Tridimensional (3D) Acculturation: Culture and Adaptation of Black Caribbean Immigrants in the USA

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Approximately 87% of the US foreign-born is non-European, and more than 50% of US foreign-born Blacks are of Caribbean descent (U.S. Census Bureau 2010). Nevertheless, Black Caribbean immigrants in the USA have attracted relatively little research attention. This may be because the prevailing acculturation frameworks in psychology (bidimensional acculturation: Berry 1980, 1997) and sociology (segmented assimilation: Portes and Zhou 1993) use two-dimensional (2D) lenses, focusing on a single culture of origin and a single destination culture within which immigrants acculturate. These lenses miss the possibility of multiple destination cultures within a multicultural settlement country such as the USA, wherein immigrants may orient both to the mainstream culture and to one or more ethnic minority cultures. For Black Caribbean immigrants in the USA, the presence of three relevant cultural dimensions—ethnic Caribbean culture, European-American culture, and African-American culture—call for the adoption of 3D lenses to fully capture their acculturation experience. This chapter describes a *tridimensional* (*3D*) *acculturation* paradigm and presents empirical data that test this theoretical proposition from the Culture and Family Life Study, a cross-cultural study of Jamaican islander adolescent-mother dyads compared to Jamaican immigrant, European-American, and African-American dyads in the USA. In addition, we investigate the implications of 3D acculturation for youth behavioral and academic adaptation.

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Acculturation Theory in Perspective

Acculturation in 2D: The View from Psychology Acculturation generally refers to change in cultural behaviors, values, and identity which accompany intercultural contact (Lansford et al. 2007; Schwartz et al. 2010). The bidimensional acculturation framework (Berry 1980, 1997) is the prevailing model for psychological acculturation in which acculturation is determined by the level of contact and participation an immigrant has with the culture of origin (dimension 1—high or low) and the culture of destination (dimension 2—high or low). Cross-tabulation of these two respective dimensions reveals four acculturation statuses (AIMS): Assimilation (low, high), Integration (high, high), Marginalization (low, low), and Separation (high, low). Studies across several immigrant groups lend support to the bidimensional model (e.g., Kosic 2002; Laroche et al. 1996; Ryder et al. 2000). Of note, the International Comparative Study of Ethnocultural Youth (ICSEY) examined acculturation among immigrant youth across 13 traditional receiving societies and found the following pattern: A ("national") = 18.7%, I ("integrated") = 36.4%, M ("diffuse") = 22.4%, and S ("ethnic") = 22.5% (Berry et al. 2006). This body of work demonstrates an array of potential acculturation options related to navigating a single culture of origin and a single destination culture.

Despite its popularity, the prevailing bidimensional acculturation framework and its supporting research have been critiqued on conceptual grounds. Rudmin et al. criticized its proposition that acculturation statuses derive from the personal preferences of immigrants because preference alone does not guarantee availability of acculturation options (Rudmin 2006; Rudmin and Ahmadzadeh 2001). For example, marginalization may be owing to unrequited cultural preference rather than inherently low cultural preference. A second limitation of the bidimensional acculturation model which has received less attention is that it advances a universal model of acculturation by overlooking the presence of multiple cultures of origin and/or destination for some immigrants. As an example of the consequences of a multicultural sending country, Birman et al. (2010) presented the case of ethnically Jewish Russians who are already bicultural in the home country before emigrating to the USA. In their study of over 200 adolescents in the USA, Birman et al. found that Jewish Russian immigrant youth were much less likely than non-Jewish Russian youth to self-identify as "Russian," and much more likely to self-identify as bicultural "Russian Jewish" or tricultural "Russian Jewish-American." As an example of the consequences of a multicultural receiving country, consider the arrival of non-European migrants to the USA. The bidimensional model would be equally insufficient to capture these immigrants' acculturation because its conceptualization of a generic "American" destination culture by default treats the majority European-American culture as the sole reference group (Abraído-Lanza et al. 2006) and masks the presence of minority cultures as other potential destinations. Although the mainstream culture determines many significant aspects of the new environment which non-White US immigrants must learn to negotiate successfully (e.g., legal, educational, and political systems), minority cultures may also be salient, especially in a racialized society. As Bhatia and Ram (2001) explain:

> When we adhere to universal models of acculturation, we undervalue the asymmetrical relations of power and the inequities and injustices faced by certain immigrant groups as a result of their nationality, race, or gender. Being other or racialized is part of many non-European immigrants' acculturation experience, and these experiences are tightly knitted with their evolving conceptions of selfhood (p. 8).

In summary, in regard to acculturation theory, it appears that one size does not fit all immigrants. Rather, depending on the immigrant population—in this case, Black Caribbean immigrants—different lenses of acculturation are required to appropriately capture the acculturation experience.

Acculturation in 2D: The View from Sociology Sociology has a running head start on psychology in acknowledging that there is more than one potential destination culture in the USA, and that a minority culture—inner-city African-American culture—is salient for some immigrants. In particular, segmented assimilation theory (Portes and Zhou 1993) holds that social and structural factors dictate the destination culture or "sector of society" into which US immigrants acculturate. Segmented assimilation gives rise to one of three immigrant pathways, especially among second-generation immigrant youth: (1) "upward assimilation" whereby immigrants assimilate into middle-class European-American society; (2) "downward assimilation" whereby immigrants assimilate into the poor marginalized African-American society; and (3) cultural integration whereby immigrants seek upward social mobility into the White middle-class while maintaining their ethnic roots. Portes and Zhou's work with Black and non-Black Caribbean immigrant youth in Florida demonstrates that Black immigrants are particularly vulnerable to downward assimilation because: (1) they look like African-Americans because of shared African heritage (and they transition from majority status in their native country to visible minority status in the USA; Schwartz et al. 2010); (2) they are likely to live near inner-city African-American communities because of limited resources typical of newcomers (and residential racial segregation is more common among Black immigrants than Hispanic, Asian, and non-Hispanic White immigrants; Iceland and Scopilliti 2008); and (3) they receive similar treatment as do African-Americans including racial discrimination (Foner 2001). For example, in their study of over 1,700 Caribbean and Central American immigrant adolescents in South Florida, Portes and Zhou found that most Black Jamaican and Haitian immigrant youth had experienced racial discrimination, even from teachers (24%), rates that were at least twice as high as those among Hispanic Cuban immigrant youth. Other studies report more pervasive experiences of discrimination among Black Caribbean immigrant youth (75%: Kasinitz et al. 2001). As Schwartz et al. (2010) explain, the process by which native minorities become a salient reference group for immigrants of color is often not by choice, nor is it unique to Black immigrants:

