intersectionality and research in psychology. *American psychologist*, 64(3), 170.
- Crenshaw, K. (1990). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stan. L. Rev.*, 43, 1241.
- Darr, A., & Scarselletta, M. (2002). Technicians, clients, and professional authority: structured interactions and identity formation in technical work. *New Technology, Work and Employment*, 17(1), 61-73.
- Davey, G., Chen, Z., & Lau, A. (2009). 'Peace in a thatched hut—that is happiness': Subjective wellbeing among peasants in rural China. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 10(2), 239-252.
- Davidson, G. R., Murray, K. E., & Schweitzer, R. (2008). Review of refugee mental health and

- wellbeing: Australian perspectives. *Australian Psychologist*, 43(3), 160-174.
- Davies, M., & Webb, E. (2000). Promoting the psychological well-being of refugee children. *Clinical Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 5(4), 541-554.
- Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (2000). The " what" and " why" of goal pursuits: Human needs and the self-determination of behavior. *Psychological inquiry*, 11(4), 227-268.
- Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (2008). Hedonia, eudaimonia, and well-being: An introduction. *Journal of happiness studies*, 9(1), 1-11.
- De Leon, J. (2018). Lakota experiences of (In) security: cosmology and ontological security. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 1-30.
- Delle Fave, A., Brdar, I., Freire, T., Vella-Brodrick, D., & Wissing, M. P. (2011). The eudaimonic and hedonic components of happiness: Qualitative and quantitative findings. *Social Indicators Research*, 100(2), 185-207.
- Diemer, M. A., & Li, C. H. (2011). Critical consciousness development and political participation among marginalized youth. *Child Development*, 82(6), 1815-1833.
- Diemer, M. A., Rapa, L. J., Park, C. J., & Perry, J. C. (2017). Development and validation of the Critical Consciousness Scale. *Youth & Society*, 49(4), 461-483.
- Diener, E., Diener, M., & Diener, C. (2009). Factors predicting the subjective well-being of nations. In *Culture and well-being* (pp. 43-70). Springer, Dordrecht.
- Disabato, D. J., Goodman, F. R., Kashdan, T. B., Short, J. L., & Jarden, A. (2016). Different types of well-being? A cross-cultural examination of hedonic and eudaimonic well-being. *Psychological assessment*, 28(5), 471.
- Dodge, R., Daly, A. P., Huyton, J., & Sanders, L. D. (2012). The challenge of defining wellbeing. *International journal of wellbeing*, 2(3).

- D'Onofrio, B., & Emery, R. (2019). Parental divorce or separation and children's mental health. *World Psychiatry, 18*(1), 100.
- Downey, C. A., & Chang, E. C. (2014). History of cultural context in positive psychology: We finally come to the start of the journey. In *Perspectives on the intersection of multiculturalism and positive psychology* (pp. 3-16). Springer, Dordrecht.
- El-Shaarawi, N. (2015). Living an uncertain future: Temporality, uncertainty, and well-being among Iraqi refugees in Egypt. *Social Analysis, 59*(1), 38-56.
- Esses, V. M., Hamilton, L. K., & Gaucher, D. (2017). The global refugee crisis: Empirical evidence and policy implications for improving public attitudes and facilitating refugee resettlement. *Social Issues and Policy Review, 11*(1), 78-123.
- Farbotko, C. (2019). Climate change displacement/ Towards ontological security. *Dealing with climate change on small islands/ Towards effective and sustainable adaptation?*, 251.
- Førde, S. (2007). *Refugee children and resilience: empowerment, participation and subjective wellbeing* (Master's thesis).
- Freedman, D. A., Pitner, R. O., Powers, M. C., & Anderson, T. P. (2012). Using Photovoice to develop a grounded theory of socio-environmental attributes influencing the health of community environments. *British Journal of Social Work, 44*(5), 1301-1321.
- Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Seabury.
- Galli, N., & Reel, J. J. (2012). Can good come from bad? An examination of adversarial growth in Division I NCAA athletes. *Journal of Intercollegiate Sport, 5*(2), 199-212.
- Gasper, D. (2007). Conceptualising human needs and wellbeing In Gough, I., & McGregor, J. A. (Eds.). *Wellbeing in developing countries: from theory to research*. Cambridge University Press.

