ACCULTURATION AND WELLBEING

ACULTURACIÓN Y BIENESTAR

Anne Tseu[1] y Mitchell Clark[2]
1.British Columbia University (Okanagan), Kelowna, Canadá
2. Mount Royal University, Calgary, Canadá

Abstract

This mixed methods study investigated the acculturation status and wellbeing of a sample of first-generation immigrants to Canada. The participants were among students taking an Introductory Psychology course at a Canadian university. Interviews were conducted to collect demographic data on the participants, as well as their views on their experience of their country of origin and their current experience in Canada. In addition, their retrospective ratings of their subjective wellbeing before they left their country of origin, as well as their current ratings of their wellbeing in Canada were collected using the Personal Wellbeing Index (PWI) (International Wellbeing Group, 2005). T-test comparisons between the retrospective ratings of the participants prior to immigrating and their current ratings in Canada on the PWI indicated significantly higher levels of satisfaction in the domains of standard of living, achievement in life , personal safety and future security since moving to Canada. The qualitative interview data was reviewed to determine the acculturation status of the participants. The comparison of the PWI ratings between participants in the integrated and assimilated categories found that those categorized as integrated rated themselves more satisfied across all of the life domains as well as on life as a whole although the difference was significant only for the personal relationships domain. While this study was based on a very small sample it does point the way to a further research with possible policy implications.

Key words: Acculturation, wellbeing, immigrants, Canada.

Resumen

Este estudio de metodología mixta investigó el estado de la aculturación y el bienestar en una muestra de migrantes de primera generación en Canadá. Los participantes fueron estudiantes que tomaron el curso introductorio de Psicología en una universidad canadiense. Se condujeron entrevistas para recolectar los datos demográficos de los participantes, así como la visión de sus experiencias en su país de origen y su actual experiencia en Canadá. Además, sus puntuaciones retrospectivas sobre su bienestar subjetivo antes de dejar su país de origen, así como sus puntajes actuales sobre su bienestar en Canadá fueron recogidos a través del Índice de Personal de Bienestar (IPB) (International Wellbeing Group, 2005). Las comparaciones con la prueba t de Student entre los puntajes retrospectivos de los participantes antes de migrar y sus puntajes actuales en Canadá con el IPB indicaron que existían niveles significativamente altos de satisfacción en los dominios de Estándares de vida, logro de vida, seguridad personal y seguridad futura desde que se mudaron a Canadá. La entrevista cualitativa fue revisada para determinar el estado de la aculturación de los participantes. La comparación de los puntajes del IPB entre los participantes en las categorías integradas y asimiladas registraron que aquellos categorizados como integrados, puntuaron como más satisfechos a través de todos los dominios vitales así como en la vida como totalidad, sin embargo, la diferencia fue significativa solo para el dominio de relaciones interpersonales. Aunque este estudio se basó en una muestra pequeña, este marca una ruta de investigación futura con posibles implicaciones políticas.

Palabras clave: Aculturación, bienestar, migrantes, Canadá.

Literature Review

Immigration is a phenomenon that is rapidly increasing in most countries around the world (United Nations, 2016). In 2015, Canada accepted 271,845 immigrants which was 10,000 immigrants more than during the previous year (McCallum, 2016). Although immigration can be portrayed as an opportunity for growth and development, it could also produce a range of difficulties. Immigrants most often have less ideal working conditions than national workers and are more likely to lose their jobs first in an economic downturn (United Nations, 2016). Hou, (2013) found that they also suffer from greater health risks due to greater exposure of poverty and exclusion (as cited by Berry & Hou, 2016). Therefore, it has become increasingly important to understand the quality of life and other factors that contribute to the subjective personal well-being of immigrants. The measurement of subjective well-being can provide a comprehensive and wholesome view of quality of life (Lau, Cummins, & McPherson, 2005). Seligman (2011) lists the five elements that comprise of well-being: positive emotion, engagement,

relationships, meaning, and achievement. Although these are measured separately, these elements are seen to comprise an individuals' personal well-being. Other wellbeing measures identify alternative arrays of components that contribute to quality of life.

