

# Can Cultural Identity Clarity Protect the Well-Being of Latino/a Canadians From the Negative Impact of Race-Based Rejection Sensitivity?

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**Objectives:** The aim of the present study was to examine the understudied immigration and acculturation experience of the growing Latino/a community in Canada. Specifically, we explored the impact of race-based rejection sensitivity on well-being, and whether cultural identity clarity could help curtail any negative effects. Hypothesis 1 was that race-based rejection sensitivity would be negatively associated with well-being. Hypothesis 2 was that cultural identity clarity would moderate the association between race-based rejection sensitivity and well-being such that Latino/a immigrants lower in cultural identity clarity would experience poorer well-being than those higher in cultural identity clarity. **Method:** A community sample of Latino/a immigrants ( $N = 136$ ;  $M_{age} = 38.21$ ; 51.47% female) completed a survey including measures of race-based rejection sensitivity, cultural identity clarity, bicultural stress, self-esteem, and life satisfaction. **Results:** Correlation and regression analyses revealed that race-based rejection sensitivity was negatively associated with well-being. Additionally, high cultural identity clarity attenuated the negative association between race-based rejection sensitivity and well-being. **Conclusion:** Results of the present study suggest maintaining clarity over their heritage cultures postimmigration can be beneficial to Latino/a immigrants in Canada, in particular when they are sensitive to cues of racial discrimination.

**Keywords:** Latino/a, racial discrimination, race-based rejection sensitivity, cultural identity clarity, well-being

From schoolyard experiences during childhood to starting a new job in adulthood, feeling like we belong is something that most of us strive for (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Trying to fit in and be accepted can be even more challenging for members of minority cultures, such as immigrants. For instance, after moving to a new country, while engaging in the acculturation process immigrants will typically repeatedly attempt to participate in the mainstream society of their new host country. Unfortunately, many barriers will make this process challenging, among which discrimination is at the forefront. For example, immigrants in Canada have reported feeling discriminated against as they attempt to receive private and public services, secure employment and progress in their careers, engage in educational settings, find housing, and be involved in community organizations (Dion, 2001; Dion & Kawakami, 1996; Nangia, 2013). The consequences of discrimination on members of minority cultures has been well established (e.g., Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Noh & Kaspar, 2003; Williams, Neigh-

bors, & Jackson, 2003). One such consequence is minority group members becoming sensitive to cues of rejection because of their racial and/or ethnic background (Mendoza-Denton, Downey, Purdie, Davis, & Pietrzak, 2002; Mendoza-Denton, Pietrzak, & Downey, 2008).


The aim of the present study was, first, to examine the impact that sensitivity to rejection because of one's racial and/or ethnic background has on well-being, and, second, drawing on a resiliency perspective, to examine a positive process that may help curtail the negative effects of such sensitivity. Specifically, we examined the protective function of having a stable, clearly and confidently defined sense of one's heritage cultural identity.

The present study was conducted focusing on the experiences of the Latino/a-Canadian community whose acculturation experience remains understudied despite its increasing presence in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2011). Who is considered Latino/a is complicated by the racialization of visible minorities (see Armony, 2014). We have taken a self-identification approach, focusing on those who self-identify as Latino/a (approximately 2% of Canadians) as the target population of interest in the present study (see Armony, 2014; Statistics Canada, 2016).

## Discrimination, Sensitivity to Discrimination, and Well-Being

The process of acculturation can be a difficult experience for immigrants. A primary factor impacting their acculturation experiences is how they are received or treated by majority group members of their new host country, which often includes some

This article was published Online First August 22, 2019.

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This research was supported by a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) doctoral scholarship to Mamta Vaswani and a research grant to Benjamin Giguère.

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experiences of racial discrimination. Racial discrimination can be understood as mistreatment from others because of one's membership in a stigmatized racial group (see [Mendoza-Denton et al., 2002](#); [Williams et al., 2003](#)). While research on Latino/a immigrants' experience of discrimination in Canada is limited, Latino/a Americans have reported actually experiencing discrimination, or fear they will experience discrimination (e.g., [Fisher, Wallace, & Fenton, 2000](#); [Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006](#); [Huynh & Fuligni, 2010](#); [Szalacha, Erkut, Coll, Alarcón, Fields, & Ceder, 2003](#); [Torres, Driscoll, & Voell, 2012](#)).

