CULTURE AND BABY-NAMING IN A MULTICULTURAL WORLD: IDENTITY AND

PRAGMATIC MOTIVATIONS PREDICT CHOICES AND PREFERENCES OF BABY

NAMES AMONG BICULTURAL INDIVIDUALS

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Abstract

Changes in the repertoire of first names represent a cultural product of multiculturalism. As societies become increasingly diverse, choices of names can be construed and examined in the context of cultural identifications and acculturation strategies employed by bicultural individuals. This dissertation provides the first empirical investigation of baby-naming choices and preferences among bicultural individuals using a cultural psychological lens. The studies reported employ mixed-methods and build from different theoretical approaches. The quantitative studies allow for testing important predictors of baby-naming preferences and choices, whereas the qualitative data provide a richer understanding of the phenomenon. Study 1 ($N = 71$) provided initial evidence of how issues of cultural identity and pragmatism affected choices of baby names among a culturally diverse group of parents. Studies 2a (South Asian Canadians; $N = 326$) and 2b (Iranian Canadians; $N = 126$) examined four key predictors of baby-name preferences. Across both samples, stronger acculturation to heritage culture and motivation for ethno-cultural continuity predicted stronger preference for ethnic names. Preferences for mainstream names were predicted by both stronger acculturation to mainstream Canadian culture and greater concerns about negative consequences of ethnic names. Study 3 ($N = 211$) surveyed a group of primarily first-generation immigrants of an Indian background living in three English speaking countries: Canada, the United States, and the UK. This study also examined two new predictors of baby-naming choices, namely ethnic pride, and perceptions of names as markers of cultural identity. Results overall supported previous findings about the role of both identity and pragmatic motivations in baby naming choices, although the pattern of relationships varied slightly. Two exploratory mediational models illustrate possible pathways through which these identity and pragmatic concerns relate to name choices. Qualitatively, we provide additional support for how names are used as a means of signalling cultural group membership, displaying

one's sense of ethnic pride, and intergenerational cultural transmission. At the same time, names are seen as pragmatic tools that can help better position the child in a mainstream cultural context. Implications of these findings are discussed and a number of potential avenues for research on culture and baby-naming are proposed.

Dedication

To my wonderful parents, Vjollca Rakipaj and Xhelal Cila.

None of this would have been possible without your love and support and your many sacrifices

through the years. I am forever grateful!

Dedikim

Për mamin dhe babin.

Çdo sukses imi akademik ka zanafillën tek ju. Pa dashurinë, mbështetjen dhe sakrificat tuaja ndër

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Preface

This dissertation examines baby-naming choices and preferences among bicultural individuals. We use the term "bicultural" to refer to individuals who identify with two different cultural groups, typically a heritage culture and a mainstream culture. The dissertation consists of two main parts: (1) a journal-style manuscript that is based on four studies and that is primarily quantitative, and (2) a manuscript of a chapter that is qualitative in nature.

The first three studies of the journal manuscript (Studies 1, 2a and 2b) were conducted prior to the writing of the qualitative paper, and responses to open-ended questions in those studies were analysed and reported in the qualitative paper. Study 3 was designed and implemented after the writing of the qualitative manuscript, and was informed by some of the qualitative findings reported in it.

Because the qualitative manuscript was an invited chapter to appear in an anthology honouring the legacy of Robert C. Gardner, the approach used in that paper to analyze and discuss baby-naming among bicultural individuals follows a language motivation framework. This chapter is currently in press with Multilingual Matters. The version of the paper included in this dissertation reflects edits suggested by the dissertation committee, and is, therefore, slightly different from the in-press version. Given that the qualitative paper is based in part on the qualitative data from Studies 1, 2a, and 2b, there is a slight overlap between the quantitative and qualitative parts of the dissertation.

The two parts of the dissertation are presented separately, starting with the 4-study manuscript. Both the quantitative and qualitative manuscripts follow a typical academic paper structure, including an abstract, introduction, method, results, and discussion sections. In line with manuscript formatting, tables and figures can be found at the end of this document. One change to typical manuscript formatting is that there is a combined reference section given the

redundancy in the majority of these references. Endnotes have also been combined into a single section for both manuscripts. An overall conclusion integrates the quantitative and qualitative parts of the dissertation and discusses future research directions.

