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How Parenting Facilitates Adolescents' Tricultural Identity Development: A Mixed Methods Collective Case Study of Tridimensionally Acculturating Black Jamaican Immigrant Families

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Abstract

This paper presents a mixed methods collective case study of the role of maternal socialization in shaping the tricultural identity development of Jamaican immigrant adolescents in the United States, who are known to acculturate tridimensionally. Seven Black adolescents (14-18 years; 4 male) completed online surveys and their Jamaican-born mothers completed online interviews during the dual COVID-19 and Whiteness pandemics. In-depth mixed methods case analyses and cross-case comparisons revealed both particulars and universals. Across all cases, adolescents had strong Jamaican private identities shaped by steady proximal and remote enculturation into Jamaican culture, and mothers' skillful authoritative parenting supported their autonomy in acquiring and navigating U.S. cultural affiliations. Case particulars grouped adolescents into four profiles with one case fitting two profiles. 1) "Triculturals" had strong Jamaican or multicultural socialization with positive psychological and academic adaptation, but differing multicultural identity conflict. 2) "Reluctant Majority Culture Assimilators" had high achievement but differing psychological adaptation with mothers whose socialization first involved accepting their teens' African American identities. 3) "Majority Culture Rejectors" had high belonging and no psychological distress but low average grades with maternal socialization that promoted the American Dream master narrative and resisted the alternative narrative of negative linked fate of ethnic minorities. 4) Finally, "Minority Culture Assimilators" had low multicultural identity conflict but differing psychological and academic adaptation and were being socialized by their mothers to resist being either victim or perpetrator of racial discrimination by harnessing cultural variability to play up and play down cultural identities and by avoiding use of ethnic-racial generalizations.

Key words: Tridimensional Acculturation; Remote Enculturation; Cultural Variability; Jamaican Immigrant; Multicultural Identity Integration; Whiteness Pandemic/Dual Pandemics

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> *"By studying the uniqueness of the case in-depth, in all its particularity, we come to understand the universal…We approximate the 'way of the artist' in making sense of data. When you think about how we gain insights from artists, poets, novelists, it is when we recognize something in what they have said or portrayed which communicates an essential 'truth' about the human condition or social context of the times (Simon, 2009, p. 167).*

Identity construction is a central and universal psychosocial task in adolescence that unfolds in both family and societal contexts (Erikson, 1968; Norris et al., 2008; Phinney, 2000). Due to globalization and resulting societal diversification, this age-old process of identity construction has required new frameworks and methods capable of theorizing and studying multicultural identities of adolescents in the 21st Century (Ferguson, 2013; Jensen et al., 2011). For example, Black Jamaican immigrant families in the United States experience an intersectional form of acculturation called 'tridimensional (3D) acculturation' which results in the development of tricultural identities by a substantial minority of individuals simultaneously navigating their ethnic culture, European American culture, and African American culture (Ferguson et al., 2012; Ferguson et al., 2014). To date, tricultural identities have been studied among multiple cultural groups using largely quantitative methods (e.g., Kim et al., 2016; Medina et al., 2018; Ozer & Schwartz, 2016; Taušová et al., 2019) with less qualitative or mixed methods (e.g., Nguyen & Ferguson, 2019a; Yoon et al., 2023). In particular, longitudinal quantitative research with bicultural U.S.-born adolescents and their foreign-born parents has demonstrated that family ethnic socialization drives adolescent ethnic identity development (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2013), but it is unknown whether and how this applies to tricultural identity development.

We propose that mixed methods (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2018) would meaningfully advance

our understanding of the development and navigation of tricultural identities in 3D acculturating adolescents by offering a more comprehensive methodology to study this complex process. A collective case study approach (Simon, 2009) would allow in-depth exploration of parental socialization of tricultural identities, using case comparison to elucidate family-driven, youth-driven, or reciprocal processes of association between parental socialization and adolescent identity (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2013). To that end, this paper presents a mixed methods collective case study of the role of maternal socialization in the tricultural identity development of Jamaican American adolescents.

Tridimensional Acculturation during Dual Pandemics

Due to U.S. racial stratification, Black U.S. immigrant adolescents and parents navigate both African American and European American destination cultures in addition to their heritage culture during their 3D acculturation process (Ferguson et al., 2012). A tridimensionally acculturating individual can have one of several acculturation statuses depending on whether they identify/affiliate strongly or weakly with each of the three cultures, while acknowledging that ethnic minority immigrants often have limited access to aspects of ethnic majority culture that make affiliation challenging or impossible for some. That said, a 3D acculturating adolescent with strong orientation towards all three cultures would be considered "triculturally integrated", whereas an adolescent strongly oriented towards their heritage culture and only one of the destination cultures (e.g., Jamaican and African American) would be considered "biculturally integrated". An adolescent strongly oriented only towards the heritage culture is "separated", another adolescent only oriented towards a destination culture or two is "assimilated", and an adolescent with weak cultural moorings across the board is considered "marginalized" (see Ferguson et al, 2012a). In two samples investigating 3D acculturation using a scale of global (vs. identity-specific) acculturation, Ferguson and colleagues (2012a, 2014) found that 40% of U.S.-based Jamaican immigrant youth and 40-46% of adults were triculturally integrated, 31% were biculturally integrated,

18-21% were separated, 1-3% were assimilated, and 4-5% were marginalized. Additionally, acculturation strategies often differ across private versus public life domains (e.g., identity vs. behavior: Birman & Trickett, 2001) and across actual versus preferred acculturation (Navas et al., 2005). It is important to capture multi-domain acculturation in racially stratified societies that constrain public and actual acculturation options of marginalized immigrants.

There is clear theoretical and empirical evidence that discrimination is a powerful acculturation condition (see the Integrated Process Framework of Acculturation Variables, IP-FAV: Ferguson et al., 2023). Longstanding systemic racial discrimination in the United States is considered an epidemic (CDC, 2021) and a pandemic (APA, 2020), and others have coined it the "Whiteness Pandemic" to highlight the culture of Whiteness that maintains it[2] (Ferguson et al., 2022). The culture of Whiteness refers not to skin color, but to the system of overt and covert values, beliefs and practices (e.g., colorblindness, racial silence, and inaction in the face of racial injustice) into which individuals are socialized through laws and power structures that privilege the White racial group (Helms, 2017). The Whiteness pandemic collided with the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020 when Black American, Mr. George Floyd, was murdered by a White police officer in Minneapolis, USA while the Black and immigrant communities were dealing with disproportionately high COVID-19 infection, hospitalization, and mortality rates (Kerwin & Warren, 2020; Mackey et al., 2021). Qualitative research shows that U.S. adolescents from ethnic minority backgrounds were meaningfully impacted by the dual pandemics: urban high school students reported greater awareness of, engagement with, and emotionality around matters of racial injustice on top of challenges with social isolation and online classes (Yeh, 2022).

Navigating both anti-immigrant and anti-Black systems in the United States shapes Black U.S. immigrant adolescents' intersectional identities in which their less observable ethnic identity (e.g., Jamaican) overlaps and can conflict with their more observable identity as Black, and other identities

including observed gender (Settles & Buchanan, 2014; Velez & Spencer, 2018). Ferguson and colleagues (2014) found that tricultural Black Jamaican immigrant adolescent boys whose African American orientation was stronger than their orientation to their other two cultures had significantly lower grades than girls with this same tricultural identity formulation, whereas there was no gender difference for adolescents with a moderately tricultural identity in which African American identity did not overpower the Jamaican identity. This finding is consistent with the predictions of Spencer's Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST: Spencer et al., 1997; Velez & Spencer, 2018) that adolescents mount reactive adaptations to their vulnerabilities following experiences with intersecting systems of oppression (around race, ethnicity, and gender), and with repeated use, these behavioral adaptations can become internalized into maladaptive emergent identities.

Complex Identities: Motives, Processes, and Adaptation

There are several fundamental motivations for identity construction including continuity, self-esteem, meaning, distinctiveness, belongingness, and efficacy (see Vignoles, 2011), all of which are relevant to identity formation in the context of 3D acculturation, although perhaps to varying degrees for different individuals in different contexts at different points in the lifespan. Second-generation Jamaican immigrant adolescents may build Jamaican identities to meet their need for a sense of cultural continuity, distinctiveness, and meaning in a multicultural society like the United States that has many potential value systems from which to choose. They may also develop African American identities to meet their need for belongingness, self-esteem, and efficacy amongst fellow ethnic minority peers, especially in the presence of the Whiteness pandemic. On the other hand, European American identities may be motivated by the need for efficacy in mainstream society.

Young people configure and manage complex identities in multiple ways. Theory and quantitative research on *bicultural identity integration* (BII) (see Benet-Martínez, 2018 review) and

multicultural identity integration (MII: Yampolsky et al., 2015) demonstrate that bi-/multicultural individuals who struggle to integrate their cultural identities report higher identity conflict and psychological distress. *Cultural variability* is one management strategy they use – agentically playing up and playing down cultural identities to satisfy identity motives (Ferguson et al., 2015). Cultural variability research with immigrant youth suggests that it is adaptive with family but maladaptive for immigrant youths' friendships, especially in the presence of a strong ethnic orientation because friends tend to police social identity boundaries (Ferguson et al., 2016). Finally, consistent with the notions of partial and plural cultural affiliations from polycultural psychology (Morris et al., 2015), qualitative research with remotely acculturating mothers in Jamaica has documented a strategy of *'selective adoption'* of U.S. cultural elements that they deem to be more compatible with the heritage culture (Ferguson & Iturbide, 2015).

Culture and Parenting in Jamaican and U.S. Immigrant Families

Research in Jamaica on adolescents' value priorities for their identity construction indicates that academics, family, and religion are their three most valued life domains for their actual and ideal selves, which are closely aligned with what they perceive to be their parents' ideals for them (Ferguson & Dubow, 2007). Based on cross-national empirical research, authoritative parenting is the most common parenting style in Jamaica and the Caribbean, which involves high levels of warmth and structure/rules (Lipps et al., 2012). Based on qualitative research with Jamaican youth and parents (Ferguson & Iturbide, 2013 & 2015), there are two authoritative-adjacent parenting styles that also frequently occur in Jamaican families. The first is Baumrind's 'non-authoritarian directive' parenting (1991) which is more directive than classic authoritative parenting by providing restrictive guidance while also showing moderate supportive guidance and responsiveness. Second is Mandara and Murray's (2002) 'cohesive-authoritative' parenting characterized by high family cohesion emphasizing personal growth through

family recreation, expressiveness through intellectual/cultural discussions, encouragement of independent thinking, and authoritative disciplinary practices. These parenting styles vary in the mediation parents provide for adolescents including how they limit media use (restrictive mediation) and/or educate about media content (instructive mediation: Valkenburg et al., 2013).

