Cultural Identity as a Resource for Positive Youth Development in Majority World Contexts:
A Trinidadian Case Study

BY

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Abstract

In multicultural democratic societies, schools need to do more than teach students to pass exams—they must also facilitate students' cultural and civic development (Banks, 2016). The development of a positive identity is a key indicator of positive youth development that facilitates youths' contribution to the cultural and civic development of wider society (Lerner, 2015). However, for youth living in majority world contexts like Trinidad and Tobago, the psychological effects of cultural globalization can complicate the construction of positive cultural identities (Arnett, 2002; Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012; Jensen, 2003). I examined the associations among cultural identity, multicultural attitudes and civic motivation among a sample of 623 Trinidadian adolescents using cluster analysis and structural equation modeling (SEM). Cultural identity was defined as engagement in global and local cultural practices (cultural orientation) and emotional identification with the national "Trini" culture (Trini culture affirmation). The cluster analysis yielded four clusters of Trini, Americanized, marginalized, and cosmopolitan cultural orientation profiles. Students with cosmopolitan cultural orientations scored highest on Trini culture affirmation, multicultural attitudes and civic motivation in comparison to all other students. Students with Americanized cultural orientations scored lowest on Trini culture affirmation but significantly higher than students with marginalized cultural orientations on multicultural attitudes. Results of mediational SEM path analyses showed that Trini culture affirmation played a mostly protective role and partly mediates the association of cultural orientations with multicultural attitudes and civic motivation. Together these results imply that in addition to a sense of pride, belonging, and affirmation in the local national culture, Trinidadian adolescents' engagement in both global and local cultural practices (not one to the exclusion of the other) can positively impact cultural and civic development.

Dedication

For my father, Alban Jerome Jessop
June 23rd 1947 ~ May 14th 2017

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Approximately 90% of the world's youth population live in non-Western, 'developing' countries (UNICEF, 2012a), which I refer to in this dissertation as 'majority world contexts' (Leong, 2008; Poelker & Gibbons, 2016). There is growing recognition that Western-based theories and methods for understanding positive development may not be salient for youth growing up in majority world contexts (Arnett, 2002; Gelfand, Lyons, & Lun, 2011; Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010). Yet, much of the knowledge base in mainstream psychology comes from research on "WEIRD" (Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, Democratic) populations (Henrich et al., 2010). Thus, to broaden the relevance of psychological theory and research, there is a need for inclusion of majority world populations (Arnett, 2008). My dissertation explores the question of how to foster positive development among youth in majority world contexts by examining the case of adolescents from Trinidad and Tobago.

Trinidad and Tobago (T&T), is a small twin-island republic and former British colony in the English-speaking Caribbean, with a population of 1.3 million, of which 13.3% (UNICEF, 2012b) are youth (ages 10-19). The educational model in T&T is based largely on the British colonial educational system and emphasizes academic performance on standardized tests as the criteria for positive development. Academic achievement, though important, is merely a single indicator of positive development. Overemphasis on academic markers of achievement relegates social and emotional development (such as achievement of a positive identity, multicultural attitudes, and civic motivation) to the background of educational policy (Elias, 2009). In multicultural democratic societies like T&T, schools need to do more than just teach students to pass exams—they need to also facilitate students' positive development as responsible citizens (Banks, 2016; Nieto, 2016; White & Myers, 2016).

There are competing theories in psychology regarding the best ways to foster positive development among youth. While deficiency models of development emphasize disorders, maladaptive behaviors, and other shortcomings of adolescents, the positive youth development (PYD) framework emphasizes strengths and competencies that develop during adolescence (Catalano, Berglund, Ryan, Lonczak, & Hawkins, 2002; Crocetti, Jahromi, & Meeus, 2012; Damon, 2004). Establishing a positive identity has been identified as one of the key strengths that contribute to PYD (Lerner, Phelps, Forman, & Bowers, 2009). A substantial body of research has focused on the ways that marginalized youth with positive and affirming identities exhibit resilience and achieve positive outcomes despite being members of historically excluded/underserved populations (Fuligni, Kiang, Witkow, & Baldelomar, 2008; Kiang, Harter, & Whitesell, 2007; Phinney & Ong, 2007; Roberts et al., 1999; Smith & Silva, 2011; Worrell & Gardner-Kitt, 2006; Yip, Seaton, & Sellers, 2006, 2010).

In particular, positive identities among marginalized populations have been linked to resilience in the face of risks encountered in psycho-ecological contexts such as neighborhoods, families, and schools (Banerjee, Rowley, & Johnson, 2015; Butler-Barnes, Chavous, Hurd, & Varner, 2013; Chavous, Rivas-Drake, Smalls, Griffin, & Cogburn, 2008; Evans et al., 2012; Hurd, Sellers, Cogburn, Butler-Barnes, & Zimmerman, 2013; Nicolas et al., 2008; Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998). Some scholars contend that the globalized world is also a psycho-ecological context that presents risks for adolescent development; especially in multicultural majority world contexts (Arnett, 2002; Jensen, 2003; Jensen, Arnett, & McKenzie, 2011), where youth face pressures of *cultural* globalization. However, there is a lack of research on PYD among adolescents in majority world contexts, where the PYD approach is arguably

most needed (Lerner, 2015). In this thesis, I use a strengths-based perspective to argue that *cultural* identity can be a resource for PYD in marginalized majority world contexts like T&T.

I define cultural identity both in terms of Trini culture affirmation (commitment to a single national culture) and cultural orientation (engagement in multiple cultures). The conceptualization of cultural identity as both national culture affirmation and multiple cultural orientations was derived from Ferguson and colleagues' theory of remote acculturation (see Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012) and their studies on the effects of cultural globalization on majority world youth's developmental outcomes. However, studies by Ferguson and colleagues treat both elements of cultural identity (commitment to a single national culture and engagement in multiple cultures) as independent of each other and they mainly focus on individual/family outcomes such as parent-adolescent conflict and psychological well-being (Ferguson & Adams, 2016; Ferguson, Ferguson, & Ferguson, 2017; Ferguson, Ferguson, & Ferguson, 2015). In my dissertation, I seek to further examine how the two distinct but related elements of cultural identity are associated with each other, and PYD outcomes such as multicultural attitudes and civic motivation that are relevant to both individual *and* social development in majority world contexts.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

In this chapter of my dissertation, I present the theories that provided the framework for my research questions, design, and methods. I review the conceptualization of each theory by leaders in the field, including the definition of key concepts, to establish the scholarly context. I then examine the supporting empirical research, as well as, contested theoretical assumptions to arrive at an informed position in the scholarly debate surrounding each theory. Next, I summarize the reviewed literature on each theory, and outline its relevance to my current dissertation research. Finally, I end by summarizing the key bodies of literature that informed the specific hypotheses examined in this present study.

Positive Youth Development Framework

A guiding theoretical perspective for this dissertation is positive youth development. Positive Youth Development (PYD) is a developmental framework that contests the common pathological portrayal of adolescence as a period of storm and stress involving high emotional affectivity, risky behavior, parent-adolescent conflict, and increasing psychological disorders. Portrayals of adolescence as a period of storm and stress (Arnett, 1999), prioritize the mitigation of negative outcomes. However, the absence of dysfunction is not the same as successful adaptation. It is insufficient to approach youth development with a focus on eliminating adolescents' maladaptive responses, without a coordinating resolve to foster positive outcomes. A PYD approach emphasizes youths' strengths over deficits, and thereby focuses on individual outcomes such as empowerment and enhanced competencies that allow youth to thrive (Catalano

et al., 2002; Crocetti, Erentaitė, & Žukauskienė, 2014; Crocetti et al., 2012; Damon, 2004; Geldhof, Bowers, & Lerner, 2013; Lerner, Phelps, Forman, & Bowers, 2009).

Proponents of PYD emphasize adolescent outcomes that center on 5 C's: Competence, Confidence, Connection, Character, and Caring (Bowers et al., 2010; Eccles & Gootman, 2002; Lerner, et al., 2005; Lerner, Almerigi, Theokas, & Lerner, 2005). Achievement of these five C's in adolescence allows a 6th C (contribution—to family, community, and civil society) to emerge in late adolescence/young adulthood (Lerner, Dowling, & Anderson, 2003). Indicators of the Five C's of PYD include highly involved parents and non-parental adult autonomy-support, positive social identity achievement, and participation in afterschool programs such as sports and neighborhood interventions (Agans et al., 2014; Bowers et al., 2014; Fuller, Percy, Bruening, & Cotrufo, 2013; Lapalme, Bisset, & Potvin, 2014; Travis & Leech, 2014). Attainment of these Five C's during adolescence promote adolescents' abilities to thrive in their psycho-ecological environments (Lerner, Dowling, & Anderson, 2003) and research shows that these Five C's are positively associated with low risk profiles among adolescents (in terms of mental health, aggression, and alcohol use) and prosocial activity involvement during mid-adolescence (Arbeit et al., 2014; Williams, Anderson, Francois, Hussain, & Tolan, 2014).

Positive youth development in context

Constructed social worlds of youth. The PYD framework aligns with constructivist views that youth learn and develop through active engagement in the co-construction of their sociocultural worlds, guided by agentic purpose (Bandura, 1962; Vygotsky, 1978). Keating (2004), proposed that adolescents' self-development is driven by the mutual influence of cognitive and affective systems, and social and personality dimensions, as adolescents engage in

the distinctly human feature of 'cultural mind sharing' that activates the individual mind.

Culturally influenced self-construals have implications for differences in cognition, emotion, and motivation across cultures and other social groups (Markus and Kitayama, 1991). However, the influence of culture on self-construal is not deterministic but transactional and reciprocal, requiring self-initiated navigation of the cultural environment (Adams & Markus, 2004), a key factor in PYD. Research shows that an increase in socio-emotional-cognitive capacities, which occurs during neurological development in adolescence (Fuhrmann, Knoll, & Blakemore, 2015; Selemon, 2013; Zelazo & Carlson, 2012), provides an impetus for adolescents to learn and try out new social behaviors or experiences (Crone & Dahl, 2012). Adolescents may therefore be characterized by intense attention to social stimuli and preference for social rewards (Mills, Lalonde, Clasen, Giedd, & Blakemore, 2013; Paus, 2009; Steinberg, 2009). From a PYD perspective, the inclination to engage in social learning is a strength that emerges in adolescence, which contributes to the development of the sociocultural aspects of the self-concept.

Benefits for individuals *and* society. PYD can be more than just a psychological theory of the individual developmental process; it can also serve as a national strategy to enhance human development in majority world contexts (Lerner, 2015). The PYD framework is predicated on relational developmental systems theory that proposes "mutually beneficial relationships" between adolescents and the psycho-ecological contexts in which they develop (Geldhof, Bowers, & Lerner, 2013). For example, some scholars argue that a sense of community, and engaged citizenship are particularly important indicators of PYD for marginalized youth living in democratic societies (Travis & Leech, 2014); and in their UNICEF research report on youth development in majority world contexts Peebles et al., (2010) recommended a PYD approach to increase youth participation in local level civic activities,

citing research-based evidence of benefits for both *individual* youth's empowerment, and *national* youth policy reform. In some ways, mainstream psychology's focus on *individual* adolescent outcomes underestimates the value of youth to the *wider society*, and their collective contribution to the sociocultural development of communities. One way that psychologists working in majority world contexts can strategically highlight the importance of PYD for both individual adolescents and the society they inhabit, is to focus on outcomes with sociocultural implications that go beyond individual achievement.

Schools as socialization contexts. There is some debate concerning whether schools, the primary learning context for many youth, can adequately meet their developmental needs (Hansen & Larson, 2007). Indeed, most research on the Five C's of PYD focus on non-formal, out-of-school contexts (Catalano et al., 2005; Eccles & Gootman, 2002; Lerner et al., 2005). Moghaddam (2008), asked the important question of what type of psychological citizen it takes to make a democracy work. According to Banks (2016), the answer is a civically and culturally competent citizen: "To become effective, students are required to attain the knowledge, values, and skills needed to participate in their home and community cultures, within other cultures within their nation, within the national civic culture, and in the global community." (Banks, 2016, p.36). It is ironic therefore, that as an avenue of cultural transmission, educational systems are often found wanting in cultural relevance or appropriateness (Dasen & Akkari, 2008). Civic education in schools can sometimes focus too narrowly on homogenization toward the mainstream culture and therefore fail to be culturally responsive to the needs of culturally diverse students (Banks, 2016). Proponents of cultural difference theory (Bhabha, 2012; 2015; Pieterse, 2007) claim that in multicultural societies, attempts to "play down" the importance of cultural issues in societal and institutional contexts are likely to do more harm than good, whereas

recognizing and valorizing cultural differences among students in schools can actually result in positive social and academic outcomes for both minority and majority groups (Ladson-Billings, 2009).

In Trinidad and Tobago (T&T), schools are potentially the main context for students' sociocultural development. Nationalist reforms in T&T during the 1970s decreed that schools (via the social studies curriculum) were responsible for the cultural socialization of students (Stewart, 1981, p. 199). National emblems are prominent in schools, which in their role as ideological state apparatuses (Althusser, 1970) communicate messages about the cultural values that define responsible citizenship. Democratic values of multiculturalism and civic duty are infused into national emblems, such as the closing lines of the national anthem: "Here every creed and race find an equal place;" the national motto: "Together we aspire, together we achieve;" and the national watchwords: "Discipline, tolerance and production." Yet, it sometimes seems forgotten that schools exist to do more than just teach students to pass exams, but also to help students become responsible citizens. Instead of emphasizing holistic (both social and intellectual) development, the educational system in T&T (like other majority world contexts) revolves around assessment of academic performance on standardized tests because it is modeled on obsolete colonial-era epistemologies.

The case for decolonization. Through alignment with the perspectives of critical theorists from majority world contexts, a PYD framework can serve as an important decolonization tool. Decolonization is essentially the unlearning of colonial ways of being (Maldonado-Torres, 2007). Both proponents of PYD and decolonization emphasize the empowerment of marginalized youth (Zimmerman, Stewart, Morrel-Samuels, Franzen & Reischl, 2011). Decolonization is psychological liberation from a restrictive colonial mindset,

toward the development of *conscientização*—an empowered mindset derived from critical consciousness of the social inequalities that oppress marginalized individuals and communities (Freire, 1973; 1985; Martín-Baró, 1994). Both PYD and decolonial theorists more broadly conceptualize education as intellectual development that goes beyond regimented classroom learning to include community contexts (Catalano et al., 2005; Freire, 1973). In particular, decolonial theorists recognize the limitations of colonial models of education, which promote the "banking" of education (decontextualized rote memorization of facts), and intellectually alienate marginalized youth in majority world contexts (Fanon, 1968; 1963; Freire, 1973). PYD and decolonial scholars alike, approach development from a strengths-based perspective, whereby efforts in youth empowerment encourage 1) construction of positive social identities; 2) building of healthy social relationships; and 3) fostering civic engagement (Catalano et al., 2005; Crocetti, Erentaitė, & Žukauskienė, 2014; Damon, 2004; Geldhof, Bowers, & Lerner, 2013; Zimmerman et al., 2011).

Youths' Construction of Positive Social Identities

Identity development is widely regarded as a major developmental task during adolescence (Bosma & Kunnen, 2001; Meeus, 1996; Waterman, 1982; Wigfield & Wagner, 2005) and as an indicator of PYD. Eriksonian views of identity development tend to be the dominant theory in mainstream Western psychology. Erikson's (1968) psychosocial stage theory of lifespan development, identified adolescence as the period where resolution of identity conflicts is crucial. Marcia (1966, 1967) extended and operationalized Erikson's work to demonstrate that identity development is comprised of different statuses based on the degree of crisis (meaningful choice) and commitment (personal investment) that adolescents' experience. This view of identity development focuses on the achievement of a single identity that describes

the global self (personal identity) or the self in relation to distinct social categories (social identity). However, other theorists argue that individuals' can have multiple identities in any one domain (Berry, 1997; LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). Subsequently, there are two main models of how identity is constructed/formed/developed: the single identity model and the multiple identity model.

A central tenet of single identity theories is that conflicting identities compete with each other, and therefore individuals' optimal development depends on their ability to choose, commit to, and achieve a single identity. Developmental theorists propose that this single personal identity develops over time in a linear fashion, whereas social psychologists contend that any single group identity varies with the situational salience of group membership. Apart from Erikson's and Marcia's seminal work on personal identity development, other theorists that focus on specific forms of social identity (e.g. ethnic, racial, and national identity) also fall into the single identity camp (Barrett, 2000; Phinney, 1992; Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998).

Researchers that study cultural identity and its relation to migration, transnationalism, pluralism, and multiculturalism tend to embrace the multiple identity model and instead see identity as a configuration of multiple identities that coexist independently of each other (Berry, 1997; Kunovich, 2009; LaFromboise et al., 1993). As a result, individuals do not have to choose a single identity exclusive to other identities. Instead they can achieve competence in multiple identities simultaneously. At the time of their emergence, these multiple identity models, which argued that biculturalism can in fact be an adaptive response for individual and not just social outcomes, were novel. Now they are more common place, especially in terms of theorizing about the "psychology of globalization" (Arnett, 2008; Gelfand et al., 2011). Nevertheless, there is a

greater body of research on single identity models due to its prominence in mainstream psychology.

Identity development researchers often emphasize that social identities comprise an integral part of the larger personal identity (Schwartz, Zamboanga, Meca, & Ritchie, 2012; Schwartz, Zamboanga, & Weisskirch, 2008). According to social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), individuals are motivated to achieve a positive and distinct social identity because social group membership is central to their self-concept. Different types of social identities include ethnic, racial, national and cultural identity. Even though individuals can belong to numerous social groups, it assumed that for each type of social identity they choose and commit to a single group at a time (e.g. any individual can have one ethnic/racial identity and one national identity).

A review of the literature on ethnic, racial, national, and cultural identity reveals the myriad ways in which these social identities blur together. 1) Cultural identity is used as an umbrella term that encompasses other forms of social identity such as ethnic, racial, and national identity (Cross & Cross, 2008; Rodriguez, Schwartz, & Krauss Whitbourne, 2010). 2) Ethnic and racial identity are studied in conjunction (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). 3) Ethnic and racial identity is considered a form of cultural identity (Ferguson et al., 2016). 4) Ethnic identity is part of national identity (Kunovich, 2009). 5) Cultural identity can be used to mean national cultural identity (Hall, 1992) as well as orientation/acculturation to other cultures outside one's country of origin (Berry, 1997; Berry et al., 2006). However recently, scholars have adopted the perspective that concepts of ethnicity, race, and [national] culture though not interchangeable, are inseparable aspects of social identity (Rodriguez, et al., 2010; Cross & Cross, 2008).

Nevertheless, for the purpose of clarity, a brief review of the theory and research on each type of social identity (ethnic, racial, national, and cultural) is given separately here.

Single identity models

  Ethnic identity. Ethnic identity can be defined as one's identification with an ethnic group. Phinney's (1989), theory of ethnic identity development addresses the importance of ethnic groups as a source of positive social identity for minorities in multicultural societies. Following an Eriksonian paradigm of adolescent development, Phinney adapted Marcia's theory of identity status and combined it with Tajfel and Turner's (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986) social identity and social categorization theories, as well as Berry's (1974) acculturation theories, to explain ethnic identity development in multiethnic societies. Subsequently, ethnicity identity is conceptualized as comprising identity achievement, ethnic in-group affirmation and belonging, ethnic cultural practices, and orientation to other ethnic groups (Phinney, 1992; Roberts et al., 1999). Early studies established support for theoretical propositions of 1) a linear progression in ethnic identity over the course of adolescence; 2) ethnic identity's positive but moderate relationship with self-esteem (Phinney & Chavira, 1992); and 3) ethnic identity's alignment with social group dynamics such that exposure to negative group stereotypes predicted negative in-group ratings (Phinney, Chavira, & Tate, 1993).