Manuscript 1

Identity and Pragmatic Motivations Predict Choices and Preferences of Baby Names

Among Bicultural Individuals

Abstract

Choosing a name for one's child is a purposive act. Among bicultural individuals, in particular, this process may be more complex as they may be faced with the added burden of having to decide between a name that reflects their ethnic origin and a name that is more common in their adoptive countries. Study 1 ($N = 71$) was an exploratory survey of an ethnically diverse group of parents and provided initial evidence of how issues of cultural identity, but also pragmatism, affected their choices of names. Studies 2a (South Asian Canadians; $N = 326$) and 2b (Iranian Canadians; $N = 126$) offered a quantitative examination of four key cultural predictors of baby-name preferences among prospective parents. In both cultural groups, stronger acculturation to heritage culture and motivation for ethno-cultural continuity predicted stronger preference for ethnic names. Preferences for mainstream names were predicted by both stronger acculturation to mainstream Canadian culture and greater concerns about negative consequences of ethnic names. Study 3 ($N = 211$) surveyed a group of primarily first-generation immigrants of an Indian background living in three English speaking countries: Canada, the United States, and the UK. Results from this study showed that names are indeed perceived as markers of cultural identity, and a way of transmitting the heritage culture to future generations. Findings across the four studies present baby-naming among bicultural individuals as a cultural decision influenced by both identity and pragmatic concerns. Implications for studies of acculturation and identity, and future research directions are discussed.

Introduction

The cultural landscape of many Western countries has changed greatly over the years, as immigration has become increasingly diversified. A very visible, but often overlooked, cultural product ensuing from this diversity relates to personal names. In Canada, the repertoire of first names has vastly expanded over the years. Although Anglophone names (Francophone in Quebec) remain at the top of the list, names such as Ahmed, Malik, or Aisha are increasingly common (e.g., Service Alberta, 2013). In the United States, names such as Jose and Gianna made it into the top 100 names in 2015 (Social Security Administration, 2016), and in 2004 the name Mohammed made it to the top 20 most popular names in the United Kingdom (Edwards & Caballero, 2008). This richness and diversity in personal names is one explicit product of multiculturalism in the West.

Despite the significance of personal names for the self and an individual's social identity, little attention has been paid to the phenomenon. Researchers have tended to be more concerned with the outcomes of having particular names, rather than the process through which these names are chosen (Edwards & Caballero, 2008). To the best of our knowledge, there is no published literature within psychology that examines naming preferences or practices among bicultural individuals, such as immigrants or minorities in the West. The extant research on the topic comes from disciplines such as sociology (e.g., Becker, 2009; Edwards & Caballero, 2008; Finch, 2008; Gerhards & Hans, 2009), communication studies (e.g., Suter, 2012), linguistics, education (e.g., Kim & Lee, 2011; Marshall & Mossman, 2010), and economics (e.g., Abramitzky, Boustan, & Eriksson, 2016; Carneiro, Lee, & Reis, 2016). Moreover, such research is relatively recent and, despite the insights and contributions it has provided, a lot more remains to be learned. In particular, very little is known about the psychological mechanisms predicting choice of ethnic or mainstream names among bicultural individuals. The goal of the present set of studies was to

examine naming choices and preferences among bicultural individuals, who identify with and have internalized, to varying degrees, two different cultures (see Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martínez, 2000). In the present set of studies, these were represented by a heritage culture and mainstream Canadian culture.

Names as markers of cultural identity

Choosing a name for one's child is not a random act. Instead, naming is often a product of conscious deliberation, with parents spending considerable time and energy on the process. Zittoun (2004) identifies a number of key symbolic functions served by names, including names as indicators of social and cultural information, and parental hopes and visions about their child's future. Parental name-choice reflects what parents want others to see in their children's names (e.g., ethnic or religious belonging), as well as their own hopes about their children becoming carriers of culture and tradition. In fact, transition to parenthood is a time when parents (or parents-to-be) take time to reflect on their own "identity-roots" and decide whether and how such identities might be transmitted to their offspring (Zittoun, 2004, p. 143). Among immigrant families or minorities, this is the time when identities are negotiated and decisions are made about how to position the child in the world. As Sue and Telles (2007) put it, choosing a name is a cultural decision. For biculturals, choosing a mainstream name for one's child may be seen as an indication of mainstream acculturation (or assimilation), whereas choosing an ethnic name may be seen as an indication of ethnic maintenance or separation from the mainstream culture (Becker, 2009; Berry, 1997; Gerhards & Hans, 2009; Sue & Telles, 2007; Watkins & London, 1994). Thus, personal names convey information that may be interpreted as an indicator of belonging to one group or the other, or of identifying with one group or the other. For instance, the increase in the use of African American names by Blacks in the United States after the 1960s

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is usually interpreted as a voluntary affirmation of their Black identity (Fryer & Levitt, 2004), affirming its separation from White American identity and reflecting a desire to go back to one's roots (Lieberson & Mikelson, 1995). Conversely, adoption of Anglicized names among adult immigrants in the US may be perceived by majority group members as an intention to assimilate, leading to more positive attitudes and positive behavioural intentions toward the racialized individual (Zhao & Biernat, 2017). A historic analysis of Jewish Servicemen during World War II also observed that their Jewish parents had choses names for their American-born children that were established in the host society primarily as a way of affirming their membership in that society (Zhang, Zuckerman, & Obukhova, 2016). Further, Thomson's (2006) qualitative study with Korean American women showed how these bicultural women perceived both their own names and their future children's names to be distinct markers of cultural identity. In our last study we offer an empirical test of the role of names as markers of ethnic and mainstream cultural identity in the context of naming choices among bicultural individuals.