U.S. research on family ethnic socialization (FES) in immigrant families shows that foreign-born Latinx parents use several strategies to socialize their children and adolescents into the values and behaviors of their original ethnic culture (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2009). U.S.-born African American parents use a similar method to FES called cultural socialization, often pairing it with strategies to navigate racism (Hughes et al., 2006). Immigrant FES research also shows that higher FES is longitudinally associated with stronger adolescent ethnic identity (Knight et al., 2011). Umaña-Taylor and colleagues (2013) confirmed the directionality of these associations in a subsequent longitudinal study with bicultural Latinx families demonstrating that foreign-born immigrant parents' FES drives their adolescents' ethnic identity development (family-driven process) unlike U.S.-born parents for whom the reverse direction was supported (youth-driven). This mixed methods collective case study will use case comparison to elucidate family-driven, youth-driven, and/or reciprocal processes in the FES:identity association for tricultural Black immigrant families. Reciprocal processes may be more likely for these families because U.S.-born Black immigrant adolescents are directly experiencing African American culture and anti-Black racism in youth settings (e.g., school) about which they must socialize their foreign-born parents.

Mixed Methods Collective Case Studies

Mixed methods harness the strengths of both qualitative research (e.g., unstructured responses, in-depth description, nuanced and subjective interpretation) and quantitative research (e.g., objective methods, formal empirical generalizability) in addressing a research question more comprehensively

than using either method alone (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018). A convergent mixed methods design collects qualitative and quantitative data more or less simultaneously, then performs qualitative and quantitative analyses separately before triangulating those two sets of results (i.e., compare, contrast, synthesize) during the interpretation process (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018). Having multiple sources of data allows researchers to keep surveys short (matching the attention spans of adolescents) because other data will be collected qualitatively (e.g., through interviews, which are better suited to many immigrant mothers' oral communication preference).

A case study is an "in-depth [research] exploration from multiple perspectives of the complexity and uniqueness of a particular case…[whose] primary purpose is to generate in-depth understanding of a specific topic" (Simon, 2009, p. 21). In a collective case study, three or more cases are examined to answer the same research question using identical data collection and analytic methods in a theory-led or theory-generating manner (Stake, 1995). Each case is studied in-depth using multiple forms of gathered data then cross-case comparisons are performed to better understand the similarities and differences across cases in search of insights regarding the research question. The collective case study method is quite compatible with cross-cultural psychology methods (see Berry et al., 2011) in two major ways: both are concerned with understanding human behavior in context (though to different extents) and both attend to universals and specifics across settings (though units of analysis can differ vastly in type and number). Collective case studies prioritize emic hyper-contextualized generalizability that is grounded in the histories of the particular cases studied (also called 'situated generalizability') by pouring over a large set of particularities for each case in a minute sample, whereas culture-comparative cross-cultural psychology methods prioritize an etic approach that produces relatively decontextualized generalizability of psychological processes across cultural groups using large samples[1].

Although the collective case study approach arises from the qualitative tradition, it often

includes both quantitative and qualitative data in gathering multiple data points for a comprehensive 360-degree view of each case, and data often capture past and current timepoints (Simon, 2009). Mixed methods collective case studies resolve the all-too-familiar angst of data reduction strategies that are necessary before conducting quantitative data analyses investigating multiple cultural identities: the more data captured for each case study the better! Theory-led mixed methods collective case studies are especially useful here because although 3D acculturation theory guides expectations regarding the content of tricultural identities (i.e., three cultural dimensions are involved to varying degrees: Ferguson et al., 2012, 2014), new research is needed to understand the processes and contexts of tricultural identity development. Hence, our chosen method affords us rich information to elucidate processes outlined in the IP-FAV (Ferguson et al., 2023) by which the 'why' (3D acculturation conditions) predicts the 'how' (tricultural orientations) and 'what' (adaptation/maladaptation outcomes) of 3D acculturation including tricultural identities.

The Current Study

Adolescents reported on their cultural identities quantitatively and mothers reported on their socialization of their teens' identities qualitatively. Guided by 3D acculturation theory, parallel questions were asked about Jamaican, African American, and European American cultural dimensions in both quantitative and qualitative study arms. This study probes two mundane life domains that are daily sites of parent-adolescent encounters – food and media – allowing us to examine how parental socialization of tricultural identities may operate universally versus specifically across different life domains. A digital community-based participatory research design was used for data collection whereby Jamaican American community members were engaged in the core research team and we solicited community input on the research questions, methods, analyses, and interpretations. Data were collected during the first wave of the COVID-19 pandemic in the United States and in the aftermath of Mr. Floyd's murder.

Methods

Participants

Data are drawn from a larger mixed methods study – the Food, Culture, and Health Study. Jamaican-born mothers and their adolescents were recruited from South Florida where there is a high concentration of Jamaican immigrants. All mothers of adolescents who had fully completed a survey for the larger study were invited to participate in individual interviews afterwards – eight Jamaican American mothers volunteered (88%) and seven of these had Black-identifying Jamaican American adolescents (14-18 years; 4 identified as male). These seven dyads comprise the analytic sample for this paper. All mothers were born in Jamaica and most adolescents were U.S.-born; two adolescents were U.K.-born. As is typical of Jamaican American families in this region, most were well-educated: six families had a parent with a bachelor's degree or higher and two had high school diplomas as the highest qualification. Please see Table 1 for more detailed demographic information for each family case. Pseudonyms are used throughout.

Procedures and Researcher Positionality

Mothers provided verbal and written consent for their adolescents to complete a 45-60 minute online survey and consented to participate in a 60-minute individual mother interview online. Adolescents individually and confidentially completed an online survey during a virtual data collection session over Zoom staffed by research assistants. Participating adolescents and mothers each received a $30 e-gift card, an amount used in prior research with Black immigrant/refugee U.S. youth. Piloting and community advising ensured this amount would be effective but not coercive (Hodges et al., 2024).

The research team was intentionally constructed to ensure the presence of cultural insiders and cultural outsiders to Jamaican American culture. The cultural insiders allowed for participant comfort and cultural knowledge and cultural outsiders were better able to elicit detailed descriptions of mundane

cultural matters. Research assistants staffing virtual data collection rooms for adolescent surveys included the second author, a female international college student of color from Laos (since graduated), and the third author, a Black Somali American female college student (since graduated) born in the United States to first-generation refugee parents. Mothers were later interviewed via zoom mostly by the first author (study PI), along with the study's Jamaican American cultural broker living in South Florida who had built rapport with mothers during recruitment. The first author is a Black first-generation Jamaican immigrant professor and mother who has lived in the United States since entering college. The cultural broker is a Black Jamaican professor emerita who previously lived in Jamaica and the U.K. There was a cultural outsider present in each interview, often off camera, to observe and private chat interviewers with probes. Interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim by research assistants.

Measures

Quantitative Adolescent Online Surveys

Adolescent survey measures conceptually related to cultural identity development, 3D acculturation, and adaptation were selected from the larger dataset. Scale/subscale means were calculated for all measures and Cronbach's alphas are reported below for scales with >2 items.

Multidimensional Acculturation. Two domains of actual acculturation (identity and behavior) and one global domain of preferred acculturation were measured in recognition that external constraints, including the Whiteness Pandemic, can prevent marginalized individuals from acculturating as desired. First, two subscales of the Language, Identity and Behavioral Acculturation Scale were used to measure tridimensional *identity* and *behavior* cultural orientations to the Jamaican, African American, European American cultures on a 4-point scale from "Not at all" to "Very Much" (LIB; Birman & Trickett, 2001). The identity subscales included seven items for each cultural dimension (e.g., "I have a strong sense of being Jamaican/African American/White American": α = .81-.95) and the behavior subscales included

seven items for each cultural dimension (e.g., "How much do you listen to Jamaican/African American/White American songs?") (α = .82 - .86). Additionally, an adapted and shortened version of the Relative Acculturation Extended Measure (Navas et al., 2005) captured *preferred acculturation* on the same scale using two items for each of these three cultural dimensions (e.g., "If you had a choice, how much would you mix with Jamaicans or Jamaican Americans?" and ""If you had a choice, how much would you like to be involved in Jamaican customs, traditions, and lifestyle?"). Finally, items were created to assess proximal or remote acculturation towards any *additional cultural dimensions* and adolescents who endorsed this item named the culture(s), how and how often they connected to those cultures, and how much they identify with those cultures.

Multicultural Identity Conflict. The harmony subscale of the Bicultural Identity Integration Scale – Version 2 (BIIS-2: Huynh et al., 2018) was adapted and shortened to 4 items for use as a screener. Item wording reflected multicultural conflict such as feeling "like someone caught between many cultures", etc. and were rated from 1 "not at all" to 4 "very much" (α=.73).

Perceived Parental Autonomy Support. Participants responded to a 6-item abbreviated version of the Perceived Parental Autonomy Support Scale (P-PASS) (Mageau et al., 2015). Three subscales (Choice within certain limits, Acknowledgement of Feelings, and Rationale for demands and limits) were rated from 1 "do not agree at all" to 7 "very strongly agree" (α = .79).

Perceived Parental Mediation. Adolescents reported their perceptions of parental mediation using a 2-item measure adapted from the Perceived Parental Media Mediation Scale (Valkenburg et al., 2013): "How often do your parents/guardians limit the amount of time you're allowed to spend on media?" and "How often do your parents/guardians talk to you about what you see in media?". Items were rated from 1 "never" to 5 "very often".

Everyday Discrimination. Participants reported on day-to-day discrimination they experience

(e.g., treated with less courtesy/respect than others, harassed or threatened) on a scale from 6 (Almost every day) to 1 (Never) (Sternthal et al., 2011) (α=.78).

Belonging. The acceptance/inclusion subscale of the General Belongingness Scale was used after omitting two items for low face validity (Malone et al., 2012). Adolescents responded on a scale from 1 "strongly disagree" to 7 "strongly agree" (e.g., "I feel accepted by others"; α=.95).

Psychological Distress. Adolescents responded to the 4-item Patient Health Questionnaire (PHQ-4: Kroenke et al., 2009) asking about symptoms of depression and anxiety over the last two weeks on a 0 'not at all' to 3 'nearly every day' scale (α = 0.88).