- Giddens, A. (1987). *Social theory and modern sociology*. Stanford University Press.
- Guillen-Royo, M. (2008). Consumption and subjective wellbeing: Exploring basic needs, social comparison, social integration and hedonism in Peru. *Social Indicators Research*, 89(3), 535-555.
- Giddens, A. (1991). The self: Ontological security and existential anxiety. *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*, 35-69.
- Gioia, D. A., Corley, K. G., & Hamilton, A. L. (2013). Seeking qualitative rigor in inductive research: Notes on the Gioia methodology. *Organizational research methods*, 16(1), 15-31.
- Goodkind, J. R. (2006). Promoting Hmong refugees' well-being through mutual learning: Valuing knowledge, culture, and experience. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 37(1-2), 77.
- Guillen-Royo, M. (2008). Consumption and subjective wellbeing: Exploring basic needs, social comparison, social integration and hedonism in Peru. *Social Indicators Research*, 89(3), 535-555.
- Harrell, S. P. (1997). *The Racism and Life Experience Scales (RaLES): Self-administration version*. Los Angeles, CA: California School of Professional Psychology.
- Henderson, L. W., & Knight, T. (2012). Integrating the hedonic and eudaimonic perspectives to more comprehensively understand wellbeing and pathways to wellbeing. *International Journal of Wellbeing*, 2(3), 196-221.
- Hergenrather, K. C., Rhodes, S. D., Cowan, C. A., Bardhoshi, G., & Pula, S. (2009). Photovoice as community-based participatory research: A qualitative review. *American journal of health behavior*, 33(6), 686-698.

- Hong, Y. Y., & Khei, M. (2014). Dynamic multiculturalism: the interplay of socio-cognitive, neural and genetic mechanisms. *The Oxford handbook of multicultural identity*, 11-34.
- Hu, L. T., & Bentler, P. M. (1999). Cutoff criteria for fit indexes in covariance structure analysis: Conventional criteria versus new alternatives. *Structural Equation Modeling*, 6, 1–55.
- Huta, V., & Ryan, R. M. (2010). Pursuing pleasure or virtue: The differential and overlapping well-being benefits of hedonic and eudaimonic motives. *Journal of happiness studies*, 11(6), 735-762.
- Jansen, L., Hoffmeister, M., Chang-Claude, J., Brenner, H., & Arndt, V. (2011). Benefit finding and post-traumatic growth in long-term colorectal cancer survivors: prevalence, determinants, and associations with quality of life. *British Journal of Cancer*, 105(8), 1158-1165.
- Jayawickreme, E., Jayawickreme, N., & Seligman, M. E. (2013). From trauma victims to survivors: The positive psychology of refugee mental health.
- Jin, Y., Xu, J., Liu, H., & Liu, D. (2014). Posttraumatic stress disorder and posttraumatic growth among adult survivors of Wenchuan earthquake after 1 year: Prevalence and correlates. *Archives of Psychiatric Nursing*, 28(1), 67-73.
- Johansen, S., & Le, T. N. (2014). Youth perspective on multiculturalism using photovoice methodology. *Youth & Society*, 46(4), 548-565.
- Joseph, S. (2009). Growth following adversity: Positive psychological perspectives on ‘ posttraumatic stress. *Psihologijske teme*, 18(2), 335-344.
- Joseph, S., & Hefferon, K. (2013). Post-traumatic growth: Eudaimonic happiness in the aftermath of adversity. In *Oxford Handbook of Happiness*.
- Joseph, S., & Linley, P. A. (2005). Positive adjustment to threatening events: An organismic

