A Powerful Identity

The Science of Resilience

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Table of Contents

Definition 1
Relationship to Resilience 3
  Multiple Identities 3
  Identity Verification 5
  Identity Integration 6
  Group-based Identification 9
  Narrative Identity 11
Interventions 16
  Narrative Therapy – Building Health-enhancing Identity Stories 16
  Identity-based Motivation (IBM) 17
    IBM: School-to-Jobs Intervention 18
Assessment 19
  Identity Accumulation 19
  Identity Verification 20
  Identity Integration 20
References 23
Appendix A: The Bicultural Identity Integration Scale – Version 2 26

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Definition

Identity is a complex construct with many different aspects and interpretations. Furthermore, the study of identity has involved many different schools of thought and theories. For the purpose of this document, we focus on those theories and conceptualizations that have examined identity in relation to resilience or wellbeing.

Identity can be most simply understood as the conceptualization of who one is and the set of internal meanings that one uses to define their "self"; this conceptualization involves who one is in terms of roles, social groups, and in terms of the narrative one tells about themselves. Many identity theorists distinguish between "role identities" and "social identities" (Burke & Cerven, 2019; Ramarajan, 2014; Stets & Burke, 2014). Role identities refer to the various roles we occupy throughout our life (e.g., student, employee, sister, mother, soccer player); whereas social identities are about belonging/ identifying with a group (e.g., ethnicity, sexual orientation, religion). Social identities are more about "being" whereas role identities are more about "doing" (Stets & Burke, 2014). Ramarajan (2014) argues that roles and social categories are not inherently the same as identities, there must be an element of self-definition or subjective acceptance. One must identify themselves as that role or social category and ascribe a set of meanings associated with that role or social category to themselves for the role to become part of their identity. Furthermore, the meanings associated with a role or social category will vary by person. For example, although the role of a kindergarten teacher may have a set of meanings commonly understood in a society, each kindergarten teacher will personalize those meanings and end up with a slightly different conceptualization of their identity (Ramarajan, 2014). Of course, others' categorization and meaning associations will influence an individual's self-definitions. Identities are neither fully internally decided nor completely externally imposed (Ramarajan, 2014).

Everyone has multiple role identities and social identities. Identity theory (IT) posits that an individual has an identity standard which is carried from one situation to another; it is consistent and not affected by context (Stets et al., 2020). The self-image, however, is derived from the identity standard anew in each situation and is thus modified by the context (Stets et al., 2020). This formulation is IT's way of explaining how, despite an individual possessing multiple identities, all those identities are not salient in every situation. To put it another way, "in each context, we present a slightly different face, and reveal different attributes, skills or beliefs based on their salience, but ideally we do so while maintaining our personal integrity or sense of self" (McNair, 2017, p. 444).

Another significant understanding of identity is narrative identity. Narrative identity refers to the internal and evolving life story that an individual constructs to integrate the reconstructed past, perceived present, and imagined future to provide life with a sense of unity, purpose, and meaning (Bauer et al., 2008; Mason et al., 2019; McAdams & McLean, 2013;

Randall et al., 2015). It is a cohesive account of identity in time (McAdams & McLean, 2013; Syed & McLean, 2015), and, according to Randall et al. (2015), self-identity is inseparable from self-narrative. An individual's narrative identity builds slowly over time as they tell stories about their experiences to and with other people (McAdams & McLean, 2013). Research has found that the formation of an individual's narrative identity is impacted by the people they tell their stories to. For example, research finds that children's conversations with their parents about personal events are critical to the development of narrative skills and that early parent-child conversations provide the foundations for children to learn how to make meaning out of personal events, a process central to the development of narrative identity (McAdams & McLean, 2013). Furthermore, narrative identities are impacted by the validation of important people in the individual's life. Research has found that when significant people, such as romantic partners, agree with the meaning of a shared memory, the individual is more likely to retain that meaning over time and incorporate it into their general understanding of who they are and how they came to be that person (McAdams & McLean, 2013).

Role identities and social identities are also impacted by other's validation. Identity verification hypothesis (Burke & Stets, 2009) draws on the work of Mead (1934) and Cooley (1902; 1964) and their discussions of reflexivity, the process of having others confirm or verify an individual's sense of who they are. Confirmation or validation affirms the individual's identity and provides a positive sense of self (Burke & Cerven, 2019). Within identity verification theory, there is still a differentiation between role identities and social identities. It is suggested that the verification of social identities provides a general sense of being found worthy and valuable whereas the verification of role identities provides a sense of efficacy or competency (Stets & Burke, 2014). Stets et al. (2002) states that, "[w]hen the meanings that define individuals in terms of an identity are consistent with how they think others see them in a situation, this is identity verification" (p. 66). Identity non-verification occurs when the individual thinks that others in the situation do not see them in the same way that they seem themselves (Stets et al., 2020). Identity non-verification can have negative effects on one's psychological wellbeing and result in cognitive and behavioural actions to achieve verification. These outcomes will be further discussed in the Relationship to Resilience section.

Most identity theories agree that adolescence is the crucial period of identity development. Erikson (1968) proposes that adolescents need to identify with values that have transcendence, or which supersede family and self, have historical continuity, and offer a sense of purpose (Wexler et al., 2009). The literature tends to agree that narrative identity development occurs mainly during the adolescent years, and evidence finds that as people move from late childhood through adolescence, their life-narrative accounts show increasing evidence of causal coherence, thematic coherence, and other markers of a well-formed narrative identity (Bauer et al. 2008; McAdams & McLean, 2013). Identity formation is considered a critical developmental task of adolescence, so much so that it is regarded as an indication of adolescent mental well-being (Khanlou et al., 2018). Positive identities can be critically beneficial during adolescence. To begin with, identity lays the foundations for youths'

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self-perception, how they view their future, and their behaviour, resulting in adverse or productive life-stage specific coping outcomes, where productive outcomes include good health, positive relationships, and high self-esteem (Swanson et al., 2002, p. 73). Positive identities during adolescence also relates to self-image, self-esteem, optimism, and future goals. As a result, the study of identity and resilience must pay extra attention to this life stage.

Relationship to Resilience

We all have multiple, intersecting identities that arise in different situations. While the quantitative number of identities has been hypothesized to benefit wellbeing and resilience, additional research shows how the validation and integration of multiple identities plays a key role. Narrative identity is one way of making sense of how one's multiple identities intersect to form a coherent narrative, while still acknowledging the multiplicity of identities.