  Researchers have concluded that ethnic identity can play a protective role particularly during adolescent development, even more so for minorities than for majority group members (Fuligni et al., 2008; Kiang et al., 2007; Phinney & Ong, 2007; Roberts et al., 1999; Smith & Silva, 2011; Worrell & Gardner-Kitt, 2006; Yip et al., 2006, 2010). In addition, ethnic identity tends to be more strongly associated with well-being for individuals with moderate to high levels

of assimilated acculturation to the dominant culture in the U.S. (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001; Smith & Silva, 2011).

Racial identity. Theories of racial identity address the importance of race to marginalized minority racial groups in racialized societies. A prominent theory of racial identity is the multidimensional model of racial identity (Sellers et al, 1997). The multidimensional model of racial identity (Sellers et al, 1997), views racial identity as a highly contextualized social identity. It is concerned with the momentary status of an individual's racial identity and not its development. The theory draws on the symbolic-interactionist perspective of identity formation, which posits that personal salience and behavioral choices interact to hierarchically order various aspects of the self. Encounters with racial prejudice increases the salience of racial identity for blacks and other minorities, thereby impacting their behavioral choices. Subsequently based on Sellers and colleagues' multidimensional model, racial identity is concerned with issues of identity salience, centrality, ideology, and public/private regard.

Research suggests that racial socialization can reduce risks and enhance resilience of minority children and adolescents, conditional on neighborhood, peer and school contexts (Banerjee et al., 2015; Butler-Barnes et al., 2013; Chavous et al., 2008; Evans et al., 2012; Hurd et al., 2013; Nicolas et al., 2008; Sellers et al., 1998). These findings support one of Sellers and colleagues (1998) main argument that racial identity is not inherently adaptive or maladaptive but outcomes associated with racial identity are dependent on the relevant social ecologies in which it develops.

National identity. The examination of national identity development of children and adolescents has integrated theories from developmental and social psychology. Nationality is an important aspect of social identity because of its pervasive and objectified nature that comprises

cognitive, affective, and behavioral aspects (Barrett, 2000). The cognitive aspect of national identity pertains to social cognitions about in-group/out-group differences in traits, beliefs, public and private regard, and knowledge/endorsement of stereotypes. The emotional aspects cover the subjective salience of national identity, evaluation of national identity, attachment to national identity and conceptions of place (attachment to geographical territory), sense of belonging, collective self-esteem, and solidarity. The behavioral aspects of national identity manifest in everyday activities and cultural practices.

Researchers found that while national in-group bias increases with age among children, this process is separate and distinct (unrelated) from negative out-group attitudes about other nations (Bennett et al., 2004). In other words, in-group liking is not necessarily the same as out-group hate and potentially, having a strong national identity is not incongruent with positive attitudes toward other national cultures. Meanwhile, other researchers found that though the salience of national identity increased with age, national identity was more salient for majority than minority children (Bennett, Lyons, Sani, & Barrett, 1998). Therefore, one might conclude that minority ethnic groups have a weaker identification with the mainstream national culture to the extent that they have a strong identification with their own ethnic culture.

Integrating single identity models. In summary, based on a single identity model both ethnic and racial identity are associated with positive protective effects for marginalized minorities such as high self-esteem, multicultural attitudes, and psychological resilience (Chavous & Sellers, 2012; Nicolas et al., 2008; Phinney et al., 2001; Phinney & Ong, 2007; Sellers, Caldwell, Schmeelk-Cone, & Zimmerman, 2003). National identity can sometimes be associated with in-group bias, but it is important to note that individuals can maintain positive

feelings about the in-group (the basis for the social identity) and the out-group (comparable but distinct others) simultaneously (Bennett et al., 2004; Bennett, et al., 1998; Berry, 2006).

Multiple identity models

  Ethnic identity. Benet-Martinez's model of bicultural identity integration (Benet-Martínez, 2003; Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005) proposes that ethnic biculturalism (e.g. Mexican-American, Asian-American ethnic identities) can be associated with both psychological and sociocultural adaptation (Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013). However, outcomes of biculturalism depend on the degree of cultural distance and cultural conflict between the two ethnic cultures. The greater degree of overlap and harmony that is perceived/experienced between two ethnic cultures, the greater the likelihood for positive adaptation to the cultural context. On the contrary, the greater degree of distance and conflict that is perceived/experienced between two ethnic cultures, the greater the likelihood for maladaptive outcomes. One of the strategies that ethnically bicultural individuals use to navigate their sociocultural environment is alternation between ethnic identities (LaFramboise et al., 1993) also known as "cultural frame switching" (Benet-Martinez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002) based on the situation. Research supports that identifying with both ethnicities tends to be more psychologically and socially adaptive than identification with just one to the exclusion of the other (Domanico, Crawford, & Wolfe, 1994).

  Racial identity. Cross's multidimensional theory of racial identity—the nigrescence model (Cross, 1978; Cross, 1995; Vandiver, Fhagen-Smith, Cokley, Cross, & Worrell, 2001), is concerned with the development of racial identity as a function of positive and negative feelings and attitudes toward ingroups and outgroups. The nigrescence model was influenced by

decolonial and critical race theories of disalienation (Fanon, 1963, 1967), and double-consciousness (Du Bois, 1904). The model proposes that development of racial identity progresses through three major stages: a pre-encounter stage before prejudice is experienced that is characterized by assimilation (either through explicit disidentification with the ingroup or unquestioning identification with the outgroup); an immersion-emersion stage characterized by deep involvement in ethnic/racial traditions after prejudice is encountered; and an internalization stage during which bicultural/multicultural integration of the minority identity with the majority identity is pursued (Vandiver, Cross Jr, Worrell, & Fhagen-Smith, 2002; Vandiver et al., 2001). Research has shown that individuals in earlier stages of racial identity have lower self-esteem than those in later stages (Parham & Helms, 1985) and that internalization of multicultural attitudes played a protective role against race-related stress for African-American and Caribbean women (Jones, Cross, & DeFour, 2007).

 National identity. National identity can comprise both ethnic and civic components (Kunovich, 2009). The ethnic component represents traditional values such as ancestry and religion, while the civic component represents modern democratic values of belongingness and respect. Kunovich (2009), proposed that individuals low on both components are pluralists, while individuals high on both components are multiple nationalists. Individuals high on one component but low on the other are either ethnic nationalists or civic nationalists accordingly. This conception of national identity considers the impact of internal cultural diversity and ethnic cores/social institutions (that act as socialization agents), and cultural forces that can lead to ethnic nationalism/ethnocentrism, cultural conflicts, and xenophobia. Some sociologists theorize that loyalties to individual ethnic identities can be almost antithetical to the idea of a national, mainstream, integrated cultural identity (Bauman, 1990).

Integrating multiple identity models. Except for the Cross racial identity theory, multiple identity models are based on the major premise that multiple identities co-exist and are independent of each other, allowing the individual to achieve a high level of competence in more than one identity for ethnic/racial and national groups. The Cross model posits that individuals first experience alternating stages of single racial group identification, before arriving at an integrative bicultural/multicultural stage. Multiple identity models are particularly useful in understanding the effects of cultural globalization on adolescents' cultural identity.

Cultural identity

One of the most common conceptualizations of cultural identity is derived from Berry's (1997) theory of acculturation. According to acculturation theory, immigrants' and minority group individuals' cultural identity is defined by their strength of identification with their traditional culture and the mainstream culture. The theory of acculturation proposed by Berry (1997) suggests that there are four different acculturation strategies that immigrants employ when faced with the challenge of integrating their own cultural heritage with the cultural values of their host nation. Separation occurs when individuals cling to traditional cultural heritage and reject the host nation's cultural values. Assimilation occurs when individuals cling to their host nation's cultural values and neglect their traditional cultural heritage. Integration occurs when individuals successfully organize their traditional cultural heritage and their host nation's cultural values into a cohesive self-schema. In contrast, marginalization occurs when individuals deny the importance of both their traditional cultural heritage and host nation's cultural values to their sense of self (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). Research has shown that both marginalization and separation tend to lead to negative outcomes, assimilation can result in both

positive and negative outcomes, and integration generally leads to the most positive outcomes (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Castillo, Cano, Chen, Blucker, & Olds, 2008; Choi, Miller, & Wilbur, 2009; Farver, Bhadha, & Narang, 2002; Kosic, 2002; Warren, Castillo, & Gleaves, 2009; Zheng, Sang, & Wang, 2004).

It should be noted however, that there is substantial debate and discord in the definition of cultural identity that varies across disciplines. In cultural studies, Hall (1992) has written about cultural identity as the accumulation of various social identities that become concentrated at the national level as part of the shared narrative and collective consciousness of the citizens of a country. Schwartz (2014) in the field of public health, has called into question the "sharedness" of cultural values and the very idea that culture is a psychological construct. According to Schwartz (2014), culture is external to the individual. Research shows that there is more within culture variation than between culture variation, suggesting that people tend to greatly overestimate the "sharedness" of cultural values (Schwartz, 2014). Culture itself is not an intrapsychic variable but a latent structure upheld by social institutions that influences each individuals' psychological experience of culture (such as their cultural identity) in unique ways.

Cultural psychologists (Adams & Markus, 2004; Shweder, 1999), define cultural identity broadly as "a system of positions derived from or organized around a cultural group" (Adams & Markus, 2001, p. 98). They theorize about the mutual constitution of mind and culture—the mind creates and produces culture even as culture influences the mind's own development through the psycho-ecological affordances that shape the culturally mediated self. Similarly, Ozer, Bertelsen, Singla, and Schwartz (2017, p. 3) define cultural identity as "a kind of social identity…grounded in people's tendency to regard themselves as members of a specific cultural group entailing a

collective system of meaning." Yet they note that exposure to multiple cultures, as a result of globalization, has led to an increasing number of possible multicultural identities.

Cultural globalization and cultural identity development

Cultural globalization has been defined as the process whereby cultural practices in dominant world countries 'cross national boundaries' and gain global acceptance and prevalence (King, 1997). Due to rapidly expanding globalization and technological advancements that facilitate vicarious participation in dominant global cultures from remote locations, adolescents' psychological environment is not limited to local/national contexts (Ferguson & Adams, 2016; Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012, 2015; Ferguson, Ferguson, & Ferguson, 2015; Ferguson, Tran, Mendez, & van de Vijver, 2015). The part of adolescent's cultural identity based on their orientation to other cultures is inherently fluid not fixed. Changes in cultural practices are associated with changes in cultural belonging during the transition from a local to global positioning of the self. Through cultural globalization, adolescents are opened up to new cultural products and practices from different countries around the world, but mainly to Western cultures that dominate the global discourse (Antonio & Bonanno, 2000; Escobar, 2001; Gjerde, 2004; Iadicola, 2008).

To the extent that cultural globalization exerts pressure to adopt a globalized cultural position/orientation, marginalized majority world youth without a strong sense of their own local/national cultural identity might be more easily influenced (Berry et al., 2006; Fanon, 1963; Maldonaldo-Torres, 2007). Varying levels of exposure to and engagement with different world cultures could introduce cognitive uncertainty regarding a clear path for achieving a positive identity, especially in cases where the norms and values of the new culture conflict with the

norms and values of the local national culture (Jensen, 2003; Jensen et al., 2011; Arnett, 2002). In other words, orienting toward culturally similar countries will likely lead to cultural fit and positive outcomes, while orienting toward culturally dissimilar countries perceived as culturally distant could lead to negative outcomes (Chirkov, Lynch, & Niwa, 2005).

However, the development of globalized cultural orientations is not the only viable response to pressures of cultural globalization. For example, Arnett (2002) pointed out that youths' psychological responses can also include cultural separation (reactionary withdrawal from the global culture with hyper-emphasis on the local culture), and hybridized bicultural orientations (mixing and matching elements of both local and global cultures). Other scholars refer to these alternative responses to globalization pressures as localization and glocalization respectively (Bauman, 1990, 1998, 2001; Kjeldgaard & Askegaard, 2006; Kraidy, 1999; Ritzer, 2003). There are myriad ways that these three forms of cultural orientations—globalization, localization, and glocalization—can each have differential impacts on youth outcomes, depending on how they impact adolescents' feelings about their own national culture. What do these complexities of cultural globalization mean for youth in majority world contexts? Do adolescents from the majority world seamlessly merge with the global identity through assimilation to a globalized cultural orientation, do they incorporate parts of the global identity into their national identity through multicultural integration of glocalized cultural orientations, or do they react against global pressures with a self-selected new patriotism through localized cultural orientations? Research on remote acculturation (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012, 2015; Ferguson, Iturbide, & Gordon, 2014) offer some insight on these issues.

Remote acculturation and Caribbean youth's cultural identity

Ferguson and Bornstein (2012) presented a unique take on acculturation, which they termed 'remote acculturation' (RA). The concept of RA posits that adolescents can become acculturated to another culture through interaction with tourists, migrants and cultural products (fast-food, music, and lifestyles) from that culture, without having any real-time exposure to/participation in that culture themselves. More specifically, it includes extended contact through immigrant family members and friends, new social neighborhoods such as mass media and the internet, and development of intimate para-social bonds through online networking for example. However, remote acculturation is not a totally novel idea as Berry (2008) argued that the connections between globalization and acculturation have always been tenable, though they are beginning to manifest in new virtual ways, aided by rapid increases in the technologization of societies on a global scale. Essentially, RA theory posits that cultural identity is both emotional affirmation derived from a single local culture and cultural orientations derived from behavioral engagement in both local and global cultures. Therefore, it incorporates elements of both single identity and multiple identity models but, it assumes that these two models are independent of each other, such that an adolescents' cultural orientations do not necessarily affect the sense of affirmation that they get from their local culture.

Ferguson and colleagues found that one of the main impacts of cultural globalization was Jamaican youth's adoption of an 'Americanized' cultural identity (Ferguson, 2013; Ferguson & Borstein, 2012; Ferguson & Iturbide, 2013, 2013; Ferguson et al., 2014) that tended to be associated with a depreciation of traditional Jamaican cultural values. Adolescents acculturated faster than their parents, which was linked to greater intergenerational values discrepancies for female adolescents in particular (Ferguson, Bornstein, & Pottinger, 2012). These findings

suggest that cultural globalization can have destabilizing effects on Jamaican adolescents'
cultural identity but can the same effects be expected among a sample of Trinidadian
adolescents?

The Trinidadian context for development of cultural identity

   Positioning "Trini" culture in relation to Jamaica and the U.S. Trinidad and Tobago
(T&T) differs from Jamaica in terms of the length of colonial rule, type of colonial rulers, degree
of population diversity, and level of economic development, which result in varying cultural
norms between both countries. Jamaica and T&T also differ in proximity to the US (Jamaica
being relatively close to North America and T&T being quite close to South America). Yet, T&T
is similar to Jamaica in other ways such as cultural entertainment preferences in music and
dance. Based on social comparison theory (Festinger, 1954) individuals are likely to compare
themselves to similar others, therefore, to the extent that Jamaican culture is more similar than
U.S. culture in the minds of Trinidadian youth, they might gravitate toward Jamaican culture. For
example, prior studies showed that some Trinidadian youth had a greater preference for Jamaican
dancehall music than U.S. hip hop music (Jackman, 2010) and even local soca music (Ryan,
1972).

   Other researchers found that there is low cultural distance between T&T and Jamaica,
which are both influenced by Western cultural norms (Punnett, Dick-Forde, & Robinson, 2014).
In that study, participants from both T&T and Jamaica scored almost identically on a cultural
perspective questionnaire that measures cultural values in relationships with others and the
environment, as well as beliefs about human nature. Furthermore, Punnett et al. (2014),
concluded that there was considerable anglo (Western) influence on both T&T and Jamaica since
both countries scored highly on individualism and mastery. The U.S. is still the main dominant

global culture in the English-speaking Caribbean region, but in T&T, Jamaican culture is a dominant influence as well. Therefore, it is possible that Trinidadian youth face cultural globalization pressure from both the US and Jamaica.

A globalized cultural orientation (whether in the form of Americanization or Jamaicanization) is not inherently adaptive or maldapative. Remote acculturation research suggests that negative effects of cultural globalization (e.g. intergenerational conflict and psychological distress) resulted from person-environment mismatch of values (Ferguson, Bornstein, & Pottinger, 2012). Therefore, to the extent that cultural globalization promotes values that match the local sociocultural context of majority world youth (cultural identity fit), positive effects on youth development can be expected.

Research on Trini national identity. In general, Trinidadians have a deep sense of pride in their national culture that can act as a buffer against cultural globalization pressures. One study has shown while T&T had a moderate globalization score (58 out of 100 on the KOF globalization index), Trinidadians ranked highest on levels of patriotism in comparison to 62 other countries around the world (Ariely, 2012). Ninety-one percent of Trinidadians in the study sample, said they were proud of their country (compared to 73% in the U.S. for example). Findings from that study (Ariely, 2002) also revealed that the extent of globalization in a country is not so much related to nationalism (nation-centric views) as it is related to patriotism (national pride). Countries higher in patriotism tended to score lower on globalization. In addition, stronger national identification was associated with globalization resistance. Hence, it is likely that Trinidadian youth that identify more strongly with the local national culture will show low-moderate levels of Americanized or Jamaicanized cultural orientations.

Definition of cultural identity used in this study

The conceptualization of cultural identity in this study was greatly influenced by existing literature on different types of social identities: ethnic, racial, national, and cultural identity. In this study, cultural identity is a type of social identity comprising: 1) Trini culture affirmation—adolescents' positive identification with their national culture as a source of pride, affirmation and belonging; and 2) cultural orientation—adolescents' relative psychological positioning among various cultures that influence their everyday lives. By defining culture as a social identity, this aligns with the definition given by Ozer et al. (2017).

Trini culture affirmation. Trini (national) culture affirmation is more of an emotional aspect of cultural identity associated with positive feelings of cultural pride and attachment based on the assumption that as a form of social identity, cultural identity is a central and salient aspect of adolescents' personal identity. This part of my definition of cultural identity incorporates elements of ethnic and racial identity (Cross, 1978; Phinney, 1992; Sellers et al., 1997) but also aligns with conceptions of a shared national culture (Barrett, 2000; Hall, 1999). Admittedly, the distinction between national culture affirmation and national identity (which is not under examination in this study) is minor. The main difference is that national identity is more about attachment to a place or concept of nationhood/statehood, and citizenship, while national culture affirmation is more about attachment to the concept of a shared culture, centrally important to an individual's sense of self. According to Ozer et al., (2017) individuals can "pick up [their] culture and walk with the global" demonstrating that the concept of cultural identity is less bounded than the concept of national identity.

Cultural orientation. Cultural orientation is more of a behavioral aspect of cultural identity associated with engagement in cultural practices, consumption of cultural products, and

interactions with individuals from different countries. Defining cultural identity as including

varying cultural orientations, acknowledges that cultural identity develops in context amidst both

local and global forces, and that different cultural orientations are formed via active engagement

in various cultures. Therefore, in accordance with cultural psychological perspectives (Adams &

Markus, 2004)—culture both acts upon, and is acted upon by—majority world youth. Cultural

identity has implications for intergroup relations and civic engagement among youth in

multicultural democratic societies.