- valuing theory of growth through adversity. *Review of General Psychology*, 9, 262-280.
- Keyes, C. L. (2002). The mental health continuum: From languishing to flourishing in life. *Journal of health and social behavior*, 207-222.
- Keyes, C. L., Shmotkin, D., & Ryff, C. D. (2002). Optimizing well-being: the empirical encounter of two traditions. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 82(6), 1007.
- Kılıç, C., Magruder, K. M., & Koryürek, M. M. (2016). Does trauma type relate to posttraumatic growth after war? A pilot study of young Iraqi war survivors living in Turkey. *Transcultural psychiatry*, 53(1), 110-123.
- Kira, M., & Balkin, D. B. (2014). Interactions between work and identities: Thriving, withering, or redefining the self?. *Human Resource Management Review*, 24(2), 131-143.
- Kira, M., & Klehe, U. C. (2016). Self-definition threats and potential for growth among mature-aged job-loss victims. *Human Resource Management Review*, 26(3), 242-259.
- Kline, R. B. (2005). *Methodology in the social sciences. Principles and practice of structural equation modeling* (2nd ed.). Guilford Press.
- Kline, R. B. (2016). *Principles and practice of structural equation modeling*. Guilford publications.
- Koirala, S., & Eshghavi, M. (2017). Intersectionality in the Iranian Refugee Community in the United States. *Peace Review*, 29(1), 85-89.
- Krueger, R. A., & Casey, M. A. (2015). *Focus groups a practical guide for applied research*. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Kubow, P. K. (2019). Through a girl's eyes: Social ontologies of citizen identity among Jordanian and refugee students in Jordan's double-shift secondary schools. *PROSPECTS*, 1-21.

- Kutmah, A. (2019, Sep. 11). [RE]vive [Panel discussion]. The Strength of Refugees and Their Communities panel discussion conducted at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- Levine, S. Z., Laufer, A., Stein, E., Hamama-Raz, Y., & Solomon, Z. (2009). Examining the relationship between resilience and posttraumatic growth. *Journal of Traumatic Stress: Official Publication of The International Society for Traumatic Stress Studies*, 22(4), 282-286.
- Lilgendahl, J. P., Benet-Martinez, V., Bishop, M., Gilson, K., Festa, L., Levenson, C., & Rosenblum, R. (2018). "So now, I wonder, what am I?": A narrative approach to bicultural identity integration. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 49(10), 1596-1624.
- Linley, P. A., & Joseph, S. (2004). Positive change following trauma and adversity: A review. *Journal of Traumatic Stress: Official Publication of The International Society for Traumatic Stress Studies*, 17(1), 11-21.
- Linley, P. A., & Joseph, S. (2005). The human capacity for growth through adversity. *American Psychologist*. doi: 10.1037/0003-066X.60.3.262b
- Linley, P. A., Maltby, J., Wood, A. M., Osborne, G., & Hurling, R. (2009). Measuring happiness: The higher order factor structure of subjective and psychological well-being measures. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 47, 878-884.
- Lucas, Todd, Michalopoulou, Georgia, Falzarano, Pamela, Menon, Shanti, & Cunningham, Windy. (2008). Healthcareprovider cultural competency: Development and initial validation of a patient report measure. *Health Psychology*, 27(2), 185-193. doi: 10.1037/0278-6133.27.2.185

- Martin, L., & Shao, B. (2016). Early immersive culture mixing: The key to understanding cognitive and identity differences among multiculturals. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 47*(10), 1409-1429.
- Martin, L., Shao, B., & Thomas, D. C. (2019). The Role of Early Immersive Culture Mixing in Cultural Identifications of Multiculturals. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 0022022119830522*.
- Maslow, A. H. (1954). *Motivation and personality*, 3rd ed. New York: Longman.
- McCarthy, C., & Marks, D. F. (2010). Exploring the health and well-being of refugee and asylum seeking children. *Journal of Health Psychology, 15*(4), 586-595.
- McLean, K. C., Lilgendahl, J. P., Fordham, C., Alpert, E., Marsden, E., Szymanowski, K., & McAdams, D. P. (2018). Identity development in cultural context: The role of deviating from master narratives. *Journal of Personality, 86*(4), 631-651.
- McLean, K. C., & Syed, M. (2015). Personal, master, and alternative narratives: An integrative framework for understanding identity development in context. *Human Development, 58*(6), 318-349.
- McMahan, E. A., & Estes, D. (2011). Hedonic versus eudaimonic conceptions of well-being: Evidence of differential associations with self-reported well-being. *Social Indicators Research, 103*(1), 93-108.
- McLoughlin, P. J. (2013). Couch surfing on the margins: the reliance on temporary living arrangements as a form of homelessness amongst school-aged home leavers. *Journal of Youth Studies, 16*(4), 521-545.