A factor that has frequently been researched in relation to subjective well-being of immigrants is the process of adapting successfully to a new culture. Berry (2005) broadly defines acculturation as «the dual process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of two or more cultural groups and their individual members» (p. 698). Ward & Kennedy (1994) identified two possible acculturation outcomes; one labelled as internal adjustment and the other as external adjustment (as cited in Celenk & Van de Vijver, 2011). Internal adjustment, also known as psychological outcomes, refers to a person's psychological well-being in his or her new cultural context (mainstream culture). External adjustment, also known as behavioral adaptation refers to the type of life skills a person must acquire to function in their new country such as speaking the language of the country or having friends or acquaintances drawn from the dominant culture. Berry (2005) describes the concept of acculturation which, at a group level, «involves change in social structures and institutions and in cultural practices» (p. 698).

Some societies are seen to favour an assimilation policy toward immigration sometimes described by the metaphor «melting pot». Other societies hold a multicultural ideology that have been described as a cultural mosaic. In either case acculturation can create cultural conflict and stress particularly when some groups in host society express hostility to diversity in the population. Berry (2005) notes that in positive multiculturalist societies, some specific groups are not as well accepted and face an increased possibility of rejection and antagonism from the elements of the dominate culture. Currently it is not difficult to identify occurrences of significant discrimination against specific immigrant groups.

Two possible acculturation outcomes, described above, are labeled as the unidimensional model and bidimensional model (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000). The unidimensional model promotes the extinction of cultural values, attitudes and behaviors of one's ethnic/cultural group in order to merge into mainstream culture. In other words, the disappearance of cultural values simultaneously happens when adopting those of the new culture. This is also referred to as the process of assimilation. Prior research done with the unidimensional model measured the magnitude of assimilation using both demographic variables, such as the age at when the individual immigrated or the length of time spent in the new country, and individual difference measures, such as the willingness to participate in mainstream culture or exposure to dominant culture prior to moving to their new country (Ryder et al., 2000). On the other hand, the bidimensional model accounts for such differences.

Rather than viewing acculturation as a process of elimination of one culture's values to adopt another, it measures both heritage and mainstream cultural identities separately (Kim & Abreu, 2001). Furthermore, the bidimensional model recognizes that some individuals do not base their values and behavior on culture but may identify themselves through other factors (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000). Therefore, in the bidimensional model, individuals are free to adopt value and attitudes of the mainstream culture without having to give up those of their heritage.

A frequently cited measurement model based on the bidimensional model developed by John Berry is the four acculturation strategies categorized as integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization (Berry, 1980). Berry conceptualized these four strategies based on the two basic issues that arose for people acculturating; the preference for maintaining their cultural heritage and, an inclination for maintaining a relationship with other groups. Integration involves feeling a sense of belonging in both the country of origin and in the country of immigration; assimilation involves feeling a high sense of belonging in the country of immigration but not the country of origin; separation involves feeling a sense of belonging in the country of origin but not in the country of immigration; marginalization involves not feeling a sense of belonging to either their country of origin or the country of immigration (Berry, 1980; Ryder et al., 2011; Berry & Hou,

2016). Previous research has supported the notion that higher reports of personal well-being (in life satisfaction and mental health) and adjustment are associated with the integration strategy, whereas individuals who use the marginalization strategy tend to rate the lowest on personal well-being (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001; Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013; Berry & Ho, 2016).

Harker (2001) reports increase conflict in immigrant families in which adolescent children assimilate into mainstream society and loose command of their native tongue and adopt behaviors of the adolescents raised in the dominate culture. This results in a decline the family members' sense of personal wellbeing. Berry and Sabatier (2011) have also found that the individuals who pursue integration have the highest self-esteem; those who were marginalized scored lowest; those who assimilated and separated scored between the two. Berry and Hou (2016) noted that some demographic and social factors related to the different acculturation strategies may have affected the individuals' reports on personal well-being. There has also been research on factors that may influence the extent to which individuals acculturate into mainstream culture. Berry and Hou (2016) included age of immigration, years since immigration, economic status, perceived discrimination, immigration class, and social capital as correlates to acculturation in their study. They found that some individuals

in the assimilation group had immigrated earlier in their lives and had lower bonding with their own cultural community, which could explain why they fell into the assimilation group. Those belonging in the separation group were also more likely to have faced discrimination in comparison to the integration group. They also found that those in the separation group were more likely to have faced discrimination than those in the integration group. Phinney et al. (2001) suggest that the strategies used for acculturation may differ based on contextual factors such as the attitudes of the individuals and their surroundings. For example, if the individual is pressured to give up their ethnic identity, but they do not feel ready to do so, instead of easing into assimilation they might feel hostile and angry towards their community and fall into the marginalization category instead.

