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The Role of Cultural Identity Clarity for Self-Concept Clarity, Self-Esteem, and Subjective Well-Being

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The Role of Cultural Identity Clarity for Self-Concept Clarity, Self-Esteem, and Subjective Well-Being

Esther Usborne[1] and Donald M. Taylor[2]

Abstract

Knowing oneself and experiencing oneself as clearly defined has been linked to positive self-esteem and psychological well-being; however, this association has been tested only at the level of personal identity. The authors propose that a clear cultural identity provides the individual with a clear prototype with which to engage the processes necessary to construct a clear personal identity and, by extension, to achieve self-esteem and well-being. For samples of undergraduate students, Anglophone Quebecers, Francophone Québécois, Chinese North Americans, and Aboriginal Canadians, cultural identity clarity was positively related to self-concept clarity, self-esteem, and markers of subjective well-being. The relationship between cultural identity clarity and both self-esteem and well-being was consistently mediated by self-concept clarity. Interventions designed to clarify cultural identity might have psychological benefits for individuals facing cultural identity challenges.

Beyond the positive or negative content of one's self-concept, the clarity of one's self-beliefs is thought to contribute to psychological adjustment (see Campbell, Assanand, & Di Paula, 2003). Many theorists posit that identity clarity, the extent to which beliefs about the self are clearly and confidently defined, is an important contributor to psychological well-being (e.g., Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1980). This relationship has been tested empirically (e.g., Baumgardner, 1990; Campbell, 1990; Stinson, Wood, & Doxey, 2008), and the consistent finding is that those who have a clear sense of who they are have higher self-esteem and greater psychological well-being.

However, this association has been tested only at the level of personal identity. The clarity of the identity that arises from the groups to which an individual belongs and its association with self-esteem and psychological well-being have not been empirically explored. Taylor (1997, 2002) proposes a theory arguing for the importance of collective or cultural identity clarity. He hypothesizes that individuals without a clear collective identity might have difficulty developing a clear personal identity, a deficit that translates to poor psychological well-being. In five studies, the present research is the first to investigate the associations among cultural identity clarity, the extent to which beliefs about one's cultural group are

clearly and confidently defined, clarity of personal identity, and both self-esteem and subjective well-being among individuals from a number of different cultural groups.

Personal Identity Clarity

The importance of personal sameness and coherence was first emphasized in classic definitions of personal identity (Erikson, 1968; James, 1890). Knowing oneself and experiencing oneself as possessing continuity was argued to be essential for an individual's experience of well-being (Erikson, 1968). The literature that we review here, and thus our own research, arises from this Jamesian or Eriksonian perspective.

In her seminal studies, Campbell (1990) defined personal identity clarity, or what she termed self-concept clarity, as the extent to which one's self-beliefs are clearly and confidently defined, internally consistent, and stable. She repeatedly

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found that clarity of personal identity was positively related to self-esteem. Campbell and her colleagues (1996) developed a 12-item self-report measure of clarity and found that for mainstream Canadians and East Asians, low personal identity clarity was associated with poor psychological adjustment (also see Stinson et al., 2008).

Others have proposed that personal identity clarity is vital for optimal psychological functioning (e.g., Sheldon, Ryan, Rawsthorne, & Ilardi, 1997). Experimental research (Baumgardner, 1990) lends support to this proposal by demonstrating that participants whose identity clarity was increased through exposure to "certain" diagnoses of their self-perceived traits experienced temporary feelings of positive self-regard.

Research has therefore provided evidence for the importance of having a clear personal identity for psychological adjustment. This research has primarily focused on the clarity of an individual's personal characteristics. Little is known about the importance of clearly knowing the self at a collective level of self-definition and about how clarity of collective or cultural identity might relate to personal identity clarity and thereby to self-esteem and well-being.

Collective Identity Clarity

Be it one's gender, occupational, cultural, or any other group-based identity, collective identity can be defined as that part of an individual's self-concept that is derived from his or her knowledge of membership in a social group (or groups), along with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership (Tajfel, 1978). The traits, ideological positions, shared behavior, experiences, and history that are associated with an individual's group are internalized by the individual to compose an important component of his or her self-concept (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004). In presenting a comprehensive framework for research exploring collective identity, Ashmore and colleagues (2004) suggested that the certainty or the clarity of an individual's collective identity may be affected by the norms that pervade an individual's social environment. They posit that, in today's multicultural societies, an individual might have to negotiate multiple, possibly competing, norms related to his or her collective category or categories and that the consequences of such a negotiation merit research attention.

Recent research has responded to this call and explored the effect of negotiating multiple collective identities. The focus has been on collective identity integration, whereby individuals are challenged to reconcile a number of different collective or cultural identities into their sense of self (e.g., Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005). Seminal theory and research suggest that those who have integrated collective identities have greater psychological well-being (Berry, 2005) and that greater collective identity interference, when the norms and values of one collective identity interfere with

another, is related to lower levels of well-being (Settles, 2004). Given that collective identity integration is thought to produce a more coherent sense of self (Amiot, de la Sablonnière, Terry, & Smith, 2007), such research points to a possible association among having a clear experience of collective identity, having a clear personal identity, and experiencing positive psychological well-being.

Taylor (1997, 2002) builds on social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978) and on self-categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) by arguing that a clearly defined collective identity is essential for the development of a clearly defined personal identity, which in turn is crucial for personal psychological well-being. Specifically, he argues that the attributes composing an individual's personal identity are relative. That is, the assessment of the self—its possessions and attributes—is largely a comparative process. When an individual perceives himself or herself to have a certain characteristic, such as athleticism or intelligence, it is because he or she is comparing himself or herself to a clear reference group. For someone to draw any conclusion about his or her personal identity, such as "I am athletic" or "I am intelligent," he or she requires a normative template to serve as a comparative standard. A clearly defined collective identity, complete with a clear definition of the values, traits, ideological positions, shared behavior, experiences, and history that are associated with one's group, can serve as such a template (Hammack, 2008; Taylor, 1997, 2002; Terry & Hogg, 1996).

Corroborating evidence for Taylor's (1997, 2002) theory and the relationship between collective and personal identity clarity comes from research examining the role of clear groups in reducing personal uncertainty. Hogg and his collaborators have shown that people identify with groups in part to reduce subjective personal uncertainty. Hogg, Sherman, Dierselhuis, Maitner, and Moffitt (2007) found that individuals prefer to identify with groups that are clearly defined. People ideally turn to a group that provides clearly focused and consensual prototypes that are best suited to uncertainty reduction (Jetten, Hogg, & Mullin, 2000).

In this sense, collective identity clarity might be associated with self-esteem and psychological well-being through its clarification of personal identity (Taylor, 1997, 2002). A clear group-based identity is theorized to be associated with having a clearly defined personal identity, which in turn is related to self-esteem and well-being (e.g., Campbell et al., 1996). This theoretical model is depicted in Figure 1 and is used to guide our empirical investigations.