As with other social experiences, however, experiences of discrimination are interpreted differently by different people, in part as a function of situational cues, but also as a function of their unique dispositions. One such disposition is an inclination to feel rejected as a result of past experiences of rejection. Becoming sensitive to potential rejection as a result of past experiences is a cognitive process whereby people develop anxious expectations about being rejected, are quick to perceive rejection, and react intensely to possible future rejection, known as *rejection sensitivity* ([Downey & Feldman, 1996](#); [Feldman & Downey, 1994](#)). [Mendoza-Denton and colleagues \(2002\)](#) suggest that rejection sensitivity does not require personal past experiences of rejection. Rather, people can develop rejection sensitivity if they belong to social groups that have historically been rejected. Specifically, [Mendoza-Denton and colleagues \(2008\)](#) suggest that members of racial groups that have historically experienced discrimination can become sensitive to cues of rejection, be more inclined to attribute mistreatment to discrimination, develop anxiety over being discriminated against, and react intensely to potential discrimination, known as *race-based rejection sensitivity* (e.g., [Mendoza-Denton et al., 2002](#)). For instance, since 1966, thousands of men from Mexico have been hired to work as agriculture workers in the Canadian province of Ontario for up to 8 months out of each year. The workers have reported experiencing discrimination and mistreatment from their employers as well as from local citizens ([Lee, 2003](#)). If new Latino/a immigrants know about the discrimination and mistreatment of those workers, they may come to Canada with expectations of, and anxiety and concerns over experiencing discrimination and mistreatment themselves.

Racial discrimination and sensitivity to such discrimination have both been found to be negatively associated with well-being (e.g., [Anglin, Greenspoon, Lighty, & Eelman, 2016](#); [Chan & Mendoza-Denton, 2008](#); [Greene et al., 2006](#); [Huynh & Fuligni, 2010](#); [Mendoza-Denton et al., 2002](#); [Page-Gould, Mendoza-Denton, & Mendes, 2014](#); [Romero & Roberts, 2003b](#); [Szalacha et al., 2003](#); [Torres et al., 2012](#)). For instance, discrimination has been found to be negatively associated with self-esteem, and positively associated with depression, anxiety, and stress ([Greene et al., 2006](#); [Huynh & Fuligni, 2010](#); [Romero & Roberts, 2003b](#); [Szalacha et al., 2003](#)). More important, race-based rejection sensitivity has been found to partially mediate the positive association between discrimination and distress ([Anglin et al., 2016](#)). Accordingly, while racial discrimination and sensitivity to such discrimination both have a negative impact on well-being, it appears as though race-based rejection sensitivity, in part, plays a key role in shaping well-being in the context of discrimination. Such previous associations between discrimination and poor well-being have been found for Latino/a Americans (e.g., [Greene et al., 2006](#); [Huynh & Fuligni, 2010](#); [Page-Gould et al., 2014](#); [Romero & Roberts, 2003b](#); [Szalacha et al., 2003](#); [Torres et al., 2012](#)); how-

ever, research on Latino/a Canadians' experiences of discrimination is very limited. The present study aimed to provide some insight into the understudied experience of Latino/a immigrants in this regard.

During the acculturation process, in addition to developing race-based rejection sensitivity and such sensitivity negatively impacting well-being, immigrants may also experience *bicultural stress*. Bicultural stress is a form of acculturative stress that includes: stress over dual language fluency; conflicting cultural values, beliefs and social norms; and, actual or potential discrimination from majority cultural group members (see [LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993](#); [Romero, Carvajal, Valle, & Orduna, 2007a](#); [Romero, Martinez, & Carvajal, 2007b](#); [Romero & Piña-Watson, 2017](#); [Romero & Roberts, 2003a](#)). While research on Latino/a immigrants' in Canada experiencing bicultural stress is limited, research conducted in the United States suggests that Latino/a Americans report experiencing bicultural stress, and that their experiences of bicultural stress is negatively associated with well-being (e.g., [Piña-Watson, Dornhecker, & Salinas, 2015](#); [Piña-Watson, Llamas, & Stevens, 2015](#); [Piña-Watson, Ojeda, Castellon, & Dornhecker, 2013](#); [Romero, et al., 2007a, 2007b](#); [Romero & Roberts, 2003a](#)). Thus, bicultural stress affords important insight into the well-being of immigrants, particularly in the context of acculturation and discrimination, that complements traditional conceptualizations of well-being, which focus on domains tied to self-esteem and life satisfaction ([Diener, 1984](#); [Diener, Suh, Lucas, & Smith, 1999](#)). Therefore, we also examined Latino/a immigrants' experiences of bicultural stress as part of the present study.