Multiple Identities

A basic claim of the literature on identity is that role and social identities are associated with resources, which can include social support, specific knowledge, skills, and a sense of belonging, purpose, meaning, and direction (Anderson & Koc, 2020; Burke & Cerven, 2019; Cheng et al., 2008; Ramarajan, 2014; Thoits, 1983). Role theory suggests that individuals experience benefits from multiple role identities, including skills, knowledge, positive emotions, and resources (Ramarajan, 2014). Social identity theory suggests that there is an additive effect to social or group identities, such that identifying with multiple groups can be increasingly protective against negative wellbeing outcomes (Anderson & Koc, 2020). Group-based identification can provide a sense of belonging, comfort, meaning, and purpose, which are crucial determinants of psychological wellbeing and resilience (Anderson & Koc, 2020). Additionally, social identities contain knowledge systems that can help people solve problems and adapt to situations; multiple social identities can mean access to more knowledge systems (Cheng et al., 2008). Identities are also sources of social relationships and support systems, thus having more identities gives us more connections with others (Burke & Cerven, 2019). All of these resources have the potential to bolster an individual's resilience when facing adversity.

The main theory behind the benefits of multiple identities is Identity Accumulation Hypothesis (Thoits, 1983). A central principle of Identity Accumulation Hypothesis is "existential security", the idea that the more identities one holds, the greater sense of meaningful existence, purpose, and ordered behaviour one experiences, which contributes to psychological health (Thoits, 1983). According to this hypothesis, holding multiple identities (a) increases one's social integration through ties to other people and the social structure, (b) provides individuals with multiple sources from which to derive self-meaning, and (c) guides behaviour; these three characteristics reduce distress, prevent disordered conduct, and promote greater psychological wellbeing (Burkes & Cerven, 2019). If one does not know who one is in a social sense (lack of identity), or if one loses a valued identity, then one does not know how to

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behave, which may result in profound anxiety, depression, or severely disorganized behaviour (Thoits, 1983). Multiple identities can protect one from adversity and lost identities (for example, the death of a spouse or the loss of a job). The main tenant of Identity Accumulation Hypothesis is that identity accumulation enhances psychological well-being whereas identity lack or loss impairs it (Thoits, 1983). If one has many identities, the loss of one may not be as grievously felt. However, Thoits (1983) does caution that the relationship between multiple identities and well-being may be curvilinear, that is, beyond some optimal number of identities, role strain and conflict may undermine the sense of orderly, purposeful existence provided and thus undermine psychological well-being. Although role strain and role conflict have been proposed results of multiple identities, it is suggested that the rewards of multiple identities may outweigh the tensions of strain and conflict (Caza & Wilson, 2009; Thoits, 1983).

Research from Organizational literature finds that multiple identities have important effects on stress, well-being, and resilience (Caza & Wilson, 2009; Ramarajan, 2014). Caza and Wilson (2009) propose the concept of "identity complexity" to specify that when discussing multiple identities, the individual identifies as both A and B and understands what is meant when saying "I am both A and B", rather than just the number of possible identities one holds. There must be an element of internalization and identification with multiple identities for the individual to impact their sense of identity. Identity complexity is a function of how individuals cognitively organize their various identities. Low complexity occurs when an individual does not differentiate between identities, focusing only on how they interact (conflict), or allowing one identity to dominate. Higher complexity requires a focus on both integration and differentiation. Specific to the workplace, work-identity complexity is made up of both the social and role identities one holds within their organization or that affects them at work. The authors propose that complex work-identities (a) present cognitive resources that help buffer individuals psychologically from work conflicts, (b) provide important instrumental and social resources, and (c) increase positive functioning through enhanced availability and use of behavioural resources (Caza & Wilson, 2009). Drawing on the cognitive buffering hypothesis, Caza and Wilson (2009) propose that complex social work-identities protect individuals from negative affective reactions to stress by allowing them to contain adverse thoughts to one part of their self-representation. Another proposed cognitive mechanism by which complex work-identities buffer individuals from work conflict and stress is the idea that individuals with multiple identities become adept at negotiating conflicts through their experience of balancing their different identities. Secondly, Caza and Wilson (2009) propose that each work group that an individual identifies with is a source of social identification and membership, and thus provides social resources. These multiple social identities provide both perceived social support and instrumental support, such as information and advice; both of which have been linked to resilience (Caza & Wilson, 2009). Finally, Caza and Wilson (2009) draw on role theory, which asserts that identities provide schemes that guide behaviour and action in organizations, to suggest that when individuals identify with multiple roles, they will have a wider range of behavioural schemas to guide their behaviour in multiple situations. Another aspect of this

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mechanism is that behavioural schemas contain skills underlying those behaviours, thus possessing more than one identity may increase competence in multiple domains (Caza & Wilson, 2009). Additionally, it has been hypothesized that identity complexity can increase individuals' ability to creatively respond when faced with adversity by drawing on multiple behavioural schemas and skills and combining them in new ways (Caza & Wilson, 2009). In this way, individuals with complex work-identities can expand their behavioural repertoire and thus operate functionally during times of uncertainty.

The literature finds that work-identity complexity is negatively associated with burnout and positively associated with resilience at work, often conceptualized as emerging from stressful situations with more knowledge and competency, thus allowing individuals' professional careers that follow a positive developmental trajectory (Caza & Wilson, 2009). In a study of midwife-nurses, participants described how their complex work identities allowed them to switch identities to best suit the needs of the patient and engage in more varied work activities, as well as having a diverse social support network that helped them cope with work-related difficulties and trauma, such as losing a patient (Caza & Wilson, 2009). Caza and Wilson's (2009) conception of identity complexity is supported by Ramarajan's (2014) review, which found that multiple identities provide social, cognitive, and emotional resources that help engagement and performance in the workplace. Ramarajan (2014) suggest that having multiple identities may initially be challenging, such that there is role strain and conflict, but ultimately, one can learn to integrate their identities, resulting in well-being and resilience overtime. A key part of how multiple identities lead to greater resilience comes from the fact that multiple identities do present challenges, it is overcoming those challenges that builds resilience.

Identity Verification

Identity Verification Hypothesis (Burke & Stets, 2009) draws on the work of Mead (1934) and Cooley (1902; 1964) and their discussion of reflexivity, defined as the process of having others confirm or verify a person's sense of who they are (Burke & Cerven, 2019). This confirmation/ validation affirms the self and provides a positive sense of self. Identity verification hypothesis claims that having an identity verified, that is, having others view one as one views oneself, is a basic goal for all identities (Burke & Cerven, 2019). According to Stets et al. (2020), "[w]hen the meanings that define individuals in terms of an identity are consistent with how they think others see them in a situation, this is identity verification" (p. 60). Identity verification is related to multiple facets of self-esteem, including self-worth, efficacy, and authenticity (Burke & Cerven, 2019). Furthermore, identity verification, specifically verification of the worker, academic, and friend identity, have been found to positively relate to feelings of self-esteem and mastery (Stets & Harrod, 2004). The authors suggest that multiple identities may benefit the self by serving as a buffer against situational stress, providing meaning and guiding behaviour, and as both the cause and consequence of positive self-esteem and mastery; however, multiple identities are only beneficial insofar as they are verified (Stets &

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Harrod, 2004). In an important addition to the Identity Accumulation Hypothesis, Burke and Cerven (2019) found that more identities only positively impact one's well-being when the identities are verified. Conversely, they found that the more identities one has that are not verified, the weaker one's feelings of self-worth, self-efficacy, authenticity, and happiness are, while their feelings of sadness and anger are increased. Identity verification results in positive affect and higher self-esteem, both of which can protect an individual from stress, thereby acting as resilience resources.