> Migrants from non-European backgrounds also must come to terms with their *own* ethnicity after arriving in the United States or other Western countries. Individuals who belonged to the majority ethnic group in their countries of origin—such as those from China, India, and other Asian countries—may suddenly be cast in the role of ethnic minorities….Experiences of discrimination introduce the immigrant to her or his role as a minority group member and to the reality that her or his ethnic group is regarded as unwanted, inferior, or

> unfairly stereotyped in the receiving society. Migrants of color therefore face the task of integrating themselves into a society that may never fully accept them (or their children) (p. 242).

Sociologist Mary Waters' (1999) interview findings among Black Caribbean immigrant young adults in New York City support the idea of segmented assimilation and underscore the primacy of African-American culture in their acculturation. Overall, 42% of her sample reported a strong identification as African-American, 31% reported a strong ethnic identification which was definitively not African-American, and 21% had an unconcerned attitude toward native Blacks and Whites. Suarez-Orozco et al. (Doucet and Suárez-Orozco 2006; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001) found similar patterns in their research with Black Haitian immigrant youth in the USA and coined three "Identity Styles." First, "ethnic flight" describes immigrants with strong African-American identification and is parallel to Berry's "assimilation," Portes and Zhou's "downward assimilation," and Waters' African-American identification (Berry 1997; Portes and Zhou 1993; Waters 1999). Second, "coethnic identities" describes immigrants with strong ethnic identification and is parallel to Berry's "separation" and Waters' ethnic identification. Third, "transcultural identities" describes immigrants with bicultural identification and is parallel to Berry's "integration" and Portes' cultural integration except that the destination culture is African-American rather than European-American.

Acculturation in 3D: A New Lens Despite the fact that prevailing sociological theories prescribe a different destination culture for Black Caribbean immigrants than do psychological theories—African-American versus European-American, respectively—both disciplines tend to hold a bidimensional view of acculturation whereby immigrants orient toward a single-destination culture. Neither discipline readily acknowledges the possibility of simultaneous acculturation toward multiple destination cultures within a multicultural society. We contend that *both* African-American and European-American cultures are relevant destination cultures for Black US immigrants because these immigrants are confronted with, if not immersed in, both cultures. To that end, we recently proposed a *3D model of acculturation* for Black Caribbean immigrants wherein they acculturate along three relevant cultural dimensions: ethnic Caribbean culture, European-American culture, and African-American culture (Ferguson et al. 2012). See Fig. 1. 3D acculturation for Black Caribbean immigrants in the USA is in accord with the specificity principle in acculturation whereby specific setting conditions (e.g., multicultural destination society) of specific persons or peoples (e.g., Black Caribbean people) at specific times (e.g., twenty-first century globalization era) exert effects in specific ways (3D acculturation) over specific outcomes (Bornstein in press). Tridimensional acculturation may also occur among nationals in multicultural receiving societies in a manner similar to that proposed by Berry's (1997) bidimensional framework (i.e., "multiculturalism" at the societal level might correspond to "tricultural integration" of immigrants at the individual level).

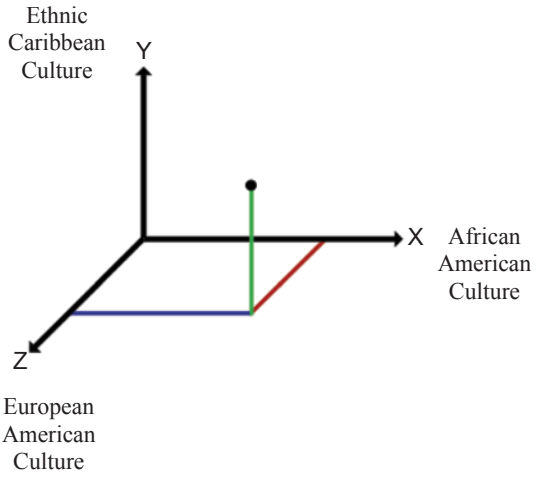

Fig. 1 Tridimensional (3D) acculturation model for Black Caribbean immigrants. (*Note*: The immigrant represented by the dot is moderately oriented to his/her ethnic Caribbean culture and both US destination cultures)

Sociocultural Adaptation of Immigrant Youth

Of equal import as the question of how immigrants acculturate in multicultural societies is the question of how well they adapt to the demands of their new context. Despite socioeconomic challenges, immigrant youth across several societies show remarkably positive adaptation in academics and behavior compared with their non-immigrant peers. This is the case among Asian and Latino immigrant youth in the USA (Fuligni 1997; Fuligni and Witkow 2004; García Coll and Marks 2009), Caribbean, African, and Eastern European immigrants in The Netherlands (van Geel and Vedder 2010), and across immigrant groups in the 13-country ICSEY study (Berry et al. 2006), although there are exceptions (e.g., Albanian immigrants in Greece: Motti-Stefanidi et al. 2012).