Building Healthy Social Relationships Among Diverse Youth

In addition to the construction of positive social identities, building healthy social

relationships is also an important aspect of PYD, especially in culturally diverse societies. Given

that T&T is a multicultural society, one PYD outcome that seems particularly relevant to issues

of cultural identity is multicultural attitudes. Multiculturalism can simultaneously refer to a

country's social demography, social policy, and social ideology (Berry & Ward, 2016). Modern

democratic societies are faced with the paradoxical task of both restricting and endorsing

individuals' rights to personal and sociocultural differentiation, and some might view

multiculturalism as a viable policy for the management of cultural diversity (Moghaddam, 2008).

Multicultural policy and ideology suggest that in multiethnic societies, equal and mutual respect

for all ethnic cultural groups facilitates the building of healthy social relationships.

However, successful attainment of multiculturalism tends to be a moving target given its

multifaceted nature (Pieterse, 2007). While countries such as Canada are regarded as the epitome

of successful multiculralism, in Europe, multiculturalism is widely considered a political failure

(Evans, 2010; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013). Indeed, fairly recent global events that have resulted in

an uptick in ethnocentric nationalist sentiment in the Middle East, Europe, and the United States have called the validity of multicultural policy and ideology into question. Some scholars claim that interculturalism (grassroots bottom-up efforts at cultural integration) is a more appropriate approach than multiculturalism (state sanctioned top-down efforts at cultural integration) in dealing with cultural diversity (Solano-Campos, 2016). Similarly, Rosenthal & Levy (2010) suggest that polyculturalism—emphasizing the historical and current connectedness (rather than separation) of diverse cultural groups—is a viable alternative to multiculturalism, which has been criticized for its overemphasis on cultural difference. Still, other scholars regard the distinction between the interculturalism and multiculturalism as a false dichotomy, and suggest that the intercultural perspective adopts too narrow a view to have any considerable social impact (Kymlicka, 2016; Meer, Modood, & Zapata-Barrero, 2016). Nevertheless, both individual and social factors (that shape individuals' cultural identity) can influence the way that multiculturalism unfolds in social settings.

Multicultural attitudes

Individual differences in the interpretation of sociocultural experiences can influence the extent to which multicultural attitudes are internalized. Research on multicultural attitudes shows that there are individual differences in support for multiculturalism based on ethnicity, age, and gender. Verkuyten (2005), proposed a social psychological hypothesis on multicultural attitudes, which suggests that minority ethnic groups are more likely to support multiculturalism, especially to the extent that they identify strongly with their ethnic group. This hypothesis has largely been supported by research on adolescents from the Netherlands. For example, several studies have found that among adolescents, ethnic minorities were more likely than majority

groups to endorse multicultural policies, especially if they strongly identify with their ethnicity

(van Geel & Vedder, 2011; Verkuyten, 2005; Verkuyten & Brug, 2004; Verkuyten &

Martinovic, 2006; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002). One study that included Caribbean immigrants

(e.g. from the Dutch Antilles and Suriname), also found similar results (Stupar, van de Vijver, Te

Lindert, & Fontaine, 2014) whereby Caribbean immigrants scored higher than Dutch nationals

(the majority group) on multicultural attitudes. Additionally, the study by Stupar et al., (2014),

found individual differences in age. Minority groups' support for multiculturalism decreased with

age, but majority groups' support for multiculturalism increased with age. Meanwhile other

studies have found that in general, late adolescents and young adults score lower on multicultural

attitudes (especially knowledge of inequality) than older adults (Munroe, 2006). Gender

differences in multicultural attitudes were also evident in research, with males scoring lower than

females (Munroe, 2006), and boys scoring lower than girls (van Geel & Vedder, 2011).

Social factors that influence multicultural attitudes include communal beliefs,

friendships, classroom composition, education, and social initiative. Research shows that support

for multiculturalism is positively associated with communalism but negatively associated with

individualism (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006). Intergroup friendships can also influence

majority groups' support for multiculturalism (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006). One study found

that a friendship intervention for children improved attitudes toward refugees in the short-term

for those in majority groups, and increased refugee children's support for the social integration in

the long-term (Turner & Brown, 2008). In addition, the ethnic composition and intercultural

dynamics of classrooms can impact students' multicultural attitudes (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013).

Multicultural education can have positive effects on support for multiculturalism among early

adolescents, with benefits such as improved cultural knowledge and understanding, as well as the

establishment of racial equality norms in classrooms (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013). One study

found that the more multicultural courses that college students took, the higher they scored on

multicultural attitudes (Munroe, 2006). Research also suggests that personality traits such as

social initiative and open-mindedness for example, influence students' value for diversity and

social adjustment (Yakunina, Weigold, Weigold, Hercegovac, & Elsayed, 2012). Furthermore,

multicultural attitudes were found to positively impact the self-esteem of both minority and

majority group adolescents (Verkuyten, 2009). Together, the research on multicultural attitudes

confirms its relevance to PYD and reveals a need to better understand how issues of identity—

particularly cultural identity as defined in this study—might influence adolescents' development

of multicultural attitudes.

Fostering Civic Engagement

A final key strength emphasized by both PYD and decolonial scholars, in addition to the

construction of positive social identities and building healthy social relationships is fostering

civic engagement. Given that T&T is a democratic society, another PYD outcome that seems

particularly relevant to issues of cultural identity is civic motivation. Responsible citizenship

develops over time through active learning and engagement in civic activities that increase civic

knowledge, civic competence, and civic participation (Youniss et al., 2002). Civic participation,

insofar as it indicates political involvement and active community engagement is seen by some

as the most valuable component of civic development because these are the nation building,

democratic behaviors that matter most (Billig, Root, & Jesse, 2005; Flanagan & Levine, 2010;

O'Donoghue & Kirshner, 2003; Youniss et al., 2002; Youniss, McLellan, & Yates, 1997). The

civic engagement field tends to emphasize service learning over more active forms of political

participation (Hansen, Jessop, & Crawford, 2012) and has been criticized for sustaining rather than challenging the sociopolitical status-quo by ignoring the inherent normative (value) positions prominent in youth civic education (Levine & Higgins-D'Alessandro, 2010; Watts & Flanagan, 2007). Nevertheless, others see a major role for community organizations in fostering youth civic engagement and other forms of positive youth development (Catalano et al., 2002; Damon, 2004; Eccles & Gootman, 2002; Larson, 2000; Mahoney et al., 2005; Lerner et al, 2011), with specific benefits for marginalized youth (Camino & Zeldin, 2002; Stoneman, 2002).

Civic motivation

In this present study, civic motivation (civic competence and civic value) is considered the most relevant component of civic engagement because it measures achievement motivation in the civic domain, and is therefore a proximal indicator of successful enactment of civic behaviors. Civic competence, recognized as a key component of civic engagement is but one part of civic motivation, of which the other part is civic value. As a psychological construct, civic motivation integrates theories of civic engagement and achievement motivation. In this present study, civic motivation is defined as comprising two main components: self-perceptions of civic competence, and value for civic (community) engagement. This conceptualization builds upon research pertaining to both civic engagement (Dudley & Gitelson, 2003; Youniss et al., 2002) and the expectancy-value theory of achievement motivation (Wigfield & Eccles, 2000; Wigfield, Tonks, & Eccles, 2004).

While the term civic motivation has intuitive meaning, it is not commonly used. Terms such as civic engagement and achievement motivation are more familiar. Recent research has begun to discuss concepts similar to civic motivation such as youths' development of civic

purpose (Malin, Ballard, & Damon, 2015). However, civic competence and civic value are also important since perceptions of competence and task value have motivational implications (Wigfield & Eccles, 2000) that are likely to impact active participation. Additionally, experience with civic participation is likely to concretize civic knowledge in ways that bolster perceptions of competence and valuing of civic activities, and increase the chances for sustained civic participation over time. Given that research on stage-environment fit show that achievement motivation (at least in the academic domain) tends to decline during school transitions from elementary to middle school/junior high (Eccles, Wigfield, Harold, & Blumenfeld, 1993; Eccles et al., 1993; Gutman & Eccles, 2007; Simmons, Burgeson, Carlton-Ford, & Blyth, 1987), it is possible that there might be across-grade, developmental differences in civic motivation.

Present Study

The aim of this study was to examine whether cultural identity is a resource for PYD in the face of cultural globalization pressures among a sample of Trinidadian adolescents. A key assumption of this present study is that though cultural orientation and Trini culture affirmation are related aspects of cultural identity, they are separate constructs. Cultural orientation can be localized, globalized, or glocalized (both local and global), whereas Trini culture affirmation for the purposes of this study refers specifically to feelings of pride, belonging, and attachment to the national culture. In addition, both cultural orientation and Trini culture affirmation were presumed to impact two PYD outcomes, namely multicultural attitudes and civic motivation, which are relevant to decolonized educational objectives in democratic, multicultural majority world contexts like T&T.

Research questions and hypotheses

Four main research questions emerged based on this theoretical framework: 1. What different types of cultural orientations might one expect to find among a sample of Trinidadian youth? I hypothesized that Trinidadian adolescents' engagement with various cultures is associated with the formation of cultural orientations characterized by globalization, localization, and glocalization. Cultural globalization will take the form of Americanized and Jamaicanized cultural orientations, cultural localization will take the form of a Trini cultural orientation and cultural glocalization will take the form of a bicultural Caribbean cultural orientation (both Trini and Jamaicanized). 2. How are Trinidadian adolescents' different cultural orientations related to their Trini culture affirmation and PYD outcomes of multicultural attitudes and civic motivation? I hypothesized that adolescents with localized (Trini) and glocalized (Caribbean) cultural orientations will have a stronger sense Trini culture affirmation and score higher on PYD outcomes (multicultural attitudes and civic motivation) than adolescents with globalized (Americanized and Jamaicanized) cultural orientations. 3. What are the social and developmental factors that influence Trinidadian adolescents' cultural orientation? I hypothesized that adolescents' cultural orientation, Trini culture affirmation, and PYD outcomes differ based on their ethnicity, grade, and gender. 4. To what extent are both emotional and behavioral aspects of cultural identity (cultural orientation and Trini culture affirmation) associated with each other and with PYD outcomes (multicultural attitudes and civic motivation? I hypothesized that Trini culture affirmation is positively associated with PYD, and mediates the relationship between cultural orientations and PYD outcomes which can be both negative and positive.

Chapter 3: Methods

Research and sampling design

I used a cross-sectional random sample design to examine the relationships among cultural identity (Trini culture affirmation and cultural orientation) and PYD outcomes (multicultural attitudes and civic motivation) in this study. In the following sections, I provide in some detail, descriptions of sample and population demographics to facilitate a better understanding of selection and characteristics of participants included in the study.

Organization of the school system. In T&T schools are organized by districts. There are 8 districts in total, seven in Trinidad and one in Tobago. Each district comprises several denominational schools (run by religious boards) and government schools (run by state boards). Both denominational schools and government schools are (partly or wholly) publicly-funded schools. However, denominational schools are more likely to be single-sex schools, while government schools are more likely to be co-ed schools. Schools are ranked based on the academic aptitude of their students. Denominational schools tend to be ranked higher than government schools (with a few exceptions) and are therefore considered more prestigious.

Original sample. Originally, eight secondary schools in Trinidad and Tobago were randomly selected for inclusion in the current study using two-stage cluster with stratification sampling design. First, four out of the eight districts were randomly selected with the stratification criteria that the single school district in Tobago be included. Then from each of these four school districts (three from Trinidad and one from Tobago), two schools were selected with the stratification criteria that one school be a denominational school, and the other school be a government school. In the end, the original full sample ($N = 761$) included eight schools—six

schools from Trinidad and two schools from Tobago, four denominational schools and four

government schools (see Table 1 below).

Table 1. Two-stage cluster with stratification sampling design used to select schools for inclusion
in the study

Inclusion criteria	Selection														
Country[a]	Trinidad													Tobago	
District[b]	Dist1		Dist2		Dist3		Dist4		Dist5		Dist6		Dist7		Dist8	
School Type[a]	D	G	D	G	D	G	D	G	D	G	D	G	D	G	D	G
School[b]	--	--	S1	S2	--	--	S3	S4	--	--	S5	S6	--	--	S7	S8
N (total 761)			115	77			138	81			128	84			81	57

[a]Strata; [b]Clusters
Dist = district; D = denominational; G = government; S = school
Note: the specific names of districts and schools selected are omitted in consideration of
confidentiality

Final sample. The present analysis includes only the six Trinidad schools. As a result of

random sampling, the two schools chosen in Tobago were the two lowest performing schools in

that district, and the reading level of the students was low. It is believed that the low reading

level of students might have affected the survey data collected (for example, there was almost

twice as much missing data from the Tobago sample (35%) compared to the Trinidad sample

(19%)). Thus, it was felt best to omit the Tobago schools from further analysis. Among the six

remaining Trinidad schools, three were denominational schools and three were government

schools. Two of the denominational schools were co-ed and one was a single-sex girls' school.

All of the government schools were co-ed. However, one of the co-ed government schools had

just switched from being a single-sex girls' school and as a result two of the classes visited from

this particular school comprised girls only, leading to an inadvertent oversampling of females in

this study. Classes were not randomly selected but rather selected on the day of survey

administration based on the school schedule and availability of teachers. One class was selected from each grade 6, 7, 8 and 9. Grades 10, 11, &12 were not surveyed because they were taking regional qualifying exams at the time of data collection.

Participants

The final sample comprised 623 students (see Table 2 for demographic details). There were 407 females and 213 males (3 students did not respond to the item about gender). Ages ranged from 11-18 years with an average age of 14 years. Sixty-one percent of students were from denominational schools and 39% of students were from government schools. Trinidad and Tobago is a multicultural society and students identified with a number of different ethnicities and religions. Regarding ethnicity, 19% of students reported that they were of African descent, 35% were of Indian descent, 43% were of mixed descent and 3% were of some other ethnicity (e.g. Chinese descent). Regarding religion, 58% of students were Christian (of which 29% were Catholic and 71% Protestant/Evangelical), 23% were Hindus, 5% were Muslims, and 14% listed their religion as other (e.g. agnostic). As a proxy for SES, students reported their fathers' and mothers' highest level of education. Students reported their mothers' level of education as 30% university-level, 55% secondary level, and 9% primary level. Meanwhile, students reported their fathers' level of education as 26% university-level, 56% secondary level, and 9% primary level. However, there was considerable missing data for father's level of education (10%) compared to mother's level of education (6.3%).

Procedures

Ethical oversight for the present study was conducted both by the Human Subjects Committee for KU, Lawrence (HSCL), and the Ministry of Education in Trinidad and Tobago (TTMOE). The study was found to be in compliance with the ethical standards of both the HSCL

Table 2. Demographic statistics for this study sample and the Trinidad and Tobago (T&T) population

	Sample N = 623	Sample %	T&T %
Grade			
6	179	29	--
7	172	27	--
8	154	25	--
9	118	19	--
Gender			
Female	407	65	50
Male	213	34	50
Ethnicity			
Afro-Trinidadian	120	19	32
Indo-Trinidadian	219	35	37
Mixed	266	43	23
Other	18	3	1
Religion			
Roman Catholic	106	17	22
Other Christian	259	41	33
Hindu	143	23	19
Muslim	29	5	5
Other	86	14	7
Mothers' Education			
Primary	54	9	29[†]
Secondary	346	55	40[†]
University	187	30	9[†]
Father's Education			
Primary	53	9	30[†]
Secondary	343	62	42[†]
University	162	29	7[†]

[†]figures for general population includes both male and female adults. Source for population data: Trinidad and Tobago Housing and Population Data (Central Statistical Office, 2011)

and the TTMOE before data collection started. In addition, Principals from the randomly selected schools were contacted to gain permission for access to student populations for survey administration. All the data was collected by the principal investigator within two weeks, with all the data from any one school collected in a single day, and each class visited at a separate class

period to minimize disruption. Students were given an information statement to take home to

their parents informing about their child/ward's participation in the study and contact information

for researchers should they object to use of their child/ward's data in the study. In addition, youth

provided their own assent before completing the 30-minute survey in paper and pencil format.

The full survey comprised other measures not included in the present dissertation (see Appendix

A).

Measures

  Cultural orientation. A cultural orientation index was created for the purpose of this

study using an adapted version of the Acculturation Rating Scale for Jamaican Adolescents—

ARSJA II (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012) that measures remote acculturation. The adapted scale

contains 17 items that ask participants to indicate their enjoyment of different cultural practices

that are common across Trinidad, Jamaica, and the U.S. The scale requires participants to

indicate the country or countries from which the cultural practices that they enjoy originate, e.g.

"I enjoy listening to music from..." Participants were not restricted to selecting only one country

and could choose as many of the three countries that apply. Items were summed to create a score

for each country. High scores for Trinidad indicate a greater level of engagement in local Trini

culture. High scores for the U.S. and Jamaica indicate a greater level of engagement in those

cultures. Reliability for all scales were acceptable: Trini culture engagement ($\alpha = 0.77$), Jamaican

culture engagement ($\alpha = 0.80$), US culture engagement ($\alpha = 0.78$). Descriptive statistics (means,

standard deviations, and reliabilities) for all measures are presented in Table 3 of the results

section.

Cultural Orientation Index

Here is a list of different activities that you might enjoy doing. Please tell us which countries are connected to the activities you enjoy by placing a tick **(√)** in the appropriate column. **You can choose more than ONE country for each activity** *if* **necessary**.

	Trinidad	Jamaica	America
I enjoy talking with an accent from			
I enjoy hearing other people talk with an accent from			
I enjoy acting as though I am from			
I enjoy listening to music from			
I enjoy singing popular songs from			
I enjoy dancing like people from			
I enjoy watching movies, TV shows, and online videos from			
I enjoy keeping up with the latest scene in			
I enjoy reading about what's happening in			
I enjoy learning about the lifestyles of famous people in			
I enjoy wearing the latest fashions from			
I enjoy eating home-cooked food originally from			
I enjoy eating fast food originally from			
I enjoy interacting with my real-life friends from			
I enjoy interacting with my online friends from			
I enjoy spending time with family members from			
I enjoy meeting people in the street from			

The cultural orientation index used in this study is different from the ARSJA II in four key ways: 1) The index focuses on direct or indirect behaviors such as participation in cultural practices and consumption of cultural products only and therefore does not include identification with/attachment to a particular culture; 2) Students responded to the cultural orientation index in a binary way (yes = 1, no = 0) rather than on a rating scale; and 3) Scores are calculated by

summing across items rather than averaging across items; and 4) The two target remote cultures are two different nations rather than two different ethnic groups within the same nation.

A key assumption is that a person's imagined cultural positioning is characterized by fluidity. In the mind, the influence of various cultures on an individuals' cultural orientation is hardly absolute but the result of several possible cultural combinations. Cultural orientation profiles can reflect various forms of cultural globalization (centered on remote practices and consumption), cultural localization (centered on local practices and consumption) and/or cultural glocalization (centered on a combination of local and remote practices).

Trini culture affirmation. Trini culture affirmation was measured using adapted versions of selected subscales from the Multi-Ethnic Identity Measure—MEIM (Phinney, 1992; Roberts et al., 1999); and the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity—MIBI-teen (Scottham, Sellers, & Nguyên, 2008). Participants responded to 9 Likert-type items in total. Seven from the MEIM and 2 from the MIBI-teen.

