

A Culturometric Exploration of Intrusions of Globalisation on Transnational Identities: The Jamaican Example

Béatrice BOUFOY-BASTICK

Abstract: Trans-national identity is a composite of individual and group identity development, construction and negotiation. It is of importance to the collective and to the individual. Its significance extends from collective national action through its influences on governmental policy to the individual who simply asks, "Who am I?" Globalization and modern labor movements between countries with diasporic populations complicate the already complex rapidly changing interdependencies of cultural-ethnic identities comprising individual and collective trans-national identity. This paper utilizes an instrument for assessing, comparing and tracking the changing composite cultural-ethnic identities of individuals and groups that comprise trans-national identity. The instrument is the Cultural Index (Boufoy-Bastick, 2001, 2002, 2007, 2008); a two-item ipsative scale capable of being grounded in each group's definition of their own identity. Jamaican respondents (N=126) participated in a one-on-one Mall interrupt survey to assess the relative contributions of Jamaican, African and Anglo-American cultures to their trans-national identity. Gender and age comparisons, tested for both construct and concurrent validity, showed that Anglo-American culture currently has a significantly smaller impact on Jamaican's collective trans-national identity than do both African and Jamaican cultures. The research is important for monitoring the intrusions of Globalization on the trans-national identities of diasporic communities.

Keywords: *Culturometrics, globalization, transnational identities*

Introduction

Trans-national identity is a composite of individual and group identity development, construction and negotiation. It is of importance to the collective and to the individual. Its significance extends from collective international action through its influences on national governmental policy to the individual who simply asks, "Who am I?" Globalization¹ and modern labor movements between countries with

¹ Jerzy Smolicz and Margaret Secombe, "Globalisation, Identity, and Cultural Dynamics in a Multiethnic state: Multiculturalism in Australia", in *Nation-Building, Identity and*

diasporic populations complicate the already complex rapidly changing interdependencies of cultural-ethnic identities comprising individual and collective trans-national identity.

Ethnic and racial categories may be considered to be as much cultural and ideological creations of inclusions and differentiations as they are genetic or geographic classifications (Boyd, Goldman & White², 2000). This is most certainly the case for sociological categories that mediate cultural identities. In practice, ethnic and racial categories are usually identified by 'visible minority' categorization common to official censuses and civic regulations (Chard and Renaud³, 1999). What constitutes a visible minority depends very much on noticeable inter-group differences of interest and concern, particularly relative to the indigenous or base cultural group. Note that 'visible' in this sense refers to discernable differences of social interest and/or concern, rather than to only physical appearance. Thus the official United States classification of 'Asian' is very different from that used in the United Kingdom. Similarly, 'Black' in the United States includes people who would not be considered 'Black' in Jamaica. Even within national boundaries the meaning of a single classification system would change as applied in different communities (Bissoondath⁴, 1994; Sindicz and Secombe⁵, 2009; Thomas⁶, 2004). Such fixed nominal categorizations are too coarse and simplistic to capture the complex interrelated influences that might change an individual's trans-national identity, or to act as a basis of measurement for trans-national identity. Such complexity can be illustrated by a partial list of some of the inter-linked influences that change trans-national identity. This would include ancestry, assimilation and intermarriage, religious conversion and education, proximity of, and contact with family, existence

Citizenship Education, eds. Joseph Zajda, Holger Daun and Lawrence J. Saha, chapt. 6, 2009.

² Monica Boyd, Gustave Goldman and Pamela White, "Race in the Canadian Census" in *Race and Racism: Canada's Challenge*, eds. Leo Driedger and Halli S. Shiva (Montreal: McGill/Queen's University Press, 2000).

³ Jennifer Chard and Viviane Renaud, "Visible Minorities in Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal" *Canadian Social Trends*, 54 (1999), 20-25.

⁴ Neil Bissoondath, *Selling Illusions: The Cult of Multiculturalism in Canada*, (Toronto: Penguin Books, 1994).

⁵ Jerzy Smolicz and Margaret Secombe, "Globalisation, Identity, and Cultural Dynamics in a Multiethnic state: Multiculturalism in Australia", in *Nation-Building, Identity and Citizenship Education*, eds. Joseph Zajda, Holger Daun and Lawrence J. Saha, chapt. 6, 2009.

⁶ Deborah Thomas, *Nationalism, Globalization and the Politics of Culture in Jamaica* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004).

of community centers and support, memberships of religious and secular organizations, psychological belongingness and social cohesion, connections to ethnic heritage, labor force characteristics and business networks, use of ethnic symbols, restrictions on ownership and social participation.

In this study, three major, and almost inclusive, cultural constructions from within Jamaican society are used to represent the Primary Cultural Identities that comprise Jamaican trans-national identity. These are culturally relative constructs of 'Jamaican-ness', 'Anglo-American-ness' and 'African-ness' as understood by consensus in urban Jamaican society. The main influences on trans-national identity in Jamaica that are considered as possible explanations of generational differences in this study are connections to ethnic heritage, education and proximity of, and contact with one's family.