Cultural Identity Clarity

In the present research, we have chosen to examine cultural identity as one of an individual's important collective identities. This chosen focus does not mean that people have only this one collective identity, that it is the most important for
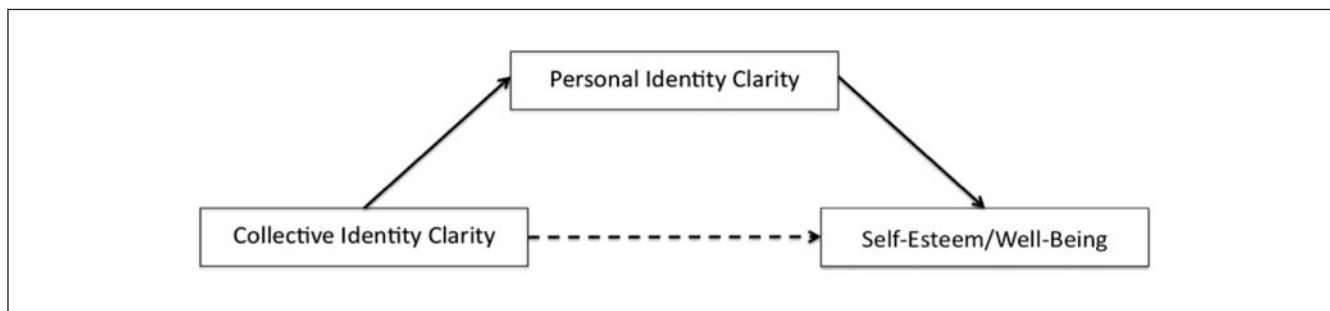
Figure 1. Schematic representation of the theoretical association among collective identity clarity, personal identity clarity, and self-esteem and well-being

an individual at all times, or that an individual's various collective identities exist in isolation from each other. However, cultural identity is thought, especially in today's increasingly multicultural social environments, to be one of an individual's important and pervasive collective identities (Schwartz, Zamboanga, & Weisskirch, 2008). Cultural and cross-cultural psychologists have highlighted the power of cultural identity by demonstrating that it can affect the very nature of one's self-construal and affect an array of psychological processes (see Kitayama & Cohen, 2007).

It is important to note, however, that the concept of cultural identity is at the center of much theoretical and intellectual debate (see Gjerde, 2004; Okazaki, David, & Abelmann, 2008). Theorists and researchers are increasingly calling for a conceptualization of cultural identity that is dynamic, shifting, and historically embedded rather than one that is static, decontextualized, and essentialist (e.g., Adams & Markus, 2001; Hermans, 2001; Okazaki et al., 2008). This view of cultural identity is in contrast to the approach of many cultural and cross-cultural psychologists who often seek to empirically explore a more static, reified version of cultural identity. Like cultural and cross-cultural psychologists, we seek to empirically examine cultural identity, defined as identification with a particular cultural group. However, it is not our intent to limit cultural identity to a static, reified, or essential entity that is "out there to be discovered" (Gjerde, 2004, p. 138). We argue that having a clear cultural identity does not require this cultural identity to be in any way accurate, unchanging, or simple. For the present research, we posit that it is an *individual's perception* of the clarity of his or her cultural identity that is important for personal identity clarity and both self-esteem and well-being. A clear personal identity is experienced as a coherent whole, composed of diverse elements that are linked together into a meaningful story (McAdams, 2001). Similarly, a clear cultural identity represents a coherent narrative, a clear subjective knowledge and understanding of a group's values, norms, and characteristics, no matter how complex these shared elements might be. Someone with a clear cultural identity would intuitively know the values, norms, and behaviors endorsed by his or

her cultural group and could rely on these when engaged in the construction of a clearly defined personal identity.

A concrete example of this process is found in a recent article by McAdams (2006). He posits that the personal identities of highly generative Americans, examined through their life stories, were shaped by social and cultural forces. He argues that these individuals' life stories, and by extension their personal identities, reflect much more than an individual's own efforts to make sense of his or her life. They actually reflect the social norms, gender stereotypes, historical events, and cultural assumptions stemming from his or her social world (McAdams, 2006). A clear cultural identity can act as the psychological basis on which a personal identity is constructed (Adams & Markus, 2001; Hammack, 2008; Schwartz et al., 2008).

Taylor (1997, 2002) argues that without a clear cultural identity, there might be no clear, available reference group and thus no comparative mechanism by which an individual can even construct a coherent sense of personal identity and by extension experience positive self-esteem and well-being. A real-world example comes from the experience of Aboriginal peoples in North America. Aboriginal people have had the traditional behavioral norms and values of their culture decimated through colonization (Frideres, 1998). At the same time, they have had the new norms and values of the European colonial culture rapidly imposed on them in a decontextualized and unclear manner (Chandler & Lalonde, 1998; Taylor, 2002). Thus, many Aboriginal people are left struggling with a bewildering and conflicting set of principles, a feeling of normlessness, with which they must construct a clearly defined personal identity (Taylor, 1997, 2002).

On the surface, cultural identity clarity appears similar to Benet-Martinez's concept of bicultural identity integration (BII). BII is defined as the extent to which a person perceives his or her cultural identities as compatible versus oppositional (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005). In contrast, cultural identity clarity refers to the perceived clarity of the actual information or knowledge arising from one's cultural identity or identities. Benet-Martinez's research links the experiences of bicultural individuals to cognitive and well-being

antecedents and outcomes (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005). The present research seeks to explore a more specific pathway from cultural identity clarity, to personal identity clarity, and on to both self-esteem and well-being among individuals facing an array of cultural identity concerns.

Present Research

Drawing on Campbell's (1990) definition of self-concept clarity, we have operationalized cultural identity clarity as the extent to which beliefs about one's cultural group are perceived to be clearly and confidently defined. We measure cultural identity clarity using an adapted version of Campbell et al.'s (1996) Self-Concept Clarity Scale. Although cultural identity is a broad, multifaceted construct that can be measured in many ways, for this first attempt we have relied on past research directly pertaining to self-clarity.

In addition, we have operationalized personal identity clarity as Campbell's (1990) definition of self-concept clarity and measured personal identity clarity using the original 12-item version of Campbell et al.'s (1996) Self-Concept Clarity Scale. We examine both self-esteem and subjective well-being as outcome variables indicative of psychological adjustment. Self-esteem is included as a dependent variable across all studies given its established association with personal identity clarity (Campbell, 1990; Stinson et al., 2008). In later studies we add markers of subjective well-being, such as positive and negative affect and life satisfaction, and test our model for these well-being outcomes.

Across all studies, and for all cultural groups under investigation, we had two main hypotheses. Hypothesis 1 was that there would be positive relationships among cultural identity clarity, personal identity clarity, self-esteem, and well-being. Consistent with the theorizing of Taylor (1997, 2002) and Hogg (see Hogg et al., 2007), we expected that having clear and confident beliefs about one's cultural group would be associated with having a clear knowledge of who one is personally. We also expected that the established relationship between identity clarity and both self-esteem and well-being (e.g., Campbell et al., 1996) would extend to a cultural identity level of self-definition such that having a clearly defined cultural identity would also be associated with one's personal experiences of self-esteem and psychological well-being.

Hypothesis 2 was that the relationship between cultural identity clarity and both self-esteem and well-being would be mediated by personal identity clarity. Consistent with our theoretical model, we expected that having a clear cultural identity would be predictive of having a clear personal identity, which in turn would predict self-esteem and markers of psychological well-being.

Study 1

The goal of Study 1 was to test, for the first time, our Cultural Identity Clarity Scale and to examine its relationship to Campbell et al.'s (1996) Self-Concept Clarity Scale as well as to the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale. Because Study 1 represented a preliminary investigation, we did not seek to use the scale with any particular cultural group but instead administered it to a cross-section of culturally diverse Canadian undergraduate students who were asked to refer to the cultural group to which they felt they belonged when filling out the scale. We also assessed participants' Big Five personality traits, as these, especially neuroticism, are known associates of self-concept clarity and self-esteem (Campbell et al., 1996).