- Mcnaughton, C. C., & Sanders, T. (2007). Housing and transitional phases out of 'disordered' lives: The case of leaving homelessness and street sex work. *Housing Studies*, 22(6), 885-900.
- Meade, A. W., & Craig, S. B. (2012, April 16). Identifying Careless Responses in Survey Data. *Psychological Methods*. Advance online publication. doi: 10.1037/a0028085
- Meeus, W. I. M., Oosterwegel, A., & Vollebergh, W. (2002). Parental and peer attachment and identity development in adolescence. *Journal of adolescence*, 25(1), 93-106.
- Miller, A. (1981). A survey of introductory psychology subject pool practices among leading universities. *Teaching of Psychology*, 8(4), 211-214.
- Miller, M. J., Kim, J., & Benet-Martínez, V. (2011). Validating the riverside acculturation stress inventory with Asian Americans. *Psychological Assessment*, 23(2), 300.
- Moore, A. M., & Barker, G. G. (2012). Confused or multicultural: Third culture individuals' cultural identity. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 36, 553–562.
- Neufeld, S. D., & Schmitt, M. T. Solidarity Not Homogeneity: Constructing a Superordinate Aboriginal Identity That Protects Subgroup Identities. *Political Psychology*.
- Nitzinger, V., Held, S., Kevane, B., & Eudave, Y. (2019). Latino Health Perceptions in Rural Montana. *Family & Community Health*, 42(2), 150–160. doi: 10.1097/FCH.0000000000000213.
- Noble, G. (2005). The discomfort of strangers: Racism, incivility and ontological security in a relaxed and comfortable nation. *Journal of intercultural studies*, 26(1-2), 107-120.
- Nunn, C., McMichael, C., Gifford, S. M., & Correa-Velez, I. (2016). Mobility and security: The perceived benefits of citizenship for resettled young people from refugee backgrounds. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 42(3), 382-399.

- Nykiforuk, C. I., Vallianatos, H., & Nieuwendyk, L. M. (2011). Photovoice as a method for revealing community perceptions of the built and social environment. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 10*(2), 103-124.
- Padgett, D. K. (2007). There's no place like (a) home: Ontological security among persons with serious mental illness in the United States. *Social science & medicine, 64*(9), 1925-1936.
- Park, C.H., Cohen, L.H., & Murch, R.L. (1996). Assessment and prediction of stress-related growth. *Journal of Personality, 64*, 71–105.
- Pearce, E., McMurray, K., Walsh, C. A., & Malek, L. (2017). Searching for tomorrow—south Sudanese women reconstructing resilience through photovoice. *Journal of International Migration and Integration, 18*(2), 369-389.
- Pedrotti, J.T. (2015) Cultural competence in positive psychology: History, research and practice. In Wade, Marks, & Hetzel (Eds.), *Positive Psychology on the College Campus* (pp.81-95) New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Pedrotti, J.T. & Edwards, L. M. (2016). Cultural Context in Positive Psychology: History, Research, and Opportunities for Growth. In Warren, M. A., Donaldson, S. I., & Warren, M. A. (Eds.), *Scientific Advances in Positive Psychology*. Retrieved from <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.proxy.lib.umich.edu>
- Pedrotti, J. T., Edwards, L. M., & Lopez, S. J. (2009). Positive psychology within a cultural context. *Oxford handbook of positive psychology, 49-57*.
- Peisker, V. C., & Tilbury, F. (2003). “Active” and “passive” resettlement: The influence of support services and refugees' own resources on resettlement style. *International Migration, 41*(5), 61-91.