Academic Achievement. Adolescents reported grades they "usually get in school" using multiple choice options ranging from 1 = "Mostly As" to 9 = "Mostly Fs". GPA was also reported.

Qualitative Mother Interviews

Mother interviews had three sections and the first focused on cultural identity related to the three target cultures (How does your Jamaican culture/African American culture/ White American culture influence your identity?). The second and third sections probed cultural influences on parenting around food and media consumption (e.g., "How does the Jamaican/African American/European American culture influence how you parent your teenager in terms of what they eat/their media use?"). Interviews also probed for the influence of other cultures, religion, and the dual pandemics on parenting. The off-camera cultural outsider occasionally suggested additional interview probes. The interview team debriefed about interview highlights immediately after each interview (served as collective memos).

Plan of Analysis

For quantitative measures – all adolescent-reported – scale scores were created and are reported in Table 1. To determine acculturation statuses, a scale mid-point split was carried out on the three cultural subscale scores to categorize high vs. low scorers (i.e., 2.5 and above reflecting 'high' scores for

a 1-4 scale). High and low scores were then cross-tabulated to assign acculturation statuses within each domain (identity, behavior, preferred acculturation). This determined adolescents' "separated" (only Jamaican orientation is high), "assimilated" (one or both U.S. orientations are high), "biculturally integrated" (Jamaican and one U.S. orientation is high), and "triculturally integrated" acculturation statuses (Jamaican and both U.S. orientations are high).

All qualitative interview data were mother-reported and reflexive thematic analyses (Braun & Clarke, 2006) were conducted. Specifically, for first cycle coding, inductive *descriptive coding* (data-driven) then deductive *concept coding* (theory-driven) were employed (Saldaña, 2015; see Barsigian et al., 2023 & McKenzie, 2020 for other examples of inductive and deductive qualitative coding). The first and second author first listened and/or read through all interview transcripts multiple times, then assigned descriptive codes independently for two randomly selected cases and convened to discuss codes until a consensus was achieved. Next, using those two interviews and descriptive codes, the first author re-read the interviews carefully in view of the research question and performed concept coding within overarching theoretically-driven themes of "Jamaican Socialization", "African American Socialization", and "European American Socialization" based on 3D acculturation theory and the study's research question. A fourth data-driven theme of "Multicultural Socialization" was added during this process and a thematic coding diagram was created. These codes were then checked by the second and third authors and revisions were made. The first author then revised the thematic coding diagram and coded 2 additional interviews using this revised coding scheme and diagram. Finally, a male research assistant with an ethnic minority U.S. background reviewed the thematic coding diagram and interview transcripts and affirmed the coding scheme and codes applied (no revisions were suggested) – this coder was added given that half the teen sample was ethnic minority males. This same coder then coded the remaining 3 cases and his codes were later checked by the third, then first authors, for revisions and

consensus. Exemplar quotes for each theme and code were selected even as iterative coding refinements continued to ensure the coding diagram represented all 7 cases.

Second-cycle coding applied *pattern coding* techniques (i.e., developing meta-codes based on patterns in first-cycle codes: Saldaña, 2015) and *cross-case comparison* (i.e., comparing cases to determine similarities and differences pertinent to the research questions: Simons, 2009) to quantitative and qualitative data reassembled in Table 1 (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2018). Practically speaking, the first author reviewed Table 1 multiple times and generated patterns leading to groupings of cases that she shared with the third author, who either affirmed or pursued clarification through detailed discussion until a shared understanding was achieved for four final case profiles.

Results

All seven adolescents reported strong Jamaican identities (meaning above the scale mid-point), three reported strong African American identities, and none reported strong European American identities (in fact, 6 of 7 selected "not at all"). See Table 1 for means and other details. Jamaican behavioral orientation was generally lower than Jamaican identity orientation, whereas the opposite was true for the European American orientations. Additionally, all adolescents preferred a stronger European American orientation than their actual identity orientation and most adolescents (5 of 8) had a stronger preferred than actual African American orientation, reflecting the presence of constraining acculturation conditions (e.g., limited access, perceived discrimination: Ferguson et al., 2023). Adolescents' acculturation was largely tridimensional; only two adolescents reported feeling connected to cultures beyond the major three. Tony, who previously lived in the U.K. and still has extended family there, named "British" as a fourth cultural dimension with which he was moderately identified even though he connects to this culture infrequently through family. Mark named "Haitian" as a fourth cultural dimension but felt weakly identified with this culture although he connects very often via friends.

Figure 1 shows the thematic diagram resulting from first cycle concept coding of mothers' interviews. All mothers fostered their adolescents' cultural identity development using an authoritative or authoritative-adjacent parenting style (meaning cohesive-authoritative or non-authoritarian directive) in the way that they provided varying degrees of Jamaican Socialization, African American Socialization, European American Socialization, and, surprisingly, Multicultural Socialization[3]. Each of these four cultural socialization themes, represented by an oval in Figure 1, contains several codes reflecting specific cultural socialization strategies used for that cultural dimension. For example, "engage in family ethnic socialization" is one code under the theme of Jamaican Socialization, reflecting the implicit (e.g., music, language used, experiences at family gatherings) and explicit intergenerational transmission (e.g., training to cook Jamaican food) of cultural values and traditions within the immediate or extended family. Some socialization strategies were used by mothers to parent around more than one culture – these codes appear in the overlapping areas of the Venn diagram. For example, 'Embrace diversity' was a message mothers communicated in conversations with their adolescents about Jamaican culture, African American culture, European American culture, and also when socializing them around multiculturalism. Finally, and importantly, mothers' cultural socialization strategies were situated within and impacted by the acculturation context (all but one mother) and dual pandemic context (all but one – not the same mother who did not endorse the acculturation context). Table 2 includes quotes illustrating each code, and the case descriptions that follow explain these codes in the lives of each case family.

Authoritative parenting style, parental mediation, and strong Jamaican identities were common codes across all cases. Additionally, pattern coding and cross-case comparison in second cycle coding revealed four case profiles that differed in the adolescents' acculturation statuses and the chief corresponding maternal socialization strategies. The profiles, explained in detail below, were coined "Triculturals" (2 cases), "Reluctant Majority Culture Assimilators" (3), "Majority Culture Rejectors" (2),

and "Minority Culture Assimilators" (2), and one adolescent fell into two profiles.

Triculturals

The Triculturals – Mark and Tina – were the only adolescents to be triculturally integrated and only in their behavioral acculturation. Their mothers' parenting strategies were characterized by very strong and proactive Jamaican or multicultural socialization and they had positive psychological and academic adaptation but differing multicultural identity conflict.

Mark (Adolescent), Patrice (Mom)

Mark had a biculturally integrated identity (Jamaican, African American) and was triculturally integrated both in his behavior and in his preferred acculturation style. His Jamaican identity score was the highest possible scale value and the highest in this sample, which is consistent with his mother's observation that he refers to himself as Jamaican. Mark's mother, Patrice, attributed his Jamaican cultural identity to the fact that he lives in a tight-knit Jamaican American family surrounded by extended family in a large Jamaican American ethnic enclave in South Florida, and has been traveling to Jamaica since he was a baby. Mark's immediate family spoke only Jamaican Patois at home and Mark himself speaks fluent Patois, which is rare for second-generation immigrants. Patrice was the only mother who reported growing Jamaican fruits and vegetables in her garden in addition to cooking Jamaican dishes at home. Patrice also sees Mark's African American cultural identity in his choice of dress and slang. Mark reported low multicultural conflict perhaps because he prioritizes Jamaican and African American cultures in his actual and preferred identities rather than trying to equally value all three identities like his Tricultural peer, Tina, who reported high multicultural identity conflict.

Patrice considered herself strict and used non-authoritarian directive parenting, as influenced by her Jamaican culture. Hence, she was one of only two mothers who did not grant Mark practical independence in cooking, and she used the most stringent media management strategies such as

temporarily disconnecting his phone service due to slipping grades. Nevertheless, Mark rated his mother as moderately autonomy-supportive perhaps because she explains to him her motivation to protect his health and academic future, having entered college later in life herself. Patrice's parenting style facilitated Mark's identity construction by reinforcing a strong Jamaican identity while granting him the autonomy to define his own life/vocational goals.

Patrice: You know um, I still cook Jamaican food, like yesterday, I cooked 'run dung'. So, you know, my, my kids are strongly tied to, to their um Jamaican heritage {nods head}…*(Later in interview):* And I tell him, I don't care if he wants to be the guy that cuts the lawn. When I'm done with him, he will own a lawn company, not just push a lawn mower. So, I'm not sending him to college to be a doctor or a lawyer or, it's going to be what he wants to do. I'm just letting him know without {shakes head} an education, he's not going to really DO as well. You understand?

Tina (Adolescent), Tracy (Mom)

Tina had a separated Jamaican identity but was triculturally integrated in her behavior and her preferred acculturation style. Tina's mother, Tracy, described how her cultural pride resulted from her early years living in Jamaica and the strong Jamaican socialization she has received at home. However, when Tina attended a predominantly White middle school, Tracy noticed that she began to feel unsure of her cultural fit, an insecurity that began to resolve when she transitioned to a more ethnically diverse high school where she had the opportunity to connect with a broader range of cultures. During the COVID-19 pandemic, Tina's Jamaican cultural identity was further strengthened through more frequent family mealtimes and traditional Jamaican foods. Tina also enjoys experiencing different cultures through travel, trying new foods from various cultures, and watching anime, methods she observes in her mother. Tracy intentionally encourages Tina to embrace diversity; for example, she calls her family

"a travelling family" and they watch Beethoven symphonies every Sunday. Tracy also emphasizes the importance of navigating different cultural spaces and highlights Jamaica's own multiculturalism (e.g., Chinese influence). Tracy moved to the United States as a 10-year old child and learned African American history through professional teacher training before teaching it in schools. Therefore, she tries to infuse this knowledge into conversations with Tina to equip her with skills to navigate racialized spaces she may encounter but it seems Tina tries to stay culturally "neutral", corresponding to her preference for perfectly equal tricultural involvement and her high multicultural identity conflict.

As a cohesive-authoritative parent, Tracy engages in parental mediation, both restrictive and instructive, and wants open communication with her daughter. For example, Tracy moderates Tina's mainstream media use with remote enculturation through Jamaican media (e.g., suggesting she read a Jamaican magazine; Ferguson et al., 2016). In return, Tina has challenged Tracy on her monitoring, feedback that Tracy accepted and granted her more autonomy. Tracy's parenting style facilitates Tina's cultural identity development by respecting her identity construction process in conversations, granting her autonomy, and parenting flexibly without compromising core values and expectations.