Method

Participants. A total of 141 undergraduate students at a Canadian university in a large urban center (34 men, 106 women, and one who did not indicate his or her gender) participated in the study. Six participants were deleted from the analysis as their self-esteem scores were more than two standard deviations below the mean and fell outside the normal distribution. Data from 135 participants (32 men, 102 women, and one who did not indicate his or her gender) were analyzed.

Materials and procedure. Participants were asked to complete a survey comprising the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965; α = .91), the Self-Concept Clarity Scale (Campbell et al., 1996; α = .88), the Ten Item Personality Inventory (Gosling, Rentfrow, & Swann, 2003), and our eight-item Cultural Identity Clarity Scale, adapted from Campbell et al.'s (1996) Self-Concept Clarity Scale and designed to measure clarity at the level of the participant's cultural group. Participants were asked to consider their membership in their own cultural group and respond to statements on the basis of how they feel about this group (see the appendix for the full scale). Cronbach's alpha for the Cultural Identity Clarity Scale was .86, indicating good reliability.

Results and Discussion

Descriptives and scale intercorrelations. Descriptive information is shown in Table 1. Consistent with Hypothesis 1, cultural identity clarity was found to be significantly and positively related to self-esteem and self-concept clarity. The Self-Concept Clarity Scale and the Cultural Identity Clarity Scale were significantly related ($r = .28$, $p < .001$); however, they do not appear to be measuring the exact same construct, as their intercorrelation was not high. Furthermore, the Big Five personality traits were, for the most part, significantly correlated with both self-concept clarity and self-esteem; however, they were not significantly correlated with cultural identity clarity.

Mediation model. To test our predicted mediation model, we conducted regression analyses examining if cultural identity clarity predicted self-esteem when our proposed mediator variable, self-concept clarity, was included in the analysis. Cultural identity clarity significantly predicted self-concept clarity ($a = .28$, $p < .001$) and self-esteem ($c = .18$,

Table 1. Descriptive Data for Study 1: Bivariate Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	M	SD
1. Cultural identity clarity	—	.28**	.18*	.06	.15	.06	.10	−.09	6.02	1.83
2. Self-concept clarity		—	.55**	.27**	.26**	.20*	.31**	.11	3.03	0.72
3. Self-esteem			—	.36**	.28**	.24**	.41**	.29**	5.43	0.89
4. Extraversion				—	.08	.07	.12	.30**	4.61	1.42
5. Agreeableness					—	.06	.36**	.15	4.88	1.15
6. Conscientiousness						—	.08	.10	5.08	1.38
7. Emotional stability							—	.04	4.58	1.46
8. Openness								—	5.80	1.04

Note: $N = 135$. Mean scores were computed on a 10-point scale for cultural identity clarity, on a 5-point scale for self-concept clarity, and on 7-point scales for self-esteem and the Big 5 personality traits.
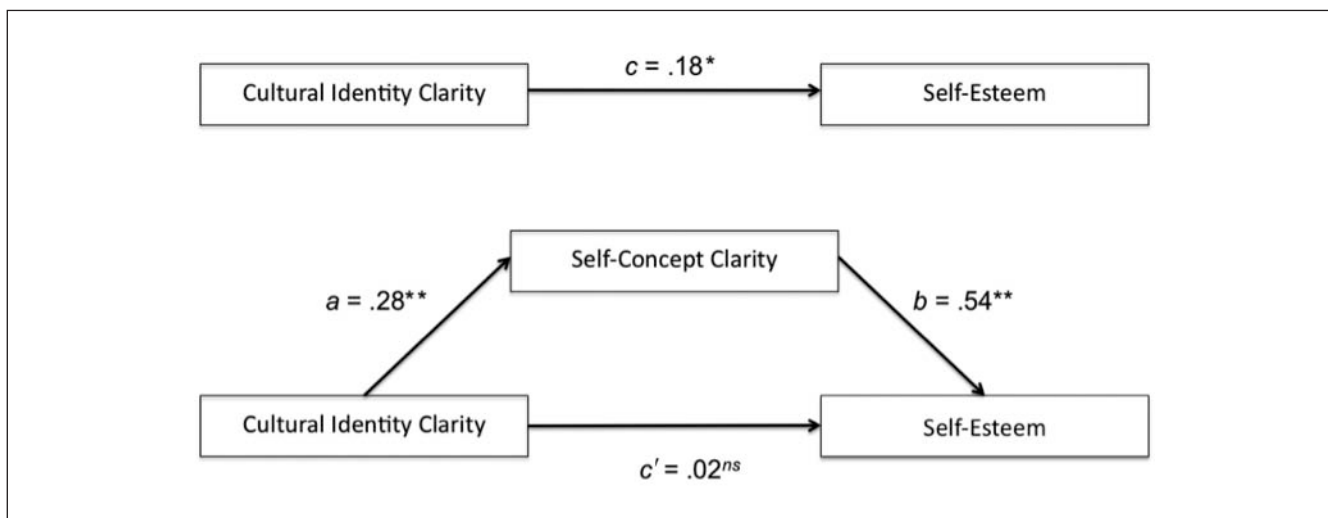*$p < .05$. **$p < .001$.

Figure 2. The indirect association between cultural identity clarity and self-esteem
Note: a, b, c = standardized coefficients (βs). *$p < .05$; **$p < .001$

$p < .05$) when it was the only predictor. However, when self-concept clarity was tested as a mediator, the direct effect of cultural identity clarity on self-esteem disappeared ($c' = .02$, *ns*), and self-concept clarity significantly predicted self-esteem ($b = .54$, $p < .001$). We conducted a Sobel test and ran bootstrapping procedures with 5,000 samples (Preacher & Hayes, 2004) to test the significance of the indirect effect of cultural identity clarity on self-esteem through self-concept clarity. Consistent with Hypothesis 2, self-concept clarity significantly mediated the relationship between cultural identity clarity and self-esteem ($z = 3.03$, $p < .05$; bootstrapping point estimate of .0752 with a 95% bias corrected and accelerated confidence interval [BCa CI] of .0270 to .1258). Figure 2 illustrates this model. We ran the same analyses controlling for gender and controlling for each of the Big Five personality traits. The indirect effect of cultural identity clarity on self-esteem through self-concept clarity remained highly significant.

To have more confidence in our results, we reversed cultural identity clarity and self-concept clarity in the model and tested whether cultural identity clarity would mediate the relationship between self-concept clarity and self-esteem. Support for this alternative model would point to a pathway between variables that is inconsistent with our theoretical predictions—one that would have personal identity clarity shaping cultural identity clarity. We found that cultural identity clarity did not significantly mediate the relationship between self-concept clarity and self-esteem ($z = 0.30$, *ns*; bootstrapping point estimate of .0077 with a 95% BCa CI of −.0418 to .0582), meaning that this alternative model was unsuccessful.[1]

Discussion

From this preliminary investigation, we found support for our two main hypotheses: Cultural identity clarity was positively

related to both self-concept clarity and self-esteem, and self-concept clarity mediated the relationship between cultural identity clarity and self-esteem. However, in Study 1, cultural identity clarity was measured in a very general fashion and may have taken many and varied forms. Because we were sampling a student population in a large urban center, there could have been any number of cultural identities to which participants were referring when responding to the questionnaire.