That said, not all immigrants adapt equally well; acculturation status plays a role. Some studies have reported that integration is associated with the best sociocultural adaptation, followed by separation and assimilation, and finally marginalization (Berry and Sabatier 2010; Berry et al. 2006). Other studies and re-examinations of earlier data suggest that separation may be equal or better than integration for certain immigrant groups (see Rudmin 2006, for review). A recent meta-analysis of 83 studies involving youth and adults reconciled these mixed findings (Nguyen and Benet-Martínez 2012). Meta-analytic findings showed an overall positive association between biculturalism and adjustment, which exceeded the association between adjustment and either heritage or dominant culture orientation separately. However, the association varied across immigrant groups and across countries: Latin (unweighted mean $r = 0.60$), Asian ($r = 0.52$), and European immigrants ($r = 0.33$) had positive biculturalism-adjustment associations, whereas African immigrants ($r = 0.01$) and Indigenous individuals ($r = -0.71$) had negligible and negative associations, respectively. Nguyen and Benet-Martínez suggest that the differing results

for African and indigenous populations may stem from histories of forced migration and slavery, and institutional neglect and related intergroup tensions, respectively. In addition, the biculturalism-adjustment associations were more positive among immigrants in the USA compared with other receiving societies.

For Black Caribbean immigrants, downward assimilation into inner-city African-American culture has been shown to be associated with poorer sociocultural adaptation. Immigrant youth who take this acculturation pathway appear to adopt a defensive stance toward the White mainstream culture, including education strivings, in response to racial discrimination (Kasinitz et al. 2001; Portes and Zhou 1993; Waters 1999). However, being able to "invoke West Indian ethnic status" may buffer against paralyzing beliefs that racism has limited one's opportunities for social mobility (Bashi Bobb and Clarke 2001). Accordingly, ethnic cultural maintenance and family obligations beliefs (e.g., to respect, defer to, and assist parents) are associated with more positive psychosocial and academic outcomes for Caribbean, Latino, African, and Asian immigrant youth in the USA (Brook et al. 2010; Fuligni et al. 1999; Fuligni et al. 2005; Love et al. 2006; Tseng 2004) and Caribbean and European immigrant youth in other countries (Vedder and Oortwijn 2009).

It is unknown whether 3D acculturation would carry more costs or benefits for youth than 2D acculturation. Given that cultural distance and cultural conflict impede successful bicultural identity integration (Benet-Martínez and Haritatos 2005), attempting to integrate three cultures versus two may prove even more difficult because it means reconciling three cultural distances and three sets of conflicts (i.e., cultures a vs. b, b vs. c, and a vs. c) rather than one cultural distance and one conflict (i.e., a vs. b). However, the biculturalism literature demonstrates that the successful integration of two cultural orientations is associated with positive sociocultural and psychological adjustment (Chen et al. 2008; Nguyen and Benet-Martínez 2012). Therefore, the successful integration of three cultural orientations—tricultural integration—may be even more advantageous because of greater cultural flexibility, a further expanded behavioral repertoire, and finer-tuned frame-switching skills.

Caribbean Emigration to the USA

Most US immigrants of African heritage come from the Caribbean, Jamaica in particular, which is the largest English-speaking Caribbean country. Located just over 500 miles south of the southern tip of Florida, Jamaica is a former British colony whose population (92% Black; National Census Report Jamaica 2001) descends primarily from African slaves brought to the island after the decimation of the indigenous Taino population by the Spanish (Senior 2003). In contrast to Jamaica, the majority population of the USA, also a former British colony into which African slaves were imported after mistreatment of native peoples, descended primarily from European immigrants. The USA abolished slavery 30 years after Jamaica did, but the Black US population has remained the numerical (12%), social, economic, and political underclass (Bhatia and Ram 2001; Schwartz et al. 2010; US Census Bureau 2000).

Significant emigration from Jamaica to the USA began in the 1960s mostly due to changes in the US immigration policy intended to meet needs for skilled professional workers (Bhatia and Ram 2001; Thomas-Hope 2002). In the twenty-first century, many Jamaicans become oriented to US cultures long before emigration, and there is recent empirical evidence that with sufficient intercultural contact, albeit indirect and/or intermittent, some islanders begin to acculturate to European-American culture remotely (Ferguson and Bornstein 2012). Compared with other immigrant groups, Jamaicans and other English-speaking Caribbean immigrants are generally more educated and skilled, better resourced upon arrival, have higher labor force participation, and are more likely to become employed at the professional level (Charles 2003; Portes and Zhou 1993; Waters 1999). Their values and aspirations are similar to those of other voluntary immigrant groups including a very strong value placed on educational/academic success, which is seen by parents as a ladder to social and economic betterment for their children (Fuligni and Fuligni 2007; Kasinitz et al. 2001; Portes and Zhou 1993). Jamaican immigrants have over time established ethnic enclaves in a number of US locations, primarily New York City and South Florida (Foner 2001; Kasinitz et al. 2001), but maintain close ties with relatives on the island via frequent communication and sending remittances (Thomas-Hope 2002).

An Empirical Study of Tridimensional Acculturation

Aims and Methods

To empirically investigate 3D acculturation and adaptation among Jamaican immigrants in the USA, we conducted a cross-cultural study of Jamaican adolescent-mother dyads living on the island (88% Black, 10% Multiracial), compared with Jamaican Immigrant (37% first-generation Jamaican-born adolescents and 63% second-generation US-born; 94% Black, 6% multiracial), European-American, African-American, and non-Jamaican immigrant dyads in the USA (17% Black, 83% non-Black). Overall, 473 dyads participated. On average adolescents were 14.07 years old (51% girls) and mothers were 42.04 years.