Although there has been abundant research in the personal well-being of individuals after immigration, there lacks exploration in the comparison of individuals' personal well-being before and after immigration. While some studies do include demographic and social factors as correlates to acculturation strategies, other studies do not. The current study will investigate differences in personal wellbeing prior to and after immigration to Canada, as well as identify factors that influence this difference. The study will also examine the impact of the types of acculturation processes on personal wellbeing.

Based on the evidence gathered in previous research, the authors hypothesized that participants will rate themselves as having increased their personal well-being after immigrating to Canada. It is also hypothesized that those participants in the integration acculturation category and individuals will demonstrate a higher level of personal sense of well-being than those participants in the other three acculturation categories

Method

Participants

Table 1 provides a description of participants' demographic information. Participants consisted of 18 Mount Royal University undergraduate students (66.67% Females) enrolled in the Introduction to Psychology class. Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 31 years (M = 21.28). Three had arrived from England while the remainder had come from different countries all over the globe. There was substantial variability in the structure of their families.

Students were accepted for the study only if they were a first generation immigrant to Canada (i.e. a foreign born citizen who is either a permanent resident or citizen of Canada). Participants received 1% of research credit towards their Introduction to Psychology course grade for their participation.

Table 1. Participants' demographic information

Participant	Gender	Age	Length	Country of Origin	Extended Family	Birth Order	Siblings
1	M	23	16	Russia	No	Only Child	0
2	F	18	9	USA	Yes	Oldest	1
3	F	21	11	Cuba	Yes	Middle	3
4	M	28	14	India	Yes	Only child	0
5	F	18	11	England	No	Oldest	1
6	M	20	6	India	Yes	Only Child	0
7	F	21	10	Philippines	Yes	Youngest	2
8	F	18	12	Germany	No	Youngest	1
9	F	18	13	England	No	Middle	3
10	F	24	7	South Africa	No	Oldest	2
11	F	31	5	Jamaica	No	Only Child	9
12	F	21	8	England	No	Middle	2
13	F	21	3	Columbia	No	-	1
14	F	18	11	Israel	Yes	Oldest	1
15	F	20	10	Dubai	No	Youngest	2
16	M	25	20	Cambodia	Yes	Youngest	1
17	M	18	10	England	Yes	Oldest	1
18	M	20	6	Egypt	Yes	Youngest	1

Note: **Length = Length of time spent in Canada. M = Male. F = Female. Birth order left blank for participant 13 because it was forgotten to specify**

Materials

The Personal Well-Being Index (PWI) is an eight item scale used to measure an individual's current state of subjective well-being (International Wellbeing Group, 2005). It is based on an 11 point scale, zero being «*No satisfaction at all*» to ten being «*Completely Satisfied*». There were seven domains in the scale as well as a «life as a whole» item. Participants were asked to complete the PWI twice, first from both a retrospective perspective (i.e., rating their satisfaction in the seven life domains and in «*life as a whole*» looking back on their life in their country of origin before immigrating to Canada) and, second from their current perspective based on their life in Canada two versions of the PWI. In the first version of the PWI, instructions were modified so that participants would answer questions in accordance to how satisfied they felt on a scale of one to ten living in their country of origin. For the second version, instructions were modified so that participants would answer questions in accordance to how satisfied they felt on a scale of one to ten living in their current place of residence, Canada.

A set of interview questions were prepared and then asked. Questions included some demographic questions as well as questions pertaining to their previous experiences living in their country of origin, their current experience living in Canada and how they compare to each other (see Appendix A). One question asked in the interview is based on Berry's conceptualization of the four different acculturation strategies: integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization (1980).