The next step was to examine the relationships among the variables in the context of a specific cultural group, a group whose members would have the shared experience of the one cultural identity under investigation. We investigated if the clarity of a particular cultural identity, and not some more generalized experience of culture, would be related to our variables of interest. In the two studies that follow, participants were self-identified members of particular cultural groups—Anglophone Quebecers (Study 2) and Francophone Québécois (Study 3). In these studies, we also compared our new construct of cultural identity clarity with other potentially related constructs, namely, social identification and feelings of normlessness.

Study 2

Study 2 was conducted with Anglophone Quebecers, a distinct linguistic and cultural minority group in the province of Quebec. The Francophone and Anglophone identities are difficult to escape for anyone living in Quebec, rendering them ascribed and unchanging (Bougie, 2005). Anglophones have historically been the elite minority in Quebec; however, with the growth of Francophone nationalism in the 1960s, the intergroup power distribution has to some extent reversed, leaving Anglophone Quebecers feeling increasingly threatened (Bourhis, 1994). The intergroup history between Anglophones and Francophones has most notably been marked by two provincial referendums where Quebecers voted on whether or not Francophone Québécois would secede from Anglophone Canada. Anglophone Quebecer participants would have therefore internalized a unique cultural identity made up of shared experiences, group-level traits, ideological positions, behaviors, and history associated with this identity.

In Study 2, we added a supplemental measure of self-esteem, a shortened version of the Janis–Field Feelings of Inadequacy Scale (Skolnick & Shaw, 1970). This scale is a more specific measure of self-esteem than the Rosenberg in that it focuses on the self in actual social situations rather than on more generalized feelings about the self. We also sought to understand the relationship of the Cultural Identity Clarity Scale to other potentially related constructs. By exploring the relationship of our Cultural Identity Clarity Scale to a social identification scale and to a normlessness scale, we hoped to obtain a more specific indication of the parameters of cultural identity clarity.

Method

Participants. A total of 116 self-identified Anglophone Quebecer undergraduate students (33 men, 82 women, and 1 who did not indicate his or her gender) participated in Study 2. They were all native English speakers and had lived in the province of Quebec all of their lives or for at least 15 years.

Materials and procedure. Participants completed a survey comprising the Self-Concept Clarity Scale ($\alpha = .90$), the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale ($\alpha = .89$), 10 items from the original Janis–Field Feelings of Inadequacy Scale (Skolnick & Shaw, 1970; $\alpha = .80$), and the Normlessness Scale (Dean, 1961; $\alpha = .73$). The Normlessness Scale measured the extent to which participants felt that they lacked a set of clear norms to guide their values and behavior and included questions such as, "Everything is relative, and there just aren't any definite rules to live by" and "With so many ways of life going around, one doesn't really know which to adopt." Participants also completed our Cultural Identity Clarity Scale ($\alpha = .84$) and a Social Identity Scale (Porter, 1995; $\alpha = .84$), both in reference to their identity as an Anglophone Quebecer. The Social Identity Scale was used to measure the extent to which participants identified with the Anglophone Quebecer identity and included items such as, "I feel connected with Anglophone Quebecers as a group" and "Compared to my other identities, my identity as an Anglophone Quebecer is central to who I am."

Results and Discussion

Descriptives and scale intercorrelations. Descriptive information is shown in Table 2. The relationships among cultural identity clarity, self-concept clarity, and the two self-esteem scales were positive and significant, lending support to Hypothesis 1. Furthermore, there was no relationship between cultural identity clarity and social identification, but there was a significant negative relationship between normlessness and cultural identity clarity.

Mediation model. We found that cultural identity clarity significantly predicted self-concept clarity ($\beta = .42$, $p < .001$) and self-esteem (Rosenberg; $\beta = .21$, $p < .05$) when it was the only predictor. When self-concept clarity was tested as a mediator, the direct effect of cultural identity clarity on self-esteem disappeared ($\beta = -.12$, *ns*) and self-concept clarity significantly predicted self-esteem ($\beta = .70$, $p < .001$). The Sobel test indicated that the indirect effect of cultural identity clarity on self-esteem via self-concept clarity was significant ($z = 4.36$, $p < .001$), as did bootstrapping analysis (point estimate of .1951 with a 95% BCa CI of .1107 to .2816), providing evidence for mediation.

The same relationship was obtained when the Janis–Field scale was used as the outcome variable. When self-concept clarity was added to the model as a mediator, the direct effect of cultural identity clarity on self-esteem (Janis–Field)

Table 2. Descriptive Data for Anglophone Quebecers (Study 2): Bivariate Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations

	1	2	3	4	5	6	M	SD
1. Cultural identity clarity	—	.42**	.21*	.28**	−.06	−.28**	6.92	1.54
2. Self-concept clarity		—	.67**	.52**	−.08	−.55**	3.26	0.78
3. Self-esteem (Rosenberg)			—	.66**	−.07	−.36**	3.37	0.60
4. Self-esteem (Janis–Field)				—	−.06	−.32**	5.49	1.01
5. Social Identification					—	.18*	5.71	1.44
6. Normlessness						—	5.05	1.68

Note: $N = 116$. Mean scores computed on 10-point scales for cultural identity clarity, social identification, and normlessness, on 5-point scales for self-concept clarity and Janis–Field self-esteem, and on a 7-point scale for Rosenberg self-esteem.
*$p < .05$. **$p < .001$.

disappeared ($\beta = .07$, *ns*), and self-concept clarity significantly predicted self-esteem ($\beta = .49$, $p < .001$). The indirect association between cultural identity clarity and self-esteem (Janis–Field) was significant using the Sobel test ($z = 3.67$, $p < .001$) and bootstrapping (bootstrapping point estimate of .0890 with a 95% BCa CI of .0425 to .1251).

Discussion

Variation in the perceived clarity of a single, specific cultural identity predicted personal identity clarity, which in turn predicted scores on two different self-esteem scales. In addition, participants who identified more with being an Anglophone Quebecer did not necessarily experience more clarity in this identity, indicating that our measure of cultural identity clarity is not a proxy for social identification. Having a clear and confident perception of one's culture appears to be different from feeling connected to this culture. On the surface, these results might appear to run counter to Hogg's uncertainty-identity theory (e.g., Hogg et al., 2007) in that they do not support his proposition that under conditions of uncertainty individuals are more likely to identify with groups. On closer examination, however, our results demonstrate that cultural identity clarity might be distinct from generalized feelings of uncertainty. The cultural identity clarity concept, a concept referring specifically to an individual's experience of his or her cultural identity, might thus be viewed as contributing orthogonally to Hogg's work. Here, cultural identity clarity predicts both self-concept clarity and self-esteem but is not associated with a greater level of identification. Furthermore, the nonsignificance of the relationship between identification and cultural identity clarity lends support to our other reported correlational results. It is not simply that participants are endorsing all of our self-report measures, leading to significant positive correlations. Instead, it appears that they are completing our scale responses based on genuine feelings related to their experiences of both their cultural and personal identities.

Finally, there was a significant negative relationship between cultural identity clarity and normlessness, lending support to the theoretical position that an unclear cultural identity is associated with having no normative template on which to rely (Taylor, 1997, 2002). It appears that having a clear and confident perception of one's culture means also experiencing a more clearly defined, guiding normative framework.

To further verify the obtained relationships, these findings needed to be replicated among members of a different linguistic and cultural group. A replication of our results would indicate that it is not something that is particular to the Anglophone Quebecer identity that is creating the results but is instead a more general phenomenon. We also sought to extend our findings beyond self-esteem and to explore the relationship between clarity and dependent variables indicative of subjective well-being.