Studying names as markers of identity is of theoretical and practical value because it can help shed light into the processes of cultural identification and acculturation that all immigrants go through in their adoptive countries. In addition, research suggests that personal names are not just labels, but they may also have a number of practical consequences and negative life outcomes for the individual concerned (Abramitzky et al., 2016; Gebauer, Leary, & Neberich, 2012; Goldstein & Stecklov, 2016; Mehrabian, 2001). Ethnic names, by virtue of being uncommon in the mainstream culture and often denoting a particular ethnic or religious origin, may be associated with negative consequences. Bicultural individuals whose names clearly denote a racial, ethnic, or religious belonging that is not common in the mainstream culture have been shown to become targets of prejudice or discrimination (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004;

Carpusor & Loges, 2006; Edwards & Caballero, 2008; Kaas & Manger, 2011; Kang, DeCelles, Tilcsik, & Jun, 2016; Zhao & Biernat, 2017).

Qualitative work that examines the role of culture in baby-naming has provided important insights into the role of culture in the baby-naming process. For instance, Edwards and Caballero (2008) conducted in-depth interviews with individuals in "mixed" marriages (i.e., when partners are of different racial, ethnic, or religious backgrounds) to uncover the process of personal name choice. They found that parents took into consideration both the attractiveness of the name and its affiliative nature. In other words, although it was important for parents to choose a name for their child that they really liked, it was also important to choose a name that reflected the child's cultural heritage. Marshall and Mossman's (2010) ethnographic analysis also showed that names of children from racially mixed marriages reflected a conscious decision on the part of the parents to firmly ground their children in both cultural identities. Suter (2012) used another approach for examining how cultural boundaries are negotiated in baby-naming. Her study examined naming among U.S. parents of Chinese and Vietnamese adoptees. She found that adoptive parents were motivated by both identity and pragmatic concerns in deciding whether to keep their adopted child's ethnic name after the adoption. Pragmatic concerns reflected parental motivations to accommodate English naming sounds and conventions, and were manifested in parents either excluding the birth name altogether or modifying it to make it more compatible with mainstream naming sounds and conventions. Identity concerns, on the other hand, were more complex and oriented toward the child's identification with the adoptive family, as well as their identification with their ethnic origin (Suter, 2012). Although this study did not focus on bicultural parents per se, its findings are quite relevant to the present research, as both identity

concerns and pragmatism are likely to be important factors that newcomers to the West consider when deciding on a name for their child.

A final observation about the importance of studying names as markers of social and cultural group membership needs to be made. Unlike some other markers of group membership (e.g., skin colour), names are cultural products that result from a purposive act (Sue & Telles, 2007), they usually don't carry a cost, they are equally accessible to all groups, and they are malleable (Watkins & London, 1994). Thus, it can be argued that name choice is a true manifestation of parental hopes and visions for one's child, and it may reflect acculturative processes and concerns about keeping one's ethno-cultural group alive for generations to come.

Predictors of name choices among bicultural individuals

The limited research on the topic of baby-naming among bicultural individuals suggests the importance of examining the sense of connectedness with one's heritage culture. For instance, Becker (2009) studied naming patterns among Turks in Germany and found that Turkish parents high in traditionalism and religiosity were more likely to choose Turkish names for their children. In that study, however, traditionalism and religiosity were determined only on the basis of whether or not the mother was wearing a headscarf at the time of interview. Whereas religious and traditional attire is a clear marker of one's religious or cultural belonging, due to its dichotomous nature, it cannot provide a nuanced understanding of the role of religiosity or heritage cultural identification on name choice. In the present set of studies we employ measures of *heritage culture acculturation* (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000; for a meta-analytic validation see Huynh, Howell, & Benet-Martínez, 2009) and *identification* (Cameron, 2004) that are in line with a social psychological approach to acculturation and identity.

Measures of acculturation typically focus on the present, such as by assessing the extent to which individuals are connected to their heritage culture (e.g., through speaking the language, having friends of the same cultural background). We argue, however, that in the context of baby-naming both a present-focus and a future orientation are necessary. In other words, it is important to consider not only the extent to which a bicultural individual identifies with the heritage culture and is involved with it, but also that individual's desire and motivation to transmit that culture to future generations. This temporal element, which is important for the survival of one's ethnic group, is captured by the construct of *ethno-cultural continuity* proposed by Lamy, Ward, and Liu (2013). Researchers in this area have underscored the significance of cultural continuity in the context of endogamy intentions and selective dating among Jews and Māori in New Zealand (Lamy et al., 2013), as well as its relationship to acculturation strategies (Ryabichenko & Lebedeva, 2017). In the present research, we examine the construct of ethno-cultural continuity in the realm of personal names. Names are one of the vehicles through which bicultural parents can ensure that their heritage culture lives on, and thus it is important to examine how the construct of ethno-cultural continuity can enhance our understanding of naming decisions made by bicultural parents, beyond that provided by heritage cultural identification.