- Pekerti, A. A., & Thomas, D. C. (2016). n-Culturals: modeling the multicultural identity. *Cross cultural & strategic management*, 23(1), 101-127.
- Pittaway, E., & Bartolomei, L. (2001). Refugees, race, and gender: The multiple discrimination against refugee women. *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees*, 21-32.
- Ponterotto, J. G. (2005). Qualitative research in counseling psychology: A primer on research paradigms and philosophy of science. *Journal of counseling psychology*, 52(2), 126.
- Postmes, T., Haslam, S. A., & Swaab, R. I. (2005). Social influence in small groups: An interactive model of social identity formation. *European review of social psychology*, 16(1), 1-42.
- Powell, S., Rosner, R., Butollo, W., Tedeschi, R. G., & Calhoun, L. G. (2003). Posttraumatic growth after war: A study with former refugees and displaced people in Sarajevo. *Journal of clinical psychology*, 59(1), 71-83.
- Powell, T., Ekin-Wood, A., & Collin, C. (2007). Post-traumatic growth after head injury: A long-term follow-up. *Brain Injury*, 21(1), 31-38.
- Richards, K. A. R., & Hemphill, M. A. (2018). A practical guide to collaborative qualitative data analysis. *Journal of Teaching in Physical Education*, 37(2), 225-231.
- Roepke, A. M., & Seligman, M. E. (2015). Doors opening: A mechanism for growth after adversity. *The Journal of Positive Psychology*, 10(2), 107-115.
- Ryan, D., Dooley, B., & Benson, C. (2008). Theoretical perspectives on post-migration adaptation and psychological well-being among refugees: Towards a resource-based model. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 21(1), 1-18.
- Ryan, R. M., & Deci, E. L. (2000). The darker and brighter sides of human existence: Basic psychological needs as a unifying concept. *Psychological inquiry*, 11(4), 319-338.

- Ryan, R., & Deci, E. (2001). On happiness and human potentials: A review of research on hedonic and eudaimonic well-being. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 52, 141–166.
- Ryan, C., Huebner, D., Diaz, R. M., & Sanchez, J. (2009). Family rejection as a predictor of negative health outcomes in white and Latino lesbian, gay, and bisexual young adults. *Pediatrics*, 123(1), 346-352.
- Ryff, C. D. (1989). Happiness is everything, or is it? Explorations on the meaning of psychological well-being. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 57(6), 1069.
- Ryff, C. D. (1995). Psychological well-being in adult life. *Current directions in psychological science*, 4(4), 99-104.
- Ryff, C. D., Keyes, C. L., & Hughes, D. L. (2003). Status inequalities, perceived discrimination, and eudaimonic well-being: Do the challenges of minority life hone purpose and growth?. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 275-291.
- Ryff, C. D., & Singer, B. H. (2008). Know thyself and become what you are: A eudaimonic approach to psychological well-being. *Journal of happiness studies*, 9(1), 13-39.
- Ryff, C. D., Singer, B. H., & Dienberg Love, G. (2004). Positive health: connecting well-being with biology. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London. Series B: Biological Sciences*, 359(1449), 1383-1394.
- Sakamoto, I., Wei, Y., & Truong, L. (2008). How do organizations and social policies 'acculturate' to immigrants? Accommodating skilled immigrants in Canada. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 42(3-4), 343-354.
- Samara, M., El Asam, A., Khadaroo, A., & Hammuda, S. (2019). Examining the psychological well-being of refugee children and the role of friendship and bullying. *British journal of educational psychology*.

- Sanon, M. A., Evans-Agnew, R. A., & Boutain, D. M. (2014). An exploration of social justice intent in photovoice research studies from 2008 to 2013. *Nursing inquiry*, 21(3), 212-226.
- Savage, M. (2017, September 28). Ibeyi: 'They tried to bury us, but we were seeds'. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/entertainment-arts-41366656>
- Seligman, M. E. (2002). Positive psychology, positive prevention, and positive therapy. *Handbook of positive psychology*, 2(2002), 3-12.
- Seligman, M. E., & Csikszentmihalyi, M. (2000). Positive psychology: An introduction (Vol. 55, No. 1, p. 5). American Psychological Association.
- Senkosi, B. M. (2015). Meanings and understandings of wellbeing: an exploration of Somali refugees' conceptions of human wellbeing. *Africanus*, 45(2), 72-90.
- Shaw, A., Joseph, S., & Linley, P. A. (2005). Religion, spirituality, and posttraumatic growth: A systematic review. *Mental Health, Religion & Culture*, 8(1), 1-11.
- Sidanius, J., Haley, H., Molina, L., & Pratto, F. (2007). Vladimir's choice and the distribution of social resources: A group dominance perspective. *Group processes & intergroup relations*, 10(2), 257-265.
- Simich, L., Este, D., & Hamilton, H. (2010). Meanings of home and mental well-being among Sudanese refugees in Canada. *Ethnicity & health*, 15(2), 199-212.
- Smith, L. G. E., Amiot, C. E., Smith, J. R., Callan, V. J., & Terry, D. J. (2013). The Social Validation and Coping Model of Organizational Identity Development: A Longitudinal Test. *Journal of Management*, 39(7), 1952–1978.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0149206313488212>
- Somerville, P. (2013). Understanding homelessness. *Housing, theory and society*, 30(4), 384-415.