An adapted version of the MEIM that gets at national "Trini" culture affirmation was tested in pre-dissertation research in Trinidad, and results showed that though the full scale ($\alpha =$ 0.73), and the affirmation, belonging, and commitment subscale ($\alpha = 0.70$) demonstrated acceptable reliability; the identity search subscale ($\alpha = 0.58$) demonstrated poor reliability. Subsequently, only adapted items from the affirmation, belonging, and commitment subscale was used in this current study. This subscale comprised 7 Likert-type items, on a scale from (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree. High scores suggest high affirmation of and commitment to the national Trini culture.

In addition, two items adapted from the MIBI-teen that measure identity centrality were included in the measure of cultural identity. These two items "I feel close to other Trini people."

and "If I were to describe myself to someone, one of the first things that I would say is that I'm a Trini." were also rated on a scale from (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree. It should be noted that one of the items on this combined nine-item scale "I have a strong sense of belonging to [target social identity group]" was common to both the MEIM and MIBI-teen. High scores on the combined scale for Trini culture affirmation suggest that Trini cultural identity plays a positively affirming and central role in the lives of adolescents. In this study, the Trini culture affirmation scale demonstrated good reliability ($\alpha = 0.87$) after item adjustments were made based on the CFA.

Trini Culture Affirmation Scale

Answer the questions about your Trinidadian cultural identity. Circle the number that **BEST** matches your response to the following question.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
I am active in national cultural organizations or social groups.	1	2	3	4	5
I understand pretty well what my Trinidadian culture means to me.	1	2	3	4	5
I feel a strong attachment towards my country.	1	2	3	4	5
I am happy that I am a Trinidadian.	1	2	3	4	5
I am proud to be a Trinidadian.	1	2	3	4	5
I feel good about my Trinidadian background.	1	2	3	4	5
I feel close to other Trini people.	1	2	3	4	5
I have a strong sense of belonging to Trinidad.	1	2	3	4	5
If I were to describe myself to someone, one of the first things that I would say is that I'm a Trini.	1	2	3	4	5

Positive youth development outcomes. PYD outcomes were measured by two scales that assess multicultural attitudes and civic motivation (civic competence and civic value).

Multicultural attitudes. The Internalized Multiculturalism scale adapted from the Cross Racial Identification Scale—CRIS (Vandiver et al., 2002), assesses the extent to which participants embrace multicultural attitudes. This measure contained 7 Likert-type items, on a scale from (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree, e.g. "I believe in a society that includes all cultures." High scores indicate a strong orientation towards multiculturalism. In this study, the multicultural attitudes scale demonstrated good reliability ($\alpha = 0.84$) after item adjustments were made based on the CFA.

Multicultural Attitudes Scale

Regarding your feelings about different cultures, please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements. Circle the number that **BEST** matches your response.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
I believe in a society that includes all cultures.	1	2	3	4	5
I have friendly relationships with all cultural groups.	1	2	3	4	5
I can celebrate my Trini identity and still respect other cultures.	1	2	3	4	5
I support unity with other cultural groups.	1	2	3	4	5
I believe in forming connections with other cultural groups.	1	2	3	4	5
I accept people from all cultural backgrounds.	1	2	3	4	5
I believe that my Trini identity is strengthened by working together with other cultures.	1	2	3	4	5

Civic motivation. Based on an expectancy-value theoretical framework (Wigfield & Eccles, 2000), civic motivation was conceptualized as achievement motivation in the civic domain, which comprises both domain-specific self-perceptions of competence and domain-specific subjective task value. Civic competence was measured using the competence for civic

action scale (Flanagan, Syvertsen, & Stout, 2007). It contains 9 items e.g. "If you found out about a problem in your community that you wanted to do something about it, how well do you think you would be able to...create a plan to address the problem." Items were rated on a 5 point Likert-type scale ranging from (1) I definitely can't, to (5) I definitely can. High scores reflect greater self-perceptions of civic competence.

Civic Competence Scale

If you found out about a problem in your community and you wanted to do something about it, how well do you think you would be able to do each of the following? **CIRCLE** the number that best matches your response.

	I definitely can't	I probably can't	Maybe	I probably can	I definitely can
Create a plan to address the problem.	1	2	3	4	5
Get other people to care about the problem.	1	2	3	4	5
Organize and run a meeting.	1	2	3	4	5
Express your views in front of a group of people.	1	2	3	4	5
Identify individuals or groups who could help you with the problem.	1	2	3	4	5
Write an opinion letter to a local newspaper.	1	2	3	4	5
Call someone on the phone that you had never met before to get their help with the problem.	1	2	3	4	5
Contact an elected official about the problem.	1	2	3	4	5
Organize a petition or social movement.	1	2	3	4	5

A four-item scale measuring civic value was created for the purpose of this study with one item for each component of task value hypothesized by (Wigfield, 1994): interest, importance, utility, and cost e.g. "Is it important for you to be involved community projects?" Items were rated on a 5 point Likert-type scale ranging from (1) not at all, to (5) very much. In

this study both the civic competence ($\alpha = 0.79$) and civic value scale ($\alpha = 0.73$) demonstrated

acceptable reliability after item adjustments were made based on the CFA. However, the higher

order factor of civic motivation demonstrated poor reliability ($\alpha = 0.61$).

Civic value scale

Read the following questions concerning how you feel about community activities. Circle the number that
best matches your response to each question.

	Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Mostly	Very much
Do you like doing activities that involve community projects?	1	2	3	4	5
Is it important for you to be involved community projects?	1	2	3	4	5
Are the things you learn from activities that involve community projects useful to you outside of school?	1	2	3	4	5
In general, do you think it is worth it to spend time participating in activities that involve community projects?	1	2	3	4	5

Demographic variables. Students were compared based on gender (male, female), grade

level in school (6, 7, 8, and 9) and ethnicity (Indo-Trinidadian, other ethnicities).

Analytic strategy

Preliminary analyses. First, descriptive statistics such as means, standard deviations,

correlations, and reliabilities (based on Cronbach's alpha) were calculated for the variables of

interest in this study (see Table 3 in results section). Then, I conducted CFAs for each variable of

interest (Trini culture affirmation, multicultural attitudes, and civic motivation) including tests

for measurement invariance across ethnicity, grade level and gender. I also calculated intraclass

correlation coefficients based on school for each latent variable to check whether the effects of

nested data suggested a potential multilevel structure. Finally, I checked for measurement

invariance across ethnicities, grades, and genders.

Hypothesis 1: Culture orientation profiles. A four-cluster solution based on students' scores on the cultural orientation index was tested. First, k-means cluster analysis in SPSS was used because K-means is deemed appropriate for testing a pre-determined number of clusters. To validate the solution derived from the k-means analysis, clusters were again computed in SPSS but this time using the Ward's method that involves an agglomerative clustering algorithm based on analysis of variances rather than using distance metrics or measures of association. Participants' sum scores on their endorsement of Trini, Jamaican, and the U.S. culture were transformed to z scores to reflect whether their scores for a particular cultural group (Trini, Jamaican, U.S.) were above or below the mean of the overall sample. These z scores were the basis for the cluster solution that produced cultural orientation profiles.

Hypothesis 2 & 3: Cluster and group differences in variables of interest. The association of cultural orientations with sample demographics (ethnicity, grade, and gender) was examined by conducting crosstabulations. Then, one-way ANOVAs were conducted to test for differences in other variables of interest (national culture affirmation, multicultural attitudes, civic competence and civic value) based on cultural orientation profiles. Finally, differences in variables of interest based on demographic factors were also examined.

Hypothesis 4: Mediational SEM path models. Two SEM models were specified, one where Trini culture affirmation mediated the relationship between cultural orientation and multicultural attitudes; and the other where Trini culture affirmation mediated the relationship between cultural orientation and civic motivation. For the independent variable of cultural orientation, three orthogonal contrasts were specified to compare students of different cultural orientations. Decisions about which groups to compare for each contrast was jointly informed by theoretical a priori assumptions and aforementioned ANOVA results.

Chapter 4: Results

Preliminary analyses

Descriptive statistics. Table 3 presents the means, standard deviations, correlations, and reliability statistics for variable of interest in this study. On average, scores on Jamaican culture engagement were low ($M = 3.44$, $sd = 3.12$), especially in comparison to scores on Trini culture engagement ($M = 10.35$, $sd = 3.52$) and scores on US culture engagement ($M = 9.24$, $sd = 3.76$), both of which weren't that different from each other. In addition, students tended to score high on Trini culture affirmation ($M = 4.24$, $sd = 0.77$) and multicultural attitudes ($M = 4.24$, $sd = 0.73$) but score moderately on civic competence ($M = 3.35$, $sd = 0.78$) and civic value ($M = 3.52$, $sd = 0.90$).

Trini culture engagement was positively related to Jamaican culture engagement ($r = 0.26$, all correlations $\geq \pm 0.08$ were statistically significant), and PYD outcomes ($r = 0.13$ to 0.29) but negatively related to US culture engagement ($r = -0.13$). Jamaican culture engagement was positively related to US culture engagement ($r = 0.10$), and PYD outcomes ($r = 0.08$ to 0.12). US culture engagement was negatively related to Trini culture affirmation ($r = -0.14$) but positively related to multicultural attitudes only ($r = 0.28$) with no significant relationships with other PYD outcomes. Relationships among PYD outcomes were statistically significant and ranged from small to moderate ($r = 0.26$ to 0.45) in magnitude. Even though civic motivation was hypothesized as a higher order factor, the reliability for the higher order factor was fair ($\alpha = .61$), whereas the individual civic competence and civic value subscales demonstrated good reliability ($\alpha = .79$ and $\alpha = .73$, respectively). Accordingly, the individual subscales, not the higher order factor, were chosen to be included in further analyses.

Table 3. Descriptive statistics for scales measuring variables of interest in the study.

	M	sd	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Trini culture engagement	10.35	3.52	(.77)							
2. Jamaican culture engagement	3.44	3.12	.26	(.80)						
3. US culture engagement	9.24	3.76	-.13	.10	(.78)					
4. Trini culture affirmation	4.24	.77	.29	.14	-.14	(.87)				
5. Multicultural attitudes	4.24	.73	.13	.08	.28	.35	(.84)			
6. Civic competence	3.35	.78	.18	.08	.05	.28	.26	(.79)		
7. Civic value	3.52	.90	.18	.12	.06	.39	.30	.45	(.73)	
8. Civic motivation	3.44	.71	.21	.12	.07	.40	.33	.83	.87	(.61)

Cronbach's alpha shown by diagonal values in parentheses

Note: all correlations $\geq \pm 0.08$ are statistically significant; scores for scales 1-3 range from 0 to 17; scores from scales 4-8 range from 1 to 5.

In summary, even though average scores for Trini and US culture engagement were both moderate, average scores for Jamaican culture engagement were much lower than both. Trini and US culture engagement were inversely related, but Jamaican culture engagement was positively related to both. U.S. culture engagement was negatively related to Trini culture affirmation, unlike Trini and Jamaican culture engagement which were positively related to Trini culture affirmation. In addition, U.S. culture engagement was only significantly and positively associated with multicultural attitudes, whereas Trini and Jamaican culture engagement were significantly and positively associated with all PYD outcomes.

Evaluating the impact of nesting within schools. The random cluster sampling design used in this study meant that students are nested within schools, and therefore it was necessary to assess the impact of the nested structure of the data before proceeding to confirm the factor structure using CFA. This was a crucial step because although there was insufficient power (too few number of level 2 groups compared to the number of estimated parameters in the model) to test for multilevel modeling, the effect of nesting should be accounted for where it exists. To determine the effect of the nesting variable school on Trini culture affirmation, multicultural attitudes, civic competence, and civic values, intraclass correlation coefficients (ICC) were calculated in R, using the ICCest function in the ICC program (Wolak & Wolak, 2015). While ICC estimates for the effects of nesting in schools were small/negligible for Trini culture affirmation ($\rho = 0.035$, 90% C.I. = -0.019 – 0.088) civic competence ($\rho = 0.028$, 90% C.I. = -0.018 – 0.074), and civic value ($\rho = 0.031$, 90% C.I. = -0.018 – 0.081) it was moderately high for multicultural attitudes ($\rho = 0.218$, 90% C.I. = -0.007 – 0.444), suggesting that the school that students attend, accounts for 22% of the variability in their scores on multicultural attitudes (see Luke, 2004; for interpretation of ICC). Therefore, the lavaan.survey program (Oberski, 2014) in R was used to account for the complex survey design (cluster sampling based on schools) when fitting the latent variable for multicultural attitudes.

CFA model fit. Final CFA results (see Table 4) yielded good fit for Trini culture affirmation (RMSEA = 0.03, 90% C.I., = 0.000 – 0.074, CFI = 0.998), multicultural attitudes (RMSEA = 0.00, 90% C.I. = 0.000- 0.055, CFI = 1.000), and civic value (RMSEA = 0.00, 90% C.I. = 0.000- 0.067, CFI = 1.000); and acceptable fit for civic competence (RMSEA = 0.06, 90% C.I. = 0.044 – 0.083, CFI = 0.964). To fit each CFA model, analyses were run using the lavaan and semTools packages in R (Pornprasertmanit et al., 2013; Rosseel, 2012) using Maximum

Table 4. Model fit statistics for CFAs on latent variables

Latent factor	χ^2	df	p-value	RMSEA	90% C.I.	CFI	TLI	SRMR
Trini culture affirmation	6.45	4	0.168	0.031	0.000, 0.074	0.998	0.996	0.012
Multicultural attitudes	3.31	5	0.653	0.000	0.000, 0.055	1.000	1.004	0.010
Civic competence	48.84	14	< .001	0.063	0.044, 0.083	0.964	0.946	0.032
Civic value	1.13	2	0.568	0.000	0.000, 0.067	1.000	1.006	0.007

Likelihood (ML) with the exception of multicultural attitudes for which Robust Maximum Likelihood (MLR) was used. Adjustments were made to some of the scales to fit the latent variable CFA models. Items with low factors scores ($\lambda < .40$) were deleted and modification indices were used to identify correlated residuals using the miPowerFit function in semTools that applies guidelines outlined by Saris, Satorra, and Van der Veld (2009) for identification of parameters to be modified (see Appendix B for details on item adjustments). For Trini culture affirmation, item 1 was deleted because of low factor score, then based on modification indices residuals for items 4 and 5 were allowed to covary, while item 2 was deleted because of several correlated residuals, which is a possible indication of redundancy, and items 7 and 9 from the MIBI-teen's centrality scale, which indeed appeared to indicate a separate factor—despite research documenting similarity between centrality and the MEIM's affirmation scale—were also subsequently deleted. For civic competence, two items—items 2 and 7 were deleted due to low factor loadings, and lastly for multicultural attitudes, item 2 was deleted because of low factor score, while item 3 was deleted because modification indices indicated correlated residuals with several variables, again a possible indication of redundancy.

The measurement invariance function in the semTools package in R (Pornprasertmanit et al., 2013) was used to test for configural, weak, and strong invariance. Strong measurement invariance across ethnicities, grade levels, and genders was achieved for all variables of interest except for multicultural attitudes which was non-invariant across genders. Therefore, while comparisons across ethnicities grade levels, and genders are valid in most cases, differences across genders in multicultural attitudes specifically, could be due to some unobserved variable, and gender comparisons for this single variable would be inappropriate.

Hypothesis 1: Cultural orientation profiles

A four-cluster solution emerged from the cluster analysis (see Figure 1). A "cosmopolitan" cultural orientation profile ($N = 73$) emerged as the glocalized group— comprising participants who scored above the mean on engagement in all three cultures—rather than the expected "Caribbean" orientation profile. A "marginalized" ($N = 190$) cultural orientation profile also emerged, which scored below the mean on Trini and US culture engagement and slightly above the mean on Jamaican culture engagement ($M = 4.36$, $sd = 2.30$). Because students in this cluster this scored higher on Trini and US culture engagement than Jamaican culture engagement, and scores on Jamaican culture engagement were still relatively low, it was felt that "Jamaicanized" cultural orientation would be a misnomer, and hence the term "marginalized" is used, in absence of clear identification with one culture over the other. The other two clusters labeled "Trini" ($N = 243$), and "Americanized" ($N = 107$) cultural orientation were as expected. Both K-means and Ward's method cluster analyses yielded the same four-clusters. However, the number of participants in each cluster varied as there was a more even distribution of the number of participants across clusters for the k-means analysis than Ward's

method. Results presented here reflect the outcome of Ward's method since documented issues

with k-means clustering such as high sums of squares errors, renders solutions derived from

Ward's agglomerative clustering algorithm more tenable (Tan, Steinbach, & Kumar, 2013).

Scores for 10 participants were missing for the cultural orientation index and as a result the

number of participants in each cluster add up to 613.
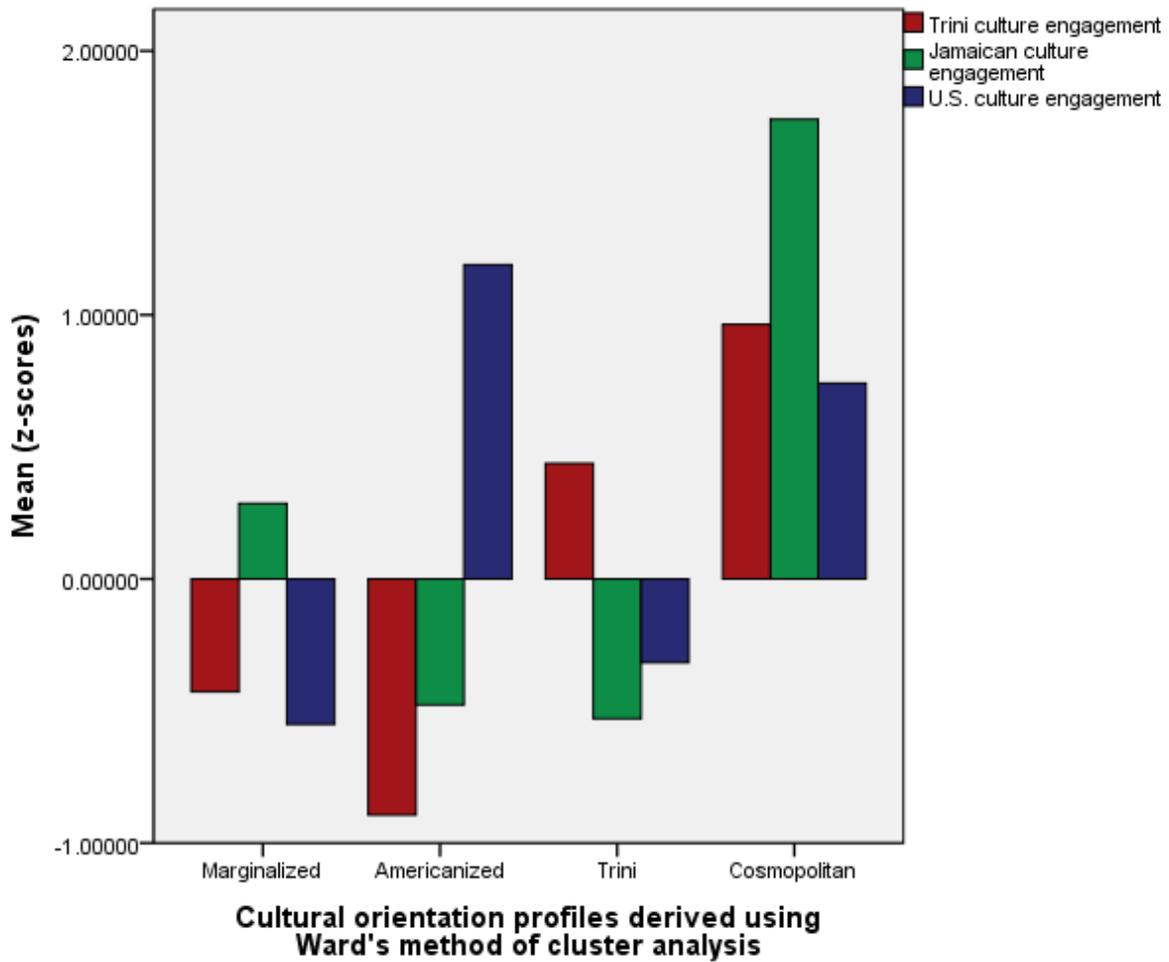
Figure 1. Four-cluster solution for the cultural orientation index

MANOVA results showed that the means for Trini, Jamaican, and U.S. culture

engagement across cultural orientation profiles were statistically and significantly different from

each other (F (9, 1477) = 171.92, p = < .001) with a moderate effect size (η^2 = 0.44). Although unequal variances were observed, in general, ANOVA is robust to heterogeneity of variance (Gamage & Weerahandi, 1998) and therefore the F-test is still interpretable. Additionally, post-hoc comparisons using Games-Howell corrections (unequal variances were assumed) showed differences in cluster means were statistically significant for all between group comparisons except for students with U.S. and Trini culture orientation profiles whose scores on Jamaican culture endorsement (M = 1.93, sd = 1.79; and M = 1.81, sd = 2.09 respectively) were not significantly different from each other (see Table 5).