In summary, the process of acculturation can be challenging for immigrants resulting in negative outcomes such as the development of race-based rejection sensitivity, which sensitivity can be harmful to immigrants' well-being. Accordingly, Latino/a immigrants who come to Canada could develop race-based rejection sensitivity based on their knowledge of other Latino/a immigrants in Canada having previously experienced discrimination and mistreatment, which can negatively impact their well-being including lowering their self-esteem, lowering their life satisfaction, and increasing bicultural stress.

### The Protective Function of Cultural Identity Clarity

Various aspects of cultural identities have been found to play a crucial role in the context of experiences of discrimination and well-being (e.g., [Branscombe et al., 1999](#); [Greene et al., 2006](#); [Romero & Roberts, 2003b](#)). We suggest that having a stable, clear, and confident sense of ones' cultural identity, known as *cultural identity clarity* ([Taylor, 1997](#); [Taylor & Osborne, 2010](#); [Osborne & Taylor, 2010](#)), is ideally suited to understanding the impact of cultural identities on the well-being of immigrants, particularly in the context of multiculturalism and race-based discrimination. Cultural identity clarity refers to beliefs of how clearly and confidently people's cultural groups are defined ([Taylor, 1997](#); [Taylor, Debrosse, Cooper, & Kachanoff, 2013](#); [Taylor & Osborne, 2010](#); [Osborne & de la Sablonnière, 2014](#); [Osborne & Taylor, 2010](#)). It is a structural element that speaks to the degree of stability with which components of cultural identification are internalized as parts of one's sense of self (see [Taylor, 1997](#); [Taylor et al., 2013](#); [Taylor & Osborne, 2010](#); [Osborne & de la Sablonnière, 2014](#); [Osborne & Taylor, 2010, 2012](#)).

Cultural identity clarity captures an important component of Canada's Multiculturalism Policy (Government of Canada, 1971), which aims to encourage people to maintain their heritage cultures. The assumption being, in part, that a clear and confident understanding of one's heritage culture will facilitate living in an intergroup context, in which one's sense of self related to a heritage cultural ingroup may face threats, but may also foster positive well-being. Previous research suggests that cultural identity clarity is positively associated with well-being (e.g., de la Sablonnière, Pinard Saint-Pierre, Taylor, & Annahatak, 2011; Osborne & Taylor, 2010, 2012). For instance, Osborne and Taylor (2010) found that cultural identity clarity was positively associated with self-esteem and life satisfaction. Cultural identity clarity is positively associated with well-being because it helps to create a concrete and stable sense of one's self (see Osborne & de la Sablonnière, 2014). We suggest that such a concrete and stable sense of one's self can serve a protective function in situations where one's sense of self is threatened. For instance, in situations where one perceives being rejected based on one's race or ethnicity, having a concrete and stable sense of the racial or ethnic aspect of the self that is being threatened could protect that person from the negative impact of such rejection. Accordingly, if Latino/a immigrants in Canada perceive they are being discriminated against because of their Latino/a background, having a concrete and stable sense of their Latino/a identity may protect their well-being from the negative impact of having such a perception.

The Canadian context, by encouraging heritage cultural maintenance through its official policy of multiculturalism (Government of Canada, 1971), is one within which immigrants can maintain clarity over their heritage cultural identities. Maintaining cultural identity clarity postimmigration may not be as easily attainable in countries that do not explicitly encourage heritage cultural maintenance. For instance, assimilation type approaches to managing cultural diversity adopted in some countries, such as the United States, do not explicitly discourage heritage cultural maintenance. However, they also do not explicitly encourage heritage cultural maintenance, and have limited societal structures in place to assist in heritage cultural maintenance. Consequently, the psychological benefits heritage cultural maintenance can provide may not be as readily available in countries such as the United States as they would be in Canada. Accordingly, we believe that in Canada cultural identity clarity can help curtail the negative impact of discrimination on well-being. However, such a buffering effect might not be found in countries that do not explicitly encourage heritage cultural maintenance. As such, the present study aimed to examine the importance of Canada's sociocultural context as being one that can help attenuate some challenges immigrants face as they attempt to settle into their new host countries. In this specific case, by examining the role of cultural identity clarity.