As indicated above, the measurement of cultural identity, particularly trans-national identity, is fraught with practical and conceptual problems. There seem to be no extant instruments suitable for measuring trans-national identity. Published instruments for measuring the cultural identity components of trans-national identity can be categorized as (i) Acculturation scales, (ii) Multigroup Ethnic instruments or (iii) Culturally specific instruments. Acculturation scales for use in multicultural societies, for example those by Pillen and Hoewing-Roberson⁷ (1992) and by Israel⁸ (1995), tend to assess the degree to which subjects from different cultures match to the base culture (commonly North American). The degree of matching, e.g. integrated, separated, assimilated, or marginalized, is used to predict psychosocial problems such as stress, drug addiction or marital abuse. Acculturation scales are not suitable for assessing the cultural identity components of trans-national identity because they relate only to the mores of one base culture. Multigroup Ethnic instruments that exist for use in multicultural groups, e.g. the much used 'Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure' (Phinney⁹, 1992), and the 'Acculturation Measure for Latino Youth' (Pillen and Hoewing-Roberson¹⁰, 1992), tend to measure what is common to ethnic groups rather than what makes them unique. The 'Acculturation Measure for

⁷ Michelle Pillen and Renee Hoewing-Roberson, "Development of an Acculturation Measure for Latino Youth", (1992).

⁸ Cuellar Israel, "Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans" *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, (17)3, (1995): 275-304.

⁹ Jean Phinney, "The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure: A New Scale for Use with Diverse Groups" *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 7(2), (1992): 156-76.

¹⁰ Michelle Pillen, Michelle and Renee Hoewing-Roberson, "Development of an Acculturation Measure for Latino Youth. (1992).

Latino Youth' for example, uses family identity, self/peer identity, customs and food attributes that are particular to Puerto Ricans and Mexicans and more generally to people with Latino ancestry. These Multigroup Ethnic instruments are not suitable for assessing trans-national identity because they only target a small range of attributes that similar ethnic groups have in common. Culturally specific instruments are by far the largest category of cultural identity measures, such as Ortiz¹¹, (1994); De Leon and Mendez¹², (1996); Ponterotto, Baluch and Carielli¹³ (1998); Reese, Vera and Paikoff¹⁴, (1998); Smith and Brookins¹⁵, (1997); and Snowden and Hines¹⁶, (1999) to mention only a few. These instruments assess degree of membership of a specific cultural group and they also tend to derive from social issues research with one of North America's official classifications of racial groups - Asian (now Asian and Pacific Islanders), Black (now African-American), Hispanic, Native-American and Anglo-American (now European-American). Although many such instruments exist for the measurement of cultural identity, they each tend to focus on specific religious rituals, observances, language use, feelings of ethnic affirmation and belongings, ethnic behaviors, and ethnic knowledge or attitudes that are particular to a single culture or sub-cultural group. This makes them inadequate for use with other cultures and hence inappropriate for cross-cultural comparisons or for assessing cultural identity in multicultural societies where identity is a blend of more than one culture.

The importance of an instrument capable of providing for such comparative analysis has been emphasized by Jose Itzigsohn and Silvia Saucedo as a result of their cross-cultural study of the trans-national sociocultural practices of Colombian,

¹¹ Felix Ortiz, "A Multidimensional Measure of Cultural Identity for Latino and Latina Adolescents" *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 16(2), (1994): 99-115.

¹² Brunilda De Leon and Serafin Mendez, "Factorial Structure of a Measure of Acculturation in a Puerto Rican Population" *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 56(1), (1996): 155-65.

¹³ Joseph Ponterotto, Suraiya Baluch and Dominick Carielli, "The Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation Scale (SL-ASIA): Critique and Research Recommendations" *Measurement and Evaluation in Counseling and Development*, (31)2, (1998): 109-24.

¹⁴ Leroy Reese, Elizabeth Vera, and Roberta Paikoff, "Ethnic Identity Assessment among Inner-City African American Children: Evaluating the Applicability of the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure" *Journal of Black Psychology*, (24)3, (1998): 289-304.

¹⁵ Emilie Smith and Craig Brookins, "Toward the Development of an Ethnic Identity Measure for African American Youth". *Journal of Black Psychology*, (23)4, (1997): 358-77.

¹⁶ Lonnie Snowden, Lonnie and Alice Hines, "A Scale To Assess African American Acculturation" *Journal of Black Psychology*, (25)1, (1999): 36-47.



Dominican, and Salvadorian immigrant to the USA (Itzigsohn and Saucedo¹⁷, 2002). Such an instrument is particularly necessary for the measurement of trans-national identities in European and Caribbean countries, which are complex changing composites of values, attitudes, preferences and practices derived from major despotic cultures, colonial cultures, in situ multi-ethnic cultures, current political and educational influences and the pervasive culture of globalization. However, just as it is possible to sidestep the complexities of authentic measurement by employing proxy measures, so it is possible to avoid having to understand these complex cultural particulars in order to construct a valid and reliable measure of trans-national identity. From televisions to automobiles, it is commonplace in our technological society for people to effectively use devices whose complexities are beyond their understanding. Many of our modern measuring instruments that utilize complex advanced technologies are designed for lay people to use. The *Cultural Index* is a measuring paradigm incorporating such a design as these.