Our expectations were seven-fold, the first five of which were the focus of Ferguson et al. (2012). The remaining two expectations are explored in full detail in this chapter. We expected that (1) we would find evidence of 3D acculturation based on the relative independence of the two destination cultural dimensions and high mean endorsement of all three cultural dimensions among immigrants; (2) we would also find evidence of 3D acculturation in immigrant profiles based on varying degrees of endorsement of the three cultures, amongst which integration (bicultural and tricultural) would be the most prominent acculturation status; (3) Jamaican and other Black US immigrants, but not non-Black US immigrants, would be more oriented toward African-American culture than European-American culture; (4) Jamaican

immigrant youth would have at least comparable levels of sociocultural adaptation relative to nonimmigrant peers at the group level; (5) assimilated immigrant youth would have poorer adaptation; (6) tricultural immigrant youth would have better adaptation than bicultural immigrant youth; and (7) immigrant youth with stronger cultural maintenance and family obligations would be better adapted.

Adolescents and mothers completed parallel questionnaires containing a number of measures (Cronbach's $\alpha s \geq 0.75$). (1) The Acculturation Rating Scale for Jamaican Americans (ARSJA, Ferguson and Bornstein 2012; Ferguson et al. 2012) measured cultural behaviors and self-identification along three separate cultural dimensions using three subscales: Jamaican Orientation Scale (JOS), European-American Orientation Scale (EAOS), and African-American Orientation Scale (AAOS). (2) The child/adolescent and parent versions of the Resilience subscale of the Behavioral Assessment for Children of African Heritage measured the degree to which adolescents possessed a variety of positive characteristics and behaviors including getting along with others, leadership, academic effort, extracurricular involvement, and avoiding delinquency (BACAH; Lambert et al. 2005). (3) Adolescents' grade average on the most recent cumulative exams was reported. (4) The Family Values Scale, Obligations subscale (Berry et al. 2006) measured beliefs about adolescent obligations to parents and the family. (5) The Identity Pie (Ferguson et al. 2010) assessed prioritization of family versus eight other life domains (close friendships, romantic relationships, physical appearance, popularity, academics, sports, solitary hobbies, and morality/religion). (6) Social Desirability (Marlowe-Crowne Short-Form A, Reynolds 1982) and (7) parental education (Hollingshead Four Factor Index of Social Status; Hollingshead 1975) were measured as control variables. For fuller methods and results see Ferguson et al. (2012).

Findings

To make the most of this unique dataset, we used both variable-centered (theory-driven cross-tabulation) and person-centered (data-driven cluster analyses) analytic strategies. In addition, we examined both group means for the immigrant sample and individual differences across immigrants.

1. *Is there evidence of 3D acculturation in the immigrant sample overall?* Preliminary analyses showed that the AAOS and EAOS shared negligible variance for adolescents and mothers in the cross-cultural study sample overall ($Rs^2 = 0.01$ and 0.02, respectively), revealing the relative independence of these two cultural dimensions. This finding supports the proposition of 3D acculturation that African-American culture and European-American culture are distinct destination cultures and should be conceptualized and measured separately. In addition, Jamaican immigrants had high mean level orientation to each of the three target cultures: JOS, AAOS, and EAOS mean scores all exceeded the scale mid-points ($Ms = 3.71$, 3.80, and 3.09, respectively).

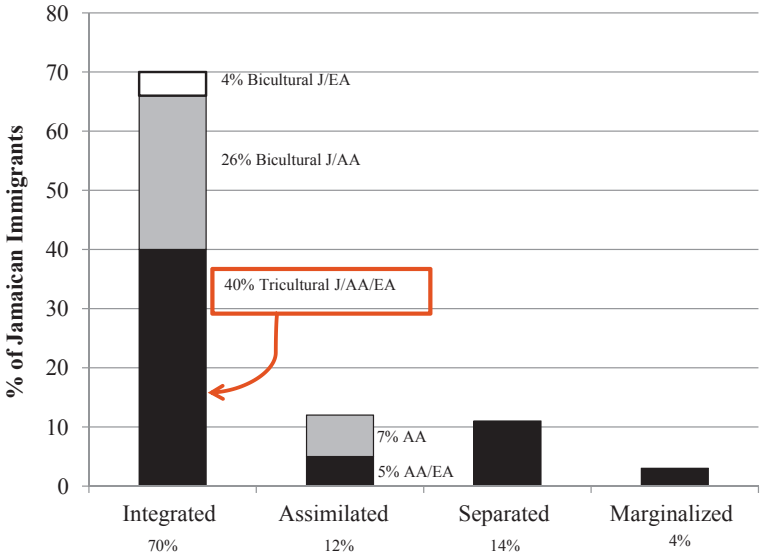

Fig. 2 Variable-centered acculturation groups and statuses based on cross-tabulation of ARSJA scale scores. (*Note*: *J* Above scale mid-point on Jamaican Orientation Score, *EA* above scale mid-point on Jamaican European American Orientation Score, *AA* above scale mid-point on European American Orientation Score. Integrated, Assimilated, Separated, Marginalized = superordinate acculturation statuses based on Berry's (1997) typology)