An inevitable aspect of the immigrant or bicultural experience is to consider not only the importance of heritage identity and cultural continuity, but also identification with or *acculturation to mainstream society*. Acculturation in this context has sometimes been inferred from the presence of contact with majority group members, such as through friendships or intermarriage. The greater the contact, the higher the chances of giving one's child a mainstream name (Gerhards & Hans, 2009). Other scholars have used language proficiency and citizenship status as proxies for acculturation to mainstream society and found that, among Turkish-German

families with at least one parent holding German citizenship, the likelihood of giving their child a German, as opposed to an ethnic Turkish name, increased significantly (Becker, 2009). Yet another index of acculturation examined in relation to naming is length of residence in the host country. In their historic analysis of name patterns adopted by European immigrants to the US during the mid-19th to early 20th century, Abramitzky and colleagues found that acculturation to mainstream American culture, as measured by length of stay in the US, was related to increased adoption of American names (Abramitzky et al., 2016). Acculturation, however, is a construct and a process that involves much more than just contact with majority group members, language proficiency, or national citizenship. In this research we use a measure of mainstream culture acculturation that assesses various aspects of engagement with the mainstream culture (Ryder et al., 2000), and a measure of mainstream culture identification (Cameron, 2004).

Another key predictor that we examine in relation to baby-naming among bicultural individuals is *perceived negative consequences of ethnic naming*. There is a growing literature suggesting that ethnic names may in fact have negative consequences for the individual. For instance, ethnic names have been linked to teasing by friends and peers (e.g., Edwards & Caballero, 2008), discrimination in the job market (e.g., Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Kaas & Manger, 2011), and discrimination in the rental housing market (Carpusor & Loges, 2006). More recently, news stories have revealed young children being flagged on no-fly lists simply because of the cultural and religious belonging of their names (e.g., Murphy, 2016). Minority group members who have an ethnic name seem to be aware of this effect, however, and may engage in strategies to mitigate these negative effects. For instance, recent work on resume whitening has found that one of the strategies used by job-seekers to downplay their racialized identities in the hopes of improving their chances of employment is adopting American-sounding first names

(Kang et al., 2016). Given the growing evidence of the potential negative effects associated with a racialized or ethnic name, it is not surprising that this may emerge as an important factor influencing parental naming decisions. Until now, however, the role that such fears and concerns play in predicting name choices and preferences had not been tested empirically.

Finally, in our last study we incorporate the role of *emotions* in naming choices. We argue that naming choices, as a type of decision-making, are, in part, informed and shaped by the emotions of the decision-maker (e.g., Schwarz, 2000; Zeelenberg, Nelissen, Breugelmans, & Pieters, 2008). We specifically focus on the role of the group-level emotions of ethnic pride, a construct that is considered by some to be a key part of ethnic or racial identity (e.g., Chatman, Eccles, & Malanchuk, 2005; Phinney & Ong, 2007), and discuss this in more detail in Study 3.

Overview of the Current Research

Choosing a name for one's child is one of the very first decisions new parents have to make, a decision that may have life-long consequences for the child. Bicultural parents might choose a name for their child motivated primarily by a desire to convey ethnic group membership or a desire to affiliate with mainstream culture, but they may also be motivated by more pragmatic concerns related to the possible negative consequences of having an ethnic name. The goal of the present research was to examine the ways in which culture influences choices and preferences of baby names among bicultural individuals. Across four studies, using different samples and methodologies we examined the role of both identity-related and pragmatic factors on naming choices and preferences. In Study 1 we conducted an exploratory survey aimed at gaining insights into the cultural influences on baby-naming among a diverse group of bicultural parents. Study 2a examined four possible factors involved in baby name preferences among young adult South Asian Canadians: (1) acculturation to heritage culture, (2)

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acculturation to mainstream culture, (3) motivation for ethno-cultural continuity, and (4) expectations of negative consequences of ethnic naming. Study 2b was a replication of Study 2a with a group of Iranian Canadians. In addition to the above, Study 3 examined two other culturally-relevant constructs for naming choices with a sample of Indian parents residing in Canada, the US, and the UK: (1) ethnic pride and (2) perceptions of names as markers of cultural identity.