Procedure

The study took place in an interview room at the psychology laboratory at Mount Royal University. Participants were first asked to look over and sign the consent form if they wished to participate in the study. After indicating their consent, participants were asked to fill out two versions of the PWI as specified above. Subsequently, the one-on-one interview portion of the study commenced. Once the participants had answered all the questions asked by the interviewer, they were given a debriefing form which would further explain to them the purpose of the study. It took approximately 15 to 45 minutes to complete the study. Interviews were recorded through applications on personal electronic devices and afterwards transcribed.

Results

Data analysis of interviews was conducted through a two stage process. First, all interviews were transcribed by the primary investigator. Next, key themes were identified as categories emerged from interview data. Through qualitative inquiry of individual immigration experiences, it was found there were some reoccurring themes in terms of how participants' wellbeing changed for better or for worse after immigrating to Canada. Participants were categorized based on Berry's (1980) acculturation strategies. Out of 18 participants, eight participants felt a sense of belonging in both countries (integration), seven felt a higher sense of belonging in Canada (assimilation), only one participant felt more of a sense of belonging in their country of origin (separation), and no participants felt like they did not belong to either countries (marginalization). Two participants did not have a concrete answer and provided two answers instead of one. For example, a participant said she felt between more of a sense of belonging in Canada and not feeling a sense of belonging anywhere.

Qualitative Results

Assimilation

Of the seven participants, five individuals were thankful to leave behind either government corruption or war and violence in their country of origin. Many participants' parents chose to move to Canada because of the higher amount of opportunities given. Some participants felt that although they grew up in the country of origin, they feel that their life belongs in Canada where they have formed relationships and will most likely pursue their career. Overall, participants did not feel like there was a reason to return to their home country and believed their belonged in Canada. A participant

recalled her experience while living in her country of origin and how moving to Canada was a positive experience.

«I felt like I was going in a circle...I guess we enjoy life, as simple as it is. But we were just existing, we weren't really living... As much as the experience that brought me here was negative, the outcome I thought was really positive. It changed me.»

Integration

Most participants attributed feeling a sense of belonging to their country of origin because it is as one participant put «where her roots are» and was the place where they grew up. But, they also feel a sense of belonging in Canada because of the relationships they have made here as well as the environment that is suited better for them. One participant stated that she felt as if «everything made sense» when she was back in her country of origin when she is with her extended family, but because she has lived so long in Canada, she also feels as if this is her home.

Separation

Only one participant felt that he feels a higher sense of belonging in his country of origin. He did not distinctively identify difficulties he faced living in Canada and like some other participants, was relieved to leave behind war and oppression. However, he believes it is his «calling» to return to his home country to help his people, hence a stronger sense of belonging towards his home country.

Overall themes

When asked what they liked about Canada, nine participants mentioned a safer environment and seven discussed resources available for more opportunities; some participants appreciated the sense of community and multiculturalism.

In terms of difficulties, participants whose first language was not English felt that learning the language was one of the bigger struggles when they first moved to Canada. Transitioning to a different environment/culture as well adjusting to the weather in Canada were some other factors that made the transition of moving more strenuous for participants.

A theme that constantly rose from the interviews was social support. It was the most sought out reason for both what made transitioning to Canada easier and more difficult. This varied from finding solace within their own cultural group, joining other minority groups, to simply having a community that was kind to them. Nearly half of participants mentioned friends and family when asked what they missed most about their country of origin.

Quantitative Results

Table 3 provides the PWI ratings for each of the participants. Their retrospective ratings were based on their recollections of their satisfaction with life as a whole as well as in the 7 domains including in the PWI are shown. In addition, their current

ratings on these variables as immigrants to Canada are provided.