2. *Is there evidence of 3D acculturation in immigrant profiles and is integration the most common acculturation status?* First, cross-tabulation using scale mid-point splits created a 2 (JOS: high, low) × 2 (EAOS) × 2 (AAOS) factorial matrix of eight *Acculturation Groups* which were sorted into four superordinate *Acculturation Statuses*. Figure 2 illustrates that, as expected, the vast majority of immigrants were integrated (70% total: 30% bicultural, 40% tricultural), followed by separated (14%), assimilated (12%; mostly African-American assimilated; adolescents > mothers), and marginalized (4%). K-means cluster analyses using JOS, AAOS, and EAOS scores revealed complementary results in the prominence of integration and the absence of marginalization. Two *Acculturation Clusters* formed: a "High Integration/African-American" cluster (53%; all ARSJA scale scores above the scale mid-point with AAOS being the highest) and a "Moderate Integration" cluster (47%; all ARSJA scores close to the scale mid-point with EAOS being the lowest). Acculturation status and cluster membership were not associated with parental education. Thus, 3D acculturation was evident in that the three target cultures were endorsed to varying degrees across immigrants, including in a triculturally integrated acculturation profile.
3. *Is African-American Culture a primary destination culture for Black US immigrants?* As expected, the mean AAOS scores of Jamaican immigrants and other Black immigrants were significantly higher than their EAOS scores (Cohen's

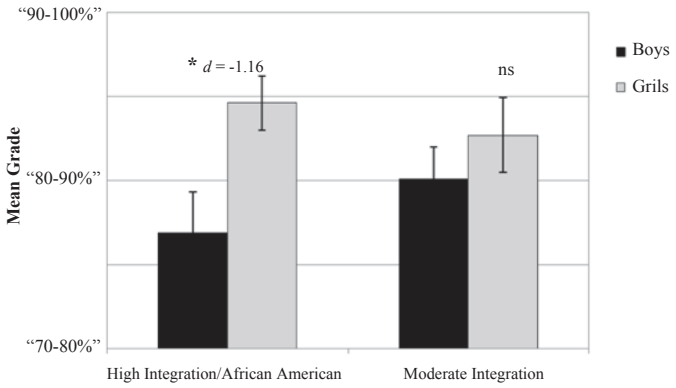

Fig. 3 Adolescent grades and standard errors (*bars*) as a function of acculturation cluster and gender. (*Note*: Adolescent grades were reported by adolescents and mothers. *$p = 0.015$)

*d*s = 0.92 and 0.35, respectively); however, non-Black Immigrants showed the opposite pattern of cultural orientation (AAOS < EAOS, $d = -1.47$).

4. *How well adapted are Jamaican immigrant youth?* Multilevel modeling (MLM) was performed using Linear Mixed Models (LMM) with heterogeneous compound symmetry covariance structures (Kenny et al. 2006). Results revealed interactions between Culture and Age such that that among older adolescents only, Jamaican immigrants' behavior (*pseudo* $R^2_{adolescent} = 0.19$, *pseudo* $R^2_{m\text{-}other} = 0.16$) and grades (*pseudo* $R^2 = 0.47$) did not differ from other US groups but were higher than those of Jamaican Islanders. Thus, Jamaican immigrants were at least as well-adapted as nonimmigrant peers in both countries.
5. *Is assimilation problematic for Jamaican immigrant youth?* Acculturation status and cluster were associated with concurrent adaptation among immigrant youth using MLM. First, immigrant generation moderated the effect of acculturation status on adolescent grades, *pseudo* $R^2 = 0.60$. For first-generation youth only, significantly lower grades were reported for assimilated adolescents (mean letter grade = D−) compared to separated (M = B, $d = -1.74$) and integrated peers (M = B−, $d = -1.58$), *pseudo* $R^2 = 0.75$. In addition, planned comparisons showed that assimilated adolescents had less positive behavioral adaptation compared to integrated peers, $d = -0.35$, although both groups reported high scores above the scale mid-point. Analyses using acculturation clusters showed complementary results. As shown in Fig. 3, there was an interaction between acculturation cluster and adolescent gender on grades, such that girls outperformed boys only in the High Integration/African American cluster ($d = 1.16$), whereas there was no gender gap in the Moderate Integration cluster.
6. *Is triculturalism more advantageous than biculturalism for Jamaican immigrant youth?* An analysis of covariance controlling for parental education and social desirability revealed that tricultural immigrant youth ($M = 2.78$, $SD = 0.13$) reported more positive behavior on a three-point scale than did bicultural immigrant

youth ($M=2.56$, $SD=0.23$, F (1, 22)$=9.22$, $p=0.006$, $d=1.22$). There was no significant difference between triculturals' and biculturals' grades; however, given the interaction effect between acculturation cluster and gender on grades, follow-up contrasts were explored for each gender separately. Although both contrasts were statistically nonsignificant owing to small sample sizes across cells, tricultural girls had somewhat higher grades than did bicultural girls ($d=0.33$) whereas tricultural boys had *lower* grades than did bicultural boys ($d=-1.24$).

7. *Are cultural maintenance and family obligations beneficial for Jamaican immigrant youth?* MLM with restricted maximum likelihood estimated Actor–Partner Interdependence Models (APIM) to assess the effects of JOS scores and Obligations scores in interaction with adolescent gender and immigrant generation on adolescents' BACAH scores and grades. For cultural maintenance, results showed a significant partner effect of JOS scores on grades ($\beta=0.47$, $p<0.01$) and significant interaction effects between JOS partner score and adolescent gender ($\beta=0.35$, $p<0.05$) and between JOS partner score and Generation ($\beta=-0.60$, $p<0.001$), pseudo $R^2_{model}=45$. That is, mothers' JOS scores were positively associated with adolescent-reported grades, and adolescents' JOS scores were positively associated with mother-reported grades, particularly for boys and for first-generation immigrant youth. These combined actor effects, partner effects, and interaction effects accounted for close to 50% of the variance in adolescent grades. For family obligations, there was a significant actor effect of Obligations score on BACAH scores ($\beta=0.11$, $p< 0.001$) and a significant interaction effect between Obligations actor score and Generation ($\beta=0.09$, $p<0.01$), pseudo $R^2_{model}=0.47$. That is, each partner's family obligations beliefs were positively associated with his/her ratings of the adolescents' behavioral strengths, particularly for second-generation immigrant dyads. The combined actor effects, partner effects, and interactions of family obligations beliefs also accounted for close to 50% of the variance in adolescent behavior. Identity Pie findings complemented the Family Obligations APIM findings: Integrated and separated adolescents ranked family first among nine domains, whereas assimilated adolescents ranked family sixth after physical appearance, close friendships, academics, sports, and morality/religion (in that order of highest to lowest).