Given the exploratory nature of Study 1, no formal predictions were made. For studies 2a and 2b we expected that stronger acculturation with one's heritage culture would be associated with stronger preferences for ethnic names, whereas stronger acculturation with mainstream culture would be associated with stronger preferences for mainstream names. Importantly, we predicted that desire for cultural continuity (i.e., motivation to transmit one's culture to future generations) would predict preferences for ethnic names, above and beyond heritage acculturation. We also hypothesized that greater concerns about negative consequences of ethnic names would predict a stronger preference for mainstream names. Finally, we predicted that ethnic pride and perceptions of names as markers of ethnic identity would be positively related to ethnic name choices, whereas perceptions of names as markers of mainstream identity would be positively related to mainstream name choices (Study 3).

Study 1

The purpose of Study 1 was to gain insight into the role of cultural influences on baby naming among an ethnically diverse community sample of 1st and 2nd generation Canadians. Although we had some expectations regarding these cultural influences (see above discussion), this was an exploratory study that did not involve the testing of any formal hypotheses. The

study consisted primarily of open-ended questions, as we were mainly interested in identifying important themes in baby-naming among bicultural parents residing in a multicultural context.[1]

Method

Participants

Seventy-one bicultural parents (58 women, 13 men; $M_{age} = 45.68$, $SD = 11.88$) representing over 30 different cultural groups (e.g., Chinese, Indian, Italian, Jamaican, Dutch, Filipino) participated in this study. We recruited parents who were either first- or second-generation Canadians and who had at least one child born in Canada. Participants were parents or family members of students enrolled in an undergraduate psychology course at a large multicultural university in Canada. Most of the parents surveyed (75%) were of the same ethnicity as their spouse/partner. Among those who reported that their spouse was of a different ethnicity, all but three parents had partners of the same broad racial background (e.g., both European, such as Italian and Dutch); and two did not specify the ethnicity of the other parent.

Procedure and Measures

After providing their informed consent, participants completed a paper-and-pencil survey consisting primarily of a few open ended-questions about baby-naming and some demographic questions. For the purposes of simplicity and clarity, we asked parents to focus on first-born children only. The questions centred around (a) the importance of choosing a name that was common in one's heritage and mainstream culture (of key importance to the study), (b) the people involved in the naming process, (c) the significance and meaning of the chosen name, and (d) the importance of choosing a name that ran in the family. At the end of the survey, parents also reported on actual name choice by choosing one of four options ("chosen name was: common in my heritage culture; common in mainstream Canadian culture; common in both

cultures; not common in either culture"). Parents were also given the option to write down the chosen name if they preferred; 70% of parents did so.[2]

Results

Importance of Culture

Participants' responses regarding the importance of culture in their naming decisions ranged from one sentence to a short paragraph. Almost 50% of the participants reported it was important for them to choose a name that was common in their heritage culture, and 32% reported it was important to find a name that was common in mainstream Canadian culture. These two categories, however, were not mutually-exclusive. In other words, some of the parents mentioned that they considered both heritage and mainstream cultures when deciding on a name (15%), while others reported that cultural factors were not important (28%). Responses from 6 participants (8%) could not be categorized. Interestingly, the underlying motivations described by the participants were somewhat different. Whereas *identity concerns* (e.g., wanting the child to identify as Indian and carry on tradition), were paramount for wanting an ethnic name, the reasons given for mainstream name preference touched on both *identity* (i.e., wanting the child to identify as Canadian) and *pragmatic concerns* (e.g., fearing an ethnic name might make life harder for the child), although the latter was a more frequent theme. In the words of some of the participants:

> It was quite important to pick a name that maintained our heritage/cultural roots.
> As we want our son to know and remember where his parents and ancestors are
> from." (an Indian Canadian parent)
> "It was important as a mom to pick a name for my daughter that maintained my
> Ethiopian heritage." (an Ethiopian Canadian parent)

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"Very important. Trying to keep a balance for her, to embrace her home country,

was a very important aspect." (a Peruvian Canadian parent)

"It was very important for our son's name to reflect North American culture

because we did not want him to be identified as black when completing forms." (a

Jamaican Canadian parent)

"I gave my daughter an English first name b/c I didn't want her to be laughed at (it

could happen if I gave her a Chinese first name)." (a Chinese Canadian parent)

Both heritage and mainstream cultural influences were reflected in the actual names:
many parents (31%) reported finding a balance by choosing a name that was common in both
cultures (e.g., Hanna – reported by a Finish Canadian parent); 21% chose an ethnic name (e.g.,
Gurdeep – reported by an Indian Canadian parent), and about 24% chose a mainstream name
(e.g., Christopher – reported by an Italian Canadian parent). Eighteen percent reported choosing
a name that was not common in either culture (e.g., Sylvie – reported by a Russian Canadian
parent), and just over 5% did not answer this question.

