

Tridimensional (3D) Acculturation: Ethnic Identity and Psychological Functioning of Tricultural Jamaican Immigrants

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This article replicates and extends understanding of tridimensional (3D) acculturation by investigating the ethnic identity and psychological functioning of tricultural Jamaican immigrant adults in the United States who juggle 3 cultural worlds in their daily lives (Jamaican, European American mainstream, and African American). Eighty middle-aged Jamaican immigrants ($M_{age} = 50.5$ years, 74% women) completed questionnaires reporting their acculturation, ethnic identity, life satisfaction, and psychological distress. Results replicated 3D acculturation, and triculturalism was prominent (nearly half of current sample). Ethnic identity search had stronger associations with acculturation and psychological functioning than did ethnic identity commitment. In addition, triculturals reported greater (though mild) psychological distress. Findings have both theoretical and clinical significance for Jamaican and other minority immigrants across nations who acculturate in 3D.

Keywords: 3D acculturation, segmented assimilation, Caribbean, Blacks, acculturative stress, integration

With over 213 million international migrants worldwide, one in five of those living in the United States (United Nations, 2011), migration is

a global reality with local and international significance. Immigrant acculturation and adaptation therefore represent a key research area for international psychology. Caribbean populations are highly migratory, and the United States is now their primary destination (Thomas-Hope, 2002). There is a growing body of work on Caribbean immigrants' psychological adjustment, but like much immigrant health research it is largely devoid of acculturation theory (Cabassa, 2003; Salant & Lauderdale, 2003). Contextually grounded acculturation theory needs to be explicitly included in studies to better understand and predict within-group differences in immigrant psychological health (Yoon, Langrehg, & Ong, 2011).

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Tridimensional (3D) acculturation (Ferguson, Bornstein, & Pottinger, 2012) is an expanded acculturation framework building on bidimensional (2D) acculturation (Berry, 1997), which captures the experiences of minority immigrants in multicultural settings for whom three cultural dimensions are relevant. Ferguson and colleagues (2012) recently provided empirical evidence of 3D acculturation among Jamaican immigrants in the United States, finding that 40% were tricultural with high orientation to-

ward Jamaican culture, mainstream European American culture, *and* African American culture. We aim to replicate these original 3D acculturation findings in a new cohort of Jamaican immigrants, and explore the implications of triculturalism for ethnic identity and psychological functioning. Replication and replication-extension studies, though rare in psychology, are needed to assess generalizability and robustness of findings, and extend results in theoretically relevant directions (Bonett, 2012).

Jamaican Immigrants in the United States

Jamaica is a predominantly Black Caribbean island just over 200 miles south of the tip of Florida. Its racial and cultural heritages derive primarily from West Africa; thus, Jamaicans generally consider themselves part of the African Diaspora. Jamaicans began to migrate to the United States in large numbers in the 1960s following the change in U.S. immigration policy, which opened the borders to skilled professionals. Today, the United States is home to the largest population of Jamaicans outside of the Caribbean, and many migrants are motivated by desired professional and educational opportunities (Barrett, 2010; Thomas-Hope, 2002). Jamaican immigrants to the United States are generally more educated and more likely to secure professional-level employment compared with some other U.S. immigrant groups (Gonzalez, Tarraf, Whitfield, & Vega, 2010; Portes & Zhou, 1993). However, like most recent immigrants, they give up ethnic majority status in their home country for ethnic minority status in the United States (see Gordon (2012) for more historical and demographic details).

3D Acculturation

Psychologically speaking, acculturation refers to the changes following contact between culturally different people in contexts impacted by contemporary or historical migration, or modern globalization (Ferguson, 2013; Sam, 2006). Acculturation occurs in multiple domains of experience including behavior (e.g., social contact, language) and identity (e.g., ethnic identity, national identity), and one important long-term outcome of the acculturation process for immigrants is psychological adjustment in the new country (Arends-Tóth & van de

Vijver, 2006; Birman & Simon, 2013). Berry's (1997) widely adopted 2D acculturation theoretical framework classifies immigrants' acculturation according to the degree of participation in their ethnic culture (dimension 1) and in the culture of the new country (dimension 2). Crossing these two dimensions gives rise to four potential acculturation statuses: integration (high on dimension 1, high on dimension 2); assimilation (low, high); separation (high, low); and marginalization (low, low). However, contemporary receiving societies are now quite culturally diverse (van Oudenhoven & Ward, 2012), and this presents additional potential cultural dimensions for immigrants. Recent theory and research demonstrates that acculturation occurs in three dimensions (i.e., in 3D) for some immigrants from multicultural sending societies (e.g., ethnically Jewish Russians from the Former Soviet Union: Persky & Birman, 2005; Birman, Persky, & Chan, 2010) and for some immigrants who become ethnic minorities in a multicultural receiving society (e.g., Black Jamaican immigrants to the United States: Ferguson et al., 2012).