Study 3

In Study 3, we tested the hypothesized relationships among cultural identity clarity, self-concept clarity, and both self-esteem and well-being with Francophone Québécois. All materials used in Study 3 were in French, extending our scales to a different linguistic milieu and ensuring that participants completed the questionnaires in the language associated with their cultural identity.

Method

Participants. A total of 89 Francophone Québécois (64 women, 23 men, and 2 who did not specify their gender) participated in the study. They were all self-identified Francophone Québécois with a mean age of 21.38 ($SD = 2.90$) years old. They had all lived in Quebec all of their lives or for at least 15 years.

Materials and procedure. Participants completed a survey including the validated French translation of the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Vallières & Vallerand, 1990; $\alpha = .86$). They also completed French versions of the Cultural Identity Clarity Scale ($\alpha = .82$), the Self-Concept Clarity questionnaire ($\alpha = .73$), the Social Identity Scale ($\alpha = .93$), the

Table 3. Descriptive Data for Francophone Québécois (Study 3): Bivariate Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	M	SD
1. Cultural identity clarity	—	.49**	.24*	.07	−.21*	.16	−.24*	6.39	1.59
2. Self-concept clarity		—	.68**	.34*	−.54**	−.01	−.50**	6.04	2.34
3. Self-esteem			—	.52**	−.63**	.03	−.33**	3.42	0.50
4. Positive affect				—	−.34**	−.03	−.08	6.78	1.51
5. Negative affect					—	.07	.38**	4.21	1.73
6. Social identification						—	.04	6.05	1.98
7. Normlessness							—	5.46	1.82

Note: $N = 89$. Mean scores computed on 10-point scales for all scales except for self-esteem, computed on a 4-point scale.
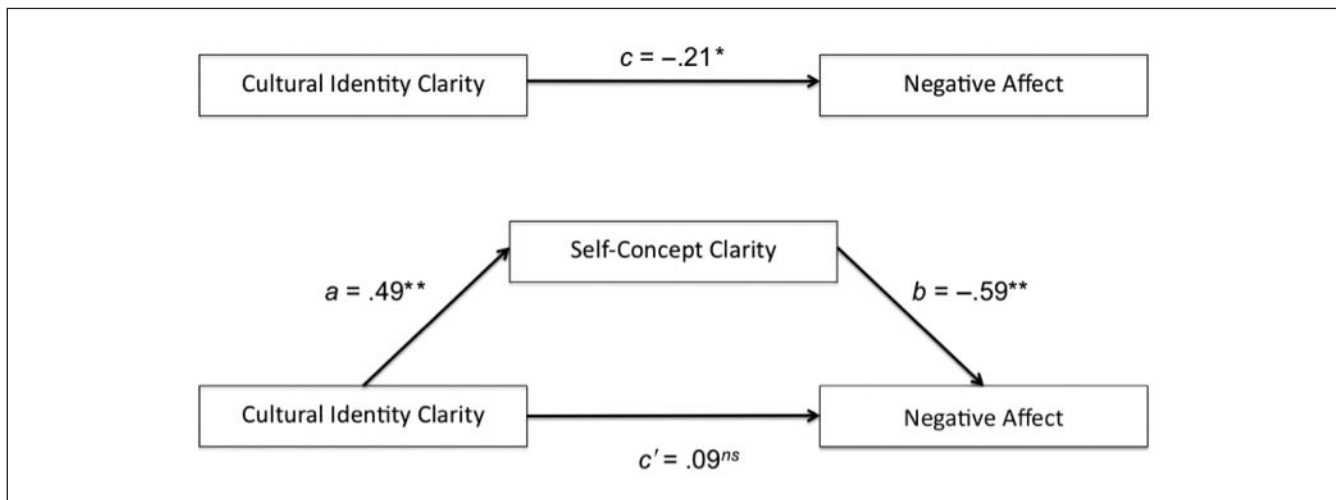*$p < .05$. **$p < .001$.

Figure 3. The indirect association between cultural identity clarity and negative affect among Francophone Québécois
Note: a, b, c = standardized coefficients (βs). *$p < .05$; **$p < .001$

Normlessness Scale ($\alpha = .70$), and the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988). Cronbach's alpha for positive affect was .86, and for negative affect it was .85. All the scales were translated into French and then back translated to ensure their validity in a second language.

Results and Discussion

Descriptives and scale intercorrelations. Descriptive information is presented in Table 3. The intercorrelations among the scales were found to replicate the relationships observed in Study 2. Cultural identity clarity was positively and significantly related to both self-esteem and self-concept clarity. Negative affect was negatively related to cultural identity clarity and self-concept clarity; however, positive affect was unrelated to cultural identity clarity. In addition, the relationships obtained in Study 2 among normlessness, social identification, clarity, and self-esteem were replicated here.

Mediation model. We found that cultural identity clarity significantly predicted self-concept clarity ($\beta = .49, p < .001$)

and self-esteem ($\beta = .24, p < .05$) when it was the only predictor. When self-concept clarity was tested as a mediator, the direct effect of cultural identity clarity on self-esteem disappeared ($\beta = −.14, ns$), and self-concept clarity significantly predicted self-esteem ($\beta = .75, p < .001$). The Sobel test indicated that the indirect effect of cultural identity clarity on self-esteem via self-concept clarity was significant ($z = 4.48, p < .001$), as did a bootstrapping analysis (point estimate of .1183, 95% BCa CI of .0653 to .1851), providing evidence for mediation.

Next, we tested our prediction that self-concept clarity would also mediate the relationship between cultural identity clarity and negative affect. As seen in Figure 3, cultural identity clarity significantly predicted self-concept clarity ($a = .49, p < .001$) and negative affect ($c = −.21, p < .05$) when it was the only predictor. When self-concept clarity was tested as the mediator, the direct effect of cultural identity clarity on negative affect disappeared ($c' = .09, ns$) and self-concept clarity significantly predicted negative affect ($b = −.59, p < .001$). The Sobel test indicated that the indirect effect of cultural identity clarity on negative affect via

self-concept clarity was significant ($z = 3.85$, $p < .001$; bootstrapping point estimate of $-.3228$ with a 95% BCa CI of $-.4976$ to $-.1782$).

Discussion

In Study 3, our hypotheses were supported among members of a different, and indeed competitive, linguistic and cultural group. The only finding that was inconsistent with our predictions was that no relationship was found between cultural identity clarity and positive affect. Although we are uncertain as to why this was the case, we wonder if it might be because of the specific correlates of the Positive and Negative Affect scales of the PANAS (see Watson et al., 1988). Our results are reminiscent of those of Campbell et al. (1996), who found that their Self-Concept Clarity Scale was consistently correlated with negative but not positive affect from the PANAS.

Nonetheless, the relationship among cultural identity clarity, self-concept clarity, and self-esteem has now been replicated twice with individuals belonging to two competing cultural groups, and has been generalized to a different linguistic context. In addition, this relationship has been extended to include one indicator of subjective well-being—the absence of negative affect. The next step was then to examine our model with individuals who identify with a cultural group that may not necessarily provide them with a straightforward, single cultural identity.

Study 4

A body of cross-cultural research has shown that individuals from Western cultures and individuals from Eastern cultures differ in terms of various psychological processes (see Kitayama & Cohen, 2007) and in terms of reasoning about their social world (e.g., Ji, Nisbett, & Su, 2001). Although research has indicated a variety of successful techniques for integrating competing cultural identities (e.g., LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993), bicultural identities, in particular those made up of both Eastern and Western cultural identities, remain complex (see Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005) and thus particularly interesting to examine in the context of our present focus on cultural identity clarity.