- Stein, C. H., Petrowski, C. E., Gonzales, S. M., Mattei, G. M., Hartl Majcher, J., Froemming, M. W., Greenberg, S. C., Dulek, E. B., & Benoit, M. F. (2018). A matter of life and death: Understanding continuing bonds and post-traumatic growth when young adults experience the loss of a close friend. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 27(3), 725–738. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-017-0943-x>
- Strack, R. W., Aronson, R. E., Orsini, M. M., Seitz, C. M., & McCoy, R. (2018). Using photovoice to uncover campus issues and advocate change for Black males. *Journal of College Student Development*, 59(4), 491-498.
- Sue, D. W., & Sue, D. (2012). *Counseling the culturally diverse: Theory and practice*. New York, NY: Wiley
- Tay, L., & Diener, E. (2011). Needs and subjective well-being around the world. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 101(2), 354.
- Tedeschi, R.G., Blevins, C. L., & Riffle, O. M., (2016). Posttraumatic growth: A brief history and evaluation. In Warren, M. A., Donaldson, S. I., & Warren, M. A. (Eds.), *Scientific Advances in Positive Psychology*. Retrieved from <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.proxy.lib.umich.edu>
- Tedeschi, R. G., & Calhoun, L. G. (1995). *Trauma and transformation*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Tedeschi & Calhoun (2004) Posttraumatic Growth: Conceptual Foundations and Empirical Evidence, *Psychological Inquiry*, 15(1), pp. 1-18, DOI: 10.1207/s15327965pli1501_01
- Tedeschi, R. G., Cann, A., Taku, K., Senol-Durak, E., & Calhoun, L. G. (2017). The posttraumatic growth inventory: A revision integrating existential and spiritual change. *Journal of traumatic stress*, 30(1), 11-18.

- Tempany, M. (2009). What research tells us about the mental health and psychosocial wellbeing of Sudanese refugees: A literature review. *Transcultural psychiatry*, 46(2), 300-315.
- Thomas, Y., Gray, M. A., & McGinty, S. (2012). An exploration of subjective wellbeing among people experiencing homelessness: A strengths-based approach. *Social work in health care*, 51(9), 780-797.
- Tian, X., & Solomon, D. H. (2018). Grief and Post-traumatic Growth Following Miscarriage: The Role of Meaning Reconstruction and Partner Supportive Communication. *Death studies*, 1-11.
- Tingvold, L., Hauff, E., Allen, J., & Middelthon, A. L. (2012). Seeking balance between the past and the present: Vietnamese refugee parenting practices and adolescent well-being. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 36(4), 563-574.
- Tipping, S., Bretherton, D., & Kaplan, I. (2007). Meaning in life and social connectedness: the experience of Sudanese young people (re) settling in Australia. *Yearning to breathe free: Seeking asylum in Australia*, 157, 168.
- Tov, W., & Diener, E. (2007). Culture and subjective well-being. In S. Kitayama & D. Cohen (Eds.), *Handbook of cultural psychology* (pp. 691-713). New York: Guilford.
- Tran, T. V. (1987). Ethnic community supports and psychological well-being of Vietnamese refugees. *International Migration Review*, 21(3), 833-844.
- Tran, T. V., & Wright Jr, R. (1986). Social support and subjective well-being among Vietnamese refugees. *Social Service Review*, 60(3), 449-459.
- Tsai, J. L. (2007). Ideal affect: Cultural causes and behavioral consequences. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 2(3), 242-259.