3D acculturation is relevant for Jamaican immigrants in the United States because the African American minority culture is also a salient dimension (dimension 3) in their acculturation process based on segmented assimilation (i.e., different sectors of society welcome different kinds of immigrants: Portes & Zhou, 1993; Rumbaut, 1994), similar racial and colonial histories (Bhatia & Ram, 2001), and shared racial discrimination (i.e., as many Caribbean Blacks [47%] report high levels of everyday racial discrimination as do African Americans [45%]: Woodward, Chatters, Taylor, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2010). Jamaican and other Black immigrants in the United States tend to seek friendship and guidance from African Americans to navigate a race-stratified society for the first time (Portes & Zhou, 1993; Wamwara-Mbugua, Cornwell, & Boller, 2008). 3D acculturation of Jamaican immigrants is therefore grounded in the contextual reality of the United States as a multicultural and racialized society by distinguishing between the majority White and minority Black receiving cultures. This 3D specificity allows for the detection of triculturalism among immigrants, whereas prior 2D acculturation models are limited to biculturalism.

Ferguson and colleagues (2012) empirically examined the presence of 3D acculturation in a sample of 38 Jamaican immigrant mothers and their adolescent sons and daughters in the United States, comparing them with nonimmigrant dyads in the United States and Jamaica. 3D acculturation was assessed using the Acculturation Rating Scale for Jamaican Americans (ARSJA), a three-subscale measure (one for each culture—Jamaican, African American, European American) adapted from the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II (ARSMA-II) Scale 1 designed for Mexican Americans (Cuéllar, Arnold, & Maldonado, 1995). The African American orientation outweighed European American orientation among Black immigrants.

The presence of triculturalism among immigrants in Ferguson and colleagues' (2012) study was striking. Based on cross-tabulation of the three ARSJA scale scores based on scale midpoint splits, 40% of the mothers were *triculturally* integrated (i.e., high scores on all three scales), 31% were biculturally integrated (i.e., high scores for Jamaican Orientation and one American culture Orientation), and 21% were monoculturally separated (i.e., endorsing only Jamaican culture highly). Few participants were marginalized (i.e., low orientation to all three cultures: 5%), and even fewer were assimilated (i.e., only endorsing highly one or both of the American culture(s): 3%). Tridimensional acculturation is yet to be replicated among minority immigrants and its associations with ethnic identity and psychological functioning should be explored, particularly for tricultural immigrants who actively negotiate three cultural affiliations.

Ethnic Identity

Ethnic identity refers to a sense of self that stems from one's ethnic group membership (Phinney, 2003). It is fluid across cultural contexts and across time, and can therefore be considered a domain of acculturation in which changes occur following migration (Phinney, 2003). Originating from Social Identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1985) and Ego Identity (Erikson, 1968) theories, Phinney's conceptualization of ethnic identity has three measurable aspects: (a) ethnic self-identification (i.e., the ethnic label given to oneself), (b) strength of subjective be-

longing to one's ethnic group (i.e., *commitment*: interest in and commitment to one's ethnic group), and (c) level of ethnic identity development (i.e., *search*: degree of exploration and understanding of one's ethnic identity; Phinney, 1990, 2003).

In regard to the first aspect of ethnic identity, Rumbaut (1994) found that first-generation Jamaican immigrant adolescents in Miami most often self-identified using a national-origin label (i.e., "Jamaican": 63%) followed by bicultural hyphenated labels (e.g., "Jamaican American": 23%), an American national identity label (i.e., "American": 7.5%), and the racial labels (e.g., "Black": 3%). Research on the second and third aspects of ethnic identity indicates few differences between ethnic identity commitment and search in relation to acculturation. Among mainly Mexican heritage U.S. college students, both aspects are positively associated with acculturation dimension 1 (i.e., ethnic culture orientation) and higher biculturalism (Cuéllar, Nyberg, Maldonado, & Roberts, 1997), and among ethnic minority U.S. adolescents, both predict positive in-group attitudes, which in turn predict positive out-group attitudes (Phinney, Ferguson, & Tate, 1997). However, it should be noted that in-group/ethnic and out-group/mainstream identifications are not positively associated in contexts where immigrants face high levels of discrimination and strong pressure to assimilate into the mainstream (e.g., Turkish-Dutch in the Netherlands, Verkuyten & Vildiz, 2007). The association between ethnic identity and acculturation among Jamaican immigrants merits further study, especially for mature adults who migrated during adulthood. Although ethnic identity is dynamic across the life span (Phinney, 2003), most of the research pertains to youth.