In summary, cultural globalization characterized 48% of the sample (represented by Marginalized and Americanized cultural orientations), while cultural localization characterized 40% of the sample (represented by a Trini orientation) and cultural glocalization characterized a mere 12% of the sample (represented by a cosmopolitan orientation).

Exploratory analyses were conducted to better understand the characterization of the cultural orientation cluster profiles based on sample demographics. There were no significant associations between students' cultural orientation and their gender or grade level, but as Table 6 demonstrates, there was a statistically significant association between cultural orientation and ethnicity (χ^2(3) = 30.80, $p < .001$), although the strength of association was weak (Cramer's V = 0.22). Students of Indian-descent were 20 % more likely to have a Trini cultural orientation and 2% more likely to have an Americanized cultural orientation than students of all other ethnicities. However, students of all other ethnicities were 15% more likely to have a marginalized cultural orientation, and 7% more likely to have a Cosmopolitan orientation than students of Indian-descent.

Table 5. MANOVA results for Cluster-based differences in Trini, Jamaican, and US culture engagement

Cultural orientation index component	Overall N= 613		Cluster labels							
			Marginalized[a] N = 190		Americanized[b] N = 107		Trini[c] N = 243		Cosmopolitan[d] N = 73	
	M	*sd*	*M*	*sd*	*M*	*sd*	*M*	*sd*	*M*	*sd*
Trini culture endorsement	10.35	3.50	8.88 b,c,d	2.45	7.22 a,c,d	3.32	11.85 a,b,d	2.78	13.73 a,b,c	2.62
Jamaican culture endorsement	3.44	3.13	4.36 b,c,d	2.30	1.93 a,d	1.79	1.81 a,d	2.09	8.75 a,b,c	2.64
US culture endorsement	9.24	3.77	7.16 b,c,d	2.83	13.69 a,c,d	1.86	8.06 a,b,d	3.12	12.05 a,b,c	2.83

Cultural orientation index component	*F*	*df*	p-value	Effect Size (η^2)
Trini culture endorsement	117.64	3, 609	< .001	**0.38**
Jamaican culture endorsement	175.63	3, 609	< .001	**0.52**
US culture endorsement	246.94	3, 609	< .001	**0.45**

Note: notation indicates which means are statistically and significantly different from each other; bolded text indicates significant effects

Table 6. Crosstabulations of cultural orientation profiles by ethnicity

Cultural orientation	Indian-descent $N = 215$ (%)	Other ethnicities $N = 398$ (%)	χ^2	df	p-value	Effect size (Cramer's V)
Trini	53	33				
Marginalized	21	36				
Americanized	19	17				
Cosmopolitan	7	14				
Total	100	100	30.80	3	$< .001$	0.22

Hypothesis 2: Differences in Trini culture affirmation and PYD outcomes based on cultural orientation profiles

In Table 7 the means scores for Trini culture affirmation, multicultural attitudes, civic competence, and civic value for each cultural orientation profile are presented. There were significant differences in Trini culture affirmation based on students' cultural orientation (F (3, 232) = 12.93, $p < .001$). Post-hoc tests using Games-Howell corrections (unequal variances were assumed) showed students with an Americanized cultural orientation ($M = 3.80$, $sd = 0.90$) scored significantly lower on Trini culture affirmation than students with all other types of cultural orientation profiles. However, there was no significant difference in Trini culture affirmation among students with a Trini cultural orientation ($M = 4.29$, $sd = 0.74$) and those with marginalized ($M = 4.32$, $sd = 0.67$) and cosmopolitan ($M = 4.50$, $sd = 0.66$) cultural orientation profiles. Therefore, only an Americanized cultural orientation seemed to have a particularly negative association with Trini culture affirmation when compared to other cultural orientation profiles.

Table 7. One-way ANOVA results for cluster differences in Trini culture affirmation and PYD outcomes

	Cultural orientation profile							
	Trini[a] N = 240		Marginalized[b] N = 185		Americanized[c] N = 107		Cosmopolitan[d] N = 72	
Variable	*M*	*sd*	*M*	*sd*	*M*	*sd*	*M*	*sd*
Trini culture affirmation	4.29	0.74	4.32	0.67	3.80[a,b,d]	0.90	4.50	0.66
Multicultural attitudes	4.23[d]	0.72	4.08[c,d]	0.80	4.35	0.64	4.50	0.61
Civic competence	3.44	0.71	3.19[a,d]	0.81	3.28	0.86	3.54	0.76
Civic value	3.55	0.87	3.48	0.91	3.38[d]	0.98	3.74	0.78

Variable

	F	df	*p*-value	Effect Size (η^2)
Trini culture affirmation	12.93[†]	3, 232[†]	< .001[†]	**0.08**
Multicultural attitudes	7.83[†]	3, 244[†]	< .001[†]	**0.03**
Civic competence	5.54	3, 603	0.001	**0.03**
Civic value	2.47	3, 603	0.061	0.01

N = 604, Listwise deletion

[†]Welch's test statistic reported due to heteroscedasticity

Note: superscript notation indicates which means are statistically and significantly different from each other; bolded text indicates significant effects

Students' scores on multicultural attitudes were significantly different based on cultural orientation (F (3, 244) = 7.83, $p < .001$). Post-hoc comparisons showed that students with a cosmopolitan orientation (M = 4.50, sd =0.61) scored significantly higher than students with Trini (M = 4.23, sd = 0.72) and marginalized (M = 4.08, sd = 0.80) cultural orientation profiles; and students with an Americanized cultural orientation (M = 4.35, sd = 0.64) also scored significantly higher than students with a marginalized cultural orientation. But there were no other significant differences among cultural orientation profiles. Therefore, cosmopolitan cultural orientation had a comparatively more positive effect on students' scores for multicultural attitudes, even when compared to students with a Trini cultural orientation profile. Whereas Americanization had a more positive effect on multicultural attitudes when compared to marginalization.

Based on cultural orientation, there were also significant differences in civic competence (F (3, 603) = 5.54, p = 0.001) but not civic value (F (3, 603) = 2.47, p = 0.061). Post-hoc comparisons showed that students with Trini (M = 3.44, sd = 0.71) and cosmopolitan (M = 3.54, sd = 0.76) orientations scored higher on civic competence than students with a marginalized (M = 3.19, sd = 0.81) cultural orientation profile but there was no significant difference among students with an Americanized cultural orientation (M = 3.28, sd = 0.86) and all other profiles. Meanwhile, post-hoc comparisons did not reveal any significant differences among cultural orientation profiles for scores on civic value. Therefore, a marginalized cultural orientation had a comparatively negative effect on civic competence, but cultural orientation generally had no statistically significant effect on civic value. Knowledge of mean scores and mean differences in PYD outcomes based on cultural orientations garnered from explanatory analyses were used in interpreting the results of SEM path models.

Hypothesis 3: Differences in Trini culture affirmation, multicultural attitudes, civic competence and civic value based on sample demographics

Significant differences in PYD outcomes were found among groups based on ethnicity, grade level, and gender. Results of one-way ANOVAs are reported in Tables 8 – 10). Welch's *F* statistics (based on a form of one-way ANOVA that does not assume equal variances but instead is weighted by the reciprocal of the group mean variances) are reported in cases of heteroscedasticity (Asiribo & Gurland, 1990; Brown & Forsythe, 1974; Welch, 1951), hence values for degrees of freedom may differ.

Ethnic Differences. Students of Indo-Trinidadian descent scored significantly higher than students of other ethnicities in multicultural attitudes (F (1, 494) = 17.25, $p < .001$), civic competence (F (1, 497) = 6.71, $p = 0.01$), and civic value (F (1, 611) = 8.89, $p = 0.003$) but not in Trini culture affirmation (see Table 8 and Figure 2).

Table 8. One-way ANOVA results for ethnic differences in Trini culture affirmation and PYD outcomes

	Ethnicity							Effect Size
	Indo-Trini N = 217		Other N = 396					
Variable	*M*	*sd*	*M*	*sd*	*F*	df	*p*-value	(η^2)
Trini culture affirmation	4.29	0.76	4.21	0.77	1.52	1, 611	0.219	0.00
Multicultural attitudes	4.39	0.66	4.15	0.75	17.25[†]	1, 494[†]	< .001[†]	**0.03**
Civic competence	3.46	0.71	3.29	0.81	6.71[†]	1, 497[†]	0.010[†]	**0.01**
Civic value	3.67	0.86	3.45	0.91	8.89	1, 611	0.003	**0.01**

N = 613, Listwise deletion
[†] Welch's test statistic reported due to heteroscedasticity
Note: bolded text indicates significant effects
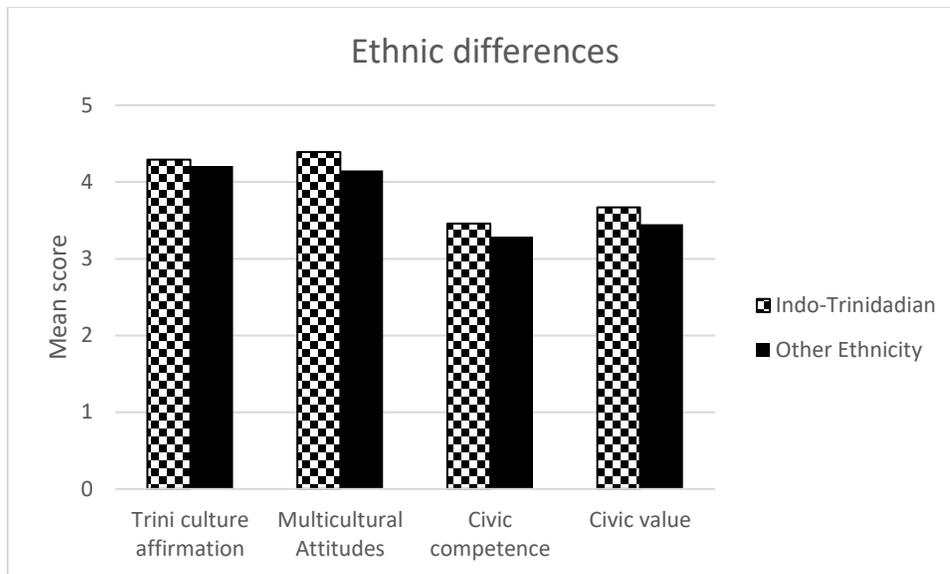
Figure 2. Differences in Trini culture affirmation and PYD outcomes based on ethnic group

Differences across grades. Students' scores differed across grade levels for multicultural attitudes, $F(3, 320) = 3.21$, $p = .023$, and civic competence, $F(3, 609) = 2.99$, $p = 0.03$, but not Trini culture affirmation and civic value. Post-hoc comparisons showed that 6th graders scored significantly lower than 7th and 8th graders on multicultural attitudes (see Table 9 and Figure 3). Therefore, students' scores on both multicultural attitudes and civic competence show some increase between grades 6-8, with multicultural attitudes decreasing slightly by 9th grade, and civic competence stabilizing by 9th grade.

Gender differences. Finally, girls scored higher than boys in Trini culture affirmation ($F(1, 608) = 4.99$, $p = 0.026$, multicultural attitudes ($F(1, 608) = 29.35$, $p = 0.02$), and civic value ($F(1, 608) = 9.20$, $p = 0.003$), but there were no significant gender differences in civic competence (see Table 10 and Figure 4).

Table 9. One-way ANOVA results for grade-based differences in Trini culture affirmation and PYD outcomes

	Grade							
	6[a]		7[b]		8[c]		9[d]	
	N = 176		N = 168		N = 153		N = 116	
Variable	*M*	*sd*	*M*	*sd*	*M*	*sd*	*M*	*sd*
Trini culture affirmation	4.29	0.77	4.32	0.67	4.16	0.77	4.13	0.87
Multicultural attitudes	4.10[b,c]	0.81	4.32	0.65	4.31	0.68	4.22	0.78
Civic competence	3.22	0.77	3.34	0.77	3.45	0.80	3.45	0.79
Civic value	3.59	0.94	3.49	0.86	3.52	0.93	3.49	0.84

Variable

	F	df	*p*-value	Effect Size (η^2)
Trini culture affirmation	2.26	3, 609	0.080	0.01
Multicultural attitudes	3.21[†]	3, 320[†]	0.023[†]	**0.02**
Civic competence	2.99	3, 609	0.030	**0.01**
Civic value	0.50	3, 609	0.682	0.00

$N = 613$, Listwise deletion

[†] Welch's test statistics reported due to heteroscedasticity

Note: superscript notation indicates which cluster means are statistically and significantly different from each other; bolded text indicates significant effects
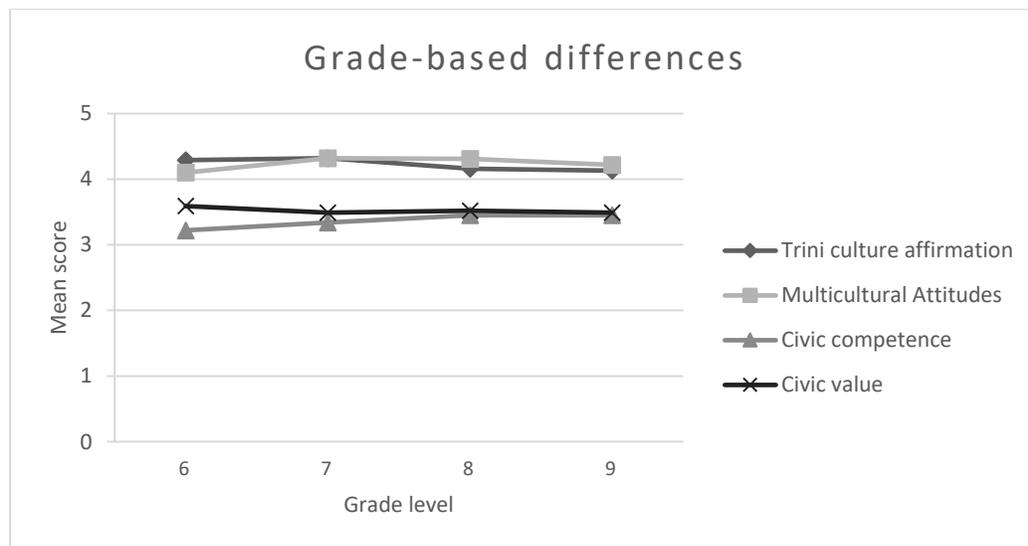
Figure 3. Differences in Trini culture affirmation and PYD outcomes based on grade level.

Table 10. One-way ANOVA results for gender differences in Trini culture affirmation and PYD outcomes

| | Gender | | | | | | | Effect Size |
| | Female N = 407 | | Male N = 213 | | | | | |
Variable	*M*	*sd*	*M*	*sd*	*F*	df	*p*-value	(η^2)
Trini culture affirmation	4.28	0.74	4.14	0.81	4.99	1, 608	0.026	**0.01**
Multicultural attitudes	4.35	0.73	4.01	0.69	29.35	1, 608	<.001	**0.02**
Civic competence	3.36	0.81	3.34	0.73	0.07	1, 608	0.794	0.01
Civic value	3.60	0.90	3.37	0.87	9.20	1, 608	0.003	**0.00**

N = 620, Listwise deletion

Note: bolded text indicates significant effects
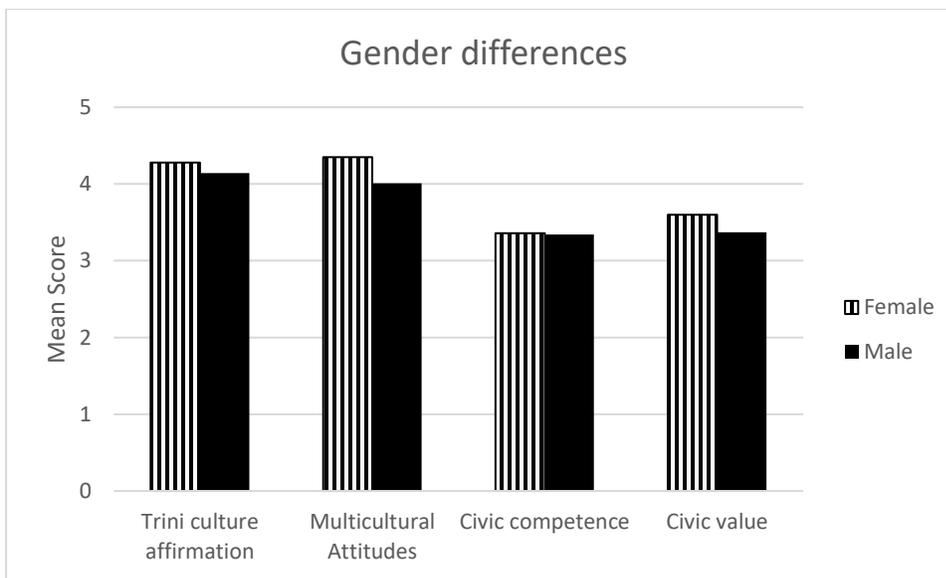
Figure 4. Differences in Trini culture affirmation and PYD outcomes based on gender

Overall, students' ethnicity appeared to impact students' multicultural attitudes, civic competence, and civic value), but not Trini culture affirmation. Scores on cultural identity differed only gender; multicultural attitudes differed based on all three demographic factors, while both civic competence and civic value differed based on ethnicity but civic competence alone differed based on grade-level and civic-value alone differed based on gender. Finally, it should be noted that effect sizes for differences based ethnicity, grade-level, and gender were small, and therefore the decision was made not to test for moderating effects in mediation models.

Hypothesis 4: Associations among different elements of cultural identity and PYD outcomes based on mediational SEM path models

Specifying contrasts for the multicategorical independent variable. The four cultural orientation profiles identified by the cluster analysis were entered into the SEM path models as three orthogonal contrasts. The comparisons made by contrasts were informed both by a priori theory and results of exploratory analyses. The first contrast compared students with Cosmopolitan cultural orientations to all other students. The second contrast compared students with Trini cultural orientations to students with Marginalized and Americanized cultural orientations. The third contrast compared students with Marginalized cultural orientations to students with Americanized cultural orientations. The orthogonal contrasts coefficients were determined based on guidelines outlined by Hayes and Preacher (2014) and effects were modeled in R based on guidelines communicated through personal correspondence with lavaan creator Yves Rosseel (March, 2017).