Tracy: She stay neutral to everything, you know, so that's where she's at. Like, she's trying to figure out where she fits in, per se. And then she's so diverse with it, it's just like, "Mom, let me just BE". That's just her personality, like, just give me a minute. And I'm just like, "OKAY, if you don't see it, or you don't notice, you know, hopefully, if anything comes, you will know how to deal with it." And she's, she's so aware now that I'm like, Okay, okay, you will get to do you what you're going to do I already expose you to everything... Um we're a traveling family.

Reluctant Majority Culture Assimilators

The Reluctant Majority Culture Assimilators – Janice and Nikki – were the only adolescents to reject European American culture in their actual and preferred identities but to assimilate solely into

European American culture behaviorally. Mothers' chief socialization strategies were accepting their adolescents' African American identities and embracing diversity, which seemed responsive to teens' needs. These adolescents, who were all girls, had high academic achievement but differing psychological adaptation.

Janice (Teen), Cecilia (Mom)

Janice had a biculturally integrated identity (Jamaican, African American) and this was also her preferred acculturation style. She embraced Jamaican cuisine despite food allergies and visits to Jamaica reinforced her cultural roots. However, she was assimilated to European American culture behaviorally. In her mother's, Cecilia's, words, Janice considered herself "Jamerican", having a "balance of both" worlds, while knowing that this sets her apart from her mother, who considered herself Jamaican, not Jamerican. Using a directive parenting style, Cecelia curated Janice's media from infancy in order to nurture a strong Jamaican identity through both proximal enculturation (e.g., singing Jamaican lullabies) and remote enculturation activities (e.g., reading Jamaican books including those in Jamaican Patois: Ferguson et al., 2016). Consequently, Janice developed a deep understanding of Patois and Jamaican culture, although her spoken ability in Patois was limited due to her U.S. upbringing. Janice's Jamaican socialization to speak standard English at school led to her being labeled an "Oreo" because peers claimed that she looks Black but 'talks White'. Not surprisingly, Janice reported the highest multicultural identity conflict (tied with Tony, a Minority Culture Assimilator who also experienced rejection from peers – see below), the highest psychological distress, and the second lowest belonging score. Cecelia facilitates Janice's complex identity construction by showing interest when Janice engages in reverse African American socialization such as when she sought out and shared with Cecilia information pertaining to Juneteenth from TikTok. Perhaps because of her strong African American identity, Janice struggled emotionally during the height of the dual pandemics when contemplating the dehumanizing

treatment of Black American people.

Cecilia: So, it's funny because she goes to a charter school here. And because we were brought up the way we were, we were brought up to talk Patois but to speak properly {points finger}, for want of a better word, proper English. We brought her up in that manner. So, when she goes to school, I mean, she'll come home and she'll tell us, "oh, you know, people call me an oreo. Because I'm Black on the outside, and I sound White so I'm White on the inside". So, I think for her, it's, she tends to, actually her friends are more, ahm, Latino, ahm, she doesn't have a lot. And I don't know if it's because it's South Florida, but she doesn't have a lot of White friends. So, the White American culture doesn't really, you know, impact her in that way…

Interviewer: We got you. The last question about the identity is, ahm, how did COVID and this pandemic impact any of those identity processes?…

Cecelia: Ahm so well over the pandemic, you know, there was the whole George Floyd {shakes head}, the whole, ahm, the whole racial unrest, and I think for us, in particular, my husband, it whereas before we consider ourselves Jamaicans, and not necessarily African Americans, to everybody, we were African Americans. And so the whole, ahm, racial thing, it was really, I think, it added to Janice's depression for one because for her, it's hard for her to understand why people can't see Black Americans as PEOPLE. You know what I'm saying? So I think that added to her depression. For us, it was like, well, they don't think of us as Jamaicans, they just lump us all as one. And, ahm, and for my husband, who is very people oriented. He's a pastoral care pastor at the church. His, his job is people, he's naturally drawn towards wanting people to be taken care of and be treated right.

Nikki (Teen), Mary (Mom)

Nikki had a separated Jamaican identity but was behaviorally assimilated to European American

culture and had the lowest Jamaican behavioral orientation score in the sample. Nikki would prefer to be triculturally integrated. Mary, Nikki's mother, reported that she is strongly influenced by Jamaican culture at home in terms of values and foods but nevertheless considers herself American at her core. Mary attributes Nikki's American identity to her schooling, where she has had mostly White peers, and to her environment that includes their majority White neighborhood. Mary explained that Nikki enjoys the work of White artists and does not listen to rap music. Interestingly, Mary describes her own efforts to "acclimate [her]self to the [mainstream] American way" as very similar to Nikki's, given her mostly White work colleagues and neighborhood. Mary models multicultural interests by supporting COVID-19 relief efforts across multiple cultural communities.

Motivated by Christian values, Mary used to restrict the media content Nikki was exposed to when she was younger, but she now grants Nikki full autonomy with media rather than mediating its use because she trusts Nikki's maturity and internalization of the moral core instilled in her. Nikki is a responsible, independent, high-achieving teen with a perfect grade point average who conscientiously and effectively self-regulates her own daily media use during the school year so that it does not interfere with her schoolwork. Most apropos, Nikki's favorite shows are "All American" and Grownish". Nevertheless, Mary incorporates Jamaican discipline into her parenting, especially with food. The family places emphasis on Sunday dinners as a time for gathering, an element of traditional Jamaican family life (Giray & Ferguson, 2016), and faith serves as a guide. Therefore, Mary's authoritative parenting is now more involved around food than media. Mary's parenting style facilitated Nikki's cultural identity development by granting her a high degree of autonomy for self-governance and supporting her achievement orientation.

Interviewer: … Um, how do you think Jamaican culture influences her identity and her life?

Mary: Well…she's AMERICAN, um by who she identify with. But she has a very good strong sense of

who she is culturally and coming from her parents because both of her parents are Jamaican. So culturally, she can identify with the culture, with food. But at her core, she's A… you know, she she's MORE American. {nods head}

Interviewer: Ah, and, ahm, tell us again, why you feel she is more American. Is it because of where she was born? Is that what you're thinking?

Mary: It's where she was born. It's, ahm, the schools she has been to, her friends, her environment. Ahm she…doesn't have like Jamaican friends {smiles}. So, all of her friends are American, and most of them are White Americans.

Majority Culture Rejectors

The Majority Culture Rejectors – Paul and Andrew – were the only adolescents to reject European American culture in their actual identities, actual behaviors, and preferred acculturation styles. The strong consistency in rejecting European American culture across all three domains of acculturation may explain why they had the lowest multicultural identity conflict (along with Tricultural, Mark, whose preferred acculturation matched his actual behavioral acculturation style), the lowest psychological distress, and the high belonging scores. Contrary to the Reluctant Majority Culture Assimilators who had the highest grades, these Majority Culture Rejectors had the lowest grades (although objectively only low average: "mostly Cs"). Additionally, these adolescents' mothers were the only ones socializing their teens into the American Dream master narrative regarding the United States being a land of opportunity and meritocracy for all, a message that seemed responsive to adolescents' experiences and adaptation.

Paul (Teen), Sandra (Mom)

Paul had a separated Jamaican identity as well as biculturally integrated behaviors and preferred acculturation style (Jamaican and African American). Growing up, Paul was heavily influenced by his Jamaican heritage, particularly through his mother's side of the extended family. He and his mother,

Sandra, moved to the United States from the U.K. only five years before the interview. Sandra described Paul and herself as still in the process of getting accustomed to U.S. culture, especially considering that they lived in a large Jamaican and Caribbean enclave in the U.K. Sandra repeatedly recounted her moral in the interview of "keep your head down and you'll make it" in reference to how she advises Paul to utilize opportunities for success in the United States. Sandra had an authoritative parenting style and engaged in restrictive mediation. Her well-meaning emphasis on the American Dream master narrative appeared to stem from the pragmatism of relatively recent, hence, naïve U.S. newcomers who may have not yet accumulated lived experiences or deep knowledge of the structural inequities impacting pathways to success (Roberts & Rizzo, 2020). Sandra's socialization messages regarding the American Dream master narrative may have been triggered or intensified by Paul's low average academic achievement. Her parenting style attempted to increase Paul's identification with mainstream culture's narrative in order to promote his own success in U.S. mainstream culture.

Sandra: There's a lot of opportunity in America. You just have to be grounded. Keep your head level and walk the straight and narrow line and stay out of trouble. And you can make it in America or any other country you're in…That's what my grandmother used to say stay out of trouble. Um just get on with it, and as I said, Paul and myself, I go to work and I do what I've got to do. Um {inaudible} I counteract with a lot of people. I'm very friendly. I get on with everyone. And just get on with the job. Even I said to Paul at school, 'go to school, get your education'. He's a sports person, so he loves sports. He loves outdoor. Um, opportunity is there for young people. Um, make the best of it and hold his head high and put his head down to the books and he will get on with life. And don't be a follower, always be a leader.

Andrew (Teen), Karen (Mom)

Andrew had a biculturally integrated identity (Jamaican and African American) and preferred

acculturation style, and was African American assimilated in his behaviors. He was described by his mother, Karen, as embracing Jamaican food, family values, and family traditions including family mealtimes. Karen described an authoritative parenting style built around frequent conversations and was the only parent to solely use instructive media mediation (not restrictive) where she conversed with Andrew about the content and messages in his media. Karen's parenting style was notably autonomy granting surrounding food – she allowed Andrew to choose his own lunches and although she takes charge of dinner, she plans meals based on children's preferences.

Karen explained that Andrew was eager to seek and share knowledge about African American history, to which he was mostly exposed at school and church. Frequent conversations about race would take place at home and Andrew started expressing fears concerning potential encounters with police due to Mr. Floyd's murder during the flare up of the Whiteness Pandemic in 2020. In response, Karen reminded him that not all White people hold negative views towards Black people and promoted judging all people by their character, not their appearance, countering the messages he received from school peers. Although Karen acknowledged the intersectionality Andrew faced as a "young Black male", she also used the American Dream master narrative in their discussions, asserting that he can be anything he wants to be, including an excellent student. On the other hand, Karen encouraged Andrew to resist the alternative narrative regarding a negative linked fate of Black Americans and other ethnic minorities (Monk, 2020), wanting him to instead exercise his vote and believe in its efficacy.