In Study 4, we tested our model among a group of self-identified Chinese Canadians and Chinese Americans. Finding support for our model among individuals who are negotiating two different cultural identities would represent more compelling evidence for the importance of clarity in one's global experience of cultural identity. A Chinese North American identity that is perceived by the individual as clearly defined could potentially act as a valuable guiding framework for an individual who is living in two cultures and thus could be associated with a clear personal identity and personal self-esteem and well-being.

Table 4. Descriptive Data for Chinese North Americans (Study 4): Bivariate Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations

	1	2	3	4	M	SD
1. Cultural identity clarity	—	.60**	.41**	.23*	6.67	1.65
2. Self-concept clarity		—	.59**	.31**	3.17	0.83
3. Self-esteem (Rosenberg)			—	.51**	5.29	1.18
4. Life satisfaction				—	4.58	1.25

Note: $N = 130$. Mean scores computed on a 10-point scale for cultural identity clarity, on a 5-point scale for self-concept clarity, and on 7-point scales for self-esteem and life satisfaction.
*$p < .05$. **$p < .001$.

Method

Participants. A total of 130 self-identified Chinese North Americans (30 men, 97 women, and 3 who did not indicate their gender) participated in Study 4. They were all undergraduate students at a large urban university and were recruited through advertisements sent to members of the Chinese Student Society and posted on campus classifieds that called for the participation of Chinese Canadians or Americans. All participants were fluent in English.

Materials and procedure. Participants completed a survey including English versions of the Cultural Identity Clarity Scale ($\alpha = .84$), the Self-Concept Clarity Scale ($\alpha = .90$), and the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale ($\alpha = .91$). Participants completed the Cultural Identity Clarity Scale in reference to their identity as a Chinese North American. Participants also completed the Satisfaction With Life Scale (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, Griffin, 1985; $\alpha = .84$). The PANAS was not included in the present study.

Results and Discussion

Descriptives and scale intercorrelations. Descriptive statistics are presented in Table 4. Cultural identity clarity was positively and significantly related to self-esteem, to life satisfaction, and to self-concept clarity. It is interesting to note here that the correlation between cultural identity clarity and self-concept clarity was higher for Chinese North Americans ($r = .60$, $p < .001$) than it was in Studies 1 through 3 ($rs = .28$, $.42$, and $.49$, respectively), indicating that these two constructs might be more closely related for Chinese North Americans than they are for the previous cultural groups under investigation. A salient or visible cultural identity is perhaps more closely linked to the experience of one's personal identity.

Mediation model. We found that cultural identity clarity significantly predicted self-concept clarity ($\beta = .60$, $p < .001$) and self-esteem ($\beta = .41$, $p < .001$) when it was the only predictor. When self-concept clarity was tested as a mediator, the direct effect of cultural identity clarity on self-esteem disappeared ($\beta = .09$, *ns*) and self-concept clarity significantly
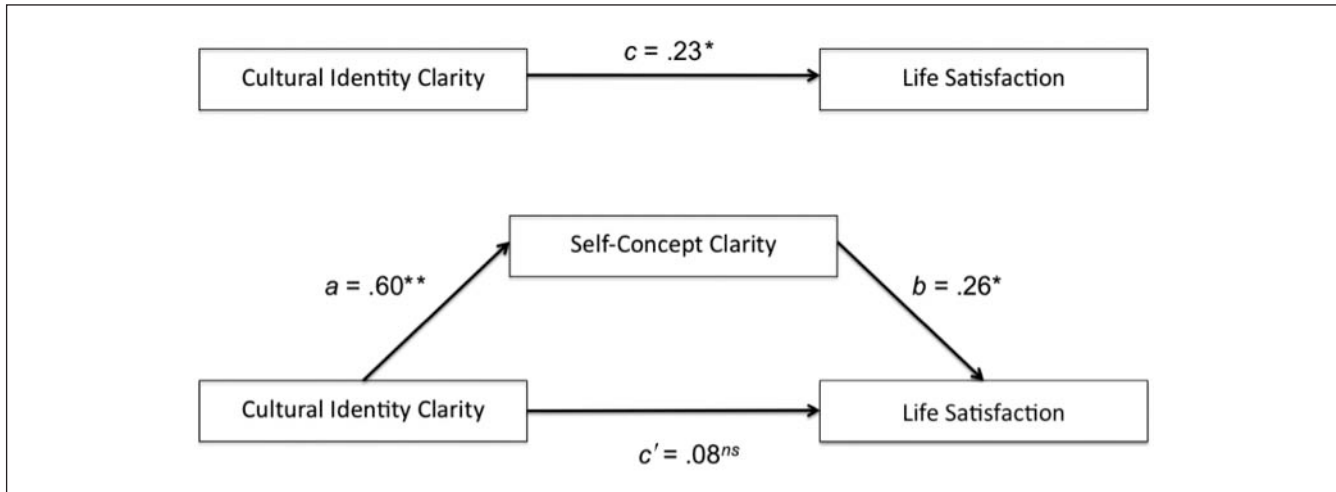
Figure 4. The indirect association between cultural identity clarity and life satisfaction among Chinese North Americans
Note: *a, b, c* = standardized coefficients (βs). *$p < .05$; **$p < .001$

predicted self-esteem ($\beta = .54$, $p < .001$). The Sobel test indicated that the indirect effect of cultural identity clarity on self-esteem via self-concept clarity was significant ($z = 4.86$, $p < .001$), as did bootstrapping analysis (point estimate of .2291 with a 95% BCa CI of .1503 to .3279), providing evidence for mediation.

We went on to investigate our prediction that self-concept clarity would mediate the relationship between cultural identity clarity and life satisfaction. As seen in Figure 4, cultural identity clarity significantly predicted self-concept clarity ($a = .60$, $p < .001$) and life satisfaction ($c = .23$, $p < .01$) when it was the only predictor. When self-concept clarity was introduced to the model as a mediator, the direct effect of cultural identity clarity on life satisfaction disappeared ($c' = .08$, *ns*), and self-concept clarity significantly predicted life satisfaction ($b = .26$, $p < .05$). The Sobel test indicated that the indirect effect of cultural identity clarity on life satisfaction via self-concept clarity was significant ($z = 2.35$, $p < .05$; bootstrapping point estimate of .1185 with a 95% BCa CI of .0340 to .2151).

Discussion

Cultural identity clarity predicted personal identity clarity, which in turn predicted self-esteem and life-satisfaction among Chinese North Americans. The perceived clarity of a combined Chinese North American identity might be important for the psychological adjustment of those negotiating Eastern and Western cultures simultaneously. These findings are consistent with past research on cultural identity integration. Such research demonstrates a positive relationship between having well-integrated collective or cultural identities and well-being (e.g., Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005). The current study expands on this past research by suggesting that for individuals who are successfully juggling two or

more cultural identities, personal identity clarity might be the mechanism through which well-being is arrived at.

Beyond the negotiation of conflicting cultural identities, we now turn to a group thought to be experiencing even greater cultural identity challenges. In Study 5, we investigate cultural identity clarity among a group of Aboriginal people who are negotiating a devalued heritage culture and an imposed, and at times confusing and unclear, culture of their European colonizer (see Frideres, 1998). Finding support for our theoretical model among Aboriginal people would extend our results to a particularly interesting group facing complicated cultural identity concerns and some well-being challenges.