### The Present Study

Broadly, the present study was conducted to explore the immigration and acculturation experience of Latino/a immigrants in Canada, and in particular their experiences of perceived discrimination. As part of the study we examined the impact of race-based rejection sensitivity on well-being, and whether cultural identity clarity could help curtail any negative effects. Hypothesis 1 was that race-based rejection sensitivity would be negatively associated

with well-being, as indicated by lower self-esteem and life satisfaction, and higher bicultural stress. Hypothesis 2 was that cultural identity clarity would moderate the association between race-based rejection sensitivity and well-being such that Latino/a immigrants lower in cultural identity clarity would experience poorer well-being than those higher in cultural identity clarity.

## Method

### Participants

A power analysis was conducted using G\*Power to determine the sample size required to obtain a medium effect size when testing the hypotheses of the present study.<sup>1</sup> The power analysis revealed a sample size of 127 participants would be required to test Hypothesis 1 and 129 participants would be required to test Hypothesis 2. Latino/a immigrants were recruited using a combination of convenience and snowball sampling. Participants ( $N = 136$ ; 65 male, 70 female, 1 unknown) ranged in age between 18 and 72 years ( $M = 38.21$ ,  $SD = 13.38$ ), and had immigrated to Canada between 6 and 30 years earlier ( $M = 17.78$ ,  $SD = 6.72$ ) with most ( $n = 65$ ) having been born in Columbia. Participants resided in the Greater Toronto Area. Most of the participants ( $n = 101$ ) were Canadian citizens, 24 were permanent residents, 2 were refugees, and 9 participants' status was undetermined. Additionally, participants considered themselves to be of average social standing within their community ( $M = 6.40$ ,  $SD = 1.58$ , on a scale of worst off (1) to best off (10); Adler & Stewart, 2007).

### Procedure

Participants completed a paper and pencil survey at a location of their choosing, typically at their homes. The survey was administered to all participants in English. A bilingual researcher brought the survey to them, and collected it in a sealed envelope once they were done. Once they had signed a consent form, participants were asked to complete the survey that took approximately 30 min to complete. The survey included a combination of closed-ended and open-ended questions, among which were demographics questions, a race-based rejection sensitivity scale (Mendoza-Denton et al., 2002), a cultural identity clarity scale (Osborne & Taylor, 2010), a bicultural stress scale (Romero & Roberts, 2003a), a self-esteem scale (Rosenberg, 1965), and a life-satisfaction scale (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985).<sup>2</sup> After the survey was completed participants were debriefed and given \$10.00 as compensation.

### Predictors

**Race-based rejection sensitivity.** Race-based rejection sensitivity was measured using the 12-item Race-Based Rejection Sen-

<sup>1</sup> We estimated a medium effect size for the power analysis based on previous research that supports medium effect sizes for the associations of discrimination and our predictor variables, and the same or comparable well-being measures as used in the present study (e.g., Greene et al., 2006; Page-Gould et al., 2014; Osborne & Taylor, 2010).

<sup>2</sup> The survey also included items adapted from the Vancouver Index of Acculturation (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000) and from the Bicultural Identity Integration Scale (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005).

sitivity Questionnaire (Mendoza-Denton et al., 2002). The scale presents participants with a series of ambiguous vignettes in which a person could be rejected based on race, followed by two questions per vignette. One question asked participants to indicate on a 6-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*very unconcerned*) to 6 (*very concerned*) how concerned/anxious they would be about their race/ethnicity if they were in the situation depicted in the vignette. The second question asked participants to indicate on a 6-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*very unlikely*) to 6 (*very likely*) how much they expect other people in the vignette to behave negatively toward them because of their race/ethnicity. A sample item is

Imagine you have just completed a job interview over the telephone. You are in good spirits because the interviewer seemed enthusiastic about your application. Several days later you complete a second interview in person. Your interviewer informs you that they will let you know about their decision soon. (a) How concerned/anxious would you be that you might not be hired because of your race/ethnicity. (b) I would expect that I might not be hired because of my race/ethnicity.

The two ratings for each vignette were multiplied to generate one score for each vignette ranging from 1 to 36, and all vignette scores averaged for an overall race-based rejection sensitivity score (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .87$ ). Greater values are indicative of greater sensitivity to race/ethnicity based rejection. The race-based rejection sensitivity measure has been assessed for incremental validity in predicting well-being as distinct from personal rejection sensitivity (Mendoza-Denton et al., 2002).