Psychological Functioning of Jamaican Immigrants

Mental health and ill-health are embedded in culture (Sam & Moreira, 2012), and this may be especially true for immigrants who traverse multiple worlds. The ground-breaking National Survey of American Life headed by James Jackson and colleagues has been invaluable in providing basic epidemiological information about the mental health and help-seeking of Black Caribbean immigrants compared with other

U.S. groups. Middle-aged and older Caribbean Blacks are more likely to report emotional problems than are African Americans and European Americans (Woodward et al., 2010), although first-generation Caribbean Blacks have better mental health than subsequent generations (González, Tarraf, Whitfield, & Vega, 2010; Lincoln, Taylor, Chae, & Chatters, 2010; Williams, Haile, Gonzalez, Neighbors, & Baser, 2007). Despite higher levels of distress, the rate of formal/professional mental health help-seeking for Caribbean Blacks is very low (nearly half that of African Americans': Williams et al., 2007), especially for first-generation immigrants (Jackson, et al., 2007). Unfortunately, acculturation theory has scarcely been incorporated into this growing literature on Caribbean immigrant mental health despite the fact that acculturation is known to be associated with the psychological health and well-being of immigrants overall (Yoon et al., 2011). Public Health scholars have issued a call to ground immigrant health studies in theoretical models, align measurement with acculturation theory, and give greater consideration to pre- and postmigration societal and individual factors (Broesch & Hadley, 2012; Cabassa, 2003; Salant & Lauderdale, 2003; Thomson & Hoffman-Goetz, 2009).

Triculturalism and Psychological Functioning

Broadly speaking, biculturalism refers to the internalization of two cultures; thus, triculturalism can be thought of as internalizing three cultures. It is common for bicultural individuals to experience stress related to the demands and conflicting messages put forth by two cultures, and these experiences can be associated with negative psychological adjustment (Balls Organista, Organista, & Kuraskai, 2003). Triculturals, who try to combine three cultural worlds, may experience even greater acculturative stress or "culture shock" than biculturals do in terms of heightened negative affect (e.g., anxiety, confusion, loss, grief), behavioral problems (e.g., offending others due to unfamiliarity with social rules and conventions), and misinterpretations of events (e.g., due to differences in cultural values; affective, behavioral, cognitive model of culture shock: Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001). Consistent with this theoreti-

cal viewpoint, bicultural Black individuals in the United States report higher psychological distress than do monocultural Black individuals (i.e., "Traditionalists"; Obasi & Leong, 2009). This distress may be magnified among triculturals.

On the other hand, having multiple cultural identifications may also be adaptive in that it meets the need for optimal distinctiveness (Brewer, 1991). That is, triculturalism allows an immigrant to maintain a sense of uniqueness based on his or her ethnic identification while maintaining a sense of belonging based on out-group identifications. A recent meta-analytic review found that biculturalism is associated with positive psychological adjustment for the majority of groups studied excepting African immigrants and indigenous people (see Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013 for meta-analytic review). Thus, it is possible that tricultural immigrants who internalize three cultural orientations may reap even more benefits than biculturals including a broader social network, a wider behavioral repertoire, and better frame switching.

Hypotheses

First, in regard to 3D acculturation we expected to replicate Ferguson and colleagues' (2012) findings in this new cohort of Jamaican immigrants. We expected high mean orientation toward all three cultures and an array of individual acculturation statuses, with tricultural integration being most common. Second, in regard to ethnic identity we expected (a) country-of-origin self-labels to be most common, followed by bicultural, American national, and racial self-labels, in that order (Rumbaut, 1994); and (b) ethnic identity belonging and search to be positively associated with cultural orientation to all three cultures and also with the degree of cultural integration (Cuéllar et al., 1997; Phinney et al., 1997). Given mixed theoretical and empirical views on the associations between biculturalism and psychological functioning, we refrained from a specific prediction regarding the association between triculturalism and psychological functioning. Higher levels of cultural integration might be a liability (Obasi & Leong, 2009), an asset (Brewer, 1991;

Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013), or a liability in some respects but an asset in others.

Method

Participants and Procedure

A community sample of 80 first-generation Jamaican immigrants ($M_{age} = 50.5$ years, $SD = 15.5$, 74% women) from Illinois and Pennsylvania was recruited from cultural festivals, churches, and community organizations. (Data were excluded from 28 individuals who were not first-generation Jamaican immigrants). Participants were 86% Black and the average length of U.S. residence was 28.6 years ($SD = 13.1$). Nearly half of the sample (45%) belonged to college-educated households. Following Institutional Review Board approval, all participants gave consent and most questionnaires were completed at the locations of recruitment. Illinoisans received a raffle ticket (US\$5 value) for prize drawings at a cultural event but were no different from Pennsylvanians in terms of age, U.S. residence length, or education level.

Measures

3D acculturation. The ARSJA (Ferguson et al., 2012) is a 34-item 3D acculturation measure adapted from the ARSMA-II, Scale I (Cuéllar et al., 1995), which assesses orientation toward three cultures—Jamaican, African American, and European American—in terms of entertainment preferences, associations/friendships, and self-identification. The ARSJA has three subscales: The Jamaican Orientation Scale (JOS; 16 items; $\alpha = .72$, e.g., *I speak Jamaican Patois; I enjoy Jamaican TV*), African American Orientation Scale (AAOS; 8 items; $\alpha = .71$, e.g., *My friends are of African American origin*), and European American Orientation Scale (EAOS; 9 items; $\alpha = .70$, e.g., *I like to identify as European American*). One item was dropped from the original 9-item AAOS to optimize scale reliability in this study (i.e., *I associate with African Americans*). Items were rated using a 5-point scale (1: *none or not at all* to 5: *very much or always*). Scale means were calculated so that higher scores represent stronger orientation to each culture.