On the other hand, a lack of identity verification can lead to distress, negative emotions, and lower self-esteem (Stets & Harrod, 2004; Stets et al., 2020). People may also change their behaviour in an attempt to change the situational meanings such that the reflected appraisals match the identity standard meaning (how they perceive themselves) or they may begin to align their identity with the appraisals of others. Identity verification hypothesis borrows from Identity Theory (IT) the concept of the identity standard, which is consistent across situations, and the self-image, which is created from the identity standard anew in each situation and in response to the situation. Identity non-verification can motivate the individual to modify their behaviour, acting in such a way to emphasize their self-image (Stets et al., 2020). Identity non-verification can also lead to a cognitive response whereby one's self-image changes to align more with the non-verifying feedback; this process of alignment often results in one slowly coming to see oneself in a manner consistent with the feedback one is receiving in a situation (Stets et al., 2020). A practical example of this process is seen when individuals from a racialized population come to internalize the stereotypes about them; thus, this process can be damaging for individual's well-being. Particularly, as Stets and Harrod (2004) find, higher-status persons' appraisals of who they are, and their evaluations of others are more influential than evaluations by lower-status persons. As a result, higher-status persons are better able to construct a reality that ultimately benefits them and maintains their position of power (Stets & Harrod, 2004).

Identity Integration

Another critique of Identity Accumulation Hypothesis is that multiple identities may come into conflict with one another. Identity conflict can lead to poorer psychological wellbeing, including high rates of depression, anxiety, suicidal ideation, substance use, self-harm, and social exclusion (Anderson & Koc, 2020). Identity conflict arises when an individual feels that they must give precedence to one set of meanings, values, and behaviours over another to satisfy identity-based expectations, and thus cannot express or validate other identities (Ramarajan, 2014). Mechanisms through which identity conflict can impact wellbeing, include discrimination and exclusion from one or more identity groups (Anderson & Koc, 2020; McNair, 2017).

A common set of conflicting identities are religion and sexual orientation (Anderson & Koc, 2020). Individuals who identify as both religious and gay may experience "double stigma", that is, discrimination from both religious and gay communities; furthermore, research has

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found that failure to conform to the norms of either identity group is linked with feelings of shame and guilt (Anderson & Koc, 2020). However, identity integration can protect individuals against conflicting identities and result in greater resilience (Anderson & Koc, 2020; McNair, 2017). Anderson and Koc (2020) found that men who were able to synthesize their gay and religious identities into a new self-concept that included positive identification with each identity were protected against feelings of guilt and shame stemming from their identities. An example of identity integration for this population could include reinterpreting religious doctrine as inclusive and supportive of a gay identity (McNair, 2017).

Another common set of supposedly conflicting identities are racial/ ethnic identities and LGTB identities (Meyer, 2010). In the literature, the risk hypothesis proposes that because of their multiple identities, LGTBQ people of colour are exposed to greater stress, stemming from both homophobia and racism (this is also called the double jeopardy hypothesis). Additionally, it is assumed that these individuals face rejection from both their cultural communities and the mainstream/White LGTBQ community, like the experience of religious LGTBQ individuals. However, recent research finds that Black bisexual and gay/lesbian individuals reject this idea of identity conflict (Meyer, 2010). To explain this finding, the resilience hypothesis proposes that, in part because of their experiences with racism prior to coming out, Black LGBTQ individuals are somewhat protected against the effects of stress related to homophobia (Meyer, 2010). The resilience hypothesis suggests that these individuals have a greater capacity to cope with minority stress because their experiences overcoming the adversity related to it previously have increased their resilience.

Cultural/ racial identities are also often included in the discussion of identity conflict and integration. A common perspective in the literature is that multiracial individuals face greater challenges, including negative social attitudes, disapproval from relatives, and exclusion from communities (Shih et al., 2019) and that bicultural individuals feel caught between their two identities (Cheng et al., 2008; Hyunh et al., 2018). Theories of identity development posit that multiracial individuals need to integrate their multiple identities to develop a stable self (Shih et al., 2019). However, as multiple identities have also been linked to such positive outcomes like higher life satisfaction, self-esteem, social support, purpose, meaning, and direction and lower rates of psychopathology, Shih et al. (2019) proposes that individuals gain strength by overcoming the adversities that may come from having multiple cultural/ racial identities in a process of resilience. Shih et al. (2019) outlines two possible pathways to resilience: switching among racial identities and de-essentializing race. Racial identity switching refers to the process of individuals emphasizing the identity that is most valued in each situation (Shih et al., 2019). It is an adaptive strategy for navigating potentially threatening situations by emphasizing a less stigmatized part of their identity and one that can protect self-esteem by maintaining group membership. This pathway mirrors to Caza and Wilson's (2009) research, which found that multiple identities benefits midwife-nurses' resilience by allowing them to switch between identities in their work; thus, showing how multiple identities broaden one's behavioural range and ability to adapt to different situations. The second pathway, de-essentializing race, refers to

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the perspective that race is a social, rather than biological, construct. Importantly, de-essentializing race is not a "colour-blind" approach, which focuses on how people are similar, regardless of race, but instead challenges the biological underpinnings of race while acknowledging its social significance and the way in which race is a flexible construct that changes based on social factors (e.g., political, economics, history, and nationality). This perspective has been shown to provide a buffer against racial stereotypes and increase psychological health and adaptive and creative responses (Shih et al., 2019). Shih et al. (2019) suggest that multiracial individuals who use these strategies to overcome stigmatization develop a sense of mastery and self-efficacy in their accomplishments, ultimately leading to their increased resilience.

The literature shows that the integration of multiple social identities results in positive functioning. Cheng et al. (2008) demonstrated that the integration of cultural identities (Asian and American) and social identities (gender and professional) lead to greater creativity. Social identities contain knowledge systems that assist people in solving problems and adapting to situations; multiple identities mean access to more knowledge systems, but only if the identities are activated in that situation or they are well integrated (Cheng et al., 2008). Cheng et al. (2008) found that Asian Americans with high identity integration showed greater creative fluency and originality when creating dishes with both American and Asian ingredients. They suggest that in performing creative tasks, people with high identity integration are better at simultaneously accessing and applying multiple identity-related knowledge systems than people with low identity integration. Cheng et al. (2008) also found that female engineer students with high identity integration had higher creativity than those with low identity integration. Cheng et al. (2008) suggest that if women in male-dominated professions, such as engineering, have poorly integrated gender and professional identities and chronically separate these identities, their knowledge related to their gender identity will not be accessible in a work setting. The authors suggest that this outcome would defeat the benefits of gender diversity and that it is only if women in these professions are able to focus on the compatibility between their gender and professional identities that they can achieve higher levels of creativity in their work (Cheng et al., 2008).