**Cultural identity clarity.** Cultural identity clarity was measured using six items from the Cultural Identity Clarity Scale (Usborne & Taylor, 2010). Participants were asked to indicate on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*) how clear they perceived their cultural identity to be (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .82$ ). A sample item is "In general, I have a clear sense of what my cultural group is." Ratings were averaged across items to create combined scores. Greater values are indicative of greater cultural identity clarity.

## Outcome Variables

**Bicultural stress.** Bicultural stress was measured using the 20-item Bicultural Stress Scale (Romero & Roberts, 2003a). Participants were asked to indicate on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*) how much bicultural stress they have experienced (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .86$ ). A sample item is "I have felt pressure to learn Spanish." Ratings were averaged across items to create combined scores. Greater values are indicative of greater bicultural stress.

**Self-esteem.** Self-esteem was measured using the 10-item Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965). Participants were asked to indicate on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*) how high their self-esteem is (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .83$ ). A sample item is "I feel that I have a number of good qualities." Ratings were averaged across items to create combined scores. Greater values are indicative of greater self-esteem.

**Life satisfaction.** Life satisfaction was measured using the 5-item Satisfaction With Life Scale (Diener et al., 1985). Participants were asked to indicate on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*) how satisfied they are

with their lives (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .91$ ). A sample item is "In most ways my life is close to my ideal." Ratings were averaged across items to create combined scores. Greater values are indicative of greater life satisfaction.

## Results

### Descriptive Statistics

For statistical completeness Table 1 presents descriptive statistics and Pearson correlations for race-based rejection sensitivity, cultural identity clarity, bicultural stress, self-esteem, and life satisfaction.

### Analyses

As can be seen in Table 1, Pearson correlations between race-based rejection sensitivity and the three well-being measures supported Hypothesis 1, which stated that race-based rejection sensitivity would be negatively associated with well-being. Specifically, race-based rejection was associated with lower self-esteem and life satisfaction, and higher bicultural stress. It should be noted that the mean score for race-based rejection sensitivity observed in the present study was quite low compared with other reports of the same measure (cf. Anglin et al., 2016; Chan et al., 2008; Mendoza-Denton et al., 2002, 2008), suggesting Canadian Latino/a immigrants' sensitivity to experiencing race-based rejection is relatively weak.

Hypothesis 2, that cultural identity clarity would moderate the association between race-based rejection sensitivity and well-being such that Latino/a immigrants lower in cultural identity clarity would experience poorer well-being than those higher in cultural identity clarity, was examined using linear regressions. To test the moderating effect of cultural identity clarity on the association between race-based rejection sensitivity and well-being three regression analyses were conducted entering race-based rejection sensitivity, cultural identity clarity, and their interaction predicting each of bicultural stress, self-esteem, and life satisfaction.<sup>3</sup> All predictor variables were mean centered and all interactions were explored using the Aiken and West (1991) simple slopes analysis procedure.

**Bicultural stress.** As can be seen in Table 2, results for bicultural stress revealed a nonsignificant main effect of race-based rejection sensitivity,  $b = .028$ ,  $SE = .015$ ,  $p = .059$ , and a statistically significant main effect of cultural identity clarity,  $b = -.191$ ,  $SE = .071$ ,  $p = .008$ ,  $F(3, 130) = 9.962$ ,  $p = .000$ ,  $R^2 = .19$ .<sup>4</sup> Additionally, the analysis revealed that the relation between race-based rejection sensitivity and bicultural stress was moderated by cultural identity clarity, as indicated by the statistically significant interaction term of race-based rejection sensitivity and cultural identity,  $b = -.031$ ,  $SE = .014$ ,  $p = .031$ .

As can be seen in Figure 1, simple slopes analyses of the interaction revealed that among those who were lower in cultural identity clarity ( $-1 SD$ ) as race-based rejection sensitivity increased so did bicultural stress,  $b = .054$ ,  $SE = .016$ ,  $p = .001$ .

<sup>3</sup> Regression analyses were also run including number of years residing in Canada as a control variable. The results of those analyses were identical to the results being reported here in terms of statistical significance.

<sup>4</sup> One multivariate outlier was removed from the analysis.