What a Tridimensional Lens on Acculturation Reveals

Tridimensional Acculturation in Perspective

What is true in movies may also be true in acculturation: 2D lenses may be adequate to capture certain subject matter (e.g., romance genre; majority immigrants/monocultural settings), but 3D lenses open up a whole new dimension and are needed to appreciate the full picture for other subject matter (e.g., action genre; minority immigrants/multicultural settings). Whereas the bidimensional acculturation framework

(Berry 1980, 1997) conceptualizes destination societies as singular cultural entities, a 3D acculturation framework incorporates newcomers' orientation toward multiple destination cultures and more faithfully describes some immigrants' acculturation experiences. A 3D lens adds depth to our view of acculturation for Black Caribbean immigrants in the USA, who encounter the culture of the White US mainstream and that of a native Black population. In this immigrant group, tricultural integration, which is evident both at the group level (i.e., high mean endorsement of all three cultures) and at the individual level (4 of every 10 immigrants strongly endorse all three cultures), is the most common acculturation option, and is more advantageous than bicultural integration for some immigrants and some outcomes. In the balance of this chapter, we discuss our empirical findings among Jamaican immigrants in more detail, speculate about their generalizability to other immigrant groups and settings, and make recommendations for future research. We also revisit issues that are central to a reconceptualization of acculturation including the validity of marginalization, the pitfalls of assimilation, and the merits of cultural maintenance and integration.

Tricultural integration is not only possible, but predominant among some immigrants. Integration is the order of the day among Jamaican immigrants in the USA. On the whole, this immigrant group orients strongly (that is, above scale mid-point) toward Jamaican culture and toward both US cultures. In terms of immigrant acculturation profiles, 70 % of immigrants are integrated in variable-centered analyses and 100 % in person-centered analyses, percentages which greatly exceed the 36 % average in the ICSEY study and are more similar to 69 % rate among Mexican immigrants in the USA (Phinney et al. 2006). Of particular importance, integrated Jamaican immigrants are more likely to be tricultural (40 % via variable-centered analyses and 53 % via person-centered analyses) than bicultural (30 and 47 %, respectively). These findings indicate that a 3D acculturation model better captures acculturation among Black Caribbean immigrants than a 2D model. Examples of other immigrant groups likely to acculturate in 3D will be discussed further under recommendations for future research.

As voluntary migrants to the USA, Jamaican families generally emigrate for better economic and educational opportunities or family reunification rather than to escape oppression or human rights violations. Such features of the home and destination countries along with the typical reasons for migration—also referred to as acculturation conditions (Arends-Tóth and van de Vijver 2006) or setting conditions (Bornstein in press)—make it quite likely that Jamaican immigrants will orient toward all three cultures and less likely that they will interpret cultural differences as cultural conflict or distance (Benet-Martínez in press). An orientation toward European-American culture promotes their occupational success within the mainstream US society, an orientation toward African-American culture promotes their social/relational adaptation in the neighborhoods in which they often live, and an orientation toward their ethnic Caribbean culture promotes their psychological adaptation and anchors their identities in the known as they venture into less-known cultural worlds.

Unlike integration, marginalization is negligible among Black Caribbean immigrants. The cross-tabulated marginalization status in this study claimed only 4 % of immigrants, and no marginalized cluster emerged from the cluster analyses. Thus, our findings are consistent with those of Schwartz and Zamboanga (2008) based on latent-class analyses among predominantly Latino immigrants in Miami. They found a six-class acculturation solution including three different bicultural varieties but no marginalized variety. The virtual absence of marginalization in the current immigrant group also supports Rudmin's critique of the fourfold typology (2006) and his suggestion that marginalization more likely results from societal rejection than from immigrants' purposeful self-alienation or aculturalism. As mentioned earlier, perhaps orienting toward one or more cultures is simply adaptive for immigrant survival given the unavoidable cultural tasks which must be completed. This may be especially true for immigrant adolescents, whose acculturative tasks are intertwined with the key developmental task of identity formation (Jensen et al. 2011; Motti-Stefanidi et al. 2012).

Subcultures can be primary destination cultures for immigrants. Although both African-American and European-American cultures are relevant destination cultures for Black Caribbean immigrants, these immigrants are not equally oriented toward both cultures. At the group level, Jamaican and other Black US immigrants are more oriented toward African-American than European-American culture, but there are individual differences in the relative orientation to the two destination cultures. These group and individual level findings are consistent with the expectations of segmented assimilation theory (Portes and Zhou 1993) and findings among Black Caribbean youth in New York City (Waters 1999). In her interviews, Waters found that 42 % of her sample strongly identified as African-American, saw negligible differences between Caribbean and native Blacks in the USA, and were socially motivated to adopt attitudes and behaviors of native Blacks to achieve peer acceptance and avoid peer rejection. In her words,

> the assimilation to America that [high integration/African American identified youth] undergo is most definitely to black America: They speak black English with their peers, they listen to rap music, and they accept the peer culture of their black friends. (Waters 1999, p. 296)

Other immigrants in the USA and other multicultural settlement countries who are identified (whether themselves or by others) as belonging to a minority group (whether a visible minority or not) are probably most likely to acculturate along more than two dimensions.