Decision-makers

All but five respondents (93%) reported that at least one of the child's parents was
involved in deciding on the name of the child. Some of them (16%) also reported that other
people were included in the naming process. For the most part, these were extended family
members (e.g., grandparents, uncles and aunts), older siblings, and in very few cases other
influences were mentioned (e.g., close friends, colleagues, church community). To illustrate with
a few examples:

"Before my son was even born, his grandfather said to name him Kurash." (an

Iranian Canadian parent)

"My family members, my husband's family, friends – church members." (a

Ghanaian Canadian parent)

Meaning and Significance of Chosen Name

In a separate open-ended question, parents were asked about the meaning and

significance of the chosen name. Given the diversity of the sample and the chosen names, it was

impractical to organize responses into specific categories. Some parents reported that the

meaning of the name was not important at all, provided it was a name they liked, while others

proudly explained the meanings behind the chosen names (e.g., bringer of peace, purity, etc.).

Some parents mentioned that the chosen names were significant because they were names that

ran in the family. Yet others mentioned that it was important for the chosen name to have some

religious bearing.

Name Runs in the Family

About 33% of parents reported that it was important to choose a name that ran in the

family. Some of these parents had briefly described the motivations for doing so (e.g., a desire to

follow tradition, respect the elderly, and a sense of community).

Discussion

Study 1 was exploratory in nature and aimed at gaining insight into the process of baby-

naming among bicultural parents, by asking questions about cultural influences, tradition,

meaning of name, and the people involved in the naming process. Parents' responses indicated

the complexity of naming a bicultural baby. A desire to affirm one's ethnic culture and transmit

it to future generations is often juxtaposed to a desire to adopt a mainstream name to facilitate

the child's belonging and identification with their birth country. Importantly, however, these

initial findings clearly indicate that identity concerns are not the only motivations behind naming

decisions among bicultural parents. Specifically, concerns about some of the negative

consequences of having an ethnic name (e.g., teasing, bullying, discrimination) seemed to be an

important consideration among some parents. These qualitative insights add to those found in

relevant literature outside of psychology (e.g., Edwards & Caballero, 2008; Kim & Lee, 2011;

Marshall & Mossman, 2010).

Studies 2a & 2b

The goal of this set of studies was to offer a psychological examination of preferences for

ethnic and mainstream names among two cultural groups, South Asian Canadians (Study 2a) and

Iranian Canadians (Study 2b). South Asian Canadians constitute one of the largest ethnic

minority groups in Canada, and Iranian Canadians constitute a smaller, but quickly growing

cultural group in the country (Statistics Canada, 2017). Importantly, both groups have strong

linguistic and cultural ties to their heritage culture, making them ideal candidates for the study of

names. Building on existing literature on the topic and insights from Study 1, we examined four

key predictors: (1) acculturation to heritage culture, (2) acculturation to mainstream Canadian

culture, (3) motivation for ethno-cultural continuity, and (4) perceived negative consequences of

ethnic naming. Participants for both studies were prospective parents (i.e., young adults without

children of their own). The focus, therefore, was on naming preferences rather than actual name

choices.

Study 2a Method

Among our South Asian Canadian participants we expected that stronger identification

with the heritage culture would predict a stronger preference for ethnic names, whereas stronger

acculturation to mainstream Canadian culture would positively predict preferences for

mainstream names. Importantly, we expected that stronger motivation to carry on the heritage

culture to the next generation would predict stronger preferences for ethnic names, even after accounting for the role of heritage acculturation. Finally, we predicted that stronger concerns about potential negative consequences of ethnic names would predict stronger preference for mainstream names.

Participants

Three-hundred and twenty six South Asian Canadian undergraduate students (241 women, 85 men; M_{age} = 19.25, SD = 1.97) participated in this study in exchange for course credit. Participants identified with one of these three major groups: Indian (n = 183), Pakistani (n = 71), and Sri Lankan (n = 72), and all were students at a large multicultural university in Canada. Most participants were Canadian citizens (92.9%), the rest were permanent residents. Over half of the sample was born in Canada (61.3%); among those born abroad the average age of arrival in Canada was 7.55 (SD = 5.22).

Procedure and Measures

Participants completed an online survey consisting of the measures described below. Unless otherwise noted, all variables were measured on a 7-point rating scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 7 = *Strongly Agree*).

Vancouver index of acculturation (VIA; Ryder et al., 2000). The VIA is a 10-item measure that is used to assess acculturation to heritage (e.g., "I would be willing to marry a [heritage cultural group] person") and mainstream (e.g., "I often participate in mainstream Canadian cultural traditions") cultures. Items were rated on a 9-point rating scale with higher mean scores indicating stronger acculturation to heritage (α = .90) and mainstream cultures (α = .83).

Motivation for ethno-cultural continuity. Lamy and colleagues' (2013) 10-item scale was used to assess the degree to which bicultural individuals express a desire to maintain and transmit their heritage culture to the next generations (e.g., "Ultimately, I would like my children to identify as [ethnic group name]"; $\alpha = .92$). Higher mean scores indicate a stronger motivation for ethno-cultural continuity.