Table 1  
Descriptive Statistics and Pearson Correlations for Race-Based Rejection Sensitivity (RBRS), Cultural Identity Clarity (CIC), Bicultural Stress (BS), Self-Esteem (SE), and Life Satisfaction (LS)

Measure	1	2	3	4	5
1. RBRS	—	-.367** [-.505, -.211]	.361** [.205, .499]	-.354** [-.493, -.197]	-.292** [-.439, -.129]
2. CIC	—	—	-.315** [-.460, -.154]	.395** [.242, .529]	.371** [.216, .508]
3. BS	—	—	—	-.505** [-.621, -.367]	-.511** [-.626, -.374]
4. SE	—	—	—	—	.697** [.599, .775]
5. LS	—	—	—	—	—
<i>M</i>	5.29	3.76	2.57	4.18	3.58
<i>SD</i>	4.50	.86	.69	.63	1.05

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$  [95% confidence intervals].

However, among those who were higher in cultural identity clarity (1 *SD*) race-based rejection sensitivity did not impact bicultural stress,  $b = .002$ ,  $SE = .021$ ,  $p = .933$ .

**Self-esteem.** As can be seen in Table 2, results for self-esteem revealed statistically significant main effects of race-based rejection sensitivity,  $b = -.033$ ,  $SE = .011$ ,  $p = .005$ , and of cultural identity clarity,  $b = .199$ ,  $SE = .061$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $F(3, 131) = 13.971$ ,  $p = .000$ ,  $R^2 = .24$ . Additionally, the analysis revealed that the relation between race-based rejection sensitivity and self-esteem was moderated by cultural identity clarity, as indicated by the statistically significant interaction term of race-based rejection sensitivity and cultural identity clarity,  $b = .027$ ,  $SE = .011$ ,  $p = .014$ .

As can be seen in Figure 2, simple slopes analyses of the interaction revealed that among those who were lower in cultural identity clarity (-1 *SD*) as race-based rejection sensitivity increased self-esteem decreased,  $b = -.056$ ,  $SE = .014$ ,  $p = .000$ . However, among those who were higher in cultural identity clarity (1 *SD*) race-based rejection sensitivity did not impact self-esteem,  $b = -.010$ ,  $SE = .015$ ,  $p = .521$ ; see Figure 2.

**Life satisfaction.** As can be seen in Table 2, results for life satisfaction revealed statistically significant main effects of race-based rejection sensitivity,  $b = -.040$ ,  $SE = .020$ ,  $p = .042$ , and

of cultural identity clarity,  $b = .335$ ,  $SE = .104$ ,  $p = .002$ ,  $F(3, 131) = 10.343$ ,  $p = .000$ ,  $R^2 = .19$ . Additionally, the analysis revealed that the relation between race-based rejection sensitivity and life satisfaction was moderated by cultural identity clarity, as indicated by the statistically significant interaction term of race-based rejection sensitivity and cultural identity clarity,  $b = .038$ ,  $SE = .019$ ,  $p = .042$ .

As can be seen in Figure 3, simple slopes analyses of the interaction revealed that among those who were lower in cultural identity clarity (-1 *SD*) as race-based rejection sensitivity increased life satisfaction decreased,  $b = -.073$ ,  $SE = .025$ ,  $p = .004$ . However, among those who were higher in cultural identity clarity (1 *SD*) race-based rejection sensitivity did not impact life satisfaction,  $b = -.008$ ,  $SE = .026$ ,  $p = .769$ .

**Discussion**

The present study examined the impact of race-based rejection sensitivity on well-being, and whether cultural identity clarity could help curtail any negative effects. Results of the present study suggest that race-based rejection sensitivity is negatively associated with well-being, among a group of Latino/a Canadians. Such a finding aligns with previous research that has found a negative

Table 2  
Unstandardized Coefficients From Regression Analyses Predicting Outcome Measures

Predictor	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	95% CI	
			LL	UL
<b>Bicultural stress</b>				
(Constant)	2.516	.059	2.399	2.632
Race-based rejection sensitivity (RBRS)	.028	.015	-.001	.057
Cultural identity clarity (CIC)	-.191**	.071	-.330	-.051
Interaction of RBRS and CIC	-.031*	.014	-.058	-.003
<b>Self-esteem</b>				
(Constant)	4.218	.050	4.119	4.318
Race-based rejection sensitivity (RBRS)	-.033**	.011	-.055	-.010
Cultural identity clarity (CIC)	.199**	.061	.079	.319
Interaction of RBRS and CIC	.027*	.011	.006	.048
<b>Life satisfaction</b>				
(Constant)	3.632	.086	3.461	3.802
Race-based rejection sensitivity (RBRS)	-.040*	.020	-.079	-.002
Cultural identity clarity (CIC)	.335**	.104	.129	.541
Interaction of RBRS and CIC	.038*	.019	.001	.075