Ethnic identity. The 12-item Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) was used

(Roberts et al., 1999). Participants reported their ethnic self-identification by completing the following open-ended sentence stem: “*In terms of ethnic group, I consider myself to be . . .*”. They also completed the 8-item “Ethnic Identity Commitment” subscale ($\alpha = .77$; e.g., *I feel a strong attachment toward my ethnic group*), and the 4-item “Ethnic Identity Search” subscale ($\alpha = .75$; e.g., *I have spent time trying to find out more about my own ethnic group*). Items were rated using a 4-point scale (1: *strongly disagree* to 4: *strongly agree*), and scale means were created.

Life satisfaction. The 5-item Satisfaction With Life Scale (SWLS) provides an overall evaluation of their life (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985; $\alpha = .83$, e.g., *in most ways my life is close to my ideal*). Items were rated using a 5-point scale (1: *strongly disagree* to 5: *strongly agree*), and a scale mean was calculated.

Psychological problems. The Patient Health Questionnaire-4 (Kroenke, Spitzer, Williams, & Löwe, 2009; $\alpha = .91$) is a 4-item scale that screens for symptoms of anxiety and depression. Participants are asked to consider how bothered they were in the past two weeks by two common depressive symptoms (e.g., *feeling down, depressed, or hopeless*), and two common anxiety symptoms (e.g., *feeling nervous, anxious, or on edge*). Items were rated on a 4-point scale (1: *not at all* to 4: *nearly every day*), and a scale mean was calculated.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Missing data points were missing completely at random, Little’s Missing Completely at Random $\chi^2(4149, N = 80) = 4293, p = .06$. Therefore, imputation was performed using the Expectation–Maximization algorithm for all cases excepting four, which had 15% to 25% data missing (Dempster, Laird, & Rubin, 1977). These four cases were retained to optimize power in analyses for which data were not missing. Descriptive statistics and bivariate correlations for study variables are reported in Table 1. Preliminary analyses showed that Age was negatively correlated with Psychological Problems, primary household earner’s Education was positively correlated with MEIM Search scores,

Table 1
Descriptive Statistics and Bivariate Correlations For Study Variables

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	<i>M (SD)</i>
1. Location												73.8% Illinois
2. Gender	-.27*											73.5% Female
3. Age	-.02	-.20										50.51 (15.47)
4. Years in the United States	-.09	-.03	.58**									28.59 (13.14)
5. Education	-.13	.12	-.11	.16								5.06 (1.46)
6. JOS	-.33**	.05	-.03	-.22	-.16							4.04 (0.49)
7. AAOS	-.37**	.07	-.01	.04	.03	.42**						3.40 (0.70)
8. EAOS	-.34**	-.08	-.10	-.02	.11	.44**	.46*					3.10 (0.62)
9. Ethnic identity commitment	.10	-.24*	.20	.03	.14	.18	.02	.21				3.48 (0.39)
10. Ethnic identity search	-.04	.00	.02	-.08	.25*	.24*	.11	.31**	.36**			3.04 (0.63)
11. Life satisfaction	-.57**	.07	.07	.08	.15	.22	.27*	.48**	-.06	.04		3.47 (0.94)
12. Psychological problems	.01	.03	-.26*	-.17	-.07	.18	.30**	.26*	-.04	.27*	-.13	1.63 (0.83)

Note. Location is coded 1 = Illinois, 2 = Pennsylvania; gender is coded 1 = male, 0 = female; JOS = Jamaican Orientation Scale; AAOS = African American Orientation Scale; EAOS = European American Orientation Scale.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

and Gender was associated with MEIM Commitment (see Table 1). Therefore, all three variables were initially treated as covariates in the relevant main analyses (see results for *Hypothesis 2b*), but Gender was dropped from the multivariate analyses of variance (MANCOVAs) due to nonsignificance. In addition, participants recruited in Illinois reported higher JOS, AAOS, EAOS, and SWLS scores compared with those recruited from Pennsylvania. Given that location covaried with several variables, it was added as an interaction term in MANCOVAs to assess for moderation effects.

Bivariate correlations showed that JOS, AAOS, and EAOS scores were all positively intercorrelated. Although weak or nonsignificant intercorrelations have previously been used to substantiate the conceptual independence of the destination and heritage culture dimensions in acculturation scales, recent research on immigrants' orientations to mainstream and ethnic identities shows the strongest negative correlations between the two in countries with the most assimilation pressure (i.e., Germany and France) versus those with more multicultural policies and a longer history of immigration (i.e., Australia; Yağmur & van de Vijver, 2012). Thus, a negligible or positive correlation between mainstream and other cultural identity orientations indicates that they are all viable and accepted in the context (F. van de Vijver, personal communication, August 29, 2013).