This paper utilizes the *Cultural Index* for assessing, comparing and tracking the changing composite cultural-ethnic identities of individuals and groups that comprise trans-national identity. The *Cultural Index* (CI) (Boufof-Bastick¹⁸, 2001, 2002, 2003) is a two-item ipsative scale capable of being grounded in each group's definition of their own identity. The *Cultural Index* is a psychometric method that utilizes definitive cultural self-knowledge of individuals and groups to measure the composite cultural identities that constitute their trans-national identity. In this way the CI assesses components of identity without needing to explicitly describe, or operationally define, these complexities. The measures produced by the CI may also be used to identify the most apt subjects for further research to explore these complexities and their meanings. By grounding cultural identity in consensus emic meaning, by using mean ratings of cultural attributes of a public object, it becomes possible to compare on a common metric the cultural identities of individuals, and of subgroups, within and between different cultures. In this study, the CI was used to

¹⁷ José Itzigsohn, José and Silvia Saucedo, "Immigrant Incorporation and Sociocultural Transnationalism" *International Migration Review*, 36(3), (2002): 66-98.

¹⁸ Béatrice. Boufof-Bastick, "Introduction to Culturo-metrics: Measuring the Cultural Identity of Children and Teachers". Paper presented at the 9th *European conference for Research on Learning and Instruction*, Fribourg, Switzerland (Aug, 2001).

Béatrice Boufof-Bastick, "Measuring Cultural Identity in Culturally Diverse Societies" *World Cultures*, 13(1) (2002): 39-47.

Béatrice. Boufof-Bastick, *Academic Attainments and Cultural Values*, Munich, Germany. Lincom Europa, 2003.

identify differences in the trans-national identities of male and female Jamaicans and to track generational changes in trans-national identity within Jamaican society.

To represent two successive generations for trans-generational identity analysis this study used two groups with a mean age difference of 30 years. These two age groups differed from each other by a minimum of 17 years and a maximum of 54 years. This time difference for generations is well supported by the literature and by the author's personal experience. The years between generations in Jamaica are relatively few because of early childbearing practices. Early childbearing practices are encouraged in Jamaica by cultural traditions such as Ghetto culture marking masculinity by men having many 'baby mothers', i.e. very young girls who are mothers of their children, and by deriding young women who have not been pregnant by referring to them as 'mules', i.e. infertile (Blake¹⁹, 1971; Brody²⁰, 1981; Kitzinger²¹, 1982). As Senderowitz²² (1995) says "cultural traditions encourage young women to prove their fertility before marriage" and as Saardchom²³ (2000) reports:

Only about half of the population of Jamaica has never been married by age 50: 51.8% for males and 54.2% for females, the lowest worldwide. Jamaica also has the world highest SMAM (*Singulate Mean Age at Marriage*): 34.6 for males and 33.1 for females. Getting married in Jamaica is far less important than having a child. For men, having children is seen as a sign of virility and for women, a sign of fertility. Moreover, women try to have children from multiple fathers to increase the likelihood of financial support.

Consequently, "By age 19, about 40 percent of Jamaican women have been pregnant" (Eggleston, Jackson and Hardee²⁴, 1999). Similar statistics from the International Planned Parenthood Association (2004) are:

Teenage births have decreased from 31% of total births in 1977 to 23.7% in

19 Judith Blake, *Family Structure in Jamaica: The Social Context of Reproduction*. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1971.

20 Eugene Brody, *Sex, Contraception, and Motherhood in Jamaica*, Cambridge, MA, USA: Harvard University Press, 1981.

21 Sheila Kitzinger, "The social context of birth: some comparisons between childbirth in Jamaica and Britain" in *Ethnography of Fertility and Birth*, ed., Cody MacCormack. New York: Academic Press, 1982.

22 Judith Senderowitz, *Adolescent Health: Reassessing the Passage to Adulthood*, World Bank Discussion Papers #272. The World Bank, Washington, D.C. (1995).

23 Narumon Saardchom, *Marriage Markets Across Countries*, (2000). <http>

24 Elizabeth Eggleston, Jean Jackson and Karen Hardee, "Sexual Attitudes and Behavior Among Young Adolescents in Jamaica", *International Family Planning Perspectives*, 25(2), (1999): 78-84 & 91.

1992. In 1993, 2.5% of girls between 10 and 14 years old had their first baby. The fertility rate in 1993 for 15-19 year olds was 108 per 1000 women. .. Women aged 15-19 giving live births each year (%): 11.

Method

This study used one-on-one Mall Interrupt interviews with 126 respondents in an urban Jamaican district of Kingston to gather data on Anglo-American, Jamaican and African self-identity. These three cultural constructs were chosen because they are the most prominent cultural identities that comprise the trans-national identity of Jamaican society. Subjects also gave their age and gender so that any generational change in Jamaicans' trans-national identity could be identified and compared for males and females. Subjects were given no information on the meaning of Anglo-American-ness, Jamaican-ness or African-ness and, if they asked, they were instructed to use their own meaning of the terms.