McNair (2017) proposes that integrated multiple minority identities can enrich health and wellbeing through social connectedness, coalition building, and social citizenship. Social connectedness includes social supports and reinforces a sense of identity and self-worth, which has been found to support stress management (McNair, 2017). Coalition building refers to the deliberate creation of links and relationships across different groups to remove fear of the other, for example, queer-straight alliances in schools (McNair, 2017). Social citizenship refers to individual's ability to express their minority identities without fear of discrimination so that they can participate fully and authentically in social institutions, which requires engagement from community leaders (McNair, 2017). McNair (2017) argues that the realization of these concepts would support individuals with multiple minority identities in integrating their identities and fostering resilience.

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Group-based Identification

Group identities, also called social or collective identities, have been found to provide a sense of belonging, purpose, a meaningful understanding of the social world, and social support (Anderson & Koc, 2020; Coleman & Lowe, 2007; Wexler et al., 2009); all of which are important determinants of psychological well-being and resilience. As such, group identities are a key contributor to a powerful identity and require an in-depth discussion. Group identities are especially important for youth. Much of the literature focuses on minority identities as, for minority youth, identity involves appraising their social status as a minority group member and making meaning out of that social information (Swanson et al., 2002). Christmas (2019) claims that "young people who lack community affiliations, or view themselves as outside of them, can flounder without a solid sense of identity and belonging" (p. 5). Conceptions of normativity can create processes of othering that result in stereotypes, discrimination, and marginalization (for example, heteronormativity positions, heterosexuality as normal, and other sexual orientations as devious and inferior), thus potentially harming the well-being of sexual minority identifying youth (Christmas, 2019). Wexler et al. (2009) suggest that identification with groups that have been historically and currently discriminated against allows youth to explicitly locate themselves within a larger community and shared meaning systems that provide an explanation for their own experiences of discrimination. This process then provides hopeful avenues to combat or redefine experiences of discrimination as part of a phenomenon larger than themselves (Wexler et al., 2009). Thus, positive and intentional identification with a group identity is a resilience resource for individuals against the stigmatization and marginalization of holding a minority identity. Anderson and Koc (2020) emphasize that this group identification must be internalized as meaningful and relevant to one's self concept for it to affect well-being. Similarly, Wexler et al. (2009) note that it is important to distinguish between the experience of actively identifying oneself as a member of a group versus accepting others' categorization of oneself as a member of a marginalized group.

Wexler et al. (2009) synthesize Barber's work on youth's experiences with war with the literature on Indigenous youths' and LGTBQ youths' well-being to describe how group identification promotes youths' resilience. Barber studied youth in war-torn Bosnia and Gaza and found that a sense of identity provided young people with a way to understand their personal experiences with war, which in turn protected their psychological health (Wexler et al., 2009). Having an ideological commitment helped youth make sense of the conflict, which was a significant indicator of the degree to which youth felt injured by the violence (Wexler et al. 2009). Barber concluded that if youth were able to locate themselves within a community's meaning system and identify with a collective purpose, they will be better able to withstand hardship (Wexler et al., 2009). Wexler et al. (2009) extends this idea to Indigenous youth. The authors propose that a strong cultural identity distinguishes Indigenous youth people from the dominant society and offers a positive way to understand that difference, making prejudice and discrimination visible, and, in doing so, making their personal experiences of oppression

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relevant in a larger context (Wexler et al., 2009). Like Christmas (2019), Wexler et al. (2009) recognize that sexual minority youth are othered by heteronormativity, made invisible, seen as deviant or unnatural, and at risk of being the target of violence as well as substance abuse or suicide. Wexler et al. (2009) argues that the same mechanism whereby group identification connects personal adversity to a larger meaning could be protective for sexual minority. Being able to make collective sense of one's negative experiences, such as marginalization or victimization, buffers the psychological impact of those events, which can reduce anxiety, insecurity, and depression (Wexler et al., 2009). Group identification is a psychologically important resilience resource as it gives people a shared platform from which to ascribe meaning to their personal struggles and thus gain a stabilizing and reassuring sense of selfhood through the affiliation (Wexler et al., 2009).

A similar argument has been made for the establishment of a racial identity for African American youth (Caldwell et al., 2004). Caldwell et al. (2004) define racial identity as a sense of group or collective identity based on the perception that one shares a common racial heritage with a particular racial group. For example, for African Americans, racial identity is a multi-faceted concept focused on the significance individuals attribute to being Black and how they define what it means to be Black. To explore the claim that a salient racial identity is a psychosocial protector for mental health functioning and against violence behaviour in African American youth, Caldwell et al. (2004) explored three components of this framework: racial centrality, private regard, and public regard. Racial centrality refers to the extent to which an individual defines themself in terms of race. Private regard refers to an individual's positive or negative evaluation of their racial group and their membership in that group; whereas public regard is the individual's evaluation of how positively or negatively they believe others view their racial group. Caldwell et al. (2004) found that racial centrality was a protective factor that mediated the relationship between racial discrimination and violent behaviour for African American men; the authors suggest that an internalization of a strong sense of racial centrality and group affiliation may offset the stigmatization and marginalization attached to being an African American man in society. Caldwell et al. (2004) also found that public regard, such that participants did not believe others viewed African Americans favourable, was also a mediating factor between racial discrimination and violence for both men and women. The authors interpret this finding to suggest that a realistic acknowledgement of the existence of unfavourable views towards African Americans is protective against racial discrimination (Caldwell et al., 2004). This finding could also relate to Wexler et al.'s (2009) claim that an understanding of prejudice and discrimination that comes from identification with a minority identity is protective because it makes sense of personal experiences of discrimination within the context of a larger group identity.