Hypothesis 1: 3D Acculturation

Overall, Jamaican immigrants had high mean level orientation to each of the three target cultures: JOS, AAOS, and EAOS mean scores all exceeded the scale midpoints ($M_s = 4.04, 3.40,$ and 3.10 , respectively). Participants' JOS scores were significantly higher than their AAOS ($p < .001$) and EAOS scores ($p < .001$), and their AAOS scores were higher than EAOS scores ($p < .001$); $F(1, 79) = 4307.20, p < .001, \eta^2 = .65$ (see Table 1). Next, cross-tabulation using scale midpoint splits of ARSJA scales was used to assess individual acculturation profiles (as in Ferguson et al., 2012). This method allows the comparison of acculturation status percentages across studies. (Also see Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2006 for discussion of method). A 2 (JOS: high, low) \times 2 (AAOS) \times 2 (EAOS) factorial matrix of eight acculturation groups was created corresponding to Berry's (1997) four acculturation statuses (see Table 2). Acculturation groups were then collapsed into three integration groups according to level of cultural integration represented by each: (a) monocultural—immigrants with high JOS only (given that there were few immigrants in this sample or in Ferguson and colleagues' 2012 sample with high AAOS or EAOS only, such individuals were excluded from this grouping); (b) bicultural—high JOS and AAOS, or high JOS and EAOS (but not high AAOS and EAOS); and (c) tricultural (high on JOS, AAOS, and EAOS).

Table 2
Acculturation Groups and Statuses Based on Cross-Tabulation of ARSJA Scales

Acculturation status	Acculturation group	Participants (%) prior 2012 sample	Participants (%) current sample
Integrated	High JOS, EAOS, and AAOS	15 (39%)	37 (46%)
	High JOS and AAOS only	10 (26%)	21 (26%)
	High JOS and EAOS only	2 (5%)	4 (5%)
	<i>Subtotal</i>	27 (71%)	62 (78%)
Assimilated	High EAOS and AAOS only	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
	High AAOS only	1 (3%)	0 (0%)
	High EAOS only	0 (0%)	1 (1%)
	<i>Subtotal</i>	1 (3%)	1 (1%)
Separated	High JOS only	8 (21%)	14 (18%)
Marginalized	Low JOS, EAOS, and AAOS	2 (5%)	3 (4%)

Note. JOS, EAOS, AAOS = 5-point Jamaican, European American, and African American Orientation Scales, respectively. Percentages from Ferguson et al. (2012) are presented here as a point of comparison. Percentages rounded to the nearest integer.

Thus, 7% of the sample was excluded from integration groups (i.e., the above exceptions plus those individuals low on all three scales).

Results indicated that 18% was monocultural, 31% was bicultural (26% JOS & AAOS, and 5% JOS & EAOS), and 46% was tricultural (see Table 2). There were significant differences in the distribution of participants across the eight acculturation groups, $\chi^2(5, N = 80) = 72.40, p < .001$, and across the three integration groups, $\chi^2(2, N = 76) = 10.45, p = .005$.

Hypothesis 2: Ethnic Identity

Hypothesis 2a: Ethnic self-identification. Approximately 49% of participants self-reported a country-of-origin self-label (i.e., “Jamaican”); 29% reported a bicultural/multicultural label (i.e., “Jamaican American,” “Jamaican African American,” “African British Jamaican American,” “African American Jamaican,” or “Jamerican”); 11% reported a racial or combined racial-ethnic label (i.e., “Black,” “Black Jamaican,” or “African Jamaican”); 3% reported other labels, 0% reported national self-labels (i.e., “American” or “African American”), and 8% did not specify a label. An ANOVA indicated that number of years lived in the United States varied by ethnic self-identification, $F(3, 66) = 2.95, p = .039$. Individuals who used racial/racial-ethnic self-labels had lived in the United States longer ($M = 36.22$ years, $SD = 14.99$) than those who used

country-of-origin self-labels ($M = 26.65$ years, $SD = 12.79; p = .04; d = .69$).

Hypothesis 2b: Ethnic identity commitment and search. Ethnic identity search but not commitment was positively associated with JOS and EAOS scores (see Table 1). Associations with cultural integration are reported below.

Triculturalism and Associations With Ethnic Identity and Psychological Functioning

A MANCOVA with Integration Group and Location as predictors, and Age and Education as covariates, was computed to examine group differences in ethnic identity and psychological functioning. There were significant main effects of both predictors (Integration Group: Wilks’ = .723, $F(8, 124) = 2.73, p = .008, \eta^2 = .28$; Location: Wilks’ = .787, $F(4, 62) = 4.20, p = .005, \eta^2 = .21$). Ethnic Identity Search, $F(2, 65) = 3.58, p = .033, \eta^2 = .08$, and Psychological Problems, $F(2, 65) = 4.63, p = .015, \eta^2 = .11$, differed across integration groups. Specifically, pairwise comparisons (with Bonferroni adjustment for multiple comparisons) indicated that compared with monoculturals, biculturals reported higher Ethnic Identity Search ($p = .031, d = .59$) and triculturals reported higher Psychological Problems ($p = .013, d = .84$; see Table 3). In addition, life satisfaction differed across location, $F(1, 65) = 15.24, p < .001, \eta^2 = .17$, with participants from Illinois reporting greater satisfaction ($M = 3.63$) than those from Pennsylvania

Table 3
Means and Standard Deviations of Ethnic Identity and Psychological Well-Being Across Integration Groups for the Entire Sample