Study 5

Not only was Aboriginal culture decimated during colonization (Frideres, 1998), but equally devastating was that Aboriginal people had no clear portrait of the imposed European culture. Although the visible aspects of European culture overwhelmed them, they were never exposed to the fundamental values that lay at the core of European culture (Taylor, 2002). Aboriginal peoples are thus currently negotiating a powerful colonizing culture at the same time as they are trying to uphold the values of their own historically oppressed culture. Consequently, they are left struggling with a bewildering set of principles with which they must construct an identity, potentially giving rise to negative well-being effects such as academic underachievement, low self-esteem, addictive behaviors, and even suicide (see Chandler & Lalonde, 1998; Taylor, 2002). An investigation into the cultural identity and well-being issues experienced by groups emerging from a history of colonization has recently been argued to be a particularly important research avenue (see Okazaki et al., 2008).

In Study 5, the associations among cultural identity clarity, personal identity clarity, and general feelings of positivity were tested among members of the Yellowknives Dene First Nation from the Northwest Territories, Canada. The research was conducted in the town of Yellowknife and in surrounding, primarily Dene communities. Yellowknife is the remote capital of the Northwest Territories, situated in northern Canada, approximately 400 km south of the Arctic Circle.

Method

Participants. A total of 76 members of the Yellowknives Dene First Nation (56 women and 20 men) participated in the present research. Participants represented a wide range of ages, with 20 participants between 18 and 25 years of age, 15 participants between 26 and 34 years of age, 20 participants between 35 and 44 years of age, 13 participants between 45 and 54 years of age, and finally 8 participants between 55 and 64 years of age. All participants were fluent in English. Participants were recruited through advertisements in local newspapers and by researchers going door to door in small, primarily Dene areas. Two participants were deleted from the analysis because of missing data on all of the scales. From our experiences working in Aboriginal communities, we expected that the participants in Study 5 would likely have had little experience with paper and pencil questionnaires and scale responses. The study materials were thus designed to be very brief, simple, and straightforward so as to be easily understood by all the participants.

Materials and procedure. Participants completed a short paper and pencil questionnaire in English. If they indicated that they needed help with the questionnaire, the researcher was available to answer any questions. All participants first had to indicate to which group they felt connected to ensure that they identified as an Aboriginal (Dene) person. They were then asked to refer to this Dene identity when responding to our cultural identity clarity items. The questionnaire was made up of shortened and simplified versions of the questionnaires used in the previous studies, composing three questions derived from our Cultural Identity Clarity Scale, four questions derived from the Self-Concept Clarity Scale (Campbell et al., 1996), five questions from the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale, and a mood scale asking participants how often in the past week they felt *depressed*, *confident*, *tired*, *hopeful*, *worried*, and *happy*. This scale was previously used to test the subjective well-being of a group of urban street youth (Usborne, Lydon, & Taylor, 2009). All answers were given on 10-point Likert-type scales. Questions from the Self-Esteem Scale and the mood scales were combined, providing an overall index of positivity (Cronbach's alpha = .80). The modified Self-Concept Clarity Scale also had adequate reliability (α = .67); however, the reliability of the modified Cultural Identity Clarity Scale was much lower (α = .32). Given that the three items that made up this scale, "I spend a lot of time wondering

Table 5. Descriptive Data for Members of the Yellowknives Dene First Nation (Study 5): Bivariate Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations

	1	2	3	M	SD
1. Cultural identity clarity	—	.36**	.21†	6.86	1.75
2. Self-concept clarity		—	.67**	6.73	1.85
3. Positivity			—	7.34	1.33

Note: *N* = 74. All mean scores computed on 10-point scales.
†*p* < .10 **p* < .05. ***p* < .001.

what my [Dene] cultural group really stands for" (reverse coded), "Sometimes I think I know other cultural groups better than I know my own [Dene] group" (reverse coded), and "In general, I have a clear sense of what my [Dene] group is," had been successfully used in other studies, we decided to nonetheless use a composite of these items to measure cultural identity clarity. Participants were also asked to provide their gender and to circle their age range.

Results and Discussion

Descriptives and scale intercorrelations. Descriptive statistics are presented in Table 5. In support of Hypothesis 1, the relationship between cultural identity clarity and self-concept clarity was significant and the relationship between cultural identity clarity and positivity was marginally significant. This marginally significant result may have been because of the low internal reliability of our cultural identity clarity measure and the smaller sample size of Study 5 compared to the other studies.

Mediation model. Replicating our results from previous studies, we found that cultural identity clarity significantly predicted self-concept clarity (β = .36, *p* < .001) and was a marginally significant predictor of positivity (β = .21, *p* = .07) when it was the only predictor. Even though the relationship between cultural identity clarity and positivity was only marginally significant, the mediational pathway was still tested. Analysts argue that the initial relationship between the independent variable and the dependent variable does not have to be significant to test for mediation (see Kenny, Kashy, & Bolger, 1998).

When self-concept clarity was tested as a mediator, the direct effect of cultural identity clarity on self-esteem disappeared (β = .02, *ns*) and self-concept clarity significantly predicted self-esteem (β = .65, *p* < .001). The Sobel test indicated that the indirect effect of cultural identity clarity on self-esteem via self-concept clarity was significant (z = 2.90, *p* < .05; bootstrapping point estimate of .1718 with a 95% BCa CI of .0452 to .3053), providing evidence for mediation. The same relationship was obtained when controlling for the age of participants and for their gender.

Discussion

Here, a clear Dene identity was found to be associated with clearly knowing the personal self, which in turn was related to positive feelings about oneself and one's life. These findings are consistent with those of Chandler and Lalonde (1998), who point to the importance of reclaiming a strong and clearly defined cultural identity for Aboriginal groups. Campbell et al. (2003) posit that a lack of cultural continuity leads to a loss of personal continuity, which in turn increases risk for suicide. Consistent with such theorizing, our findings suggest that clarification of cultural identity might be associated with having a clearer sense of who one is personally, which in turn is associated with increased positivity.

However, these results must be interpreted with some caution. First, the reliability of the Cultural Identity Clarity Scale used here was low. This was likely because the scale was composed of only three, simplified items from our original Cultural Identity Clarity Scale. Although all the participants appeared fully engaged when responding to the items and indicated that they understood the questions being asked, it is still possible that the cultural identity clarity concept was not fully understood by participants. Second, there may have been a cultural mismatch between the Western-style rating scale instrument used in Study 5 and traditional Dene forms of self-expression. This study was a first attempt at exploring issues of identity clarity among Aboriginal peoples; therefore, we relied on a methodology that had proven to be reliable with other cultural group members and one that was approved and understood by Dene community leaders prior to our data collection. However, it is now essential for future research to assess identity clarity and psychological well-being using a methodology that is more compatible with traditional modes of expression. For example, a narrative method of exploring identity clarity and well-being might offer a more culturally contextualized understanding of the relationship between these variables (see Hammack, 2008).

General Discussion

In a series of five studies, the extent to which beliefs about one's cultural group were clearly and confidently defined was positively related to a clear and confident definition of the personal self and to self-esteem and markers of psychological well-being. Our mediation model was supported among five different groups. Of particular interest were the results obtained among individuals facing cultural identity challenges. For individuals negotiating two cultural identities, and even for those living in a remote northern community who have had their cultural identity compromised through a destructive colonization process, cultural identity clarity predicted self-esteem and well-being via personal identity clarity.