Karen: We had a lot of political discussions {slight smile} in our home as well, um, you know because we want them to understand the importance of, you know, having that you do have a voice in this country and to not, you know to not, again, BUY INTO that narrative that you don't have a voice or that your vote doesn't count. You know, and so to stand against the grain, some of the norms that, you know, Blacks try to, I feel the, the, the BLACK culture tries to absorb and

> PUSH on their families and their generations, you know. We want to change that, understand that you can be anything, you know, you want to be. Um you know, you CAN strive and get straight A's in school {slight smile}. You know those narratives. We spent a lot of time discussing a lot of things sharing, you know, the political um parts of, you know, different things that were going on during COVID.

Minority Culture Assimilators

The Minority Culture Assimilators included Andrew, who was also grouped with the Majority Culture Rejectors, and Tony. They were the only adolescents behaviorally assimilated into the African American culture. They had low multicultural identity conflict but varying psychological and academic adaptation and their mothers uniquely socialized them to resist being either victim or perpetrator of racial discrimination by harnessing cultural variability to play up/down publicly displayed cultural identities and avoiding use of ethnic-racial generalizations.

Andrew (Teen), Karen (Mom)

Andrew fit into this cluster because, as described above, he was African American assimilated in his behaviors and biculturally integrated (Jamaican and African American) in his identity and preferred acculturation style. His mother, Karen, discussed racial stereotypes with him and the importance of resisting some U.S. cultural behaviors while selectively adopting others. She explained to Andrew that she considers certain behavioral styles from African American media-depicted pop culture, such as cursing and sagging pants, to be undesirable (hence, disallowed) because the wearer becomes discriminated against by mainstream culture as unintelligent and inarticulate, which can interfere with employment opportunities. Karen's messages communicated to Andrew that he can avoid discrimination in formal settings by playing down certain Black American pop culture behaviors (e.g., oversized pants, Black hairstyles, slang) and playing up other mainstream behaviors (e.g., wearing well-fitting pants

waists, speaking standard English). Karen facilitates Andrew's complex cultural identity development by coaching him in the dynamics of cultural variability and code switching.

Karen: I try to direct them as it pertains to media. You know, because I feel like there's this stereotype {air quotes} around the African American community, that, … that's not the full narrative but unfortunately, that's what, um, some in society cling on to. And so, they identify, and box us ALL in under that identity. And I really don't like that. So, I try to get my kids to understand the importance of showing them: "You know, what? Just because you're Black, um you know, and they may look at you and say, you are part of the African American culture, it doesn't mean that you're not WELL-SPOKEN, it doesn't mean that…you can't wear your pants REGULARLY. And so, I try to get them to understand there's these stereotypical things out there {gesticulating}, that the way they look at the Black American culture, and, you know, let's try to show them different.

Interviewer: You are really trying to parent Jason to resist those stereotypes it sounds like.

Karen: Yes, I'm passionate about THAT cause I, um, in my work environment, you know, I see and hear how that can influence it, someone's ability to get a job, you know.

Tony (Teen), Carol (Mom)

Tony had a separated Jamaican identity, was biculturally assimilated into African American and European American behaviors, and preferred a tricultural acculturation style. Tony actively expressed his discontent with racism to his mother, Carol. This racial awareness and dissatisfaction fueled Tony's desire to switch to a school with a higher population of African American students, as he believed he would find acceptance and a sense of belonging there. Currently enrolled in honors/advanced classes with fewer ethnic minority students, Tony struggles with a feeling of not having a close-knit group of peers per his mother's account. Not surprisingly, Tony's belonging score was significantly lower than

others, and his multicultural identity conflict was the highest (equally high as Janice, the Reluctant Majority Culture Assimilator). However, his high academic achievement may buffer these social impacts on his psychological distress, which was moderate given his high multicultural identity conflict score. Carol accepts Tony's African American identity, encouraging him to avoid race-based generalizations and see individuality instead. Her authoritative parenting pairs a mildly restrictive parental mediation approach with high autonomy granting, facilitating Tony's identity construction by discussing versus mandating cultural morés.

Interviewer: And if I ask the same about Tony, how do you think the African American culture and the White American culture influence his identity?

Carol: Um {sighs}, he WANTS to identify with the African American community…To be very honest, in light of everything that has been happening {pause}, it's made him {pause}, you know, he's very unhappy about a lot of the things that are happening over the past two years, he's more vocal about it than my older son. He's actually making the decision to switch from the school where he is now, which has an even community of White and African American. He's going to a school that's PREDOMINANTLY African American. And I think that he THINKS he'll be more accepted there. Tony is also, he's in classes that are above his grade level. And I'm telling you this not to talk about Tony, but to say that he is not in any classes with any African American male. And that has been very stressful for him. Especially during the time when everything was going on. He just felt like he didn't have a squad or a crew {laughs} or, you know, a posse, as we call it in Jamaica that LOOKED like him. So, he struggled with that a lot.

Discussion

This paper presented a mixed methods collective case study of the role of maternal socialization in the tricultural identity development of Jamaican American adolescents using a tridimensional (3D)

acculturation theoretical framework. Findings revealed both particulars and universals across cases and showed reciprocal processes of influence between maternal cultural socialization and adolescent cultural identity development (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2013). Maternal socialization strategies were similar across two areas of mundane parent-adolescent encounters – food and media – giving confidence that these represent general versus content-specific maternal socialization strategies. Our study aligns with the third generation of psychological acculturation research characterized by the embrace of qualitative and mixed methods to improve our understanding of processes and contexts of acculturation, while refining acculturation models and measures (Sam & Ward, 2021). That is, rather than merely reify the existence of tricultural identities – the 'is' question – our chosen research design allowed us to explore the 'to be or not to be' question along with the 'why', 'how', and 'what' questions of tricultural identity construction by harnessing the breadth of mixed methods and bringing them to bear on acculturation (IP-FAV: Ferguson et al., 2023) and multicultural identity integration models (MII: Yampolsky et al, 2015).

Simple and Sophisticated Parenting Strategies to Foster Tricultural Identities

The insights learned from situating each adolescent's unique multi-dimensional and multi-domain cultural identity in the context of their family's own transnational migration histories, parenting styles (microsystem), the COVID-19 and Whiteness pandemics (macrosystem), and their own individual adaptation lives out what Simon (2009) referred to when stating that "by studying the uniqueness of the case in-depth, in all its particularity, we come to understand the universal" (p. 167). Two universal understandings emerged from our study for these tridimensionally acculturating second-generation Jamaican immigrant adolescents. First, all adolescents had strong Jamaican private identities shaped by steady proximal and remote enculturation into Jamaican culture (see Ferguson et al., 2016). There is a mountain of compelling evidence from acculturation psychology and developmental psychology that a stronger heritage identity, on its own or integrated with other cultural identities, is

linked to better psychological adaptation of immigrant youth cross-culturally (Grigoryev et al., 2023), that the ethnic-racial identity of U.S. adolescents is promotive of better psychological and academic adaptation both cross-sectionally (Umaña-Taylor & Rivas-Drake, 2021) and experimentally (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2018), and that ethnic-racial identity also buffers the impact of discrimination on ethnic minority youths' and immigrant-origin youths' psychological adaptation (Yip, 2019). Therefore, these Jamaican immigrant mothers are actively promoting and buffering their adolescents' positive development through their indefatigable Jamaican socialization efforts.

The second universal found across the cases was that mothers' skillful authoritative (Baumrind, 1991; Lipps et al., 2012) and authoritative-adjacent parenting (i.e., non-authoritarian directive: Baumrind, 1991; cohesive-authoritative: Mandara & Murray, 2002) was a vehicle for their tricultural identity development by supporting adolescents' autonomy in acquiring and navigating U.S. cultural affiliations. Research shows that foreign-born mothers' family ethnic socialization positively predicts their bicultural U.S.-born adolescents' ethnic identity (Knight et al., 2011) in a family-driven process (Umana-Taylor et al., 2013), but this is the first study of maternal socialization of adolescents navigating three cultures independently and at their intersections. In our study, mothers' socialization strategies were responsive to adolescents' experiences and feedback (youth-driven and reciprocal), except for the Triculturals, for whom maternal socialization appeared to drive adolescent cultural identity construction (family-driven).

An interesting yet unexpected element of mothers' approach was their multicultural socialization, which appeared to be proactive or responsive to the Whiteness pandemic. Relatedly, mothers in three or the four profiles endorsed "embrace diversity" as core maternal socialization strategy and mothers in the fourth profile endorsed multiculturalism. Multicultural socialization extends Hughes and colleagues' (2006) concept of cultural socialization in one heritage/ethnic-racial culture to multiple

cultures, and reflects a global orientation that Chen and colleagues call 'multicultural acquisition' (an interest in learning and experiencing other cultures) rather than 'ethnic protection' (a defensive protection of one's heritage culture). Black immigrant mothers' use of multicultural socialization is also consistent with its promotion as a key antiracist parenting strategy in 21st Century by U.S. antiracism scholars like Kendi (2022).

Using Mixed Methods Collective Case Studies to Study Complex Cultural Identities

Our mixed methods collective case study was ideal for answering several process and context questions regarding the development of tricultural identities. Below we discuss what our findings have taught us regarding major 'to be or not to be', 'why', 'how', and 'what' questions.

To be or not to be? For adolescents situated in this micro-context (educated middle-class voluntary immigrant families) and macro-context (racially stratified and discriminatory society), tricultural identity was most likely 'to be' for a desired self and less so for a public self, and likely 'not to be' for a private self. That is, although tricultural identities exist empirically as one of several possible acculturation statuses for individuals exposed to three cultural dimensions (Ferguson et al., 2012), our findings revealed that none of these seven Jamaican immigrant adolescents evidenced triculturalism in their actual private identities. Rather, two adolescents reported triculturalism in their publicly displayed cultural identities (i.e., in their media, food, and fashion preferences captured as behavioral acculturation), and four reported triculturalism in their preferred identities. Of course, triculturalism may manifest differently for immigrant adolescents situated in different micro- or macro-contexts. In summary, although we know theoretically from the IP-FAV (Ferguson et al., 2023) that acculturation orientations, including cultural identities, are predicted by acculturation conditions at the individual (e.g., personality, identity motives, demographics), microsystem (e.g., household factors, familial migration history), and macrosystem levels of the ecological context (e.g., inequitable economic and sociopolitical

systems), *how* these acculturation conditions weave together across time and generations in one family to produce tricultural identities for some and not for others has been unclear until now.