Variables	Cultural integration		
	<i>M (SE)</i>		
	Monocultural	Bicultural	Tricultural
Ethnic identity commitment	3.54 (.11) ^a	3.52 (.09) ^a	3.60 (.10) ^a
Ethnic identity search	2.47 (.17) ^a	3.06 (.14) ^b	2.91 (.17) ^{a,b}
Life satisfaction	3.16 (.22) ^a	2.94 (.18) ^a	3.43 (.21) ^a
Psychological problems	1.22 (.23) ^a	1.60 (.18) ^{a,b}	2.15 (.22) ^b

Note. Estimated marginal means and standard errors are reported. Monocultural = high JOS only; Bicultural = high JOS and AAOS or high JOS and EAOS; Tricultural = high JOS, AAOS, and EAOS. For each variable, significant differences between groups are indicated with superscripts of differing letters (i.e., a, b), whereas matching superscripts indicate non-significant differences. Analyses controlled for participant age and education with Bonferroni correction applied.

($M = 2.72$). A significant interaction between Integration Group and Location was also found (Wilks' $\lambda = .770$, $F(8, 124) = 2.17$, $p = .034$, $\eta^2 = .23$) for Ethnic Identity Search, $F(2, 65) = 4.30$, $p = .018$, $\eta^2 = .09$. Separate MANCOVAs computed for each location showed a significant main effect of Integration Group on Ethnic Identity Search for both locations (Illinois: $F(2, 50) = 8.53$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2 = .24$; Pennsylvania: $F(2, 13) = 4.30$, $p = .037$, $\eta^2 = .23$); however, pairwise comparison tests with the Bonferroni adjustment were significant for Illinois only. Compared with monocultural Illinoisans ($M = 2.02$), biculturals ($M = 2.79$; $p = .04$, $d = 1.21$) and triculturals ($M = 3.15$; $p = .001$, $d = 1.39$) reported greater ethnic identity search. (Estimated marginal means, which help to control for unequal sample sizes, were used to calculate pairwise comparisons pertinent to MANCOVA findings. They are used both in the text and in Table 3.)

Discussion

The goals of this article were to replicate 3D acculturation findings of Ferguson and colleagues (2012) in a new cohort of Jamaican immigrants and to extend this work by examining the implications of triculturalism for ethnic identity and psychological functioning. Results did, indeed, replicate 3D acculturation, and triculturalism was even more prominent than in a previous study (Ferguson et al., 2012). Ethnic identity search had stronger associations with acculturation and psychological functioning than did ethnic identity

commitment. In addition, triculturals reported more psychological distress.

Replication of 3D Acculturation and Prominence of Triculturalism

Using a 3D acculturation framework (Ferguson et al., 2012) allows researchers and practitioners to look deeper into immigrants' experiences than they could using a 2D framework (Berry, 1997). In particular, 3D lenses on acculturation are designed to capture triculturalism, which has for the most part previously escaped notice. Compared with the original study by Ferguson and colleagues, current findings show similar proportions of triculturals (46% and 39%, slightly more in current sample), biculturals (31% and 31%), and monoculturals (21% and 18%), respectively. Also by way of replication, "assimilated" and "marginalized" acculturation statuses were negligible ($\leq 5\%$ each).

Jamaican immigrants' proclivity for cultural integration, triculturalism in particular, may be attributed to a number of factors. First, the United States seeks to promote cultural diversity relative to some other contemporary immigrant destinations (e.g., Germany, France), which means that immigrants may view multiple cultural affiliations as possible and compatible (vs. incompatible: Yağmur & van de Vijver, 2012). Second, immigrants are outsiders to both native majority and minority groups and are motivated to seek new associations as newcomers. A third possibility is that these Jamai-

can immigrants were remotely acculturating toward U.S. cultures before migrating to the United States (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012), thus predisposing them to high levels of cultural integration on arrival. Finally, it is also likely that cultural integration is adaptive for Jamaican immigrants, making it self-sustaining. Participation in European American mainstream culture may facilitate professional and economic advancement, which is a major goal of many Caribbean immigrants, whereas participation in African American culture may facilitate social belonging and the development of context-relevant coping skills, which are valued for day-to-day survival. In addition, having multiple cultural identifications can meet immigrants' fundamental need for optimal distinctiveness (Brewer, 1991) by maintaining high orientation to Jamaican culture (meets the need for differentiation) and also to the American cultures (meets the need for similarity).