Implications for Identity, Self-Esteem, and Psychological Well-Being

In its support of Taylor's (1997, 2002) theory of collective identity clarity, our research suggests that clarity at both a personal and a collective level of self-definition may be fundamental for positive self-esteem and well-being. Although no causal relationship was established here, our research points to an alternative way of thinking about identity clarity—as a precursor to well-being. Such a pathway is consistent with Baumgardner's (1990) research demonstrating that increased self-certainty leads to positive affect, as well as with research by Pelham and Swann (1989), who found that the certainty of people's self-views is a contributor to global self-esteem. Having a clear group identity can be a guiding force that reduces self-conceptual uncertainty (e.g., Hogg et al., 2007). Having a clearly defined personal identity is then itself associated with positive self-esteem and well-being. Research exploring culture and well-being together has often focused on how well-being and its predictors differ across cultures (see Diener, Oishi, & Lucas, 2003). The present research extends this work and other research in cross-cultural and cultural psychology by focusing on within-culture variation in the clarity of individuals' cultural identities and by demonstrating how this variation is consistently associated with personal identity clarity and well-being across a number of cultural groups.

Furthermore, the present research extends Benet-Martinez's concept of BII, as well as Berry's (2005) classic model of acculturation, by demonstrating support for a specific psychological pathway from cultural identity clarity to personal identity clarity to self-esteem and well-being. Specifically, it points to personal identity clarity as the psychological mechanism linking a clear and confident experience of cultural identity to well-being. Support for our model was found not only among biculturals but also among individuals referring to their identification with a single cultural group and Aboriginal peoples, a group emerging from a history of colonization and discrimination.

Finally, at a broader theoretical level, the present research responds to calls to explore the complex interplay between individual and collective identity processes (see Postmes & Jetten, 2006; Schwartz et al., 2008). Schwartz and his colleagues (2008) argue that cultural identity and personal identity, two concepts that have inspired separate literatures and are often explored as separate entities, are in fact inextricably linked and need to be examined together. The present research has explored these two concepts simultaneously and has empirically demonstrated how cultural identity and personal identity might be related to each other and to well-being. Consistent with theorizing rooted in social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978) and self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987), cultural identity clarity and personal identity clarity have been found to be very much associated, with

personal identity clarity being the most proximal to self-esteem and well-being.

Cultural Identity Clarity: Applied Implications

Aboriginal peoples have recently focused on reclaiming their culture through attempts to revitalize their language, relearn traditional practices, and redefine who they are in today's world. Indeed, First Nations communities that have engaged in practices emphasizing cultural continuity such as promoting self-government and establishing community based "cultural facilities" were found to have lower suicide rates than communities that were not engaging in these practices (Chandler & Lalonde, 1998). The present research points to the psychological pathway by which cultural identity clarity might be related to well-being, thereby emphasizing the importance of reclaiming and defining a clear cultural identity for Aboriginal peoples.

Similarly, for bicultural individuals experiencing distress because of the challenges associated with integrating different cultural identities, Schwartz, Montgomery, and Briones (2006) describe and suggest an intervention aimed at clarifying what it means to them to have a bicultural identity. For those living with cultural identity challenges, clarifying this identity might help them to know who they are personally and by extension to feel good about themselves. Beyond targeting person-level variables such as self-esteem or psychological well-being on a case-by-case basis, the clarification of cultural identity might be an effective method through which personal identity clarity and well-being may be established.

It is important to note that our research does not stipulate that one's cultural identity be in any way accurate, unchanging, or simple. Like Baumgardner (1990), who cautions that greater self-certainty need not be equated with a more accurate sense of identity, the present findings indicate that it is individuals' perception of the clarity of their cultural identity, and not any one "true" identity, that is crucial. In the present studies, mean levels of cultural identity clarity were similar across all groups. These findings lend support to the notion that cultural identity clarity is subjectively experienced by the individual. It appears to be a clear and confident perception of the potentially shifting and complex elements of a cultural identity that is important for self-concept clarity, self-esteem, and well-being.

Limitations and Future Directions

The findings from our research are preliminary in that they represent a first look at the construct of cultural identity clarity. Even though our hypotheses and the mediation model we tested was based on a well-developed theory of cultural identity clarity (Taylor, 1997, 2002) and converging social psychological evidence (e.g., Hogg et al., 2007), no causal conclusions can be made from the present research. Although

inconsistent with our theoretical platform, it is possible that high self-esteem leads people to see their self-concept as clearly defined and to view their culture as not including any unclear elements. Future research needs to explore the direction of these relationships by taking on the challenge of manipulating cultural identity clarity in laboratory experiments and exploring the effects of this manipulation on self-concept clarity and well-being. Indeed, ongoing research is attempting to manipulate cultural identity clarity using experimental methodology involving computer-mediated communication and to explore the well-being effects of this manipulation (Usborne & Taylor, 2009).

Furthermore, we entirely relied on an adapted version of a previous self-report measure of clarity to examine cultural identity clarity. Although exclusively relying on self-reports, our findings were consistent with related research that has used alternative measures of cultural clarity. Bougie (2005) measured the coherence of Francophone and Anglophone Quebecers' cultural narratives to measure identity clarity and found preliminary evidence that coherence was positively related to collective esteem. Chandler and Lalonde (1998) used archival information to examine concrete markers of cultural continuity. It is now necessary for similar alternative measures of cultural identity clarity to be employed and related to personal identity clarity, self-esteem, and well-being to provide a more confident understanding of these relationships.

Finally, the present research has demonstrated a particular meditational relationship among our variables of interest in an array of different cultural groups. However, more investigation is needed into the mechanisms driving this relationship as well as the social and personality antecedents of both cultural and personal identity clarity. It is important to determine what specifically needs to be clear about a cultural or personal identity for an association with well-being to exist and what situational and individual difference variables might actually lead to greater perceptions of clarity. The next step is to understand if clarifying a particular component of an individual's cultural identity, such as the norms or values or behaviors associated with this identity, might have specific effects on self-concept clarity, self-esteem, and well-being.

Appendix
Cultural Identity Clarity Scale

We would like you to consider your membership in your cultural group. Think of your cultural group and respond to the following statements on the basis of how you feel about this group.

Using the 0–10 scale presented below, indicate your agreement with each item by circling the appropriate number on the line next to that item.

(continued)

Appendix (continued)

1. My beliefs about my cultural group often conflict with one another. (***reverse scored***)
2. On one day I might have an opinion of my cultural group and on another day I might have a different opinion. (***reverse scored***)
3. I spend a lot of time wondering about what kind of society my cultural group really is. (***reverse scored***)
4. Sometimes I feel that my cultural group is not really the society that it appears to be. (***reverse scored***)
5. Sometimes I think I know other cultural groups better than I know my group. (***reverse scored***)
6. My beliefs about my cultural group seem to change very frequently. (***reverse scored***)
7. If I were asked to describe my cultural group, my description might end up being different from one day to another day. (***reverse scored***)
8. In general, I have a clear sense of what my cultural group is.

Note

1. In all five studies, all of our meditation models and their alternatives were also submitted to path analyses using AMOS software (Arbuckle & Wothke, 1999). In all cases, the final meditational models presented in this article were found to be the best fitting models (all χ^2s < 1.5, ps > .29, root mean square error of approximation values ≤ .06, comparative fit index values > .98) compared to the alternative models, which did not fit these criteria.

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