Subjects rated their own identity Q1 on each of the three cultural constructs using questions q3 to q5

q3 How Jamaican do you feel 0-9

q4 How American do you feel 0-9

q5 How African do you feel 0-9

Subjects also rated the identity of a public object Q2, the Prime Minister at the time of the study, Mr. P. J. Patterson, on the same constructs using questions q8 to q10:

q8 How Jamaican do you feel Patterson is 0-9

q9 How American do you feel Patterson is 0-9

q10 How African do you feel Patterson is 0-9

A subject's Primary Cultural Indexes for each construct 'c' were calculated as $PCI_c = Q1_c / Q2_c \times \text{mean of } Q2_c$, where the three values of 'c' refer to the three cultural constructs of Jamaican-ness, Anglo-American-ness and African-ness. So, for example, where PCI_j , PCI_{am} , PCI_{af} represent the subject's primary cultural indices of the three constructs Jamaican-ness, Anglo-American-ness and African-ness:

$PCI_j = q3/q8 \times \text{mean of } q8$

$PCI_{am} = q4/q9 \times \text{mean of } q9$, and

$PCI_{af} = q5/q10 \times \text{mean of } q10$

To avoid 'dividing by zero' errors, all ratings were first increased by 1.

To the first degree, that is assuming an individual's judgment is a linear function of the actual amount to be judged, division of a subject's self-rating by the subject's rating of the public object gives an ipsative measure of his or her cultural identity as a proportion of the cultural identity of the public object, e.g. a subject may consider himself or herself to be half (1/2) as Jamaican as Patterson. The means of q8, q9 and q10 represent the group's consensus judgments of Jamaican-ness, Anglo-American-ness and African-ness of Patterson. Multiplying each ipsative measure by these means allows the individual's ipsative judgments of their cultural identity constructs to be grounded in the consensus judgments of the group. So, to continue the example, if the group's consensus judgment is that Patterson is rated at say 8 on Jamaican-ness, then the individual's Primary Index of Jamaican-ness, being 1/2 of Patterson's, can be calculated as $1/2 \times 8 = 4$. Boufoy-Bastick²⁵ (2002) notes that, for purposes of comparing the values of different subgroups, the Primary Cultural Index can be grounded in the consensus judgments of any subgroup. However, in this study the main interest was the meanings given to the each of the three cultural identity constructs by the whole group. Hence, means derived from the whole group were used to ground each subject's Primary Cultural Indices in the consensus judgments of the whole group.

An individual subject's trans-national identity profile comprises all of that subject's Primary cultural-ethnic identities. The Relative Cultural Identity (RCI) for any construct, e.g. Anglo-American-ness, Jamaican-ness or African-ness is calculated as the proportion that each PCI is of the total PCI for a subject. For example, where PCI_j , PCI_{am} , PCI_{af} represent the subject's primary cultural indices for the three constructs Anglo-American-ness, Jamaican-ness and African-ness, the subject's Total Primary Cultural Index (TPCI) is $PCI_j + PCI_{am} + PCI_{af}$ and the subject's Relative Cultural Index for say Jamaican-ness (RCI_j) will be $RCI_j = PCI_j / TPCI$. Similarly, the subject's Relative Cultural Index for American-ness (RCI_{am}) will be $RCI_{am} = PCI_{am} / TPCI$ and the subject's Relative Cultural Index for say African-ness (RCI_{af}) will be $RCI_{af} = PCI_{af} / TPCI$. These Relative Cultural Indices indicate the relative strengths of each component in the subject's trans-national identity and so, in an otherwise unbiased context, would predict subjects' preferred culturally relevant behaviors, values and choices. Hence,

²⁵ Béatrice Boufoy-Bastick, "Measuring Cultural Identity in Culturally Diverse Societies" *World Cultures*, 13(1) (2002): 39-47.

these Relative Cultural Indices can be used to test the concurrent validity of the three cultural-ethnic identity composites. For this purpose respondents also noted their preferences for living in America, Jamaica or Africa using questions q14, q15 and q16:

- q14 How much do you like living in Jamaica 0-9
- q15 How much would you like living in America 0-9
- q16 How much would you like living in Africa 0-9

As Relative cultural identities are predictive of relative cultural behavior choices, concurrent validity of the three cultural identity composites was tested using correlations with subjects' relative cultural preferences. For example, a correlation between RC_{Ij} and preferring to live in Jamaica relative to the other countries would evidence the concurrent validity of the Cultural Indices of Jamaican-ness - and similarly for the Cultural Indices of Anglo-American-ness and African-ness.

To triangulate the construct validity of these Cultural Indices, respondents were also asked to rate the Anglo-American-ness, Jamaican-ness and African-ness of a second, very different public object Q2b, namely a Kentucky Fried Chicken (KFC) retail outlet, using questions q11, q12 and q13:

- q11 How Jamaican do you feel KFC is 0-9
- q12 How American do you feel KFC is 0-9
- q13 How African do you feel KFC is 0-9

As the subject's identity should be independent of the public object chosen for grounding we should find that subjects' RC_{Ic} based on Q2a should correlate with their identities based on Q2b. These correlations were calculated to confirm the construct validity of the Cultural Indices. However, correlations and t-tests comparing the ratings of the two different public objects, one t-test and correlation for each cultural construct, were first calculated to ensure that ratings of the two public objects were significantly different on each construct. These differences gave greater robustness to the triangulation of the construct validity.