Ethnic Identity Search May Facilitate Cultural Integration

First-generation Jamaican middle-aged adults in the current study used ethnic self-labels in a similar manner to first-generation Jamaican adolescents in South Florida (Rumbaut, 1994). In both samples, "Jamaican" was the most common ethnic self-label (49% and 63%, respectively), a hyphenated label was second (29% and 23%, respectively), and a racial label was less common (11% and 3%, respectively). Taken together, findings from both studies suggest that immigrant generation may be more important in determining ethnic self-identification than is immigrant age. Time spent in the United States may also play a key role in self-labels: racial self-labels were most common among those adults who had been U.S. residents longer, which is consistent with the work of Cross and colleagues (Cross, Grant, & Ventuneac, 2012). It is worth noting that just because an immigrant is tricultural (46% of the sample) s/he will not necessarily choose to self-identify as such (<29% of the sample reported a multicultural self-label). Some Jamaican triculturals may opt for a country-of-origin self-label (i.e., simply "Jamaican") over a tricultural one because their Jamaican orientation is the strongest of the three, whereas triculturals may opt for a racial/racial-ethnic self-label if their race is

highly salient due to ethnic minority in the United States. Alternatively, some individuals in the sample may be tricultural in terms of behaviors rather than identity given that acculturation in public domains (e.g., behavior, language—most ARSJA items fell into this category) often precedes acculturation in private domains (e.g., values, ethnic identity; Yoon et al., 2011).

It is not difficult to imagine why the active exploration of and reflection on one's own ethnic group and identity may facilitate stronger understanding of and orientation toward one's ethnic culture. What is less intuitive is the association between ethnic identity search and American orientation or biculturalism/triculturalism (biculturals had higher search than monoculturals in the overall sample, and triculturals' search exceeded monoculturals' for Illinoisans only). While in the process of navigating multiple cultural worlds, bicultural and tricultural Jamaican immigrants view themselves as a part of two or three ethnic and social groups. Having two or three cultural identifications may prompt greater identity search among biculturals and triculturals than among monoculturals, who continue to identify primarily with one ethnic group. In addition, as Phinney et al. (1997) found, ethnic identity search predicts positive out-group attitudes as mediated by positive in-group attitudes: "having positive feelings about one's own group contributes to positive feelings toward other groups" (Phinney et al., 1997, p. 966). Thus, ethnic identity search may predispose Jamaican immigrants to cultural integration by way of having higher Jamaican and American culture orientations. Once again, that ethnic identity search may promote out-group identification; hence, cultural integration may be more prevalent in receiving societies that put relatively less pressure on immigrants to assimilate (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007; Yağmur & van de Vijver, 2012).

Triculturalism Is Associated With Psychological Distress

Tricultural Jamaican immigrants have the complex task of managing three worlds on a daily basis, and they report more temporal psychological distress (i.e., mild symptoms of anxiety and depression) than monoculturals. (Though statistically nonsignificant, triculturals also had higher psychological distress than bi-

culturals, who in turn had higher distress than monoculturals). Triculturals' greater psychological distress may be connected to their acculturative stress (Balls Organista et al., 2003) or "culture shock" (Ward et al., 2001; Bochner, 2003). The ABC model of culture shock holds that feelings of anxiety and loss are common during acculturation due to lack of familiarity with the social rules and the misinterpretations of events stemming from different cultural values. It is not surprising that the practicalities of reconciling three cultures may be emotionally taxing, especially for Black immigrants in the race-stratified United States. Indeed, Barrett's (2010) semistructured interviews with professional Black Caribbean immigrant women revealed unexpected work challenges related to cultural and racial differences from both White American and African American colleagues. In addition, Gordon's (2012) qualitative study with Jamaican immigrant adults suggests that their psychological distress was related to limited social support and experiences of discrimination as Black immigrants. Feeling alone or unsupported despite having several cultural groups with which one identifies may be particularly distressing for triculturals.

The psychological distress of triculturals in this study is consistent with Nguyen and Benet-Martínez' (2013) finding that the positive biculturalism-well-being association does not hold for African immigrants and indigenous groups. Current results also support Obasi and Leong's (2009) findings that bicultural Black individuals in the United States report higher psychological distress than do monocultural Blacks. In their words "the path to an integrationist acculturative strategy would involve navigating through a plethora of barriers (e.g., worldview differences, racism, discrimination, history social and political trends) that would take their toll across time—allostatic load" (Obasi & Leong, 2009, p. 236). Moreover, for tricultural Jamaicans, discrimination from mainstream European Americans and/or African Americans may produce more inner turmoil than it might for monoculturals because the offense comes from the in-group rather than the out-group.

Limitations and Future Directions

Like every research endeavor, this study had a number of limitations. Although positively

worded scale items are vulnerable to response-style biases that may inflate positive intercorrelations among variables, scales with negatively worded (reverse scored) items often introduce other problems including lower reliability and comprehensibility (see Roszkowski & Margot Soven, 2010; Weijters & Baumgartner, 2012), the latter being a concern for immigrants.

The modest sample size was sufficient to replicate prior 3D acculturation findings, and effect sizes were all medium to large. Nonetheless, underpowered analyses may account for certain null findings (e.g., life satisfaction and triculturalism). It would be useful to replicate findings regarding triculturalism oversampling Jamaican immigrant men (who were underrepresented in this study) and expanding to other immigrant groups. Given the consistency between current 3D acculturation findings and prior sociological work with Jamaican immigrants in south Florida (Portes & Zhou, 1993; Rumbaut, 1994), there is no reason to expect that findings would differ in other prominent urban Jamaican immigrant communities within the United States. However, findings may differ among rural Jamaican immigrants or among those who do not reside in cultural enclaves. It is unclear why Illinoisans in this study had higher Jamaican and American orientation as well as higher life satisfaction; however, we do know that this difference was not due to differences in age, education, or U.S. residence length. Whatever it is about the Illinois context that permits strong orientation toward all three cultures may also permit higher life satisfaction. Future research can explore these location differences further in larger samples of Caribbean immigrants in the Midwest and East Coast.