Strong racial/ cultural or other group identification can be protective, providing meaning, purpose, and security in an uncertain world; however, processes of polarization, oversimplification, and demonization can emerge during periods of conflict (Coleman & Lowe, 2007). Identity-based disputes are often a central component of ethnopolitical conflict; as these

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conflicts progress, they become more integral to an understanding of the self and others and opposing groups can become increasingly polarized (Coleman & Lowe, 2007). Coleman and Lowe (2007) looked at how individuals manage an adaptive course of identity development and a constructive orientation to conflict despite a highly polarized environment, specifically looking at members of the Israeli and Palestinian diasporas. The authors define an adaptive course of identity development as a process through which individuals can maintain or increase their ability to differentiate and integrate their understandings of the self in their relationship to their world without become destabilized (Coleman & Lowe, 2007). The study found that more adaptive participants were better able and inclined to hold multiple, even contradictory identities (Coleman & Lowe, 2007). These participants resisted describing themselves as primarily "Palestinian or Israeli" in terms of a collective identity, and instead described themselves as having multiple identities, including professional, political, spiritual, and familial identities. Furthermore, these individuals proactively sought to create new, more open, and innovative identity groups as a result of feeling like they did not belong to an existing collective identity group. For example, many participants described the identity groups presented by their ascribed ethnic groups as extreme and limiting (Coleman & Lowe, 2007). The authors note that rather than being overwhelmed by complexity, threat, and emotion, these participants demonstrated resilience in their ability to grow and develop even during malignant systems (Coleman & Lowe, 2007).

A discussion of powerful collective identities must also allow room for the role multiple identities play in one's understanding of their social identities. For example, Khanlou et al. (2018) conducted a study with migrant/ second generation youth and found that these youth critiqued the notion of identifying with only one culture, suggesting that doing so leads to restrictive labelling and barriers. These youth primarily defined cultural identity in terms of feelings of belonging, suggesting that their multiple cultural identities may be a significant psychosocial resource affecting their resilience. Khanlou et al. (2018) suggest that a singular view of cultural identity is problematic for immigrant youth as it fails to capture many of the dynamic factors that influence their identity; thus, the notion of multiple identities is useful here. While affiliation with a cultural/ racial or other social identity can be a powerful resource, especially for youth, it is also important to understand how individuals negotiate their group identity when it is associated with conflict, such as for Israeli or Palestinian individuals, and when it fails to capture the full range of one's experiences, such as for immigrant youth. Thus, multiple identities are a useful addendum to the discussion of group identity affiliation.

Narrative Identity

Narrative identity can be thought of as the temporal integration of one's past, present, and future identities. It is a cohesive account of identity in time (McAdams & McLean, 2013); that's not to say that one views one's identity as the same across time, but rather that there is a sense of continuity that results in a coherent narrative (Syed & McLean, 2015). Having a present identity with a strong connection to the past facilitates an envisioned future by aligning the past

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and present towards a specific set of motivations and goals (Syed & McLean, 2015). This envisioned future provides a sense of "where I am going", that is, motivation, goal-striving, and optimism about the future that can support individuals in overcoming current hardships. Osyerman and Destin (2010) claim that when people experience something as identity congruent, any difficulty associated with relevant behaviours serves to highlight that behaviour as important and meaningful; conversely, when an action feels identity incongruent, the same difficulty can suggest that engaging in those behaviours is pointless. Osyerman and Destin's (2010) framework can be applied to school motivation, such that individuals with a narrative identity that includes school as part of their envisioned future will strive to overcome difficulties associated with school rather than interpreting those difficulties as reasons to give up. This pattern has been found in African American youth who lack positive academic role models, resources and opportunities and may not include school and academic success in their narrative identity (Swanson et al., 2002). This process is also affected by self-appraisal feedback from various sources, including teachers, peers, and society (Swanson et al., 2002).

Narrative identity is relevant for how one experiences and responds to adversity in all areas of life. Narrative identity provides the psychological foundation that shapes how one processes stressors as they occur (Mason et al., 2019); that is, how one makes sense of stressors, whether they're perceived as a threat or an opportunity for growth. It has been hypothesized that people who construct life stories involving many instances of redemption sequences are able to sustain the hope and confidence necessary to overcome setbacks and stressors (McAdams & McLean, 2013). Redemptive sequences refer to a transition from an emotionally negative scene to an emotionally positive or self-affirming moment, where the negative experiences are often framed as the seed for positive changes. Research finds that when narrators derive redemptive meanings from suffering and adversity in their lives, they enjoy higher levels of psychological well-being and lowered levels of depression (Bauer et al., 2008; McAdams & McLean, 2013). The literature has proposed a two-part mechanism to explain how redemptive sequences result in higher well-being. People who show resilience when faced with negative life experiences often engage in a two-step process: (1) exploring the negative experience in depth, thinking about what the experience felt like, how it came to be, what it may lead to, and what role it may play in their overall life story, and (2) articulating and committing to a positive resolution of the event (McAdams & McLean, 2013). The first step of self-exploration has been associated with personal growth, however, McAdams and McLean (2013) caution that the narration should not go on too long focusing on the negative experience and slip into rumination; the negative experience must have a positive resolution. This perspective allows difficult life experiences to be understood as challenges to identity that offer a narrative opportunity for growth and transformation of the self (Bauer et al., 2008). Bauer et al. (2008) claims that an eudaimonic sense of well-being in adulthood requires difficult life experiences and the capacity to process them as creating positive self-transformation. It is by incorporating difficult and negative experiences into our life story and finding positive meaning in them that we build resilience to better handle future adversity. However, Bauer et al. (2008)

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also notes that, while stories of personal growth are common cross-culturally, the notion of the redemptive self holds a privileged place in American culture, reflecting stories of upward social mobility, liberation, recovery, atonement, and self-actualization. Thus, cultural narratives and norms will be reflected in individual's narrative identities and which components result in greater resilience.

Randall et al. (2015) explores the commonly held criteria for what makes a good life narrative, noting that there is, of course, critique regarding the idea that life stories can be deemed "good" or "bad". The authors argue that some stories can be labelled as "better" than others in a particular time and place based in part on what they do for the individual. The criteria Randall et al. (2015) lay out includes: coherence, credibility, differentiation, openness, and generative integration. Coherence means that the stories we tell about our lives, both to others and to ourselves, essentially make sense. Credibility suggests that our narratives reflect the actual factors of our lives, that is, they should not omit vast chunks of our past nor ignore obvious realities of our world. Differentiation refers to the idea that the more varied our story is, the more themes it reflects and the more episodes, subplots, and selves it contains, the better. Openness is the degree to which a life story is flexible and capable of expanding or deepening, also referred to as continuous "re-storying"; this factor has been applied to interventions for older adults suffering from depression, who predominantly recalled negative memories about their lives in an over-general manner. When they engaged in reminiscence activities that encouraged them to recall memories that were both positive and specific, their sense of mastery and meaning increased and lessened their depression symptoms (Randall et al., 2015). Finally, generative integration combines Erikson's concepts of "generativity" and "ego integration" to mean that our narratives reach beyond the boundaries of our own self and connects with or gives back to the evolving stories of others, our community, or the world.

There are many examples in the literature of how a strong narrative identity contributes to an individual's resilience when facing adversities, such as old age (Randall et al., 2015), migration and acculturation challenges (Benish-Weisman, 2009), caring for children with autism spectrum disorder (ASD) (Mason et al., 2019), receiving a positive diagnosis of HIV (Bletzer, 2007), being born of war-time rape (Schwartz, 2020), and a history of colonialization and trauma (Ramirez & Hammack, 2014).