After calculating subjects' Primary Cultural Indices and Relative Cultural Indices for Jamaican-ness, Anglo-American-ness and African-ness, and confirming the concurrent and construct validities of these measures, subjects were grouped as Male or Female. They were also classified as Young or Old depending on them being in the first or fourth quartiles of the age distribution. First and fourth quartile groupings for age were compared to ensure that the age difference between all subjects would be greater than 17 years, with an inter-mean difference of 30 years, which is a generous estimate of mean generational age difference for Jamaica. A t-

test was calculated to ensure that the two groups had significantly different mean ages. The trans-national identities of these gender and age groups were then compared using a mixed model repeated measures ANOVA, $2 \times 2 \times (3)$, with age and gender as between subject factors and with composite trans-national identity at three levels, Jamaican-ness, Anglo-American-ness and African-ness as within subject measures. In particular, the generational changes in trans-national identity were identified by comparing mean trans-national identity profiles of the older males and females with those of younger males and females.

Results

All the subjects interviewed were Jamaican (N=126). Fifty-eight percent were male (n=73) and forty-two percent were female (n=53). The interviews lasted between one and 19 minutes with a mean of seven minutes and fifteen seconds. Ages of respondents ranged from 11 to 65 years with a mean of 31 years 9 months. The two youngest subjects were 11 and 12 years old. All others were more than 15 years old. The respondents in the first quartile (n=32) were all younger than 22 years with a mean age of 18.13 years, while those in the fourth quartile (n=35) were all older than 39 years with a mean age of 48.05 years.

Construct validity

The correlations between subjects' Relative Cultural Indices based on different public objects vis. the Prime Minister Patterson and the fast food outlet KFC were:

RCI Jamaican-ness (based on 'Prime Minister' and 'KFC outlet')
 $r=0.232^{**}$, $p=0.010$, $n=124$

RCI Anglo-American-ness (based on 'Prime Minister' and 'KFC outlet')
 $r=0.349^{**}$, $p<0.001$, $n=124$

RCI African-ness (based on 'Prime Minister' and 'KFC outlet')
 $r=0.467^{**}$, $p<0.001$, $n=124$

However, the correlations between the ratings of the original questions were:

How Jamaican are the 'Prime Minister' and the 'KFC outlet', q8, q11
 $r= - 0.208$, $p=0.019$, $n=126$

How American are the 'Prime Minister' and the 'KFC outlet', q9, q12

$r = 0.134, p = 0.135, n = 126$

How African are the 'Prime Minister' and the 'KFC outlet', q10, q13

$r = 0.084, p = 0.352, n = 124$

** Correlations significant at $p < 0.001, n = 124$ due to two missing data values

The differences between the mean ratings of each pair of questions is given in Table 1.

Table 1: Mean ratings of the Jamaican-ness, Anglo-American-ness and African-ness of one public object were very different from these mean ratings of the other public object.

Paired Samples Test									
		Paired Differences			95% Confidence Interval of the Difference		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
		Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	Lower	Upper			
Pair 1	Q8 - Q11	1.11	4.87	.43	-.25	1.97	2.553	125	.012
Pair 2	Q9 - Q12	-3.28	3.77	.34	-3.95	-2.62	-9.778	125	.000
Pair 3	Q10 - Q13	2.55	4.25	.38	1.80	3.31	6.681	123	.000

Concurrent validity

Correlations of subject preferences for living in Jamaica, America or Africa with their corresponding Relative Cultural Indices are given below. Two sets of results are given. One set of three correlations gives subject preferences correlated with their RCI based on 'Prime Minister Patterson' and the other set of three correlations gives the corresponding results using the RCI based on the 'KFC outlet'.

RCI Jamaican-ness (based on the 'KFC outlet') and preference for living in Jamaica, $r = 0.194^*, p = 0.030$

RCI Anglo-American-ness (based on the 'KFC outlet') and preference for living in America, $r = 0.273^{**}, p = 0.002$

RCI African-ness (based on the 'KFC outlet') and preference for living in Africa, $r = 0.153, p = 0.085$

RCI Jamaican-ness (based on 'Prime Minister Patterson') and preference for living in Jamaica, $r = -.0.043, p = 0.634$

RCI Anglo-American-ness (based on 'Prime Minister Patterson') and preference for living in America, $r = 0.153, p = 0.090$

RCI African-ness (based on 'Prime Minister Patterson') and preference for living in Africa, $r = 0.240^{**}, p = 0.007$

** Correlations significant at $p < 0.001, *$ Correlations significant at $p < 0.05$

Generational age differences

The quartile cut-points of the age distribution were at 22 years (25th percentile), 29.5 years (50th percentile) and 39 years for the 75th percentile. The young subjects in the first quartile (n=32) were between 11 and 22 years old with a mean age of 18.13 years. Old subjects in the fourth quartile (n=35) were between 38 and 65 years old with a mean age of 48.03 years. Hence the minimum age difference between any subject in one group and any subject in the other group was 17 years with a mean difference of 29.9 years. This difference was significant at $p < 0.001$, $t(44) = 21.7$

Comparisons of trans-national identities by gender and age

Descriptive results for each group and subgroup combination are given for each Primary Cultural Identity construct in Table 2.