Why? A mixed methods collective case study allowed us to examine the racial demographics, transnational family migration history, social experiences, and adaptation of multiple adolescents with the same acculturation status to better understand why a Black immigrant adolescent would assimilate into White European American mainstream culture. Our findings show that these adolescents were not European American assimilated in their actual private identities nor in their preferred identities, but only in their publicly displayed cultural identities. This distinction between public vs. private, and actual vs. preferred domains (Navas et al., 2005) provides nuanced insight that illuminates these adolescents' assimilation as partial (vs. full), performative (vs. core), and reluctant (vs. preferred), because their identities remain actually and ideally anchored in their heritage cultures. Our case studies also make the reasons for this type of European American assimilation much more understandable by considering how Janice being trained to speak standard English at school by first generation immigrant parents from a British commonwealth country can manifest in her behavioral assimilation in a society that stereotypes this behavior as 'acting White'. Nikki's behavioral assimilation is similarly understandable as a high-achieving student in the U.S. educational system racked by structural racism wherein high-quality education is concentrated in schools with highly trained teachers in well-resourced communities that are predominantly White due to historical (discriminatory laws) and current ('White flight') residential segregation patterns. In Janice's case, who was tied for the highest psychological distress, we also see the mental health implications of imposed identity labels, whether discriminatory ("Oreo") or benign.

How? This collective case study approach allowed us to enhance our understanding of BII and MII by taking an up-close look at how the association between identity conflict and psychological distress may play out in context (Benet-Martinez, 2018; Yampolsky et al., 2015). Our finding that

Majority Culture Rejectors, Paul and Andrew, had the least internal conflict and the lowest psychological distress means that the task of harmonizing the heritage Jamaican culture and the minority African American culture was easier. It may have been more challenging for these adolescents to integrate their European American identity with the other two cultures because it was the most culturally distant. Or it may be that the difficulty stemmed from trying to integrate the European American mainstream culture given its oppressive effect on the Black males and immigrants especially during the dual pandemics. We also see that Tricultural Mark who assigned a lower ideal priority to the European American culture in his preferred acculturation had much lower multicultural identity conflict than did the other Tricultural, Tina, who assigned equal weight to her preferred cultural identities. As Ferguson and colleagues noted, "keeping a foot in three worlds" may feel awkward and create internal identity conflicts (Ferguson et al., 2014, p. 249), or at least provide no clear compass for resolving identity conflicts, unlike a categorization approach that prioritizes or deprioritizes one of the cultural identities (Yampolsky et al., 2015).

The low average grades of the Majority Culture Rejectors, both of whom were boys, were consistent with those of 'High Integration/African American" adolescents from Ferguson and Bornstein's (2014) quantitative study of Jamaican immigrant adolescents. Using a PVEST lens, Paul and Andrew's mothers' socialization to pursue the American Dream were likely aimed at coaching them in managing their immediate reactive coping responses to intersecting systems of oppression impacting them as Black immigrant male teens (Velez & Spencer, 2018). Perceiving peer unpopularity/rejection or low teacher expectations for Black males could promote negative learning attitudes whereas maternal socialization messages reinforcing positive outlooks would be adaptive (Spencer et al., 1997).

What? Collective case studies allowed us to efficiently and flexibly identify cultural socialization strategies immigrant mothers were using to parent their tricultural and multicultural adolescents in navigating identity complexity in their ecological contexts. For example, remote

acculturation (Ferguson et al., 2012b) and remote enculturation (Ferguson et al., 2016) are documented processes of globalization-based cultural transmission. This study design allowed us to see these processes embedded in a family's life, including how mothers' remote acculturation to U.S. cultures begins in the heritage country and how they later use remote enculturation in concert with proximal enculturation to socialize heritage culture identity (Gillespie et al., 2024).

Cultural variability was also on display in this collective case study (Ferguson et al., 2015, 2016). Prior research shows that adolescents employ cultural variability agentically with both family and peers, but the present study uncovered that some immigrant parents actually coach their adolescents in using this skill. For publicly displayed cultural identities, Karen coached Andrew in playing down his African American identity and playing up his (weak) European American identity in formal settings to avoid discrimination, perhaps satisfying the identity motive of efficacy (Vignoles, 2011). This finding is consistent with Nguyen and Ferguson's (2019a) mixed methods interpretive phenomenology among tricultural Southeast Asian American youth, who made behavioral and cognitive adjustments to educate and fit in with out-group members or create distance from some in-group members. Like the current study, Nguyen and Ferguson (2019a) found that cultural variability can co-occur with alternating between two identities, as we see in Andrew's mothers' messages. Ferguson and Nguyen (2019b) also found that having a third cultural identity can meet ethnic minority adolescents' needs for belonging and resisting externally imposed identities; here, Paul and Andrew rejected the majority culture in favor of African American culture as a third culture, resulting in two of the top three highest belonging scores.

Limitations and Future Research

This study was subject to selection effects based on the convenience sampling. It is possible that families with greater multicultural conflict and acculturation hassles, including those experiencing more discrimination or marginalized acculturation status, were less likely to volunteer. This is a challenge

common across research designs with this population and may actually, in our estimation, pose less trouble for interpretation of case study results because this study design is explicitly structured to deliver situated understandings of the research question. Future qualitative research on tricultural identities with immigrant teen girls should investigate how gendered expectations may intersect with ethnicity and race to shape the tricultural identities of Reluctant Majority Culture Assimilators. That is, in this study, only girls had this profile, which may be related to the unique types of gendered and racialized feedback they receive from peers (e.g., regarding hair type: Rogers et al., 2021). Future research can also consider more comprehensive multidimensional quantitative measures (Yampolsky et al., 2015).

Conclusions

Simon (2009, p.167) likened case studies to "the way of the artist" in the way sense is made from the data, and we expand this metaphor. Conducting a mixed methods collective case study, a particular type of case study, can be likened to assembling a jig saw puzzle, a particular artform. The skilled puzzle builder must first familiarize themselves with the shapes and colors of the individual pieces (in this case, reviewing all raw data multiple times before analysis), then select the pieces with the clearest definition – corner and straight-edged puzzle pieces – and assemble the broad puzzle outline (in this case, 3D acculturation theory-driven analyses). After this, one begins methodically building the interior of the puzzle piece by piece: testing, arranging, and rearranging pieces iteratively with each new insight (in this case, data-driven analyses on mothers' socialization strategies). The going is slow at first as it is critical to remain systematic and keep an open mind to testing many possible configurations and interpretations, but the pace picks up as the gestalt comes into view, sometimes in bursts, eventually resulting in a newly coherent, transcendent, and often satisfying, understanding of the topic. In this case, we now see and more fully appreciate the central role of Black Jamaican immigrant mothers in skillfully facilitating tricultural identity development of their second-generation U.S. immigrant adolescents.

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Notes

[1] In fact, even in single-case case studies, researchers are encouraged to "engage with the paradox within *[each]*…case, the tension between the universal and the particular, and the ambiguity or conflict it presents." (Simon, 2009, p. 167).

[2] The Whiteness pandemic maintains racially disproportionate anti-Black police violence and racial disparities in health, housing, education, income, and media representations that favor the White group (Ferguson et al., 2022; Roberts & Rizzo, 2021).

[3] The theme of multicultural socialization pertained specifically to the socialization messages and experiences mothers facilitated to help adolescents appreciate many different cultures, but it does not represent an additional cultural stream or dimension to which adolescents were acculturating.

Table 1

Case Profiles with Adolescent-Reported Descriptives, and Primary Themes from Mother Interviews (n=8)

Case Profile	Triculturals		Reluctant Majority Culture Assimilators		Majority Culture Rejectors		Minority Culture Assimilators[a]
Adolescent Pseudonym	Mark	Tina	Janice	Nikki	Paul	Andrew[a]	Tony
Mother Pseudonym	Patrice	Tracy	Cecilia	Mary	Sandra	Karen	Carol
Adolescent Age	15 yrs	14 yrs	16 yrs	18 yrs	15 yrs	16 yrs	15 yrs
Adolescent Gender	Male	Female	Female	Female	Male	Male	Male
Adolescent Race	Black	Black	Black	Black	Black	Black	Black
Adolescent Cultural Identity	"Black"	"Jamaican-American"	"Jamaican-American"	"Jamaican-American and Black"	"Jamaican-English"	"Black"	"Jamaican American"
Mother Birth Country (& Childhood Residence)	Jamaica	Jamaica (moved to USA at 10y)	Jamaica	Jamaica	Jamaica (grew up between Jamaica & UK; 5y in US)	Jamaica	Jamaica (lived in UK)
Adolescent Birth (& Residence) Country	USA (visits Jamaica w/ parents)	USA (lived in Jamaica for 2y in early life	USA (visits Jamaica w/ parents)	USA	UK (5y in US)	USA	UK
Mother Education	Prefer Not to Answer	Some High School	Graduate or Professional Degree	Graduate or Professional Degree	High School Diploma	Bachelor's Degree	Bachelor's Degree
Father Education	High School Diploma	Graduate or Professional Degree	Graduate or Professional Degree	Some College	High School Diploma	Some College	Graduate or Professional Degree
J Identity[b]	4.00	3.00	2.86	3.57	3.43	3.14	3.14
AA Identity[b]	4.00	2.43	3.14	1.57	1.14	4.00	2.14
EA Identity[b]	1.00	1.00	1.05	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
J Behavior[b]	2.57	2.71	2.14	1.57	2.71	2.29	2.00
AA Behavior[b]	3.17	3.00	2.33	2.17	3.00	3.67	2.50
EA Behavior[b]	3.14	3.14	3.14	3.86	2.43	1.43	3.14
Preferred J Involvement[b]	3.50	3.00	3.50	3.50	4.00	3.00	4.00
Preferred AA Involvement[b]	3.50	3.00	3.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	3.50
Preferred EA Involvement[b]	2.50	3.00	2.00	2.50	2.00	2.00	3.50