Model fit. Models demonstrated good fit (see Table 11) for multicultural attitudes (RMSEA = 0.036, 90% C.I., = 0.015 – 0.053, CFI = 0.984), civic competence (RMSEA = 0.028,

90% C.I., = 0.017 – 0.038, CFI = 0.985), and civic value RMSEA = 0.030, 90% C.I., = 0.016 –

0.043, CFI = 0.988). Bootstrapped resampling was used to estimate coefficients and confidence

intervals for Models 2 and 3 (with civic competence and civic value, respectively as dependent

variables) as is customary. However, for Model 1 (with multicultural attitudes as the dependent

variable), the Jackknife resampling method was used because it is considered more appropriate

than bootstrapping for clustered data (Severiano, Carriço, Robinson, Ramirez, & Pinto, 2011)

and therefore more appropriate for the model containing multicultural attitudes given the effect

of nested data structure was deemed non-negligible based on the ICC value for school clusters.

Model 1 explained 21.5% ($R^2 = 0.215$) of the variance in scores on multicultural attitudes. Model

2 explained 13.9% ($R^2 = 0.139$) of the variance in civic competence and Model 3 explained

25.7% ($R^2 = 0.257$) of the variance in civic value.

Table 11. Model fit statistics and effect size for Mediational SEM path models predicting
multicultural attitudes, civic competence, and civic value

	χ^2	df	p-value	RMSEA	90% C.I.	TLI	CFI	SRMR	R^2
Multicultural attitudes	81.18	57	0.019	0.036	0.015, 0.053	0.979	0.984	0.047	0.215
Civic competence	123.03	82	0.002	0.028	0.017, 0.038	0.981	0.985	0.026	0.139
Civic value	72.65	46	0.007	0.030	0.016, 0.043	0.984	0.988	0.026	0.257

Pathways to multicultural attitudes. Trini culture affirmation only partially explained

the relationship between students' cultural orientation and multicultural attitudes. Both direct

effects ($\beta = -0.38$, 90% C.I. = -0.681 – -0.085, $p < .035$) and indirect effects ($\beta = 0.39$, 90% C.I.

= 0.317 – 0.460, $p < .001$) for the model predicting multicultural attitudes were significant (see

Table 12).

Table 12. Unstandardized coefficients and confidence intervals in mediational SEM path models for multicultural attitudes

Effect	Multicultural attitudes		
	β	90%CI	p-value
Indirect	**0.39**	0.317, 0.460	< .001
Direct	**-0.38**	-0.681, -0.085	0.035
Total	0.01	-0.296, 0.307	0.975

Figure 5 presents the unstandardized coefficients for paths in the mediational model. These can be interpreted as the average difference in scores on Trini culture affirmation and multicultural attitudes associated with the different cultural orientations compared in the contrasts. The indirect effect of each separate contrast can be calculated by multiplying the coefficients for the *a* and *b* paths in the model.

In general, considering the indirect path and positive association between Trini culture affirmation and multicultural attitudes ($\beta = 0.37$, 90% C.I. $= 0.305 – 0.426$, $p < .001$), students with cosmopolitan cultural orientations tended to score on average 0.12 points ($\beta = 0.34$ x 0.37) higher on multicultural attitudes than all other students. Meanwhile, students with Trini cultural orientations tended to score on average 0.08 points ($\beta = 0.22$ x 0.37) higher on multicultural attitudes than students with marginalized and Americanized cultural orientations. And students with marginalized cultural orientations tended to score on average 0.19 points ($\beta = 0.50$ x 0.37) higher on multicultural attitudes than students with Americanized cultural orientations.

However, the direct effects tell another story. Students with marginalized cultural orientation tended to score on average statistically and significantly 0.39 points lower on multicultural attitudes ($\beta = -0.39$) than students with Americanized cultural orientations.
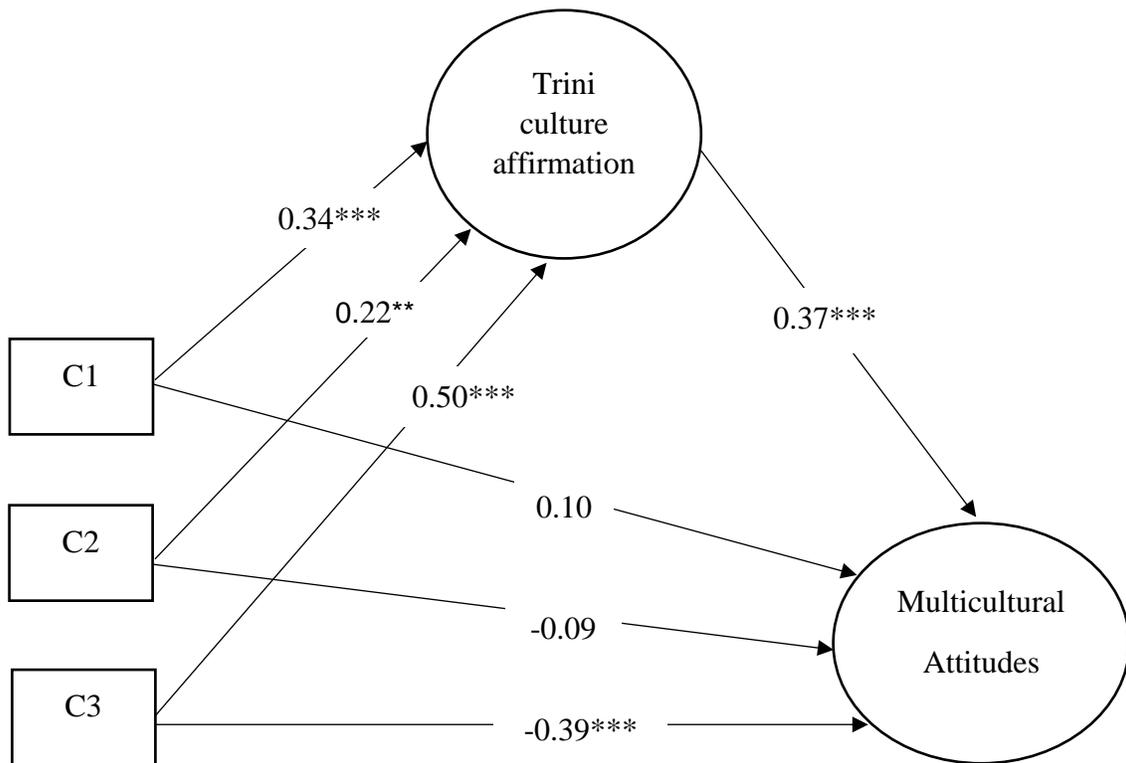
Figure 5. Mediational SEM path model for multicultural attitudes with unstandardized coefficients

$*p < 0.05$, $**p < 0.01$, $***p < 0.001$; C1 = contrast 1 [Cosmopolitan vs. Trini, US, Marginalized]; C2 = contrast 2 [Trini vs. Marginalized, US]; C3 = contrast 3 [Marginalized vs. US]

In summary, given that Trini culture affirmation was positively associated with multicultural attitudes, students with cultural orientations that are positively associated with Trini culture affirmation (specifically Cosmopolitan, Trini, and marginalized cultural orientations) can also be expected to score higher on multicultural attitudes than students with Americanized cultural orientations. Negative associations between certain cultural orientations (mainly marginalized and to a lesser extent Trini profiles) and multicultural attitudes exist even when

scores on Trini culture affirmation were accounted for, and might be explained by an intermediary variable not included in either model (Rucker, Preacher, Tormala, & Petty, 2011). Meanwhile, any positive direct effects on multicultural attitudes associated with Americanization were suppressed by the negative association of Americanization and Trini culture affirmation.

Pathways to civic competence. Trini culture affirmation only partially explained the relationship between students' cultural orientation and civic competence (see Table 13). Even though only the total indirect effect was significant ($\beta = 0.34$, 90% C.I. $= 0.212 - 0.532$, $p < .001$), and the total direct effect was not significant ($\beta = -0.01$, 90% C.I. $= -0.342 - 0.287$, $p < .001$), one of the three individual direct paths was significant (see Figure 6).

Table 13. Unstandardized coefficients and confidence intervals in mediational SEM path models for civic competence

Effect	Civic competence		
	β	90%CI	p-value
Indirect	**0.34**	0.212, 0.532	< .001
Direct	-0.01	-0.342, 0.287	0.955
Total	0.33	-0.005, 0.630	0.041

Figure 6 presents the unstandardized coefficients for paths in the mediational model. In general, considering the indirect path and positive association between Trini culture affirmation and civic competence ($\beta = 0.31$, 90% C.I. $= 0.217 - 0.427$, $p < .001$), students with cosmopolitan cultural orientations tended to score on average 0.11 points ($\beta = 0.34$ x 0.31) higher on civic competence than all other students (see Figure 4). Meanwhile, students with Trini cultural orientations tended to score on average 0.07 points ($\beta = 0.22$ x 0.31) higher on civic competence than students with marginalized and Americanized cultural orientations. And students with

marginalized cultural orientations tended to score on average 0.16 points ($\beta = 0.52$ x 0.31) higher on civic competence than students with Americanized cultural orientations.

However, students with marginalized cultural orientations tended to score on average statistically and significantly 0.21 points lower on civic competence ($\beta = -0.21$) than students with Americanized cultural orientation. Negative associations between marginalized cultural orientations and civic competence exist even when scores on Trini culture affirmation were accounted for, and might be explained by an intermediary variable not included in either model (Rucker, et al., 2011). Meanwhile, any positive direct effects on civic competence associated with Americanization were suppressed by the negative association of Americanization and Trini culture affirmation.
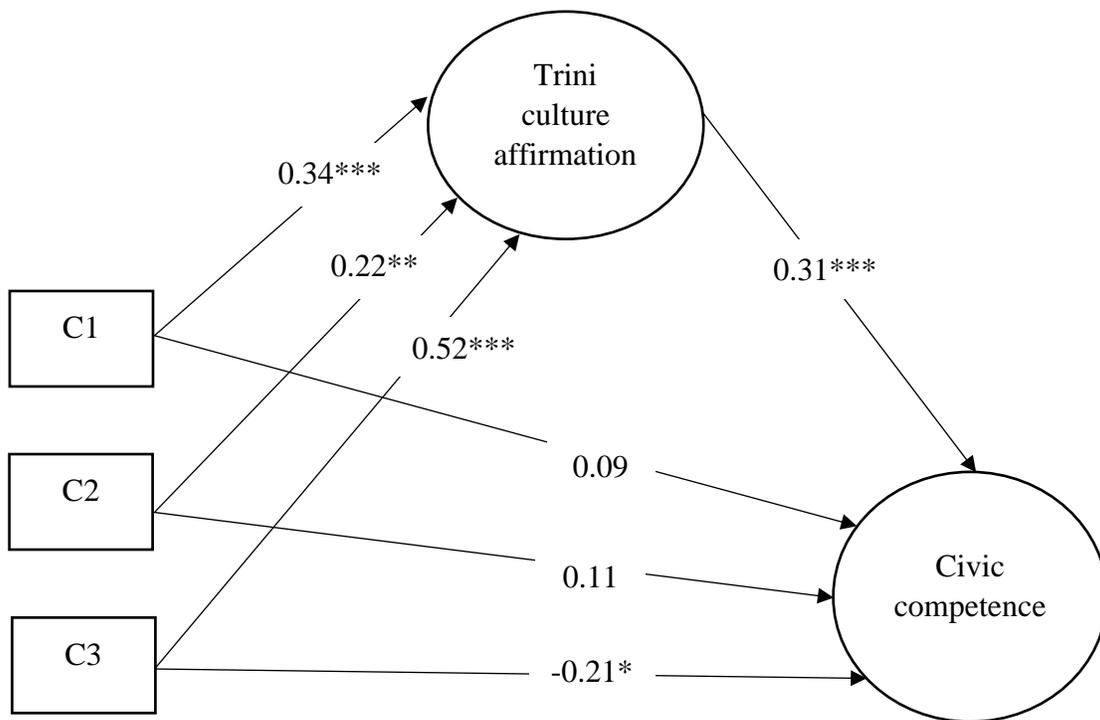

Figure 6. Mediational SEM path model for civic competence with unstandardized coefficients

*$p < 0.05$, **$p < 0.01$, ***$p < 0.001$; C1 = contrast 1 [Cosmopolitan vs. Trini, US, Marginalized]
C2 = contrast 2 [Trini vs. Marginalized, US]; C3 = contrast 3 [Marginalized vs. US]

Pathways to civic value. Trini culture affirmation fully explained the relationship between students' cultural orientation and civic value (see Table 14). The total direct effect was not statistically significant, though negative (β = -0.14, 90% C.I. = -0.556 – 0.231, p = 0.453), and neither were any of the individual direct paths. However, the total indirect effects were significant (β = 0.58, 90% C.I. = 0.380 – 0.840, p < .001).

Table 14. Unstandardized coefficients and confidence intervals in mediational SEM path models for civic value

Effect	Civic value		
	β	90%CI	p-value
Indirect	**0.58**	0.380, 0.840	< .001
Direct	-0.14	-0.556, 0.231	0.453
Total	**0.44**	0.056, 0.798	0.022

Figure 7 presents the unstandardized coefficients for paths in the mediational model. In general, considering the positive association between Trini culture affirmation and civic value (β = 0.53, 90% C.I. = 0.400 – 0.679, p < .001), students with cosmopolitan cultural orientations tended to score on average 0.18 points (β = 0.34 x 0.53) higher on civic value than all other students. Meanwhile, students with Trini cultural orientations tended to score on average 0.12 points (β = 0.22 x 0.53) higher on civic value than students with Marginalized and Americanized cultural orientations. And students with marginalized cultural orientations tended to score on average 0.28 points (β = 0.52 x 0.53) higher on civic value than students with Americanized cultural orientations – meaning that students with Americanized cultural orientations scored lowest on civic value compared to other students, via the indirect path. This was the only model where the total effects were positive and significant (β = 0.44, 90% C.I. = 0.056 – 0.798, p = 0.022).

In summary, given that Trini culture affirmation was positively associated with civic value, students with cultural orientations that are positively associated with Trini culture affirmation (specifically Cosmopolitan, Trini, and marginalized cultural orientations) can also be expected to score higher on civic value than students with Americanized cultural orientations.
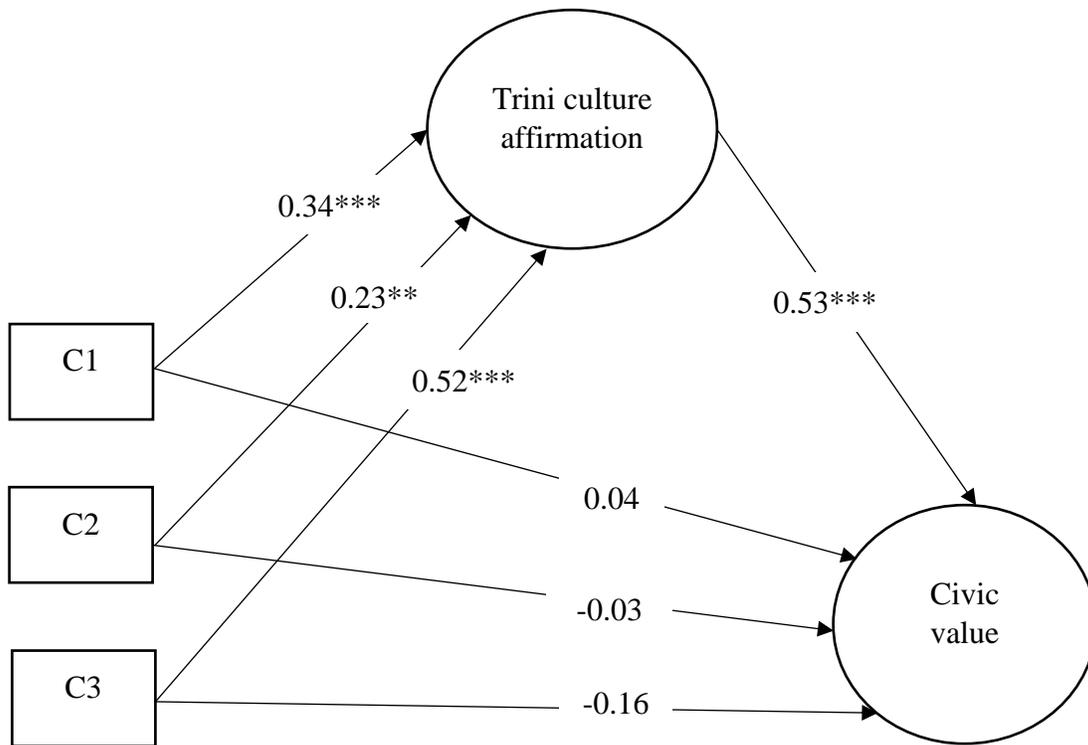

Figure 7. Mediational SEM path model for civic value with unstandardized coefficients

$*p < 0.05$, $**p < 0.01$, $***p < 0.001$; C1 = contrast 1 [Cosmopolitan vs. Trini, US, Marginalized]; C2 = contrast 2 [Trini vs. Marginalized, US]; C3 = contrast 3 [Marginalized vs. US]

Chapter 5: Discussion

The aim of this study was to examine whether cultural identity can be a resource for positive youth development among Trinidadian adolescents in the face of cultural globalization pressures common to majority world contexts. Cultural identity was defined as a social identity that fits with both theories about the emotional affirmation of a single identity, and theories about the simultaneous behavioral engagement in multiple identities. Therefore, in the context of this study cultural identity was measured as both individuals' Trini (national) culture affirmation, and their broader cultural orientation whether globalized, localized, or glocalized (both global and local). The PYD framework focuses on the strengths that youth possess for their own development, as well as the development of the wider society. Prior research supports that forming positive identities is a major indicator of PYD, linked to building healthy social relationships and fostering civic engagement. Subsequently, in this study I examined the possible pathways through which both elements of cultural identity (national culture affirmation and general cultural orientation) influence PYD in the areas of multicultural attitudes and civic motivation—critical areas of development for youth in multicultural democratic societies like T&T.

The study hypotheses were partially supported. I hypothesized that Trinidadian adolescents' engagement with various cultures would be associated with the formation of cultural orientations characterized by globalization (e.g. Americanized and Jamaicanized cultural orientations), localization (Trini cultural orientation), and glocalization (a Caribbean cultural orientation. Although there was evidence for globalization, localization and glocalization, the four cultural orientations profiles that emerged from the cluster analysis were Trini, Americanized, marginalized, and cosmopolitan. I also hypothesized that students with localized

and glocalized cultural orientations would score higher on national culture affirmation than students with globalized cultural orientations. This hypothesis was supported even though as aforementioned the specific clusters that emerged were different from hypothesized. In addition, I hypothesized that there would be ethnic, grade, and gender differences in cultural orientation, national culture affirmation, and PYD outcomes (multicultural attitudes, civic competence, and civic value). This hypothesis was partially supported as there were demographic differences in some variables but not others. Most notably even though ethnicity was associated with students' cultural orientations and PYD outcomes, there were no significant ethnic differences in national culture affirmation.