Table 2: Descriptive statistics by all combinations of sex and age for the Primary Cultural Indices of Jamaican-ness, Anglo-American-ness and African-ness

AGE		SEX	Mean	Deviation	N
Jamaican-ness (PCI Jam based on Patterson)					
1	young	1 Male	15.596	19.082	16
		2 Female	14.484	13.929	16
		Total	15.040	16.444	32
2	old	1 Male	15.112	19.948	22
		2 Female	7.627	0.381	11
		Total	12.617	16.554	33
Total		1 Male	15.316	19.327	38
		2 Female	11.690	11.126	27
		Total	13.810	16.416	65
American-ness (PCI Am based on Patterson)					
1	young	1 Male	3.511	3.751	16
		2 Female	6.896	8.028	16
		Total	5.204	6.399	32
2	old	1 Male	5.175	2.436	22
		2 Female	9.395	11.061	11
		Total	6.582	6.798	33
Total		1 Male	4.475	3.125	38
		2 Female	7.914	9.263	27
		Total	5.903	6.590	65
African-ness (PCI Af based on Patterson)					
1	young	1 Male	10.893	17.602	16
		2 Female	9.397	10.637	16
		Total	10.145	14.326	32
2	old	1 Male	7.385	9.215	22
		2 Female	14.498	21.808	11
		Total	9.756	14.695	33
Total		1 Male	8.862	13.300	38
		2 Female	11.475	15.960	27
		Total	9.947	14.402	65

There was an overall significant main effect for trans-national identity showing a difference between the three Primary Cultural Indices of Jamaican-ness, Anglo-American-ness and African-ness, using Huynh-Feldt Epsilon at $F(2,95)=4.931$, $p=0.013$.

Figure 1: Trans-national Identity of Urban Jamaicans (all sub-groups).

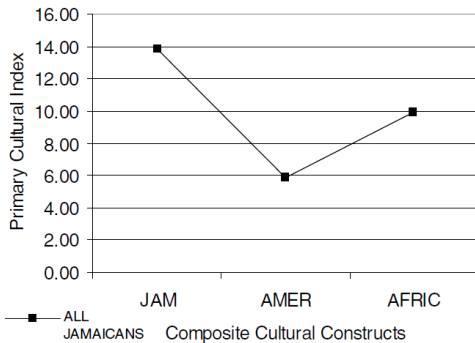


Figure 2: Trans-national Identities of Jamaican Males and Females

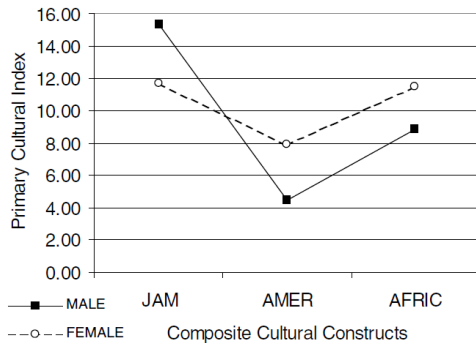


Figure 3: Trans-national Identities of Young and Old Jamaicans

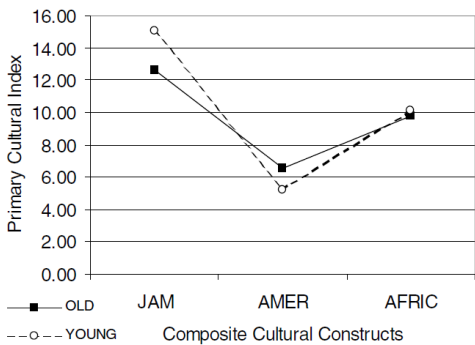


Figure 4: Trans-national Identities of Young Males and Female Jamaicans (all under 22 years old)

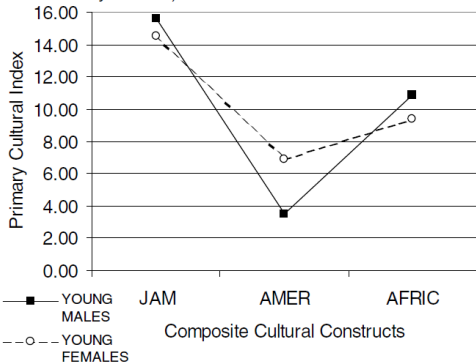


Figure 5: Trans-national Identities of Old Males and Female Jamaicans (all over 35 years old)