Note. CI = confidence interval; LL = lower limit; UL = upper limit.  
\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

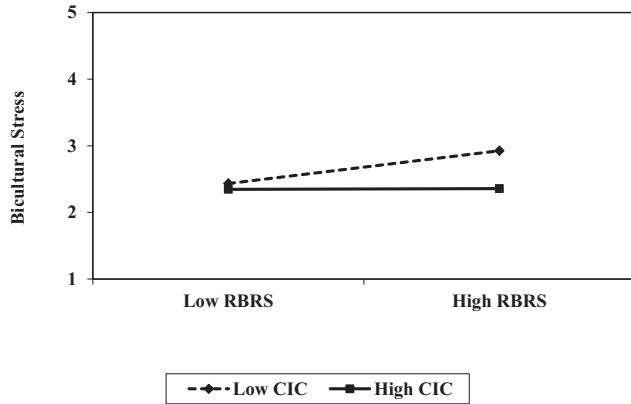


Figure 1. Interaction effect of race-based rejection sensitivity (RBRS) and cultural identity clarity (CIC) on bicultural stress.

association between racial discrimination and race-based rejection sensitivity, and well-being, including among Latino/a's living in the United States (e.g., Anglin et al., 2016; Chan & Mendoza-Denton, 2008; Greene et al., 2006; Huynh & Fuligni, 2010; Mendoza-Denton et al., 2002; Page-Gould et al., 2014; Romero & Roberts, 2003b; Szalacha et al., 2003; Torres et al., 2012). It should be noted that on average participants in the present study reported relatively low scores on the race-based rejection sensitivity measure compared with other reports in the literature drawing on samples in the United States (cf., Mendoza-Denton et al., 2002, 2008). Such a finding suggests Canadian Latino/a immigrants' sensitivity to experiencing race-based rejection is rather low. The relatively low reports of race-based rejection sensitivity found in the present study may be a result of Canada having adopted an official policy of multiculturalism (Government of Canada, 1971). Canada's Multiculturalism Policy strives to encourage heritage culture maintenance and inclusivity, resulting in a sociocultural context that could help curtail the negative impact of experiences of discrimination on well-being. Indeed, race-based rejection sensitivity appears to be higher for visible minorities in sociocultural contexts that reflect more of an assimilation strategy to managing

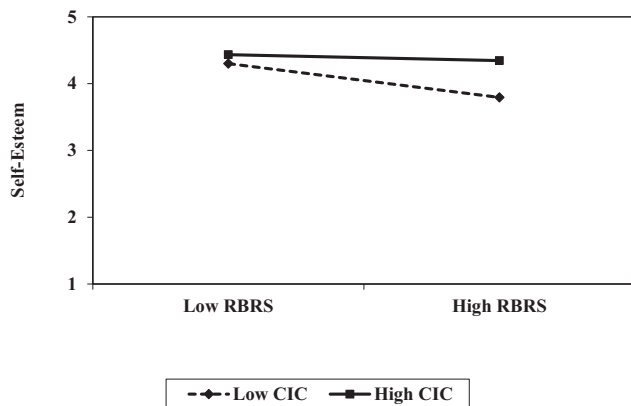


Figure 2. Interaction effect of race-based rejection sensitivity (RBRS) and cultural identity clarity (CIC) on self-esteem.

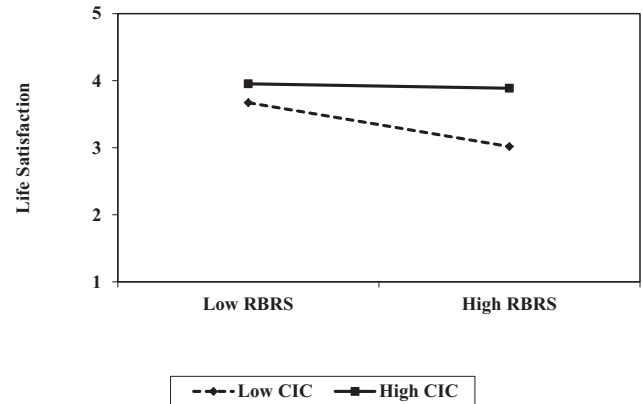


Figure 3. Interaction effect of race-based rejection sensitivity (RBRS) and cultural identity clarity (CIC) on life satisfaction.

cultural diversity, such as in the United States (e.g., Anglin et al., 2016; Chan et al., 2008; Mendoza-Denton et al., 2002, 2008).