The difficulties of later life, which include retirement, bereavement, or disability, can provide challenges to our sense of self (Randall et al., 2015). In a sample of 45 community-dwelling older adults from New Brunswick, Canada, Randall et al. (2015) found that those who scored highest on the Connor-Davidson Resilience Scale shared many similarities in their life stories, including: having faced some form of adversity (divorce, children dying, illness, disability, etc.), recounted redemptive sequences, displayed a sense of narrative agency and openness, and a master narrative that identified with a larger cause or reality than their own individual lives (God, family, friends, etc.). These adults had a more positive and upbeat perspective on their lives than those not demonstrating redemptive sequences, agency,

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openness, or generative integration in their narratives. Thus, older adults who have a narrative identity that includes many of the markers of a "good" narrative may look back on their lives with more positivity and demonstrate greater resilience.

Benish-Weisman (2009) interviewed 22 people who emigrated from the former USSR to Israel, half of whom felt their immigration was very successful and half who felt it was an unsuccessful experience. Individuals who felt happy and successful in their immigration told stories that were coherent and followed a redemptive pattern, whereby they positioned the challenges and problems they faced as the cause of their success; in contrast, the participants who felt their immigration was a failure told narrative stories that could be characterized by three story forms: tragedy, fracture, and victimization (Benish-Weisman, 2009). Benish-Weisman (2009) highlights an important difference between the success and non-success stories: participants who told success stories conceptualized negative events as jumping-off points for their success, their difficulties resulted in positive outcomes due to their resourcefulness or determination. Whereas, in non-success stories, participants never overcame their difficulties; the stories were either split and discontinuous (fracture) or repeated similar episodes of mistrust and betrayal (victimization). This study suggests that having a narrative identity that positions oneself as able to overcome life's challenges increases one's resilience.

Caregiving is a unique type of ongoing stressor, caring for a child with autism spectrum disorder (ASD) is a chronic situation that can increase vulnerability to stressor exposure, impacting both psychological and physical health (Mason et al., 2019). In a sample of 88 mothers (32 caregiving mothers with a child diagnosed with ASD and 56 controls, mothers with a neurotypical child) living in the San Francisco Bay area, Mason et al. (2019) found that greater coherent integration of challenging experiences into one's broader identity was positively associated with a signifiable slower rate of leukocyte telomere shortening over 18 months, the study's index of biological health. Caregivers who showed greater narrative integration experienced decreases in parenting stress over time, consistent with the pattern of effects on biological health (Mason et al., 2019). The authors suggest that caregivers who can integrate their child's ASD into their narrative identity in a coherent way experience better psychological and physical health.

Bletzer (2007) explored the life trajectories of two African American young adults who used and sold drugs and how testing positive for HIV impacted their engagement and discontinuation of substance use and motivated them to reorganize their life following their diagnosis. Bletzer (2007) describes how these individuals resisted an identity that might follow a stereotype of what it is to live with HIV and instead constructed a "new life." Their narratives positioned who they are against who they were, for the most part conveying a sense of triumph, similar to a redemptive narrative. For both participants, and for African Americans in general, community was a large part of their narrative identity that gave them the strength to begin their "new lives" (Bletzer, 2007). Amanda (pseudonym) built a narrative self that gave her

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continuity with her community, reorganizing her life closer to local expectations. James (pseudonym) returned to his family home and support system; he also constructed his identity in relation to social others, such as his family, his girlfriend, and his support group, in order to focus on external relations rather than positioning himself as a victim of his condition. Bletzer (2007) concludes that "each has successfully restructured a sense of personhood in living with HIV by immersion in the immediacy of family relations" (p. 173).

Schwartz (2020) examines the narratives of older adults who were born to German mothers raped by Red Army soldiers at the end of WWII. Although these individuals grew up with stigmatization, rejection, and shame attached to their identities, Schwartz (2020) found that the process of narratively working through that trauma and making their stories public in order to help people with similar stories gave some of these individuals a positive meaning to their identity. Schwartz (2020) highlights the value of narrating one's life story, the re-telling which allows individuals to work through their trauma, also called the "posttraumatic narrative process of recovery" (p. 324). A prominent theme Schwartz (2020) found in these narratives was a shift from the negative identity markers throughout childhood and youth to a self-identification as a gift to their country and acceptance of a hybrid identity. This new self-identification positions German children born of war as "bridge-builders" or "children of the future", invoking calls of activism to speak up for other children born of war (Schwartz, 2020).

Ramirez and Hammack (2014) interviewed two California Indian tribal leaders on their narrative identities to understand how narratives of resilience are constructed during historical trauma. The literature notes that American Indians have to negotiate the cultural and psychological legacy of colonialism as they construct individual and community narratives; this legacy of genocide and colonialism has the potential to significantly impact psychological development, yet many American Indian persons and communities thrive and lead resilient lives (Ramirez & Hammack, 2014). Research suggests that identity may be a major source of resilience for Indigenous peoples; narrative medicine is a traditional Indigenous healing method and some scholars have proposed that resilience resides in narrative identity as it helps people understand their experiences, construct a valued identity, and ensure the vitality of a community (Ramirez & Hammack, 2014). Supporting this hypothesis, Ramirez and Hammack (2014) found that both tribal leaders told stories of their lives that followed a similar redemptive form where the potential damage of historical trauma was mitigated as the men constructed coherent life stories in which they discovered a sense of meaning and purpose in their tribal and Native identities. Through an ideological commitment to the reclamation and strengthening of Native identity and generative social practice, by which they worked to ensure the well-being and persistence of their tribe, these men achieved a sense of meaning, purpose, integrity, and coherence (Ramirez & Hammack, 2014). Part of the colonial legacy and trauma Indigenous peoples have to deal with is a loss of tribal identity; for both participants, relearning and claiming a tribal identity was integral to their resilience. Both participants described a strong relationship with their grandmothers who taught them tribal knowledge and responsibility to that community, and which acted as a major resilience resource (Ramirez &

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Hammack, 2014). Furthermore, both participants expressed a generative commitment to the wellbeing of future generations and a focus on tribal revitalization (Remirez & Hammack, 2014). Similarly, to the African American individual's in Bletzer's (2007) study, community relations and resources played a key role in these individuals' narrative identities and resilience.

Interventions

Narrative Therapy – Building Health-enhancing Identity Stories

Ungar (2001) proposes this intervention to build alternative narratives of resilience with high-risk youth. The intervention was developed with predominantly white men and women, aged 11 to 25, from low- to middle-income backgrounds living in rural and small urban centres in Atlantic Canada. The proposed population is difficult to engage youth who continue to engage in behaviour outside socially acceptable norms, and who may have been labelled "delinquent" (Ungar, 2001); however, it is likely that this intervention could work with many different populations with small adjustments.