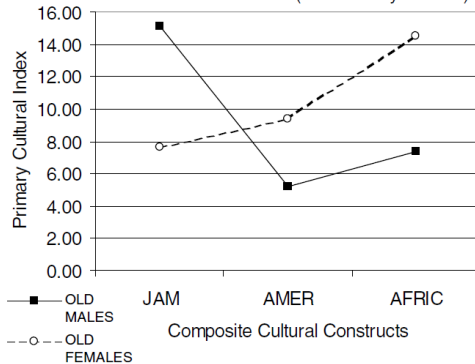
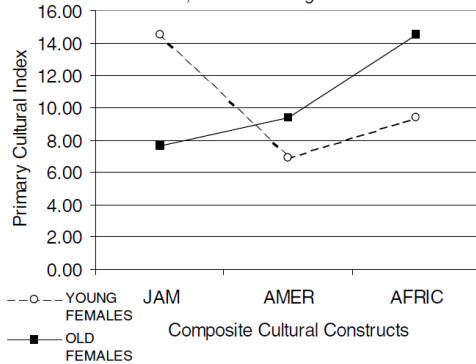
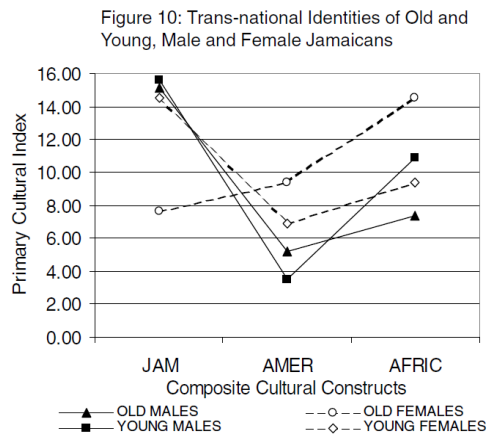
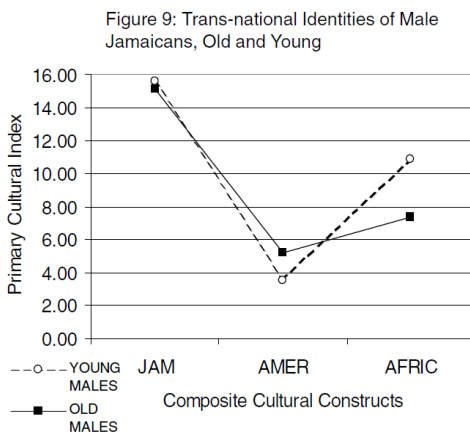
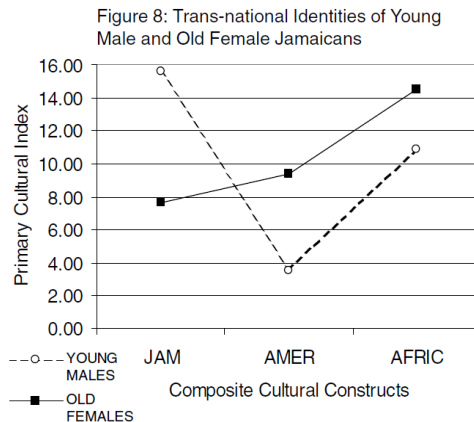
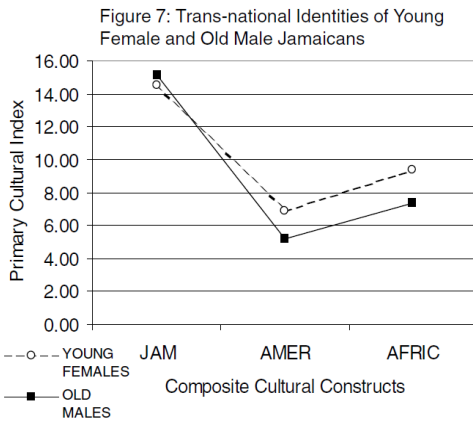


Figure 6: Trans-national Identities of Female Jamaicans, Old and Young





Conclusion and Discussion

Published measures of Cultural Identity can be classified as Acculturation scales, Multigroup Ethnic instruments or Culturally specific instruments. By asking culturally specific questions about accepted markers of culture such as ritual observance, food preferences, language use, community attitudes, etc. these instruments claim to assess an individual's degree of enculturation into that specific culture. This paper has argued that, (i) although these culturally specific instruments may be used to compare individuals on one cultural construct, they cannot meaningfully and efficiently compare subjects across cultural constructs, and (ii)



because they are based on fixed nominal categorizations, often from a perspective of the 'visible minority', they are too inflexible and simplistic for use as measures of changing and embedded concepts of trans-national identity. Trans-national identity is a composite of more than one cultural identity. The cultural identities of which it is composed are complex interacting and continuously changing cultural constructs that are defined differently by the varying experiences of cultural subgroups in a given population. Hence, a different approach to the measurement of trans-national identity seems to be justified. The Cultural Index, used in this study, utilized self-ratings and ratings of public objects to capture subjects' self-knowledge of cultural identity and ground this in a given group's consensus emic meaning of cultural identity.