Results of the present study also suggest that cultural identity clarity moderates the negative effects of race-based rejection sensitivity on well-being with high cultural identity clarity attenuating that negative association. These results suggest that cultural identity clarity serves a protective function when people perceive that the racial or ethnic aspects of their sense of self is threatened. Cultural identity clarity serves such a protective function by providing a concrete and stable framework within which one can develop a clear sense of self, which is positively associated with well-being (Taylor & Osborne, 2010; Osborne & Taylor, 2010). In the present study, we found that having a clear sense of the aspect of self that is under threat served to protect well-being. Specifically, Latino/a immigrants' confidence in their understanding of their Latino/a identities and a sense of their Latino/a identities being stable protected their self-esteem and life satisfaction from the negative impact of their sense of self as Latino/a being threatened.

A third measure of well-being that was used in the present study, bicultural stress, specifically relates to the experience of immigration and acculturation. Because bicultural stress includes stress over discrimination from majority members of a new host country, it is no surprise that race-based rejection sensitivity was observed to be positively associated with bicultural stress. However, having clarity over their Latino/a identities served to protect Latino/a immigrants from experiencing bicultural stress despite being sensitive to race-based rejection. Cultural identity clarity may serve such a protective function because having a sense of confidence and stability over their Latino/a identities may allow Latino/a immigrants to feel that their Latino/a community as a group has the ability to cope with discrimination, for example, by engaging in collective action (Outten, Schmitt, Garcia, & Branscombe, 2009).

## Implications

The results of the present study offer insight into the immigration and acculturation experience of the Latino/a community in Canada whose experience remains understudied despite its increasing presence in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2011). Specifi-

cally, the results of the present study suggest that Latino/a immigrants in Canada maintaining clarity over their heritage cultures postimmigration can be beneficial, in particular when they are concerned about experiencing discrimination. Canada, having adopted an official policy of multiculturalism that encourages heritage cultural maintenance and provides support for such maintenance (Government of Canada, 1971) is a sociocultural context conducive to maintaining cultural identity clarity postimmigration. Accordingly, the results of the present study further support the importance of policies that foster the maintenance of one's heritage culture.

For those immigrants who have been unable to maintain cultural identity clarity postimmigration, engaging in *bicultural competence* training may be beneficial (LaFromboise et al., 1993). Bicultural competence training is based on the idea that people can be competent in two cultures simultaneously (LaFromboise et al., 1993). For instance, *hero/heroine modeling* (previously referred to as *cuento therapy*) can increase ethnic identity and self-concept within the Latino/a population (Malgady, Rogler, & Costantino, 1990). Additionally, *familias unidas* (previously referred to as *bicultural effectiveness training* and *family effectiveness training*) can, among other things, minimize intergenerational conflict within the Latino/a population, which can be exacerbated by the process of acculturation, and attempts to promote family cohesion (a core feature in Latino/a cultures; see Bacallao & Smokowski, 2005; Coatsworth, Pantin, & Szapocznik, 2002). Accordingly, participating in bicultural competence training might assist Latino/a immigrants in maintaining cultural identity clarity should they need such assistance after immigrating to a new host country.

### Limitations and Future Research Direction

Participants from a wide age range were recruited to take part in the present study to include a sample more representative of the true population of interest. However, such a wide age range can also be viewed as a limitation. How people come to understand, identify with, and are impacted by their ethnic or cultural identities, changes across developmental periods (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). As such, future research replicating the present study at different developmental stages would be valuable. Another limitation of the present study is that the data collected is cross-sectional, limiting support for causal arguments. Future research examining how race-based rejection sensitivity and cultural identity clarity impact the well-being of Latino/a immigrants in Canada using longitudinal or experimental designs could allow for causal conclusions to be drawn. Further, the results of the present study cannot be generalized to all immigrant communities in Canada without further research. Accordingly, future research should focus on examining the impact of race-based rejection sensitivity and cultural identity clarity on the well-being of different immigrant communities in Canada.

### Conclusion

Broadly, the present study examined the immigration and acculturation experience of the growing Latino/a community in Canada. The aim of the present study was to examine the impact of race-based rejection sensitivity on well-being, and the role that cultural identity clarity might play. We found that race-based

rejection sensitivity is negatively associated with well-being, but that the negative association is attenuated when cultural identity clarity is high. Taken together, the results of the present study suggest that having confident, clear and stable cultural identities can protect Latino/a immigrants in Canada from the negative effects of being sensitive to cues of racial discrimination.

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