This intervention aims to challenge the dominant discourse that pathologizes the identities high-risk youth construct. It is assumed that "delinquent" is dysfunctional, yet research shows that some youth choose "deviant" behaviour to bolster their identity story (Ungar, 2001). In contrast to the dominant discourse, this approach attends to the construction of youths' personal narratives to help youth deconstruct the meanings of certain "deviant" acts. This intervention addresses the consequences of the "delinquent" actions of youth, such as violence, sexual exploitation, and drug addiction, while simultaneously privileging youth voices and valuing their experiences to create opportunities for more socially just behaviour.

Ungar (2001) outlines three phases of narrative therapy:

1. Reflecting upon a young person's past and present experiences – involves conversations that:
    - Contextualize past events
    - Deconstruct memories
    - 'Externalize' problems
    - Highlight exceptions to narratives of vulnerability
    - Look at what labels the individual had accepted or challenged, who they had come from – identifying the dominant voices that have had the greatest impact on their identity story
2. Challenging: conversations that:
    - Thicken descriptions of narratives of resilience
    - Invite 'audience' participation – the therapist and others who are brought into the therapeutic process (e.g., family members)

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  - Explore talents, even socially unacceptable ones – recognizing these behaviours as functional without validating them as appropriate, raising questions about who gets hurt, how effective the behaviour is, and contextualizing it in terms of power and responsibility
    - Co-construct a story about the person's actions as health-seeking
  - Find support for the new narrative they are building
3. Defining: when people exert control over their personal story of health – involves conversations that:
  - Explore ways to demonstrate resilience
  - Locate support for new identity
  - Review progress
  - Anticipate future growth
  - The task therapeutically is about having the new defining narrative accepted by others – encouraging people to live their new story in different contexts generalizing it to several spheres of social interaction

Ungar (2001) found that when youth are supported in challenging narratives of vulnerability and sharing and enacting narratives of resilience within their social circles, they experience improved mental well-being.

Identity-based Motivation (IBM)

Identity-based motivation (IBM) is Oyserman and Destin's (2010) framework underlying many interventions implemented in urban public schools in the United States. The IBM model assumes that the self-concept is multifaceted, containing multiple identity components, and that identity is shaped by context. A central tenant is that people interpret situations in ways that are congruent with their current active identities. Oyserman and Destin (2010) apply their framework to youth's school motivation, such that perceptions about whether activities and the difficulties associated with them are congruent with one's identity affect engagement in school-focused judgements (e.g., planning to study), behaviours (engagement in classroom activities, time spent studying), and outcomes (grades).

IBM has three core postulates: action readiness, dynamic construction, and interpretations of difficulty. Action readiness is the idea that identities cure readiness to act and to make sense of the world in terms of the norms, values, and behaviours relevant to the identity. Dynamic construction is the idea that which identities come to mind in each situation, what those identities are taken to mean, and therefore, which behaviours are congruent with them, are dynamically constructed in context. Interpretation of difficulty is the idea that when a behaviour feels identity congruent, difficulties in engaging in the behaviour will be interpreted to mean that the behaviour is important and effort is meaningful; in contrast, if a behaviour is seen as identity incongruent, difficulties will be interpreted as signifying that the behaviour is "not for people like me" and effort is pointless.

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The IBM model suggests that identities are a basis for meaning making and action. This model claims that feelings of ease and difficulty are not separate from identity. Images of oneself having current and future identities are linked with feelings of ease or difficulty, and what those feelings mean depends on the questions one asks oneself. For example, "is this important to me?" or "Is this the real me?" Within a school context, such questions might include, "will asking the teacher for help actually help me succeed in school or is it only something that girls do or just a 'White' thing to do?" (Oyserman & Destin, 2010, p. 1013). How these meta-cognitive experiences of ease or difficulty are interpreted in light of a particular identity matters. It can provide the basis for deciding whether a current or possible identity (e.g., an "A student") is a part of the self and worth pursuing, or if it is only falsely assumed to be a part of the self but conflicts with other important identities. It can also provide feedback as to whether the gap between a current and desired identity is manageable or not, therefore whether the desired identity should be pursued or abandoned.

Oyserman and Destin (2010) suggest that basic-conditions for identity-based motivation to support school-focused efforts are less likely to be met when children grow up in neighbourhoods with high unemployment and poverty and limited exposure to adults who have succeeded academically. Various other social cues, including media messages and stereotypes, may include information about the academic success of racial-ethnic groups that undermine children's belief in the identity congruence of school-focused efforts (Oyserman & Destin, 2010). However, Oyserman and Destin (2010) suggest that the IBM model provides the basis for which interventions can help children in such high-risk contexts succeed academically.

IBM: School-to-Jobs Intervention

The School-to Jobs intervention (STJ) has three main goals: 1) making the future-self feel connected to the current-self, so that current action to attain the future-self is needed, 2) making actions needed to attain the future-self feel congruent with important gender, race-ethnicity, and social class-relevant social identities, and 3) providing an interpretation of the experience of difficulty in working on school tasks as meaning that school-focused future identities are important, not impossible (Oyserman & Destin, 2010). The STJ intervention consisted of 11 sessions over 7 weeks:

- Session 1: focused on making possible identities salient and relevant to important social identities: youth were partnered, and each introduced the other in terms of the skills or ability the other possessed to successfully complete the school year.
- Session 2: focused on adult possible identities: youth picked photographs that fit their adult vision.
- Session 3: focused on models: youth drew role models and negative forces, that is, people or things that provide energy to work toward possible identities and those that are draining.

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- Session 4: focused on bringing the future nearer and making sense of the experience of difficulty: students drew timelines into the future, including forks in the road and obstacles.
- Sessions 5 through 7: focused on strategies: students chose a possible identity and articulated specific strategies to attain this identity. They also worked on a poster board that included stickers describing next year's negatives feared and positives expected, stickers that described their current strategies that linked to possible adult identities. The final board showed paths from near to far future identities via current strategies.
- Sessions 8 through 10: focused on interpreting the experience of difficulty: students worked in smaller groups on everyday problems, including social problems, academic problems, and the process of getting to high school graduation.
- Session 11: had students review and critique the sessions.

The STJ intervention has been tested in an after-school program (Oyserman et al., 2002) and an in-school program (Oyserman, et al., 2006); in both cases, schools drew students from high-poverty and high-unemployment neighbourhoods and enrolled predominantly African American and Latino children. Participants included children in eighth grade, and they were tracked through two academic years: the final year of middle school and the first year of high school.

The STJ intervention was found to significantly increase the number of school-focused possible identities students reported and effects for behaviour were found both at the end of the school year and over the next two years. Specifically, time spent doing homework, changes in in-class disruptiveness, grades, unexcused absences, and in-class initiative taking improved. The intervention also reduced the 2-year follow-up risk of depression. Children in the intervention were also protected from the effect that low parental involvement in school had on the control group, including dropping grades, attendance, and worsen behaviour.