Using data from one-on-one mall interrupt interviews, the trans-national identity of 126 urban Jamaicans was measured in terms of the three most common composite cultural constructs of trans-national identity in Jamaica, namely Jamaican-ness, Anglo-American-ness and African-ness. The construct validities of these Primary Cultural Indices (PICIs) were verified by demonstrating that subjects' three PCIs remained the same even when their calculation was based on the ratings of two very different public objects - 'the Prime Minister' and 'a KFC fast food outlet'. This was consistent with the expectation that a subject's cultural identity should be independent of the instruments that measure it. Further the non-significant correlations between ratings of these public objects and the significant differences in the mean ratings showed that these public objects were perceived as representing the three cultural constructs very differently. These differences give greater robustness to the triangulation of the construct validity. The concurrent validities of the measures were demonstrated by the significant correlations between each Primary Cultural Index and subjects' preferences for living in the matching country - the assumption being that the more pronounced is a subject's primary cultural identity then the greater would be the subject's preference for cultural choices consistent with that cultural identity. It was noticeable that the significant correlation between African-ness and preferring to live in Africa was largest for the Primary Cultural Index based on the 'person' public object of the Prime Minister who has been widely 'publicised' in Jamaica as being African-Jamaican, and that the significant correlation between Anglo-American-ness and preferring to live in America as well as the significant correlation between being Jamaican and preferring to live in Jamaica, were based on the 'lifestyle' public of the KFC outlet.

After establishing the construct and concurrent validities of the three measures, the subjects were divided into two generations according to generational age differences indicate by the age of first childbearing in Jamaica. It has been reported that about 40 percent of Jamaican women have been pregnant by the age 19 years. The first fourth quartiles of the age distribution were compared and were found to have a significant difference of 30 years, and were separated by a minimum of 17 years, which generously represents the current age difference between these generations in Jamaica. This enabled young (mean age 18 years) and old (mean age 48 years) males and females to be compared so as to identify gender differences and generational differences in the trans-national identities of these urban Jamaicans.

ANOVA produced mean Primary Cultural Indices (PCIs) of Jamaican-ness, Anglo-American-ness and African-ness for Males (M) and Females (F) separately, for Old (O) and Young (Y) separately, as well as for the older group split into M and F, and for the younger group split into M and F. These means were graphed in Figures 1 to 10. The ANOVA showed that the means of the three composite cultural constructs of trans-national identity were significantly different for these urban Jamaicans (Figure 1).

When these overall means were decomposed into M and F we saw that the females were more African-American, but less Jamaican, than the males (Figure 2). When decomposed by age, we saw that the young were more Jamaican and less Anglo-American than the old, but of equal African-ness (Figure 3). Then we looked more closely at these trans-generational differences by further decomposing each of the means of young and old into M and F. Figure 4 compared the identities of Young Males (YM) and Young Females (YF). The males were more Jamaican and African but much less Anglo-American than the females (Figure 4). We can begin to appreciate the meaning of these differences when we look at the very different trans-national identity profiles of Old Male (OM) and Old Female (OF) Jamaicans in figure 5. These older men are much more Jamaican than the older women but the older women are much more African-American than the older males (Figure 5). On identifying these differences we are led to hypothesize possible influences that might have led to these findings. These hypotheses point the way for further qualitative and quantitative ethnographic research to investigate these differences and their possible causes. Jamaican society is predominantly single-female head-of-household. As pointed out by the International Planned Parenthood Association



"Nearly half of all households are single-parent families headed by women" (International Planned Parenthood Association, 2004). Also, the children of these lone mothers tend to emigrate to become African-Americans. It is highly likely that these older women now identify themselves more with their African-American children and less as Jamaicans than do the older males who have fewer such external national influences upon them.

When we compared generational differences for Females (OF vs. YF in Figure 6), we noticed that the young woman were very much more Jamaican and much less African-American than their older counterparts. This would be consistent with the strong in-country influences of more recent education on the young group, which emphasizes patriotic Jamaican-ness and African slave heritage. In addition, because females of this age (mean 18 years-old) have higher educational attainments than males they are more likely to be preparing for American immigration than are the males in this same age group. These same explanations also clarify the differences plotted in Figure 7 that show YF are very similar in high Jamaican-ness to OM yet are a little more African-American.

Though the trans-national identity of OM is most similar to that of young women (figure 7), the older women are most dissimilar to the young males (Figure 8). It seems that within Jamaican society the cultural identity of older males is a much stronger role model for the young than is that of the older women. This strong male influence is commensurate with authority of masculinity in Jamaican society. These influences of education and masculinity also explain the illustration in Figure 9 where young males are shown as being very similar to older males in Jamaican-ness and in American-ness but are more pronounced in their African-ness. This is consistent with younger males having the older males as cultural role models, with education enhancing their African-ness and Jamaican-ness and having few influential aspirations of American emigration.

Figure 10 summarized these differences in trans-generational identities of urban Jamaican males and females. It is clear that the older women have a very different trans-national identity profile to that of all males and younger females. This large difference is consistent with older single-parent mothers identifying with their African-American emigrant children. The other differences are possibly due to the in-country influences of the older Jamaican male as cultural role model, mediated by African slave heritage education influencing the cultural identities of younger males and females, and the likelihood that young females, because of

their higher educational attainments, turn more to American emigration than do the young males.

In this study the *Cultural Index* made possible valid measures of the three Primary Cultural Constructs of Jamaican-ness, Anglo-American-ness and African-ness that comprise the trans-national identities of urban Jamaicans. By comparing identity profiles across generations for males and females we identified differences in trans-national identities from which educational, national and global influences were hypothesized as being the most fruitful areas for future ethnographic research into these findings of changing trans-national identity in urban Jamaica.

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