Negative consequences of ethnic naming. This was a three-item measure specifically developed for this study (e.g., "A [ethnic group] name will only make life harder for my son[daughter]." Participants responded separately for sons ($\alpha = .87$) and daughters ($\alpha = .85$), but given that there were no differences in ratings based on child's gender ($t(325) = 0.29$, $p = .77$, $d = .02$, 95% CI [-.04, .06]), the final measure was averaged across target gender. Higher mean scores on this measure indicate stronger perceptions that ethnic names might carry negative consequences for the child.

Name preferences. Name preferences were assessed with four items. Two of the items asked about preferences for ethnic names separately for sons and daughters (i.e., "I would like to give my son[daughter] an ethnic name"). The other two items asked about preferences for mainstream names separately for sons and daughters (i.e., "I would like to give my son[daughter] a mainstream name"). Given that scores on name preferences did not differ by gender of child (ts < 1.52, ps > .13, ds < .08), we averaged across gender to create one composite score for ethnic name preferences ($r = .85$, 95% CI [.82, .88]) and another one for mainstream name preferences ($r = .82$, 95% CI [.78, .85]).

Results

Descriptive Analyses

A summary of descriptive statistics and correlations between measures are reported in Table 1. Overall, participants indicated a stronger preference for ethnic names ($M = 4.92$, $SD = 1.71$) compared to mainstream ones ($M = 3.35$, $SD = 1.56$), $t(325) = 10.28$, $p < .001$, $d = .96$, 95% CI [.76, 1.16]. Ethnic or mainstream name preferences did not differ by gender of participant (ts < 1.02, ps $> .31$). Women, however, scored significantly higher than men on measures of heritage acculturation ($M = 7.00$, $SD = 1.38$ vs. $M = 6.46$, $SD = 1.38$, $d = .39$, 95% CI [.14, .64]), mainstream acculturation ($M = 7.03$, $SD = 1.01$ vs. $M = 6.73$, $SD = 1.04$, $d = .29$, 95% CI [.05, .54]), and motivation for ethno-cultural continuity ($M = 5.46$, $SD = 1.22$ vs. $M = 4.99$, $SD = 1.18$, $d = .39$, 95% CI [.14, .64]; all ts > 2.34, ps $< .02$), but men ($M = 3.45$, $SD = 1.54$) scored higher than women ($M = 2.99$, $SD = 1.58$) on perceived negative consequences of having an ethnic name, $t(324) = 2.30$, $p = .02$, $d = .29$, 95% CI [.04, .54]. Participants' responses to any of the measures did not differ by place of birth (Canada vs. abroad; ts < 1.53, ps $> .13$), except for acculturation to Canadian culture, with those born in Canada ($M = 7.06$) scoring higher on this measure compared to their foreign-born counterparts ($M = 6.78$), $t(324) = 2.42$, $p =.02$, $d = 27$, 95% CI [.05, .50]. Importantly, however, participant gender or place of birth was not strongly associated with either outcome variable (Bs $< .27$, ps $> .13$) and their inclusion in the main analyses had no effect on the pattern of results. Therefore, the results reported below do not account for either.

Predicting Name Preferences

Our four key predictors operate at two distinct levels. Acculturation to ethnic and mainstream cultures represents individual levels of *present* engagement with heritage and

mainstream cultures. In contrast, motivation for ethno-cultural continuity and negative

consequences of ethnic naming have a *future*-focus. This conceptualization is reflected in our

data analytic strategy. Specifically, two hierarchical regression models were used to predict

ethnic and mainstream name preferences, with acculturation to heritage and mainstream cultures

entered in Step 1 and motivation for cultural continuity and perceived negative consequences of

ethnic naming entered in Step 2. Results from both regression analyses are presented in Table 2.

Predicting ethnic name preferences. As expected, acculturation to heritage culture was

positively associated with preferences for an ethnic name for one's child, B = .77, $p < .001$. It

was also found that acculturation to mainstream Canadian culture was negatively related to

ethnic-name preference, B = -.24, $p = .004$. Importantly, however, inclusion of motivation for

ethno-cultural continuity and perceived negative consequences of ethnic names in Step 2 added

to the predictive power of the model, $\Delta R^2 = .05$, $\Delta F (2, 321) = 12.78$, $p < .001$. As hypothesized,

motivation for ethno-cultural continuity emerged as a statistically significant predictor of ethnic

name preferences, above and beyond acculturation to heritage culture, such that stronger

motivation to transmit one's ethnic culture to future generations was associated with a stronger

preference to choose an ethnic name, B = .49, $p < .001$.[3] We also observed that perceived

negative consequences of ethnic naming was negatively related to preferences for ethnic names,

although the relationship was not statistically significant, B = -.09, $p = .055$.