Table 2. Comparison of PWI scores of participants retrospective ratings while living in country of origin and current ratings in Canada

Participant	Retrospective Country of Origin Ratings								Current Ratings in Canada							
	Life as a whole	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7	Life as a whole	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7
1	9	5	7	10	9	4	5	7	9	10	8	8	5	7	6	9
2	8	10	10	8	9	10	9	8	9	10	10	8	9	10	9	8
3	10	7	10	10	10	10	10	8	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	5
4	5	2	7	2	4	2	7	2	2	7	9	7	1	9	5	7
5	8	9	9	8	9	8	8	8	9	9	9	9	9	10	9	9
6	9	9	9	8	9	9	8	8	8	9	8	9	7	8	9	8
7	8	9	10	8	9	7	8	7	9	8	10	8	9	9	8	9
8	9	9	10	10	9	7	3	8	9	8	9	10	9	9	10	8
9	7	7	9	6	6	5	7	7	10	10	10	9	9	9	7	9
10	7	5	9	5	5	0	5	4	9	9	9	10	6	10	6	7
11	6	6	3	6	2	5	5	5	7	7	6	7	8	9	8	7
12	8	9	10	9	8	7	9	7	8	9	10	8	7	9	7	7
13	7	8	10	8	8	2	9	2	8	8	5	8	5	10	10	10
14	8	8	8	9	8	9	9	8	9	10	8	10	10	10	10	9
15	8	10	10	8	8	7	10	6	8	10	8	8	10	10	8	10
16	3	4	5	2	8	8	10	3	8	10	10	10	10	7	4	10
17	6	7	9	7	8	7	9	7	7	10	9	7	7	9	5	6
18	3	3	8	3	1	2	2	3	4	7	7	5	10	9	5	9

Note: **D in "D1" and so forth stands for "Domain".D1 is the score based on satisfaction of standard of living, D2 is based on health, D3 is based on achievement in life, D4 is based on personal relationships, D5 is based on how safe the participant feels, D6 is based on feeling part of the community, D7 is based on future security.**

The means and standard deviations for the PWI variables were calculated for both PWI ratings (see table 3). The retrospective ratings of their well-being in the participants' country of origin were lower in all domains as well as life as a whole. In addition, all of the standard deviations were higher for the Country of Origin (CoO) ratings than for the Canada (Can) ratings with the exception of Life as a Whole.

Table 3. Means and standard deviations of retrospective country of origin (CoO) and current Canada (Can) ratings

PWI satisfaction domains	CoO *M (SD)*	Can *M (SD)*
Life as a whole	7.22 (1.99)	7.89 (1.98)
Standard of Living	7.06 (2.41)	8.94 (1.16)
Health	8.5 (1.95)	8.61 (1.46)
Achievement in Life	7.06 (2.58)	8.39 (1.38)
Personal Relationships	7.22 (2.58)	7.83 (2.41)
Personal Safety	6.06 (3.00)	9.11 (.96)
Part of the Community	7.39 (2.43)	7.56 (2.01)
Future Security	6.00 (2.22)	8.17 (1.46)

Table 4 provides the paired t-test results for PWI scale ratings. They were calculated to determine whether the differences between the retrospective ratings of the participants on life as a whole, and each of the life domains were significantly different. The mean differences for four of the life domains did reach significance, specifically, standard of living, achievement in life, personal safety and future security.

Table 4. t-tests: PWI ratings for Country of Origin (CoO) and for Canada (Can)

PWI satisfaction domains	CoO-Can means	Std. dev.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Life as a whole	-.667	1.680	-1.683	17	.111
Standard of Living	-1.889	2.272	-3.527	17	**.003****
Health	-.111	2.055	-.229	17	.821
Achievement in Life	-1.333	2.473	-2.287	17	**.035***
Personal Relationships	-6.11	3.183	-.814	17	.427
Personal Safety	-3.056	3.134	-4.137	17	**.001****
Part of the Community	-.167	2.834	-.250	17	.806
Future Security	-2.167	2.895	-3.175	17	**.006****

Bolded* = p< .05. . **Bolded** **=< .01

The participants' current (Can) PWI ratings for life as a whole and the 7 life dimensions were compared across acculturation status. As noted previously there was only 1 participant categorized as *separated,* while 7 were categorised as *assimilated* and 8 were categorized as *integrated.* As none were categorized

as *marginalized* and only 1 was seen as *separated,* these categories were dropped from the comparison of means, leaving only the assimilated and integrated for further analysis. A series of t-tests were calculated comparing the PWI Can means for those participants falling in the two remaining categories (see Table 5).