3D Identity Acculturation Status	Integrated: J and AA	Separated: J only	Integrated: J and AA	Separated: J only	Separated: J only	Integrated: J and AA	Separated: J only
3D Behavior Acculturation Status	Integrated: 3D	Integrated: 3D	Assimilated: EA only	Assimilated: EA only	Integrated: J and AA	Assimilated: AA only	Assimilated: AA and EA
3D Preferred Acculturation Status	Integrated: 3D	Integrated: 3D	Integrated: J and AA	Integrated: 3D	Integrated: J and AA	Integrated: J and AA	Integrated: 3D
Autonomy Support (1-7)	4.00	3.00	4.33	3.83	3.17	6.83	2.83
Parental mediation (1-5)	2.00	3.50	3.00	2.50	3.00	1.50	4.50
Discrimination (1-6)	1.00	1.83	2.33	4.00	2.17	1.00	2.33
Belonging (1-7)	6.00	6.00	4.75	6.75	6.25	7.00	2.75
Multicultural Identity Conflict (1-4)	1.75	3.00	3.25	2.00	1.50	1.75	3.25
PHQ Mean (0-3)	0.50	1.00	2.75	1.50	0.00	0.00	2.00
Adolescent Grades	'Bs and Cs' GPA: 2.2	'As and Bs' GPA: 3.3	'As and Bs' GPA: 3.8	'As and Bs' GPA: 4.1	'Mostly Cs' GPA: NR	'Mostly Cs' GPA: NR	'As and Bs' GPA:3.8
Primary themes/codes from mother interview	Authoritative (Non-Authoritarian Directive) parenting; Do parental mediation (restrictive); Engage in family ethnic socialization; COVID-19	Authoritative (Cohesive-Authoritative) parenting; Do parental mediation (restrictive + instructive); Utilize remote enculturation	Authoritative (Non-Authoritarian Directive) parenting; Do parental mediation (restrictive); Engage in family ethnic socialization	Authoritative parenting; Use faith as guide for parenting	Authoritative parenting; Do parental mediation (restrictive); Engage in family ethnic socialization; COVID-19	Authoritative parenting; Engage in family ethnic socialization; Whiteness pandemic; Selective adoption; Avoiding generalizations	Authoritative parenting; Do parental mediation (restrictive); Accept teen's African American identity; Shifts in identity in USA; Cross-cultural parenting differences COVID-19
Unique themes/codes from mother interview	1 of only 2 cases without the "Foster practical independence" code	1 of only 2 mothers with "Navigate spaces"; Only case with "Highlight multicultural-ism within Jamaican culture" code	1 of few cases with "Accepts teen's African American identity" code; 1 of only 2 cases without the "Foster practical independence" code	1 of only 2 cases with "Embrace diversity"; Only case without "COVID-19 Pandemic" code (coded as negative case)	1 of only 2 cases with "American dream master narrative" code	Most codes in overlapping areas; Only case with "Support 3D integration" code; solely instructive mediation, both "American dream master narrative" and "Resist alternative narrative" codes; 1 of only 2 cases with "Embrace diversity"	1 of only 2 cases with "Resist alternative narrative" code; 1 of few cases with "Avoid generalizations" code

Note: J = Jamaican, AA = African American, EA = European American. [a] Andrew fits into both Majority Culture Rejectors and Minority Culture Assimilators. [b] = 1-4 scale.

Table 2

Quotes from Jamaican Immigrant Mothers for Themes and Codes Regarding How They Foster Their Adolescents' Cultural Identities

Codes	Themes
	Authoritative Parenting
N/A	**Interviewer:** So, how does your Jamaican culture influence how you parent, um, Andrew around using media? **Karen:** Um, definitely Jamaican, Jamaican culture, I feel has a strong discipline to it. Um, I find Jamaican parents are definitely more um, they shelter their kids more. Um you know, and then try to be you know, they're very um purposeful in the way they communicate with their kids about what you should do what's right and wrong. And so, I try to emulate that, um, you know, I want to see what you're listening to. And, you know, I want to ensure that you understand why I don't want you to listen to that, or why I don't want you to watch that. And so, I do have those conversations with my kids. I do, you know, pop up and look at their screen. And "why you listening to that?". So, um, I would definitely say that's from my Jamaican culture {chuckle}. **-------** **Mary:** I think I trust her to, to manage what she does there. I know that, well as far as I know, and because she shares a lot with me, she doesn't go on anything that is like, you know {shakes head}, site that is not good for her. **-------** **Carol:** You know, the Jamaican parenting style from what I remember, wasn't very flexible {chuckles}. So that was something that I had to, um, I had to incorporate him having a voice. I wanted my children to have a voice. I didn't believe that children should be seen and not heard. I thought that they should be seen AND heard and I wanted them to understand they know that they can give their opinion, but it doesn't mean that they're going to get what they want. But I do consider their opinions in my decisions that I make them. And I don't regret doing that.
	Acculturation Context
Racial segregation & ethnic enclaves	**Interviewer:** Now, you mentioned growing up in Canada, and that White culture there. What are the similarities or differences between Canadian culture and White American? Just help us understand anything that you see as similar or different, please? **Karen:** Um, I guess maybe too, cause I was, I was, you know, as a child, um, not necessarily an adult, um, but for me, it just seems more um, open, more accepting [there]. Here I find the White American culture is more segregated; they're not, they don't have necessarily a willingness to get to know you just...because of your color, um or because you look different. So, there's not that openness to just get to know you for who you are. **Patrice:** I have been here now 20 years. Um the community that I live, live in is it's pretty diverse, but we have A LOT of um Jamaicans and um Caribbean natives living here.
More choices in high-income country	**Patrice:** I think what I think is different is that he has more CHOICES than I had. **Interviewer:** Oh, tell us about that. **Patrice:** I tell my kids that growing up, I never had a whole bag of chips that I could choose a flavor from....Never so easily. That in terms of choices, that's that's, that's, what I mean. You know like I was, I didn't {shakes head} know I was so poor until I was older....because you know, like summer with Mommy going to work, whatever was left for lunch was just THAT until she came back and prepared dinner. In between it would be the mango tree around the back of the yard. Or the breadfruit tree or something. We had to find whatever in between meals we wanted until she got back home...Cause it wasn't a lot, you know, there wasn't much to choose from.
Shifts in identity due to living in U.S.A.	**Cecelia:** Ahm, so, well, over the pandemic, you know, there was the whole George Floyd {shakes head}, the whole, ahm, the whole racial unrest, and I think for us, in particular, my husband, it whereas before we consider ourselves Jamaicans, and not necessarily African Americans, to everybody, we were African Americans.

Cross-cultural differences in parenting	**Mary:** I think it's my Jamaican background, where, you know {smiles}, I think Jamaicans have a different type of discipline {raises eyebrows and smirks} than Americans. So, especially the White Americans {slightly shakes head}. So, you know, I don't have to explain to my child why I'm, you know, doing this, it's, you know, I say something and you just have to adhere to it. Because, you know, they always say, Because I said so {laughs}. But is that type, that type of parenting. You know, it's not asking for permission can do to PARENT, basically. So I think my CULTURE influenced my PARENTING, you know, and I can see the big DISTINCTION between how I PARENT, than how our friend's parents parent.
	Dual Pandemic Context
COVID-19 Pandemic	**Interviewer:** I just want to check if any of this has changed since COVID-19 came? Did your sense of cultural identity shift or Kai's you think during the pandemic? **Tracy:** I think, um, I don't know, I would say our cultural identity probably got stronger. I'm gonna tell you why. Because now, now all those old principles that we took for granted now in the COVID, you're just like "okay, let me take it back a notch". Let's now cook and have game night and family night with food or different things that we would have saved till Thanksgiving or everyone is busy.
Whiteness Pandemic including structural racism	**Interviewer:** I see. You were trying to really educate and discuss race, and that was relevant to both Black Americans and White Americans. Did, George, the murder of George Floyd impact, Andrew, very much? You've alluded to it, but I want to give you space to tell us a little bit more about how that might have influenced his own cultural identity formation and his own racial identity? **Karen:** It influenced Andrew {shoulders shrugged} greatly um you know, I had instances where we were like at an instance {shoulders shrugged}, I remember we were driving in a neighborhood and he's like, um I don't think we should be in this neighborhood. You know, what if a cop sees us {emphasis/eyes wide} and I see that hesitation of okay, cops are bad {emphasis}, or, you know, he has that fear of being pulled over by a police officer...You know, and so yes, I definitely have seen that negative um impact that it's had on him.
	Jamaican Socialization
Engage in family ethnic socialization	**Interviewer:** Okay. All right. And so how about him? When you think about Jamaican culture? How much do you think it influences his life? **Sandra:** Well, I tried to do that from he was younger. And with my brothers and sisters around, and you know, his family, they tried to bring that Jamaican into him. So, he has got a lot of Jam, and his dad also brought all that Jamaican in him. So he's on the Jamaican side more than the US and the English side.
Invite co-ethnic community influence	**Cecilia:** Jamaican barbecues, and you know, food and all that the music that we listened to was purely Jamaican music. I mean, you know, you get start, you start to hear American music, here and there starts to creep in. But it was mostly Jamaican music that we listen to, we tended to fall back on the familiar. And so that was how we, ahm, we kind of integrated I guess, up here. It was easier {nods head} when we started to meet other people.
Enjoy family mealtimes: "Sunday dinner"	**Karen:** They {laughing}, um they definitely, they, they enjoy the food, um because I have an older daughter, as well, as Andrew. And I really think they enjoy that strong sense of family...there's that sense of family where we get together, we have family meals. And I think that is really um been positive for Andrew, and helps to keep him grounded.
Use faith as guide for parenting	**Interviewer:** Earlier about praying and how prayer really was one of the major things that got you through the challenges. I'm wondering if religion plays a role in how you parent around food? Does it intersect at all? **Carol:** It does. It does. But I don't give that message to Tony {laughing}. Because it's, I think it's a little hard for him to understand. There is a diet in the Bible called the Leviticus diet...And so, I don't follow any diet, religiously, per se. I just, you know, I'll read a lot and I'll READ A LOT and make decisions from there. I think that every food in moderation is okay. I don't think anything is poisonous {chuckles}, nothing. It's just all about moderation. I don't think we were meant to eat meat seven days a week.
Utilize remote enculturation (media, food, travel)	**Cecilia:** It was just important for us to, to have her identify with the Jamaican culture, when we go back home {nods head}, you know, she eats, well as much as possible, she tries to eat the Jamaican food.