Finally, I hypothesized that the emotional aspect of cultural identity (national culture affirmation) would be positively associated with PYD outcomes, and mediates the relationship between the behavioral aspect of cultural identity (cultural orientation) and PYD outcomes. This hypothesis was partially supported with Trini culture affirmation acting as a protective factor for the effects of some forms of cultural orientation on PYD outcomes, but not others. Trini culture affirmation was consistently and positively associated with the PYD outcomes of multicultural attitudes and civic motivation (civic competence and civic value). However, the effect of cultural orientation on PYD outcomes tended to be more variable, and depended to an extent on the association of adolescents' cultural orientation with their Trini culture affirmation, a relationship that could be either negative or positive.

Glocalized (cosmopolitan), and localized (Trini) cultural orientations were positively associated with Trini culture affirmation. However, globalized cultural orientations were either positively associated with Trini culture affirmation (as in the case of marginalization), or negatively associated with Trini culture affirmation (as in the case of Americanization). This

distinction between these two types of globalized cultural orientations proved important since they had opposite direct effects on PYD outcomes. For example, Americanization was positively associated with multicultural attitudes but cultural marginalization was negatively associated with multicultural attitudes. Ultimately, mediation analyses showed that for civic motivation what mattered more than the direct effect of cultural orientations on PYD outcomes, was the association of cultural orientations with Trini culture affirmation, whereby cultural orientations compatible with Trini culture affirmation were more likely to be associated with higher scores on PYD outcomes.

In the following sections, I take a closer look at the relationships examined under each hypothesis. I draw on existing literature to offer plausible interpretations for the results found in this study.

Trinidadian adolescents' cultural orientations

Support for remote acculturation. Ferguson and Borstein's (2012), remote acculturation theory provided the framework for an examination of cultural identity in the context of cultural globalization. In this study, I looked at Trinidadians' cultural orientation profiles, informed by their reported levels of engagement in Trini, Jamaican, and US culture. Two of the hypothesized cultural orientations profiles (a national "Trini" cultural orientation and an Americanized cultural orientation) emerged as expected based on prior remote acculturation studies (Ferguson & Borstein, 2012; 2015), therefore supporting the remote acculturation hypothesis.

Though a Caribbean (Trini/Jamaican) cultural orientation was not found among the present study sample, the emergence of a Cosmopolitan (Trini/US/Jamaican) cultural orientation

in this study still provides evidence for Ferguson and colleagues' tri-acculturation hypothesis (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012), particularly their work in South African majority world contexts (Ferguson, Ferguson, & Ferguson, 2016). I expected a bicultural Caribbean cultural orientation to emerge based on theories of cultural distance (Chirkov et al., 2005). Trinidad and Jamaica have a low level of cultural distance (Punnett et al., 2014), hence it was reasonable to assume that students might orient to both cultures simultaneously. Instead students who scored above the mean on Trini and Jamaican culture engagement, also scored above the mean on US culture engagement to form a tricultural Cosmopolitan cultural orientation profile as the glocalized group.

A new element of remote acculturation. Instead of a clearly Jamaicanized profile, a "marginalized" cultural orientation profile emerged from the cluster analysis. This was a new finding for research on remote acculturation. Although these students scored slightly above the mean on Jamaican culture engagement and slightly below the mean on Trini and US culture engagement, their scores on Jamaican culture engagement were still low, and below that of their scores on Trini and US culture engagement. Membership in this cultural orientation profile was defined by slightly above average scores on Jamaican culture engagement and slightly below average scores on Trini and US culture engagement. The fact that this group did not clearly engage in any one culture over the other, as evidenced by low to moderate mean scores on each group, could suggest a form of cultural marginalization (Berry, 1998).

Cultural orientations' influence on Trini culture affirmation and PYD outcomes

Support for Berry's model of acculturation. The four clusters that emerged in this present study are similar in some ways to the four acculturation strategies proposed in Berry's

theory of acculturation. Berry's framework describes acculturation in terms of immigrants' levels of engagement with their traditional culture and the host nation's culture. In this study, we examined cultural orientation in terms of majority world youths' levels of engagement with their specific local culture and dominant global cultures to which they are remotely exposed. If results in this study are aligned with Berry's model, the Cosmopolitan cluster that emerged represents integration (of local and global cultural practices), the Americanized cluster represents assimilation (to US cultural practices), the Trini cluster represents separation (from global cultural practices), and the marginalized cluster represents marginalization (from both local and global cultural practices).

As Berry's acculturation model would predict, cosmopolitan "integration" was associated with the most positive outcomes and "marginalization" was associated with negative outcomes in this study. For example, prior research using Berry's acculturation model associated integration with positive self-esteem, life satisfaction, sociocultural adaptation, and high academic performance (Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006; Farver, Bhadha, & Narang, 2002; Kosic, 2002; Zheng, Sang, & Lei Wang, 2004); while marginalization was associated with depression, perceived distress, acculturative stress, emotional disorders, body dissatisfaction, and psychosomatic symptoms (Choi, Miller, & Wilbur, 2007; Castillo, Cano, Chen, Blucker, & Olds, 2008; Kosic, 2002; Warren, Castillo, and Gleaves, 2010). It also fits with acculturation research that the "separated" localized Trini group had slightly less positive multicultural and civic outcomes than the "assimilated" globalized Americanized groups. Based on an acculturation framework separation has been associated with low scores on sociocultural adaptation (Kosic, 2002).

Toward a nuanced understanding of global acculturation. It is important to note that Berry's acculturation theory proposed that attitudes toward the ethnic culture and attitudes toward the host culture are independent. In the case of this present study that would translate to mean that adolescents' engagement in other global cultures and sense of belonging toward the local Trini culture are independent. This was *not consistently* the case in this study. Even though students with cosmopolitan polycultural orientations scored highest on national culture affirmation (evidence for non-dependence), US culture engagement was negatively related to Trini culture engagement and national culture affirmation, and students with Americanized cultural orientations scored lowest on national culture affirmation (both evidence for dependence). Therefore, the results presented in this study add nuance to Berry's acculturation theory in the sense that even when orientations toward local and global cultures are not independent of each other, integration is still possible because engagement in both local and global cultures (not one to the exclusion of the other) is compatible with positive feelings about the national culture.

Support for Cross' theory of identity development among marginalized social groups. Cross' (1978) nigrescence model of racial identity development—originally applied to Blacks as a historically marginalized social group in the US—is also somewhat applicable to the interpretation of cultural orientations that emerged in the present study. Students with Americanized cultural orientations can be described as being in the pre-encounter stage, in the sense that they have yet to encounter negative experiences with US culture, and therefore assimilation to the globalized perception of US culture is viewed as beneficial for their self-development. Students in the Trini cultural orientation can be described as being in the immersion-emersion stage given their high levels of engagement in their own national culture

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(though this may not necessarily have to do with negative encounters with the dominant globalized culture as theorized by Cross, 1978). Lastly, students with cosmopolitan cultural orientations can be described as being in the internalization stage where multicultural integration is pursued (Cross, 1995; Vandiver et al., 2001). However, classification of students with marginalized cultural orientations based on Cross' model is less straightforward.

Toward a nuanced understanding of marginalized cultural identity. One debate about the homogenizing effects of cultural globalization, is whether such homogenization is truly faceless and devoid of cultural distinctiveness or rather takes on a Western visage. Even though scholars tend to argue more in favor of the latter (Marín, 2008), in this study globalized cultural orientations were split among students with Americanized *and* "marginalized" profiles, suggesting that both arguments are equally valid. Students with marginalized cultural orientations did not meet the Cross models' assimilation criteria of "self-hate" or "miseducation" (Cross, 1995) given that their identification with the national Trini culture was not particularly low (and was still higher than that of Americanized students). However, they met some of the other criteria for assimilation (Vandiver, et al., 2001) given their almost indifferent, low-moderate levels of engagement in Trini, Jamaican, and US cultural practices. Subsequently, an outcome of cultural globalization could be the marginalization of distinctive cultural identities (Arnett, 2002). Theorists have proposed that phenomena such as cultural globalization can lead to "cultural in-betweeness" (Bauman, 1990; Bhabha, 1996; Pieterse, 2015). Based on the results of this study that "in-betweeness" might also be expressed by a general cultural disengagement, hence the marginalized status.

Support for Marcia's identity status theory. Another useful framework for explaining the relationship between cultural orientation and Trini culture affirmation in this study is

Marcia's (1967) theory of identity status, which uses levels of exploration and commitment to describe the status of a person's identity development. In the present study students' levels of exploration (engagement in different cultures) and commitment (affirmation of identification with Trini national culture) can be used to understand their cultural identity status. For example, students with Americanized cultural orientations can be described as being in a sort of globalized moratorium status given that they demonstrate high exploration (engagement in US culture) but low commitment (lowest scores on national culture affirmation). Meanwhile, evidence suggests that students with a marginalized cultural orientation profile are low-moderate on exploration (engagement in other cultures) but moderate-high on commitment (national culture affirmation). This would place these students in a foreclosed *cultural* identity status. In prior research, a foreclosed identity status has been positively associated with normative approaches to decision making (Berzonsky & Kuk, 2000). However, foreclosed identities have also been negatively associated with mature interpersonal relationships and openness to experience; (Berzonsky & Neimeyer, 1994; Clancy & Dollinger, 1993)—which might explain why students with marginalized cultural orientations scored the lowest on multicultural attitudes.

Toward a nuanced understanding of cultural identity status. Students in the cosmopolitan cultural orientation could be described as having an achieved *cultural* identity status given that they demonstrate both high levels of exploration (cultural engagement) and commitment (national identity affirmation). But this would be an achieved "polycultural" identity status. Meanwhile, students with Trini cultural orientation can also be described as having an achieved identity status with high exploration (cultural engagement) in national culture and high commitment to the national culture. Hence students in the Trini cultural orientation profile could be described as having achieved a "monocultural" identity status. According to

Marcia's theory, individuals with low exploration and low commitment are theorized as having a diffused identity status, however, this label does not accurately describe any of the clusters that emerged in the present study.

Demographic differences in cultural identity and PYD outcomes

   Ethnic differences. It is important to point out that there were no significant differences in Trini (national) culture affirmation between students of Indian descent and students of other ethnicities. This result contradicts previous research which suggest that different ethnicities vary in their degree of identification with the majority culture (Berry et al., 2006; Rodriguez, Schwartz, & Krauss, 2010). However, those previous studies compared minority to majority groups. In Trinidad, there is no single majority group, as persons of Indian, African, and mixed descent (though varying in population numbers) tend to enjoy fairly equal representation in Trinidad's national culture. Minority groups such as students of Chinese, Syrian/Lebanese, and European descent were mostly absent in this sample, and therefore failure to find a difference among ethnic groups could be due to lack of minority-majority comparisons.

   This result was also unexpected because historically, there have been ethnic tensions between Indo-Trinidadians and other ethnic groups (especially Afro-Trinidadians) that have implications for different levels of identification with the national "Trini" culture. Sociohistorical tensions can be mainly attributed to the fact that Afro-Trinidadians were brought to the island as slaves, while Indo-Trinidadians were brought to the island after emancipation as indentured (contract) laborers who enjoyed certain economic and cultural advantages (e.g. paid wages and fully sanctioned cultural retention). However, up until 1995 when the first Indo-Trinidadian prime minister was elected, Indo-Trinidadians considered themselves to be at a political

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disadvantage because Afro-Trinidadians had dominated the political scene from the time of Independence in 1962. In this study, Afro-Trinidadians were somewhat underrepresented (about half the national average), and therefore were grouped together with other ethnic groups for the sake of comparison with Indo-Trinidadians.

Nevertheless, there were significant ethnic differences in PYD outcomes—students of Indian-descent scored higher than students of other ethnicities on multicultural attitudes, civic competence and civic value. While ethnic differences in civic competence and civic value might be related to strong religious ties and communal obligations in tight-knight Indo-Trinidadian communities (Vertovec, 1995); ethnic differences in multicultural attitudes are more difficult to explain. Scholars have claimed that both ethnocentric Hindu nationalism (*Hindutva*) among persons of Indian-descent (50% of Indo-Trinidadians in this sample were Hindus) and Afrocentrism among persons of African descent are equal barriers to multicultural unity in Trinidad and Tobago (Allahar, 2004, 2005; Brereton, 2008; Ryan, 1972). However, prior research showed that Indo-Caribbean parents tended to engage in more ethnic socialization than Afro-Caribbean parents, and this explained the relationship between positive parenting style and children's prosocial behavior (Roopnarine, Krishnakumar, Narine, Logie, & Lape, 2014). In this study, Indo-Trinidadian youths' scores on multicultural attitudes might be indicative of a more general prosocial orientation.

The question of ethnicity and its interplay with cultural identity and PYD outcomes was more complex than expected in this present study. For example, students of Indian-descent were more likely to have Trini cultural orientation profiles and less likely to have cosmopolitan cultural orientation profiles than students of other ethnicities, which seems to contradict the fact that students of Indian-descent also scored higher on multicultural attitudes than students of other

ethnicities. Given the lack of clear delineations in cultural identity and PYD outcomes among ethnic groups, the intersectionality of ethnic identity (not just ethnic group) and cultural identity might better explain variation in PYD outcomes.

Differences across grades. There were no differences across grades in cultural identity but there were differences in some of the PYD outcomes. Students in 7th and 8th grade scored significantly higher than students in 6th grade on multicultural attitudes, suggesting an increase in multicultural attitudes during early to mid-adolescence. This finding aligns with prior research that showed multicultural attitudes tend to increase with age (Munroe, 2006; Stupar et al., 2014). There were no significant differences in civic value but civic competence actually seemed to be higher among 7th and 8th graders than 6th graders. This finding is contrary to research on achievement motivation, which show that perceptions of self-competence decrease during the transition to adolescence (Wigfield & Eccles, 2000). A possible explanation is that though academic motivation decreases, civic motivation increases, and therefore learning civic skills through active participation could be a way to keep youth engaged in constructive activities. Other research also supports the idea that civic competence increases with age (Obradović & Masten, 2007; Strate, Parrish, Elder, & Ford, 1989).

Gender differences. Females tended to score significantly higher than males on national culture affirmation and all PYD outcomes, except civic competence. Research on T&T has shown that girls tend to outperform boys in school contexts (Kutnick, Jules, & Layne, 1997), and the Caribbean Human Development Report (2016) identifies young males as being at risk due to educational underperformance and growing up in violent communities/families. Given the role of schools and communities in citizenship education and development (Banks, 2016), it is possible

that these negative psycho-ecological effects for boys' academic skills transfer to non-academic sociocultural skills as well.

Apart from general ability and performance differences, girls are socialized differently compared to boys. It could be that because girls are socialized to be more caring about others (Brown & Gilligan, 1993; Gilligan, 1987), they score higher on multicultural attitudes and civic value. Alternatively, it could be that because multiculturalism is often associated with gender equality as two equally important progressive democratic ideals (Fraser, 1996; Tuori, 2007; Volpp, 1996), girls are more drawn to the idea of multi/polycultural selves, as congruent with their own self-concept as empowered females. Prior research also found that females score higher than males on multicultural attitudes (Munroe, 2006; van Geel & Vedder, 2011).

The fact that girls are socialized to be more emotionally attuned and expressive than boys (Aznar & Tenenbaum, 2015; Fivush & Zaman, 2015) could also explain why girls score higher than boys on national culture affirmation (the emotional component of cultural identity). However, gender was not significantly associated with membership in cultural orientation profiles (the behavioral component of cultural identity), contrary to prior research which suggests that remote acculturation affects females more than males (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012). However, it should be noted that in remote acculturation research, measures of cultural orientation and cultural affirmation are combined to create participant profiles, hence in congruence with this present study it could be the emotional component of cultural affirmation that underlies gender differences in cultural identity.

Cultural identity as a resource for PYD

   Benefits of a cosmopolitan cultural orientation for PYD. An unexpected finding, was that the glocalized cosmopolitan group scored higher than the localized Trini group of students on national culture affirmation. In fact, students with cosmopolitan cultural orientations consistently scored highest on national culture affirmation and other PYD outcomes (multicultural attitudes, civic competence, and civic value) than students with any other cultural orientation. Cosmopolitanism or the ability to traverse several cultures successfully, has been described as a type of polycultural capital (Mila-Schaaf & Robinson, 2010). In their seminal paper on polycultural psychology Morris, Chiu and Liu (2015) discuss the idea of polycultural selves or plural cultural identities as comprising myriad acculturation configurations that require skillful management of identity conflicts. In light of the results of this present study, it appears that students with Cosmopolitan cultural orientations are best equipped to manage/integrate disparate cultures as part of their central cultural identity. However, it should be noted that this "adaptive" trait characterized a mere 12% of the youth in the sample, which calls into question the extent to which it can be considered truly optimal for multicultural majority world contexts like T&T.

   Benefits of Trini culture affirmation for PYD. National culture affirmation was positively associated with all the other PYD outcomes, having the strongest relationship with civic value. Students who felt a strong sense of affirmation and belonging with the national culture were likely to report more multicultural attitudes, perceive that they have greater civic competence, and place greater value on involvement in civic activities. This finding suggests the importance of nurturing an emotional connection to the national culture as way to encourage multiculturalism and civic responsibility among youth. In addition, it appears that national

culture affirmation plays a protective role for adolescents with marginalized and to some extent the localized Trini cultural orientations but not for those with Americanized cultural orientations. Instead national culture affirmation appears to suppress or attenuate any positive direct effect that Americanization has on PYD outcomes, although an alternative explanation is that another variable not included in the model suppresses any positive direct effect that Trini and marginalized cultural orientations might have on PYD outcomes (Rucker et al., 2011).

  Pathways to multicultural attitudes. The fact that students with cosmopolitan cultural orientations score highest on multicultural attitudes makes intuitive sense and is supported by research on polyculturalism and cosmopolitanism (Morris, Chui, & Lui, 2016). Meanwhile, the fact that students with marginalized cultural orientation score lowest on multicultural attitudes also makes intuitive sense if considered from the point of view that marginalization represents a certain level of disengagement from all cultures, as aforementioned. However, the fact that Americanization had a positive association with multicultural attitudes might seem ironic given the current tense political climate in the US. But at the time of the present study (May 2016) issues of rising intolerance in the US centered upon the presidential election were not highlighted on a global scale. In fact, the messages about the US that get transmitted on a global scale through popular culture and entertainment/news media tend to portray the US in a positive light, as a purveyor of peace and tolerance throughout the world (Baron, 2014; De Mooij, 2013; Galtung, 2015). Thus, when considered from this perspective it follows that an Americanized cultural orientation was associated with higher scores on multicultural attitudes.

  It was however, unexpected that students with a Trini cultural orientation scored lower than students with Americanized cultural orientations on multicultural attitudes (though this was not a significant difference) given that multiculturalism is an integral part of Trini culture. This

finding suggests that while feelings about Trinidad culture (national culture affirmation) align with multicultural attitudes, behaviors oriented toward Trini culture do not. This finding aligns with my prior qualitative research in Trinidad investigating parents' cultural socialization strategies, which found that while parents recognize that multiculturalism is an important part of Trini culture, and they express pride in the idea of cultural diversity and creativity, they do not often participate in multicultural activities with their children (Jessop, Pierre, & Adams, 2016). Alternatively, another way to interpret the finding that students with a Trini cultural orientation score lower on multicultural attitudes than students with an Americanized cultural orientation, is that engagement in Trini cultural practices is a necessary but not sufficient condition for the internalization of multicultural attitudes, which requires a level of emotional investment in the national ideology of multiculturalism.