Table 5. t-tests: PWI rating means comparing assimilated and integrated participants

PWI satisfaction domains	Mean differences	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Life as a whole	-1.375	-1.960	13	.072
Standard of Living	-.929	-1.747	13	.104
Health	-1.411	-1.916	13	.078
Achievement in Life	-1.125	-1.639	13	.125
Personal Relationships	-1.875	-.2.431	13	**.030***
Personal Safety	-.429	-.958	13	.356
Part of the Community	-1.732	-2.019	13	.065
Future Security	-.268	-.368	13	.719

Bolded* = p< .05. . **Bolded** **=< .01

The means for those participants in the integration category were higher on all of the PWI wellbeing variables relative to those in the assimilation category. The only life domain that reached significance was the "Personal Relationships" variable indicating that those who were categorized as integrated were more satisfied with their personal relationships than those categorised as assimilated.

Discussion

There was a significant difference between and participants' subjective wellbeing scores before or after immigration in the standard of living, achievement in life, personal safety and future security areas. A number of the participants had immigrated to Canada from less economically developed countries with higher crime rates and less chance for advancement These differences are likely reflected in the outcomes. While the means for the other PWI variable were not significant, the ratings in Canada were higher than the retrospective ratings based on their CoO. A more detailed analysis is provided below.

Of the 18 participants interviewed, 12 participants had a higher average subjective well-being score while living in Canada than when they lived in their country of origin as seen in Table 2. Most participants moved to Canada because of parental decisions. These varied from job openings, to avoiding government corruption, to gaining more opportunities.

The t-tests confirm these qualitative themes (see table 4). As indicated in the interview data, the participants immigrated in hopes of more opportunities and to escape corruption. Assuming these desires were, at least in part, realized there would support an increase in the some of the life domains that did show a significant increase.

On the other side, participants identified some losses that resulted from immigration such as food and culture. The domains of health and personal relationships were rated as higher since moving to Canada although this difference was not statistically significant.

The hypothesized relative strength of wellbeing among participants in the integration category was only partially supported. While satisfaction in all of the PWI life domains higher among the participants in the integration category, only the personal relationships ratings were significantly higher.

This study had a few limitations, the most prominent being the sample size. Due to convenience sampling and time constraints, only 18 participants were interviewed and surveyed using the PWI. This factor severely limited the power of the analysis. As noted earlier there were not enough participants in two of the acculturation categories so they were not available for inclusion in the analysis. In addition, the sample included university students in introductory Psychology classes which further limits the generalizability of the results. When asked about their current satisfaction with life, a few students attributed their life satisfaction to being students. Interviewing a sample from a wider immigrant population could have provided us with a greater diversity of responses.

An additional limitation was our coding process. The study did not include the use of multiple coders to analyze themes within the interview. Only one investigator, the interviewer, analyzed the interviews for reoccurring themes. This could reduce the reliability of the study.

Lastly, it should be noted that the ratings of wellbeing in the country of origin were retrospective and may be subject to error. Some participants had been in Canada between 10 and 20 years and their views of their quality of life in their home country, looking back over a significant time period time may be different than if they were providing ratings at that time. However, it is interesting that there appears to be some consistency between the qualitative and quantitative results.

Conclusion

Despite our limitations, this study has extended research done in acculturation and immigration. It compares individual differences in personal subjective well-being prior to and after immigrating to Canada. Factors that contributed towards participants' subjective well-being levels were identified. Information from this study can be applied to help

create a better experience for current immigrants who are facing difficulties adjusting into their new community by focusing more on certain factors that are affecting most individuals.

Future research is recommended to further examine how personal wellbeing differs before and after immigrating with a larger sample size and involving a systematic evaluation process at specific time intervals following their arrival in their new country. Gathering more individuals from different ethnicities and ages will also provide more information in how we can assist immigrants based on differences in the various countries of origin.

References

Berry, J.W. (1980). Acculturation as Varieties of Adaptation. In A.M Padilla (Ed.), *Acculturation: Theory, models and some new findings* (pp. 9-25). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Berry, J.W. (2005). Acculturation: Living Successfully in Two Cultures. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 29,* 697-712.