Assessment

Identity Accumulation

Identity accumulation is measured as the sum of identities held by the individual. Typically, researchers define a number of possible social or role identities they are interested in and ask participants how many they identify with. For example, Thoits (1983) included the following identities: spouse, parent, employee, student, organizational member, church member, neighbour, and friend. Burke and Cerven (2019) asked participants about 7 possible identities: student, parent, sibling, spouse, member of a voluntary organization, member of a religious organization, and worker. Thoits (1983) operationalized the identity accumulation variable such that it successively increases by 1 if the respondent is married, has children, is employed, is in school, attends organizational meetings, attends church services, visits

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neighbours, and has two or more close friends. Burke and Cerven (2019) simply asked participants where they held each of the identities and responses were coded as 0 if they did not hold the identity and 1 if they did; the number of identities was indicated by the sum of the scores.

Identity Verification

Identity verification can be measured in two ways, either by asking the responded how they believe others' views of themselves in a certain identity match their own perceptions (Burke & Cerven, 2019) or by calculating the difference between respondents rating of themselves in an identity, and how they believe others would rate them in that identity (Stets & Harrod, 2004).

Burke and Cerven (2019) asked participants, "[n]ow think of yourself as a worker (hard-working, lazy, on-time, responsible, etc.). How much do[es] other people's views of you as a worker *correspond to or match* how you view yourself *as a worker*?" (p. 24). The wording was chosen to closely mirror the wording of the 2014 social identity module in the General Social Survey. Participants were given a list of response categories ranging from 0-100% and asked to select the degree to which others' views of them matched how they viewed themselves. The responses were: "Does not match at all, 0%", "matches about 10%", "matches about 20%" to "perfectly matched, 100%".

In Stets and Harrod's (2004) study, participants evaluated themselves first for each identity. For example, for the worker identity, they indicated how good they are at their job (0 = not at all good; 10 = very good). Then, participants reported how they think others see them in each identity. For the worker identity, they rated how they think family members, co-workers, friends, and their partners (if applicable) would rate them (0 = not at all good; 10 = very good). Identity verification was computed by taking the absolute difference between a significant other's rating of oneself on a particular identity and the respondent's rating on that identity. For example, for the worker identity, an absolute difference score is computed for family members' rating minus self-rating, co-workers' rating minus self-rating, friends' rating minus self-rating, and partner's rating (if applicable) minus self-rating. The authors then averaged the absolute difference scores across the significant others and then subtracted them from 10 to form a scale of the amount of verification for each identity. The scores were then reversed such that a lower value represented less verification for a given identity and higher values represented more verification.

Identity Integration

The Bicultural Identity Integration Scale – Version 2 (Huynh et al., 2018; Appendix A)

Bicultural Identity Integration (BII) is a theoretical framework for understanding how bicultural individuals cognitively and affectively organize their cultural identities; it contains two

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components: cultural blendedness versus compartmentalization and cultural harmony versus conflict. Cultural blendedness, previously called blendedness versus distance, captures the degree of perceived overlap between the two cultural orientations (e.g. "I feel part of a combined culture") versus keeping the cultures separate (Huyng et al., 2018). Cultural harmony captures the degree of compatibility perceived between the two cultural orientations versus feeling as though the two conflict (e.g. "I feel conflicted between the American and Chinese way of doing things") (Huyng et al., 2018). Research finds that cultural blendedness captures the more cognitive and behavioural aspects of the bicultural experience, whereas, cultural harmony captures the affective managing of two cultures.

Huyng et al. (2018) sought to improve the Bicultural Identity Integration Scale – Version 1 (BIIS-1; Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005), an eight-item measure with separate 4-item subscales tapping cultural blendedness and cultural harmony, which lacked reliability and potentially had too few items to adequately cover all relevant content domains of BII. Hyung et al. (2018) first generated new items using qualitative methods. They recruited 108 bicultural college students to assist in content domain assessment and item pool generation. The new and old items underwent subject matter expert review and pilot testing resulting in 32 items. The Bicultural Identity Integration Scale – Version 2 (BIIS-2) was then further developed and validated in a sample of 1049 bicultural university students (59.7% were women; mean age = 19.3 years; majority was Latinos/as at 26.7% or Asian Americans at 47.1%; and 35.4% were first generation Americans, while 56.6% were second generation Americans).

The final, validated BIIS-2:

- Is a 17-item measure
- Has a two-factor structure:
    - cultural harmony vs. conflict (a = 0.86; r = 0.77)
    - cultural blendedness vs. compartmentalization (a = 0.81; r = 0.73)
- The BIIS-2 items operated similarly for Asian American and Latino/a participants and for first- and second-generation participants.
- Cultural harmony correlated positively with ethnic identity affirmation and mental health (higher general well-being, lack of depressive symptoms) and negatively with all acculturation stressors and with neuroticism.
- Cultural blendedness correlated positively with variables denoting greater involvement with and competencies in American culture (e.g., years in U.S., English language proficiency and use, U.S. cultural identification, mainstream cultural orientation, and fewer language barriers in English) and with traditional acculturation variables (e.g., stronger integration attitudes and weaker separation attitudes). It also positively correlated with ethnic affirmation and ethnic exploration and negatively with stresses in the linguistic domain.

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Although the BIIS-1 was developed for bicultural individuals, it has often been adapted to look at other sets of multiple identities. For example, Anderson and Koc (2020) used it to look at religious and gay identification. It has also been modified to look at the integration of gender and professional identities (Cheng et al., 2008; Sacharin et al., 2009).

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Appendix A: The Bicultural Identity Integration Scale – Version 2

Hyunh et al. (2018)

Cultural harmony vs. Conflict subscale:

1. I find it easy to harmonize _______ and American cultures.
2. I rarely feel conflicted about being bicultural.
3. I find it easy to balance both _______ and American cultures.
4. I do not feel trapped between the _____ and American cultures.
5. I feel torn between ________ and American cultures. (reverse-coded)
6. Being bicultural means having two cultural forces pulling on me at the same time. (reverse coded)
7. I feel that my ______ and American cultures are incompatible. (reverse coded)
8. I feel conflicted between the American and ________ way of doing things. (reverse coded)
9. I feel like someone moving between two cultures. (reverse coded)
10. I feel caught between the ________ and American cultures. (reverse coded)

Cultural blendedness vs compartmentalization subscale:

11. I cannot ignore the ______ or American side of me.
12. I feel _______ and American at the same time.
13. I related better to a combined _________-American culture than to _____ or American culture alone.
14. I feel ________-American.
15. I feel part of a combined culture.
16. I do not blend my _______ and American cultures. (reverse coded)
17. I keep _________ and American cultures separate. (reverse coded)

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