Pathways to civic competence and civic value. In this present study, cultural orientation was directly and significantly associated with civic competence but not civic value, and national culture affirmation had a stronger association with civic value than civic competence. Therefore, the two components of cultural identity explored in this study (cultural orientation and national culture affirmation) were associated with different components of civic motivation (civic competence and civic value). While cultural orientation is directly related to civic competence, national culture affirmation is more strongly associated with civic value. In other words, engagement in cultural practices tend to communicate a sense of civic competence, and emotional attachment to the national culture translates more readily to a sense of civic value.

According to the acculturation framework proposed by Arends-Tóth and van de Vijver (2006) sociocultural competence is one of the possible outcomes of acculturation. In this study students with marginalized cultural orientations scored the lowest (and significantly lower than

Americanized students) on civic competence, suggesting that marginalization could be a maladaptive response to cultural globalization to the extent that it is associated with some degree of person-environment misfit (Lewin, 1959; Chirkov et al., 2005). The stronger association of national culture affirmation with civic value aligns with theory and research by Schwartz (2014) which suggest that culture exerts the greatest influence on individuals' values. Meanwhile finding a positive association between national culture affirmation and civic competence aligns with prior research on positive identity as a promoter of resilience and competency (Fuligini, Kiang, Witkow, & Baldelomar, 2008; Kiang, Harter, & Whitesell, 2007; Phinney & Ong, 2007; Roberts et al., 1999; Roberts et al., 2002; Smith & Silva, 2011).

Summary of important results

The cultural orientation clusters that emerged in the present study align partially with previous theories of acculturation, identity status, and marginalized social (racial) identity. Still, it is too early to say whether these clusters will generalize to other majority world adolescent populations, and more research is needed especially in the case of the marginalized cluster, which was not found in prior research on remote acculturation. US culture engagement was negatively correlated with both Trini culture engagement and national culture affirmation, accordingly students with Americanized cultural orientations scored the lowest on national culture affirmation when compared to other types of cultural orientation. Students with cosmopolitan-polycultural-glocalized cultural orientations, and a strong sense of emotional affirmation from Trini culture have the most positive outcomes compared to students with all other cultural orientations that emerged in this study.

There were ethnic differences in cultural orientation (the behavioral component of cultural identity) but not in national culture affirmation (the emotional component of cultural identity) and PYD outcomes. No single demographic factor consistently impacted outcomes and where there were demographic differences, effect sizes were small. Even though an Americanized cultural orientation was associated with harm to national culture affirmation in this present study, it did not necessarily harm other PYD outcomes, providing benefits to PYD especially when compared to the culturally marginalized students. However, harm to PYD outcomes associated with cultural marginalization and to a lesser extent localization (Trini cultural orientation) were buffered by their positive association with national culture affirmation, which played a protective role in Trinidadian adolescents' positive development.

Limitations

Although the current study contributes to the existing literature on cultural identity and positive youth development in majority world contexts, it is not without its limitations. First, causation cannot be inferred based on cross-sectional research. For example, cultural orientation does not cause national culture affirmation and PYD outcomes. These are merely associated variables and observed effects can go in the opposite direction in the path model, be bidirectional, and even transactional. Future research might examine a causal experimental model to see if indicators of cultural globalization (e.g. preference for cultural products from the US over local products) is associated with different levels of national culture affirmation (and vice versa) and what are the implications for sociocultural learning/task performance.

Second, I was able to partly control for nesting of individuals within schools in the analysis, but the small number of level 2 variables (just 6 schools) precluded multilevel analysis,

which would have been beneficial, especially for models including multicultural attitudes. Future research might include a larger sample of schools to more precisely examine how psycho-ecological factors associated with schools such as ethnic, gender, and SES composition impact the development of multicultural attitudes and civic motivation.

Third, the interpretation of the results depends to a great extent on the validity of the cluster analysis in the same way interpretation of measurement scales depend on the reliability and validity of the latent structure. Alternative cluster solutions may yield different results, and therefore replication studies are needed to validate the clusters that emerged in this study. Also, the measures used for PYD outcomes in this study, though customized for the Trinidadian adolescent population were based on Western measures developed for Western populations. One might argue, for example, that of course Americanized students scored higher than Trini oriented students on measures created for US adolescents. Therefore, though the customized measures used in this study were reliable and valid (in terms of latent structure), theory-generating research would be useful in the creation of measures specifically for majority world contexts.

Fourth, because Tobagonian adolescents were omitted from the present study, results might not be generalizable beyond the island of Trinidad. Apart from the unforeseen differences between youth from Trinidad and youth from Tobago due to the use of random sampling in this study, there are socio-historical, economic, and political factors have led to distinct differences between the two islands. Tobago was annexed to Trinidad in 1899, and some residents of Tobago still consider themselves as culturally distinct and separate from Trinidad. The ethnic composition of the islands differs with Trinidad being more diverse, and Tobago being more Afro-centric both in terms of demographics and cultural practices. Trinidad's economy is driven by natural resources such as oil and gas, while Tobago's economy depends heavily on tourism.

Additionally, Tobago has its own House Assembly that makes political decisions independent of the Trinidad parliament. Together these factors suggest that an in-depth and separate study of Tobagonian youth's cultural identity and PYD outcomes should be conducted in the future.

Lastly, even though random sampling was used to select schools, it was not used at the classroom and individual level, so there are still some limits to generalizability within Trinidad itself. Further studies are needed to determine if results are replicable in other majority world contexts besides Trinidad (which might share some unique features with other English-speaking Caribbean islands but is further differentiated within that region based on its multicultural demographic and level of economic development).

Conclusion and Implications

A model of cosmopolitan-polycultural-glocalized cultural identity emerged as a resource for PYD outcomes such as multicultural attitudes, civic competence, and civic value in this study. This model is particularly relevant for youth in majority world countries like Trinidad and Tobago that face cultural globalization pressures.

Interrogation of generalized assumptions/claims about the advantages and disadvantages of cultural globalization for PYD outcomes, and the relationship between global and local forms of cultural identity in this study, led to a key evidence-based observation. When behavioral engagement in a single global culture is inversely related to emotional identification with the local culture, a situation of cultural identity misfit could potentially arise, with negative implications for PYD outcomes. For example, emotional identification with the local Trini culture tended to play a protective role for youth with marginalized cultural orientations but could be harmful for students with Americanized cultural orientations—suppressing otherwise

positive effects on multicultural attitudes. However, rather than focus on ways to *prevent* cultural

identity misfit, future research from a PYD and decolonial perspective could examine ways to

enhance cultural identity fit for youth in majority world contexts facing pressures of cultural

globalization. Educational programs that adopt a polycultural/glocalized approach (Rosenthal &

Levy, 2010) and emphasize the historical and current connectedness of global and local forms of

cultural identification and practices (as opposed to distinctiveness/separation) might enhance

cultural identity fit for majority world youth and communities.

The results of this study have implications for the intentional design of multicultural and

civic education programs or interventions for youth in majority world contexts like Trinidad. In

this study, youth who emphasized one type of cultural engagement over the other (whether local

or global)—or none—scored lower on multicultural attitudes, civic competence, and civic value

than students who emphasized both local and global cultural engagement. Subsequently,

multicultural and civic education programs or interventions that emphasize exclusively local

forms of cultural engagement or exclusively global forms of cultural engagement—or that fail to

emphasize any form of cultural engagement—might be unsuccessful in contributing to majority

world adolescents' sociocultural development.

There is room for improvement of multicultural and civic education programs or

interventions that promote an abstract form of cultural diversity but fall short of facilitating

youths' active and meaningful engagement in cultural practices of the local *and* global

community (Banks, 2016; Nieto, 2016; White & Myers, 2016). Trinidadian youth, who

successfully integrated diverse global and local cultural practices into their cultural self-concept,

while maintaining a positive emotional identification with their national culture tended to have

more beneficial PYD outcomes such as stronger multicultural attitudes, and a greater sense of

civic competence, and civic value. Therefore, the effectiveness of multicultural and civic

education programs or interventions might be enhanced through the inclusion of engagement in

multiple global and local cultural practices, *in addition to* inspiring a sense of pride, belonging,

and affirmation in the local national culture.

This dissertation provides knowledge about PYD in the majority world context of

Trinidad and Tobago, which can advance psychologists' and educators' understanding of factors

that influence sociocultural development. Educational policies grounded in the psychological

principles of PYD that go beyond narrow definitions of successful development as academic

achievement, are uniquely positioned to serve as tools for decolonization and to further the

positive sociocultural development of not just individual youth but also *wider society* (Lerner,

2015) through helping youth construct positive cultural identities, building positive multicultural

relationships among diverse youth, and fostering civic motivation.

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University of Kansas
Trinidad and Tobago Secondary Schools Youth Survey
May 2016

Please take your time and respond to the items on this survey carefully and truthfully. <u>There are no right or wrong answers to the items on this survey</u>. This is **NOT** a test. If you have any questions about the items on this survey raise your hand for assistance. When you have completed the survey, raise your hand.

---

1. Age: _____   2. Gender: Male ☐   Female ☐

3. Ethnicity: Afro-Trinidadian descent ☐   Indo-Trinidadian descent ☐   Mixed descent ☐

 Other_____*(please explain e.g. Chinese-Trinidadian/ Syrian-Trinidadian, etc)*

4. Religion: _____

PART 1 – If you found out about a problem in your community and you wanted to do something about it, how well do you think you would be able to do each of the following? **CIRCLE** the number that best matches your response.

	I definitely can't	I probably can't	Maybe	I probably can	I definitely can
Create a plan to address the problem.	1	2	3	4	5
Get other people to care about the problem.	1	2	3	4	5
Organize and run a meeting.	1	2	3	4	5
Express your views in front of a group of people.	1	2	3	4	5
Identify individuals or groups who could help you with the problem.	1	2	3	4	5
Write an opinion letter to a local newspaper.	1	2	3	4	5
Call someone on the phone that you had never met before to get their help with the problem.	1	2	3	4	5
Contact an elected official about the problem.	1	2	3	4	5
Organize a petition or social movement.	1	2	3	4	5

Read the following questions concerning how you feel about community activities. Circle the number that **best** matches your response to each question.

	Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Mostly	Very much
Do you like doing activities that involve community projects?	1	2	3	4	5
Is it important for you to be involved community projects?	1	2	3	4	5
Are the things you learn from activities that involve community projects useful to you outside of school?	1	2	3	4	5
In general, do you think it is worth it to spend time participating in activities that involve community projects?	1	2	3	4	5

How would you describe your neighbourhood . . .	Never	Rarely	Often	Mostly	Always
In my neighbourhood, I have trouble finding safe places to lime with my friends.	0	1	2	3	4
After school, I find it difficult to find anything worthwhile to do in my neighbourhood.	0	1	2	3	4
On the weekends, I can find good and useful things to do in my neighbourhood.	0	1	2	3	4
After school, I can find many interesting and positive things to do in my neighbourhood.	0	1	2	3	4
In my neighbourhood, there are places I can go to play outdoors and have fun.	0	1	2	3	4
In my neighbourhood, there are no places I can go that are attractive and clean.	0	1	2	3	4

PART 2

Here is a list of different activities that you might enjoy doing. Please tell us which countries are connected to the activities you enjoy by placing a tick **(√)** in the appropriate column. **You can choose <u>more</u> than ONE country for each activity *if* necessary**.

	Trinidad	Jamaica	America
I enjoy talking with an accent from			
I enjoy hearing other people talk with an accent from			
I enjoy acting as though I am from			
I enjoy listening to music from			
I enjoy singing popular songs from			
I enjoy dancing like people from			
I enjoy watching movies, TV shows, and online videos from			
I enjoy keeping up with the latest scene in			
I enjoy reading about what's happening in			
I enjoy learning about the lifestyles of famous people in			
I enjoy wearing the latest fashions from			
I enjoy eating home-cooked food originally from			
I enjoy eating fast food originally from			
I enjoy interacting with my real life friends from			
I enjoy interacting with my online friends from			
I enjoy spending time with family members from			
I enjoy meeting people in the street from			

PART 3 – Answer the questions about your Trinidadian cultural identity. Circle the number that **BEST** matches your response to the following question.

not at all important	slightly important	very important	important	extremely important

How important to you is your Trini culture?	0	1	2	3	4

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
I am active in national cultural organizations or social groups.	1	2	3	4	5
I understand pretty well what my Trinidadian culture means to me.	1	2	3	4	5
I feel a strong attachment towards my country.	1	2	3	4	5
I am happy that I am a Trinidadian.	1	2	3	4	5
I am proud to be a Trinidadian.	1	2	3	4	5
I feel good about my Trinidadian background.	1	2	3	4	5
I feel close to other Trini people.	1	2	3	4	5
I have a strong sense of belonging to Trinidad.	1	2	3	4	5
If I were to describe myself to someone, one of the first things that I would say is that I'm a Trini.	1	2	3	4	5
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
I often think it would be better to try to find a different culture to identify with.	1	2	3	4	5
I often think that identifying with a different culture would make my life more interesting.	1	2	3	4	5
In fact, I'm looking for a different culture to identify with.	1	2	3	4	5

Regarding your feelings about different cultures, please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements. Circle the number that **BEST** matches your response.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
I believe in a society that includes all cultures.	1	2	3	4	5
I have friendly relationships with all cultural groups.	1	2	3	4	5

	Almost never	Once in a while	Some of the time	Frequently	Almost always
I can celebrate my Trini identity and still respect other cultures.	1	2	3	4	5
I support unity with other cultural groups.	1	2	3	4	5
I believe in forming connections with other cultural groups.	1	2	3	4	5
I accept people from all cultural backgrounds.	1	2	3	4	5
I believe that my Trini identity is strengthened by working together with other cultures.	1	2	3	4	5

PART 4 – Answer the following questions about your family. Circle the number that **BEST** matches your response.

How would you describe your family . . .	Almost never	Once in a while	Some of the time	Frequently	Almost always
Family members ask each other for help.	1	2	3	4	5
We approve of each other's friends.	1	2	3	4	5
We like to do things with just our immediate family.	1	2	3	4	5
Family members feel closer to other family members than to people outside the family.	1	2	3	4	5
Family members like to spend free time with each other.	1	2	3	4	5
Family members feel very close to each other.	1	2	3	4	5
When our family gets together for activities, everybody is present.	1	2	3	4	5
We can easily think of things to do together as a family.	1	2	3	4	5
Family members consult other family members on their decisions.	1	2	3	4	5
Family togetherness is very important.	1	2	3	4	5

	Very poor	Poor	Average	Rich	Very rich
How would you describe your family's living situation?	1	2	3	4	5

	Never	Rarely	Often	Most times	Always
My family has enough money to buy the things that we *need*.	1	2	3	4	5
My family has enough money to buy the things that we *want*.	1	2	3	4	5

What is your **mother's** highest level of education?

Primary school ☐   Secondary school ☐   University ☐

What is your **father's** highest level of education?

Primary school ☐   Secondary school ☐   University ☐

PART 5 - Answer the following questions about your experiences in school. Circle the number that **BEST** matches your response.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
I get to choose which activities I want to do in school.	1	2	3	4	5
The activities that I do in school are important to me.	1	2	3	4	5
The activities that I do in school are interesting.	1	2	3	4	5
The activities that I do in school are challenging.	1	2	3	4	5
I enjoy the activities that I do in school.	1	2	3	4	5
The activities that I do in school require a lot of concentration.	1	2	3	4	5

	1	2	3	4	5
The activities that I do in school require me to use my skills.	1	2	3	4	5
I wish I could be doing something other than the activities that I do in school.	1	2	3	4	5

	Mostly A's	Mostly B's	Mostly C's	Mostly D's	Mostly F's
What grade do you usually get in Math?	1	2	3	4	5
What grade do you usually get in English?	1	2	3	4	5
What grade do you usually get in Social Studies?	1	2	3	4	5

*During the last year, how many of your **friends** have . . .*	None	Few	Some	Most	All
Purposely damaged or destroyed property that did not belong to them?	0	1	2	3	4
Hit or threatened to hit someone?	0	1	2	3	4
Stolen something?	0	1	2	3	4
Used or sold drugs?	0	1	2	3	4
Gotten drunk or high?	0	1	2	3	4
Carried a knife or a gun?	0	1	2	3	4
Got into a physical fight?	0	1	2	3	4

---END OF SURVEY---
Thank you for your participation! ☺

Appendix B

Adjusted Items Based on Confirmatory Factor Analyses

CULTURAL IDENTITY
Answer the questions about your Trinidadian cultural identity. Circle the number that **BEST** matches your response to the following question.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
[a] I am active in national cultural organizations or social groups.	~~1~~	~~2~~	~~3~~	~~4~~	~~5~~
I understand pretty well what my Trinidadian culture means to me.	~~1~~	~~2~~	~~3~~	~~4~~	~~5~~
I feel a strong attachment towards my country.	1	2	3	4	5
[b] I am happy that I am a Trinidadian. *	1	2	3	4	5
I am proud to be a Trinidadian. *	1	2	3	4	5
I feel good about my Trinidadian background.	1	2	3	4	5
I feel close to other Trini people.	~~1~~	~~2~~	~~3~~	~~4~~	~~5~~
I have a strong sense of belonging to Trinidad.	1	2	3	4	5
If I were to describe myself to someone, one of the first things that I would say is that I'm a Trini.	~~1~~	~~2~~	~~3~~	~~4~~	~~5~~

[a]Strikethrough indicates deleted item
[b]Asteriks indicate correlated residuals

MULTICULTURAL ATTITUDES
Regarding your feelings about different cultures, please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements. Circle the number that **BEST** matches your response.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
I believe in a society that includes all cultures.	1	2	3	4	5
I have friendly relationships with all cultural groups.	~~1~~	~~2~~	~~3~~	~~4~~	~~5~~
I can celebrate my Trini identity and still respect other cultures.	~~1~~	~~2~~	~~3~~	~~4~~	~~5~~
I support unity with other cultural groups.	1	2	3	4	5
I believe in forming connections with other cultural groups.	1	2	3	4	5
I accept people from all cultural backgrounds.	1	2	3	4	5
I believe that my Trini identity is strengthened by working together with other cultures.	1	2	3	4	5

CIVIC COMPETENCE

If you found out about a problem in your community and you wanted to do something about it, how well do you think you would be able to do each of the following? **CIRCLE** the number that best matches your response.

	I definitely can't	I probably can't	Maybe	I probably can	I definitely can
Create a plan to address the problem.	1	2	3	4	5
~~Get other people to care about the problem.~~	~~1~~	~~2~~	~~3~~	4	~~5~~
Organize and run a meeting.	1	2	3	4	5
Express your views in front of a group of people.	1	2	3	4	5
Identify individuals or groups who could help you with the problem.	1	2	3	4	5
Write an opinion letter to a local newspaper.	1	2	3	4	5
~~Call someone on the phone that you had never met before to get their help with the problem.~~	~~1~~	~~2~~	~~3~~	4	~~5~~
Contact an elected official about the problem.	1	2	3	4	5
Organize a petition or social movement.	1	2	3	4	5

CIVIC VALUE

Read the following questions concerning how you feel about community activities. Circle the number that **best** matches your response to each question.

	Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Mostly	Very much
Do you like doing activities that involve community projects?	1	2	3	4	5
Is it important for you to be involved community projects?	1	2	3	4	5
Are the things you learn from activities that involve community projects useful to you outside of school?	1	2	3	4	5
In general, do you think it is worth it to spend time participating in activities that involve community projects?	1	2	3	4	5