3D acculturation is likely to be occurring among other minority immigrant groups due to segmented assimilation. For example, researchers working with African and Middle-Eastern immigrants in the United States, and Muslim immigrants in certain European countries should consider the utility of a 3D acculturation model. In addition, given that acculturation is now occurring remotely among nonimmigrants exposed to many and varied foreign cultures (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012), a 3D acculturation framework may be especially relevant. Research extending the bicultural identity integration paradigm to investigate tricultural identity integration would elucidate the degree to which

tricultural immigrants perceive their internalized cultures to be in harmony versus conflicting, and blended versus compartmentalized because these aspects of biculturalism have been shown to predict immigrant psychological well-being (Chen, Benet-Martínez, & Bond, 2008).

Prior research suggests that acculturation statuses may vary across life domains (e.g., public vs. private: Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2006; Yoon et al., 2011); therefore, future 3D acculturation research can also explore this possibility. Acculturation among tricultural Jamaican immigrants may not be perfectly tricultural in all domains (e.g., Jamaican culture may be more prominent in the family domain, European American culture may be more prominent in the professional/occupational domain, whereas African American culture may be more prominent in the social domain).

As with most acculturation studies, this work is cross-sectional and does not allow us to determine the development of these phenomena over time or the direction of effects (i.e., causality). Future research would benefit from longitudinal methods because of the dynamic nature of acculturation and ethnic identity and their impact on psychological functioning. A recent study found that Black Caribbean immigrants orient more toward the African American community when they perceive that the U.S. society positively regards Black people, whereas they orient more toward the ethnic Caribbean community when they perceive that their ethnic group is positively regarded (Joseph, Watson, Whang, Case, & Hunter, 2013). Future work can examine whether these shifts occur in real time and are associated with shifts in emotional states. Similarly, we were only able to assess static elements of ethnic identity in relation to 3D acculturation, leaving developmental differences in ethnic identity (i.e., achievement statuses; Phinney, 2003) to be explored in future research.

Finally, although racial discrimination is embedded in our theoretical explanation for the prominence of African American culture in Jamaican immigrants' 3D acculturation, future studies can measure perceived discrimination directly. Gordon's (2012) qualitative study found that reports of racial discrimination were expressed with greater intensity and detail by individuals who maintained a Jamaican identity or those who had ethnicity ambiguity compared with those who assumed mainstream American

identity. In addition, including racial identity in future studies may complement the information gleaned from examining ethnic identity (Cross et al., 2012).

Clinical Implications

Current study findings can help to inform the strategies of professionals working with Jamaican and other minority immigrant clients in the United States and other nations. Although the triculturals in our community (nonclinical) sample reported only mild psychological distress, higher levels would be expected among tricultural individuals who seek help. Caribbean Blacks in the United States are hesitant to engage professional treatment (Woodward et al., 2010); therefore, it is important that intervention efforts with those who do are culturally informed to facilitate rapport-building and clinical effectiveness. First, knowing that Jamaican immigrants acculturate in 3D and nearly half are tricultural, professionals should bear in mind that navigating multiple cultural worlds as a person of color in a race-conscious society may be a salient stressor. The mainstream society is not these individuals' only reference point, and it is crucial to incorporate open-ended discussions around all potential reference groups.

Second, professionals can expect that ethnic identity search will be associated with some degree of turmoil for Jamaican and other minority immigrant clients. However, gaining a better understanding of one's ethnic group and heritage is a normative and worthwhile part of the acculturation process (Phinney, 2003); therefore, it should not necessarily be avoided or discouraged. Rather, empathic support is likely to be helpful as clients acculturate in their own way at their own pace.

Third, counselors can bear in mind that juggling three cultures on a daily basis may feel to immigrants like a perpetually precarious circus act, and may take a psychological toll. (Although it is possible that immigrants with more distress choose to affiliate strongly with all three cultures, that direction of effects seems less likely). Strategies recommended for dealing with culture shock may prove useful including improving coping techniques to reduce anxiety and increase self-efficacy, improving social skills relevant to the particular cultural contexts causing distress, and increasing awareness of

differences in cultural values between Jamaican, African American, and European American cultures to shift the interpretation of distressing events.

Conclusion: Keeping a Foot in Three Worlds

Acculturation occurs in 3D for Jamaican immigrants in the United States and nearly half of these immigrants are tricultural—orienting strongly to Jamaican, European American mainstream, and African American cultures. However, the practical reality of keeping a foot in three worlds can feel as awkward as it sounds. Being tricultural can take a psychological toll, especially given the difficulties of navigating a stratified society as a minority immigrant. Helping professionals serving Jamaican immigrants should be aware that their psychological distress may be related to triculturalism, and fold this into their assessment and intervention.

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