	African American Socialization
Learn African American history (including reverse socialization)	**Tracy:** When I came to America, I learned A LOT MORE of that whole African American or American culture with African you know, I learned more of that here.
Accept teen's African American identity	**Interviewer:** Sure, how much does African American culture influence your cultural identity? {Carol shaking head, small smile, and slight chuckle}. Does that mean not very much? **Carol:** {speaking over Interviewer} Not very much. **Interviewer:** {speaking over Carol, }…Tell us what you are thinking. **Carol:** Probably close to zero. HOWEVER, because I have two African American sons, it does me well to educate myself about their history and help them to deal with the culture because they have to participate in it. They were born here. Well, one of them was born here. But they both of them have lived here for most of their lives. So, I am reading a lot, I'm taking the time to read a lot to understand their culture...
	European American Socialization
Endorse American dream master narrative	**Sandra:** Ahm, there's a lot of opportunity in America. You just have to be grounded. Keep your head level and walk the straight and narrow line and stay out of trouble. And you can make it in America or any other country you're in.
Resist alternative narrative of minority linked fate due to marginalization	**Karen:** I try to direct them as it pertains to media. You know, because I feel like there's this stereotype {uses fingers for air quotes} around the African American community, that, that's not the narrative, that that's not the full narrative. But unfortunately, that's what um some in society cling on to. And so, they identify, and box us all {emphasis} in under that identity. And I really don't like that. So, I try to get my kids to understand the importance of showing them, you know, what? Just because you're Black, um you know, and they may look at you and say, you are part of the African American culture, it doesn't mean that you're NOT well spoken, it doesn't mean that you, you where your {inaudible} you know, you can't wear your pants REGULARLY. And so, I try to get them to understand there's these {gesticulating for emphasis} stereotypical things out there, that the way they look at the Black American culture, and, you know, let's try to show them different.
	Multicultural Socialization
Prioritize multi-cultural exposure (food, media, language)	**Cecilia:** We did go to New Orleans one year, and she did try, ahm, like, the alligator. Trying foods like that, you know, just experiencing it. It's, it's its good. Ahm trying foods of other cultures is good. You know, and sometimes we do that, but we tend to mostly have what we're familiar with, ahm, as meals.

	Jamaican
	2-culture intersection: Jamaican & European American Socialization
Foster independence (food, media)	**Carol:** Yeah, or I would get home and say,' Hey son, what do you want?' It's nine o'clock at night. And I would let him pick what he wants. And it's, it's not, sometimes he'll say, I want to tuna melt. Especially when we're tethering on coming to the end of the night. And I don't want us to have a big meal, or I am very tired, because I came home so late, but he wants, he's hungry. You know, he's very independent. He likes being in the kitchen. So THAT also kind of helped. And then I just let him try what he wants to try. And so that some of the things he's making, I don't know how to make them. So, I just kind of observed for safety reasons.

	2-culture intersection: African American & European American Socialization
Use selective adoption	**Karen:** And so, I try to, I want my kids, it's fine to look at that and to recognize that no {slight head shake}, that's not what you want to emulate. You know, and to have that awareness of what they say and do and—and how they behave. But yes, that does influence as well, because, you know, I don't want my son, you know, the way I hear some of, from the Black American culture, the way I hear them talking about women, and she's my b-i-t-c-h and whatever. I don't want my son doing that. And so yes, I do that definitely influences my um, what I SAY and what I ADVISE him around media
Avoid generalizations	**Carol:** In fact, I am having some challenges trying to ensure that ... you know, we never use the term all, you know, because that's not a measurable number. So, I try to encourage him that all 'X' people are not the same. That's just not the way it works. There's good and there's bad in every, in every situation that you look at.
Do parental mediation (media & food)	(*Instructive mediation*) **Tracy:** I respect her opinion cause over the years from her action, I have to respect her opinion. The only thing I can't get under wraps and I kind of leave it alone is that TikTok {sighs}. But I look at the TikTok because it just scrolls, they just scrolls. So, I look at what they do. But on the TikTok, there are things that teach you how to make natural pasta. And we buy the ingredients to make natural pasta. There's things that teach you how to make so many things on TikTok that I go "oh, you do take off the good", how she cooked the shrimp or, lemon chicken, those are all on the TikTok. So, I kind of trust her where, "okay". ------ (*Restrictive mediation*) **Cecilia:** But, ahm, she tries to make healthy choices {nods head}, but mostly she finds herself going back to the pizzas and the burgers and the stuff like that. And so I, when I cook I'm like okay, well you're not getting a pizza, you're not getting the burger, this is what we have.
	2-culture intersection: Jamaican & Multicultural Socialization
Promote sharing Jamaican culture	**Tracy:** So, I was always in that culture where now I get to explain to you about Jamaica and who we are and what it is about and that kind of proud culture... Okay, so how it connects the food is, is constant. When you're around all these individual[s] you try to infuse. So, when I have parties, I tried to do some plantains or rice and peas. Anything that, when we're having events at school, you always try to bring that culture or that spice or that flavor to show that differentness instead of having um egg and bacon and pancake right {smiles}. We try to at least drop some callaloo, then you explain and then [they] find out...callaloo is spinach. **Mary:** When I am at home or if I am preparing meals and sometimes invite them over, there is always some Jamaican influence in there.
Highlight multiculturalism within Jamaican culture	**Tracy:** We love Asian food. And that's from pretty much chicken chop Suey and kinda all the Jamaican AGAIN, pick from the Jamaican CULTURE with the Asian part of the Jamaican mixture. So that's really what influences because there's so much options as BEING a JAMAICAN there's so much food choices. So, you just kind of tap in, you know,
	2-culture intersection: African American & Multicultural Socialization
Support multi-ethnic peer influence	**Sandra:** Well, you know what? He's getting to 16 so he has to widen his horizon. Yes. As I said Paul is a outdoor person. Um he has come across a lot of culture. Because when he used to go to primary school in England, he had Turkish, Greek, Muslims. So, he knows all different type of culture and he had to adapt to it. And now he is in America he's learning SPANISH. Um he's doing the American history. So yes, he has widen his horizon on culture.
	3-culture intersection: Jamaican, African American & European American Socialization
Cultural variability	**Karen:** Do I see him with friends that you know, may, for example, like the whole sagging of the pants? I hate that {slight head shake}. So, um, you know, that's something that I don't let Jason do... **Interviewer:** You are really trying to parent Jason to resist those stereotypes it sounds like. **Karen:** Yes, I'm passionate about that cause I um, in my work environment, you know, I see and hear how that can influence it, someone's ability to get a job, you know... Um and so it really, I have a passion. It's, I'm passionate about it, you know cause I've seen Black, young Black men, these young Black boys, and they have dreads. And I talked to them, and I'm like, "you're such an intelligent, young man you know!", and I know that I can look

	past the dreads. But there's a lot of, there's a lot of individuals in our society that won't, and they'll use that, that look to just coin them as they're unintelligent, they don't speak, or they don't know how to carry themselves or speak. And so, I don't want MY SON really getting boxed in and kind of just singled out that way.
Remote acculturation	**Mary:** So it is, it's, okay, so American culture is everywhere. So even when in Jamaica, there is American exported culture there. So it's kind of hard to say this is Black American, White American or Jamaican culture and how you're exposed to media because of that.
Supports 3D integration	**Karen:** Um I, you know, I, my, the way my family functions overall, you know, I impart it to, you know, my Jamaican culture, the White culture, the Black American, I would say, all the cultures have an influence. In terms of my family, you know, I take little tidbits from all the different cultures. Um and I try to throw that into my kids, you know, because I want them to go out there and not for them to have an influence, but a positive influence, you know, and to recognize that there is there's beauty and richness in all the cultures, and for them to maybe build relationships where they can learn those beauties, and the richness and the fullness of all cultures. I think that's, you know, that really lends for and they can select what they want to add into their own family again, to enhance it. I think that's how we grow blossom. And you know, that's what, that's the real deal of life, so.
	3-culture intersection: Jamaican, African American & Multicultural Socialization
Recognize intersectionality	**Cecilia:** And so the whole ahm racial thing, it was really, I think, it added to Janice's depression for one because for her, it's hard for her to understand why people can't see Black Americans as PEOPLE. You know what I'm saying so I think that added to her depression. For us, it was like, well, they don't think of us as Jamaicans, they just lump us all as one. And ahm, and for my husband, who is very people oriented. He's a pastoral care pastor at the church. His, his job is people he's naturally drawn towards wanting people to be taken care of and be treated right. It was...It really, really impacted him. Worse as a man. Um, so for us in that respect, the pandemic added to all of that was very, I want to say it was very, it weighed a lot on us.
	3-culture intersection: Jamaican, European American & Multicultural Socialization
Buy food	**Tracy:** Um we're a traveling family. So, when you go somewhere and you see something, um she's into a lot of like, she's into Tajín and a lot of Hispanic food that the season is a little bit different. So, from us as a traveling family, when they taste something and they like it, then that's what you know, they'll go, so it's her, her EXPOSURE has caused her FOOD choices to be such, you know, wider...
Remote acculturation	**Mary:** So it is, it's, okay, so American culture is everywhere. So even when in Jamaica, there is American exported culture there. So it's kind of hard to say this is Black American, White American or Jamaican culture and how you're exposed to media because of that.
	3-culture intersection: African American, European American & Multicultural Socialization
Navigate spaces	**Interviewer:** Anything else that you did in terms of parenting around culture and identity to help Jason? **Carol**: …Believe it or not, in all of my work opportunities that I've had the last role that I was in before I got furloughed, I was in that role for 15 years, I was a senior manager for 12 of those 15 years. And so, I had the opportunity to be around them and listen and learn how they navigate. World challenges, economic challenges. My oldest son went to a high school that was predominantly White, it was a 2% {brief glance to the left} African American community. And so, his friends were predominantly White, so I had to end up being in those meetings and those parenting parties and those social events, and those after school parent meetings. So, and that's probably, those are the places where I was able to see the things that they do differently, how they confront challenges, and you know, just how they address life differently.
	4-culture intersection: Jamaican, African American, European American & Multicultural Socialization
Embrace diversity (across & within groups)	**Karen:** With, with Andrew it's difficult. Um, what I've noticed {eyebrows furrowed} is I've had to open up his mind more so. Um, you know, and again, I don't know if it's because of him. I don't know if it's at school or more segregated. But I've had to say, you know, no, Andrew, you know, not everyone is like that not every White person doesn't like Blacks, you know. So, I find with [Brother], he's not as, you know, he more recognizes his Blackness and wants to stick to his Blackness more so than opening up his mind to say, let me look at, you know, other cultures, let me you know, EMBRACE the differences in, you know, the Black American culture versus the White culture.

Figure 1

Thematic Diagram representing Jamaican American mothers' descriptions of how they foster cultural identity development of their adolescents