Immigrant Youth Adaptation in Perspective

Positive sociocultural adaptation of immigrant youth appears to be the rule rather than the exception. At the group level, Jamaican immigrant youth in the USA are at least as well adapted behaviorally and academically as nonimmigrant American peers and nonimmigrant Jamaican peers. This result contradicts anecdotal evidence

(Jamaica Gleaner 2009), but is supported by empirical evidence of positive adaptation among immigrant youth in the USA, The Netherlands, and across 13 societies in the ICSEY study (Berry et al. 2006; Fuligni 1997; Fuligni and Witkow 2004; García Coll and Marks 2009; van Geel and Vedder 2010). Findings also accord with the knowledge that Caribbean immigrant adults in the USA are more likely to report better health compared to US-born African-Americans and Latino-Americans (Acevedo-Garcia et al. 2007; Nazroo et al. 2007).

Older Jamaican immigrant adolescents report superior adaptation scores compared to islanders, a result that may reflect support for the "healthy migrant hypothesis" (Sam 2006; Wingate et al. 2009) and indicate poor adjustment in the cohort of older islanders. Better adaptation of Jamaican immigrants compared to islanders may also reveal divergent developmental pathways between adolescents in Jamaica and the USA influenced by the country context. For Scarce special education services and rising antisocial behaviors in schools, both features of a developing country, may explain the presence of problematic grades and behavior among older adolescents on the island compared to Jamaican peers who migrated to the USA (Grant et al. 2010; Jamaica Gleaner 2011). Consistent with this idea, Motti-Stefanidi et al. (2012) speculated that the absence of specialized educational services for immigrants and other disadvantaged students in Greece may be partly responsible for the lack of an immigrant paradox in their sample of mainly Albanian immigrant youth.

Assimilation is a developmental risk for some immigrant youth. Despite positive adaptation for Jamaican immigrant youth as a group, individual adaptation varies by acculturation status. Being assimilated into a destination culture can be problematic for immigrant youth, and this depends partly on the particular destination culture or the immigrant's construal of that culture. Jamaican immigrant youth who are assimilated into (their construal of) African-American culture experience less positive behavioral adaptation than do biculturally or triculturally integrated youth, and for first-generation immigrants, assimilated youth also have much worse grades (D average) than do integrated and separated peers (B average). This result aligns with findings from Kasinitz et al.'s (2001) study that Black Caribbean youth in South Florida who identified as "Black" or "African-American" had somewhat lower GPAs. In this way, the current findings support the predictions of segmented assimilation theory (downward assimilation in particular) regarding poorer outcomes for some, but not all, Black Caribbean youth who adopt the antimainstream attitudes or behaviors of low-income marginalized nonimmigrant Blacks (Portes and Zhou 1993). Based on her interviews with African-American-identified Caribbean immigrant youth in New York, Waters (1999) explained that:

> …this stance of opposition is in part a socialized response to a peer culture; however, for the most part, it comes about as a reaction to the teens' life experiences, most specifically, their experience of racial discrimination. The lives of these youngsters basically lead them to reject the immigrant dream of their parents of individual social mobility and to accept their peers' analysis of the United States as a place with blocked social mobility where they will not be able to move very far. This has the effect of leveling the aspirations of the teens downward (p. 307).

What is more, immigrant boys who are highly African-American-identified are at greater risk of underperforming academically than are girls. It is possible that, in

addition to adopting an oppositional identity, these boys may also disengage from academics to achieve or maintain an African-American male gender identity by rejecting academic activities as feminine pursuits (Davis 2003). Compared to Black Caribbean girls, boys are also more likely to perceive fewer pathways to success based on their knowledge of the poorer academic outcomes of native Black boys in their schools and communities (Davis 2003). Black boys' diminished hope for future success may also be based on having more frequent marginalization experiences including personal racism and police profiling (Davis 2003; Waters 1999).

Other minority immigrant youth in multicultural societies who orient strongly toward a societally marginalized subculture (whether by social exclusion or by preference) may also be vulnerable to similar downward assimilative pathways. For example, Muslim immigrant youth and African immigrant youth across several countries may be at risk. The outcomes for immigrant youth on this pathway are likely to resemble those of the national youth within the subculture given that African-American-identified Black Caribbean immigrant boys' academic outcomes resemble those of underperforming African-American boys. This process of downward assimilation may involve an element of "deviancy training" (Dishion et al. 1996) in which rejected youth are more likely to seek acceptance among deviant peers who over time train them in deviant attitudes and behaviors, thereby worsening their overall adjustment.

Bicultural integration is good and tricultural integration is better for some immigrants in some domains. In regards to the benefits of cultural integration, apparently more is better, but only for some immigrants some of the time. For Black Caribbean immigrant youth, triculturalism is more advantageous than biculturalism for behavioral adaptation (both genders) but not academic adaptation (disadvantageous for boys). This finding provides partial support for the work on the positive implications of biculturalism for sociocultural adjustment (Nguyen and Benet-Martínez 2012), and extends this work to triculturalism. The task of reconciling the cultural distance and cultural conflict among three cultures versus two may confer greater behavioral benefits to tricultural immigrant youth by tripling their behavioral flexibility and behavioral repertoires. Alternatively, having higher levels of certain personal characteristics to begin with (e.g., openness to experience, cognitive flexibility, cultural intelligence) or undergoing remote acculturation in the home country before migration (i.e., remote biculturalism) may be acculturating conditions which sets the stage for tricultural integration and associated positive behavioral adaptation (Arends-Tóth and van de Vijver 2006; Ferguson and Bornstein 2012). Whereas triculturalism helps Black Caribbean immigrant youth to behaviorally navigate three cultures with greater ease and success, it hurts boys academically compared to biculturalism (because of the inclusion of the antieducation innercity African-American subculture). The domain-specific and gender-specific effects of triculturalism demonstrate the specificity principle in acculturation whereby specific setting conditions (globalization in home country; voluntary migration for economic/educational reasons; multicultural destination) of specific persons or peoples (Black Caribbean people; male vs. female gender; individual differences) at specific times (twenty-first century; adolescence) exert effects in specific ways (remote vs. traditional acculturation) over specific outcomes (behavioral vs. academic

adaptation) (Bornstein in press). Thus, other immigrant groups would be expected to have similar acculturation and adaptation patterns to the degree that they follow similar "specificities."