- Tsai, J., El-Gabalawy, R., Sledge, W., Southwick, S., & Pietrzak, R. (2015). Post-traumatic growth among veterans in the USA: Results from the National Health and Resilience in Veterans Study. *Psychological Medicine*, *45*(1), 165-179.
doi:10.1017/S0033291714001202
- United Nations. (2005, June 15). High Commissioner António Guterres starts work at UNHCR. Retrieved from <https://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2005/6/42b0064d4/high-commissioner-antonio-guterres-starts-work-unhcr.html>
- Valera, P., Gallin, J., Schuk, D., & Davis, N. (2009). “Trying to Eat Healthy” A Photovoice Study About Women’s Access to Healthy Food in New York City. *Affilia*, *24*(3), 300-314.
- Vaquera, E., Aranda, E., & Sousa-Rodriguez, I. (2017). Emotional challenges of undocumented young adults: Ontological security, emotional capital, and well-being. *Social Problems*, *64*(2), 298-314.
- Vervliet, M., De Mol, J., Broekaert, E., & Derluyn, I. (2014). ‘That I live, that's because of her’: Intersectionality as framework for unaccompanied refugee mothers. *British Journal of Social Work*, *44*(7), 2023-2041.
- Vollhardt, J. R. (2009). Altruism born of suffering and prosocial behavior following adverse life events: A review and conceptualization. *Social Justice Research*, *22*(1), 53-97.
- Vora, D., Martin, L., Fitzsimmons, S. R., Pekerti, A. A., Lakshman, C., & Raheem, S. (2018). Multiculturalism within individuals: A review, critique, and agenda for future research. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 1-26.
- Wachs, T. (1999). Celebrating complexity. Conceptualization and assessment of the environment. In S. Freidman & T. Wachs (Eds.), *Measuring environment across the life*

- span: Emerging methods and concepts* (pp. 357-392). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Wallerstein, N. (1999). Power between evaluator and community: research relationships within New Mexico's healthier communities. *Social Science & Medicine*, *49*(1), 39-53.
- Wang, C., & Burris, M. A. (1997). Photovoice: Concept, methodology, and use for participatory needs assessment. *Health education & behavior*, *24*(3), 369-387.
- Wehrle, K., Kira, M., & Klehe, U. C. (2019). Putting career construction into context: Career adaptability among refugees. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *111*, 107-124.
- Wehrle, K., Klehe, U. C., Kira, M., & Zikic, J. (2018). Can I come as I am? Refugees' vocational identity threats, coping, and growth. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *105*, 83-101.
- West, A. L., Zhang, R., Yampolsky, M., & Sasaki, J. Y. (2017). More than the sum of its parts: A Transformative Theory of biculturalism. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *48*(7), 963-990.
- Whittaker, S., Hardy, G., Lewis, K., & Buchan, L. (2005). An exploration of psychological well-being with young Somali refugee and asylum-seeker women. *Clinical Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, *10*(2), 177-196.
- Wissing, M. P., Schutte, L., Liversage, C., Entwisle, B., Gericke, M., & Keyes, C. (2019). Important Goals, Meanings, and Relationships in Flourishing and Languishing States: Towards Patterns of Well-being. *Applied Research in Quality of Life*, 1-37.
- Xu, J., & Liao, Q. (2011). Prevalence and predictors of posttraumatic growth among adult survivors one year following 2008 Sichuan earthquake. *Journal of affective disorders*, *133*(1-2), 274-280.

- Yampolsky, M. A., Amiot, C. E., & de la Sablonnière, R. (2016). The Multicultural Identity Integration Scale (MULTIIS): Developing a comprehensive measure for configuring one's multiple cultural identities within the self. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 22*(2), 166-184. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000043>
- Zhou, N., Yu, W., Tang, S., Wang, J., & Killikelly, C. (2018). Prolonged Grief and Post-traumatic Growth after Loss: Latent Class Analysis. *Psychiatry Research, 267*, 221-2