Berry, J.W., & Hou, F. (2016). Immigrant Acculturation and Wellbeing in Canada. *Canadian Psychological Association, 57*(4), 254-264. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/cap0000064

Berry, J.W., & Sabatier, C. (2011). Variations in the Assessment of Acculturation Attitudes: Their Relationships with Psychological Wellbeing. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 35,* 658-669.

Harker, K. (2001). Immigration Generation, Assimilation and Adolescent Psychological Well-being. *Social Forces, 79*(3), 969-1004. https://doi.org/10.1353/sof.2001.0010

Hou, F. (2013). Immigrant Entry Earnings Over the Past Quarter Century: The Changing Roles of Immigrant Characteristics and Return to Skills. *Canadian Studies in Population, 40,* 149-163.

International Wellbeing Group (2013). Personal Wellbeing Index: 5th Edition. Melbourne: Australian Centre on Quality of Life, Deakin University (http://www.deakin.edu.au/research/acqol/instruments/wellbeing-index/index.php)

Kim, B. S. K., & Abreu, J. M. (2001). Acculturation measurement: Theory, current instruments, and future directions. In J. G. Ponterotto, J. M. Casas, L. A. Suzuki, & C. M. Alexander (Eds.), Handbook of multicultural counseling (2nd ed., pp. 394-424). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Lau, A. L. D., Cummins, R. A., & McPherson, W. (2005). An Investigation Into the Cross-Cultural Equivalence of the Personal Wellbeing Index. *Social Indicator Research, 72,* 403-430.

McCallum, J. (2016). *2016 Annual Report to Parliament on Immigration: Managing Permanent Immigrations.* Report prepared for Government of Canada website.

Nguyen, A. T. D., & Benet-Martinez, V. (2013). Biculturalism and Adjustment: A Meta-Analysis. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 44*(1), 122-159.

Phinney, J. S., Horenczyk, G., Liebkind, K., & Vedder, P. (2001). Ethnic Identity, Immigration, and Well-Being: An Interactional Perspective, *Journal of Social Issues, 57*(3), 493-510.

Ryder, A. G., Alden, L. E., & Paulhus, D. L, (2000). Is Acculturation Unidimensional or Bidimensional? A Head-to-Head Comparison in the Prediction of Personality, Self-Identity, and Adjustment. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 79*(1), 49-65. http://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/0022-3514.79.1.497

Seligman, M. E. (2011). *A Visionary New Understanding of Happiness and Well-being.* New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.

Ward, C., & Kennedy, A. (1994). Acculturation strategies, psychological adjustment and socio-cultural competence during cross-cultural transitions. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 18,* 329-343.

United Nations, Population Division (2016). *International Migration Report 2015: Highlights.* New York: United Nations.

Appendix A: Interview Questions

Demographic:

·   What gender do you identify with?

·   How old are you?

·   What is your country of origin?

·   At what age did you move here from your country of origin?

·   How long have you lived in Canada?

·   Do you have extended family members in Calgary or other parts of Canada?

·   If you answered yes to the previous question, did your extended family members move to Calgary/Canada before or after you moved to Calgary?

·   How many siblings do you have?

·   Are you the oldest, youngest or a middle child?

·   Did your parents move to Canada with you?

·   What is the reason that you moved to Canada?

Acculturation Questions:

·   In what ways do you identify with your country of origin?

·   In what ways do you identify with Canada?

·   Can you describe the transition that you made when you arrived?

   o What made it easier?
   o What barriers did you face?

·   What do you miss about your country of origin?

·   What are some things that you like about living in Canada?

·   Was there anything you were glad to leave behind in your country of origin?

·   What are some things that you find more difficult about living in Canada?

·   I will now present you with four scenarios. Please choose the scenario that presently best describes you:

   o I feel a sense of belonging in both my country of origin and in Canada
   o I feel a higher sense of belonging in Canada, but not in my country of origin o I feel a higher sense of belonging in my country of origin, but not in Canada. o I do not feel a sense of belonging in either Canada or my country of origin.

·   All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life right now?

*   When interviewing participants, "my country of origin" will be said as the actual name of their country of origin.