Cultural maintenance and family obligations are developmental assets for immigrant youth. Whereas the assimilation of Black Caribbean immigrant youth is a risk factor for academic and behavioral maladjustment, the cultural maintenance inherent in integration and separation acts as a protective factor, especially for the most academically vulnerable Black Caribbean immigrant youth in the sample—first-generation boys. Consider that immigrant boys who (themselves and their mothers) relatively equally identify with Jamaican and African-American cultures perform as well as girls academically; but, those who favor African-American culture over Jamaican culture underperform relative to the girls. In addition, the cultural maintenance of both immigrant adolescents and their parents is very positive for immigrant youth academic adaptation, accounting for nearly 50% of the variance in grades. For second-generation immigrant adolescents, family obligations may also exert a substantial protective effect on their behavior, accounting for nearly 50% of the variance in positive behavior scores in this study.

Perhaps parents who intentionally maintain their Jamaican culture hold more tightly to Caribbean cultural values of education and academic success. Such parent may be more likely to employ parenting strategies concordant with those values (e.g., homework prioritization and monitoring), which may, in turn, spur adolescent achievement. Based on Waters' (1999) findings, mothers with strong cultural maintenance may also be more involved in community churches and immigrant organizations that reinforce parental messages regarding the positive value of educational success. In addition, immigrant adolescents who hold firmly to Jamaican culture and its embedded educational values may be more likely to meet their parents' ideals, prompting parents to view their adolescents' actual achievement through rose-colored lenses. Adolescents' and parents' ability to "invoke" Caribbean ethnic status can also buffer them against demotivating beliefs that racism has placed a glass-ceiling on their social mobility in general and educational success in particular (Bashi Bobb and Clarke 2001).

Family prioritization and family obligations beliefs may also have protective effects for Caribbean immigrant youth adaptation. Integrated and separated youth (who are best adjusted) award top priority to family among nine major life domains in terms of salience to their identity, whereas assimilated youth (who are least well adjusted) rank family, sixth. In addition, stronger family obligations beliefs are associated with more positive behaviors in second-generation immigrant youth, which may allow them to escape conforming to the immigrant paradox of downward assimilation across successive generations (Garcia Coll and Marks 2009). The protective effects of family obligations for academic and psychosocial outcomes have been shown among multiple other immigrant groups including Caribbean, Latino, African, and Asian immigrant youth in the USA (Brook et al. 2010; Fuligni et al. 1999, 2005; Love et al. 2006; Tseng 2004) and Caribbean and European immigrant youth in other countries (Vedder and Oortwijn 2009).

Recommendations for Future Research on Tridimensional Acculturation

This foray into 3D acculturation should not be limited to Caribbean immigrants in the USA. Although three dimensions appear well-suited to this population, it is likely that more than three dimensions could be relevant for other immigrant groups depending on: (1) the multidimensional nature of their ethnic identity in the home country (Birman et al. 2010); (2) the multicultural nature of the society they enter; (3) the sociopolitical history of their particular ethnic group, especially in relation to the country of settlement (Bhatia and Ram 2001); and (4) the tenor of societal reception in the settlement country toward facets of their identities, particularly those that are negatively stereotyped or discriminated against (i.e., non-White skin, Middle-Eastern origin, Muslim religion). For example, a 3D acculturation model may be needed to fully comprehend the acculturation of Turkish Muslim immigrants in the predominantly secular country of The Netherlands, who are likely acculturating along at least three cultural dimensions: Turkish culture, Dutch culture, and religious culture. Multidimensional (*n*D) acculturation models may be needed when working with immigrants faced with more than three relevant cultural dimensions such as Bantu Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa who may orient to ethnic Bantu, White, Indian, and Colored South African cultures, along with multiple other distinct African ethnic/tribal cultures. In regard to the benefits of triculturalism, tricultural identity integration should be measured directly.

Like the movies, the methods of capturing 3D acculturation are more complex than 2D acculturation because the subject matter in 3D space is more complex. Measuring three dimensions of acculturation may create challenges in quantitative data analyses. For example, cross-tabulating three dimensions produces eight statuses versus four, and including more dimensions in cluster analyses increases the risk of small or uninterpretable clusters. The limitation of small cell sizes and dividing the sample into groups may be overcome in future research by using dimensional scale scores in their continuous form as predictors. In addition, graphical and qualitative approaches may be even better at capturing all the nuances of individual diversity in tri-/multidimensional acculturation. In general, our methodological and statistical approaches must rise to meet these challenges to capture acculturation in its fullness.

Conclusions

Depending on the immigrant population, different lenses of acculturation are required to appropriately capture the acculturation experience. Bidimensional acculturation lenses allow researchers to see valuable information; however, 3D lenses offer a fuller and more accurate picture of acculturation for some immigrants, particularly minority immigrants (whether visible or not) in plural societies. Given acculturation conditions of Black Caribbean immigrants in the USA (e.g., African

heritage, globalization in the home country, voluntary migration, racialized destination country), it is not surprising that acculturation unfolds in 3D. What is more, 3D lenses reveal that tricultural integration is more advantageous than bicultural integration for some immigrants in some domains. Researchers and practitioners should carefully consider the best acculturation lens—2D, 3D, or *n*D—to use in their work with immigrants within and across societies.

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