Predicting mainstream name preferences. In line with predictions, acculturation to

mainstream Canadian culture was positively related with preferences for a mainstream name for

one's child, B = .42, $p < .001$. It was also found that acculturation to heritage culture was

negatively related to this outcome variable, B = -.36, $p < .001$. Importantly, however, inclusion

of motivation for ethno-cultural continuity and perceived negative consequences of ethnic names

in Step 2 added to the predictive power of the model, $\Delta R^2 = .06$, $\Delta F (2, 321) = 11.43$, $p < .001$.

As predicted, stronger perceptions that ethnic names are associated with negative consequences

was predictive of stronger preference for mainstream names, $B = .19$, $p < .001$. On the other

hand, stronger motivation for ethno-cultural continuity was associated with lower preferences for

mainstream names, $B = -.33$, $p = .004$.

Study 2b Method

The main goal of Study 2b was to replicate our findings from Study 2a with a new

cultural group, namely Iranian Canadians. Given the limited literature on the topic of baby-

naming, a replication study is an important step that ensures greater confidence in our findings.

The procedure and measures used were identical to those in Study 2a, and we expected to

observe the same pattern of results. In other words, we expected that stronger identification with

one's heritage culture would predict stronger preferences for ethnic names, whereas stronger

identification with mainstream Canadian culture would predict stronger preferences for

mainstream names. We also predicted that stronger motivation for ethno-cultural continuity

would predict preferences for ethnic names above and beyond heritage acculturation, and greater

perceived negative consequences of having an ethnic name would positively predict preferences

for mainstream names.

Participants

A total of 126 participants (90 women, 36 men; $M_{age} = 21.41$, $SD = 5.61$) completed the

survey in exchange for course credit. Data were collected at the same location as Study 2a.

Participants were Canadian citizens (71.4%) or permanent residents (27.8%), with one

participant not reporting their status (.08%). Most participants (80.2%) were born outside of

Canada and their mean age of arrival in Canada was 12.65 ($SD = 6.56$).

Procedure and Measures

Procedure and measures were identical to those used in Study 2a. Following are the scale

reliabilities for each measure: (1) acculturation to mainstream Canadian culture, $\alpha = .81$; (2)

acculturation to heritage culture, $\alpha = .89$; (3) motivation for ethno-cultural continuity, $\alpha = .93$;

and (4) consequences of ethnic names, $\alpha_{sons} = .82$, and $\alpha_{daughters} = .86$. Similar to Study 2a, no

differences in perceived consequences were observed based on child's gender, $t(125) = 1.50$, $p =$

.14, $d = .06$, 95% CI [-.01, .13], therefore, the final measure averaged across gender. The

outcome variable, name preferences, was measured with a single item (asked separately for sons

and daughters). Similar to Study 2a, given that scores on name preferences for both ethnic and

mainstream names did not differ by gender of child, $ts < .92$, $ps > .36$, we averaged across gender

to create one composite score for ethnic name preferences ($r = .93$, 95% CI [.91, .95]) and

another one for mainstream name preferences ($r = .82$, 95% CI [.75, .87]).

Results

Descriptive Analyses

Participants reported an overall preference for ethnic ($M = 5.06$, $SD = 1.69$) compared to

mainstream names ($M = 3.51$, $SD = 1.51$), $t(125) = 6.62$, $p < .001$, $d = .97$, 95% CI [.66, 1.28].

Independent samples t-tests indicated that none of the predictor or outcome measures differed by

gender of participant, all $ts < 1.65$, $ps > .10$. Place of birth (Canada vs. abroad), on the other

hand, did have an effect on four of the six main measures. Specifically, those born in Canada

scored lower on ethnic name preferences ($M = 4.02$, $SD = 2.04$ vs. $M = 5.32$, $SD = 1.49$, $d = .73$,

95% CI [.35, 1.25]), acculturation to heritage culture ($M = 5.82$, $SD = 1.52$ vs. $M = 6.75$, $SD =$

1.28, $d = .67$, 95% CI [.26, 1.15]), and motivation for ethno-cultural continuity ($M = 4.64$, $SD =$

1.26 vs. $M = 5.52$, $SD = 1.09$, $d = .75$, 95% CI [.34, 1.24]) (all $ts > 3.16$, $ps < .002$), but they

scored higher on acculturation to Canadian culture than those not born in Canada ($M = 6.94$, SD = 1.09 vs. $M = 6.27$, S$D = 1.03$, $t(124) = 2.89$, $p = .005$, $d = .63$, 95% CI [.20, 1.10]). Preferences for mainstream names and perceived consequences of ethnic naming did not differ by place of birth, both ts < .57, ps > .57. Importantly, inclusion of place of birth in the main regression analyses did not have any effect on the pattern or results, therefore, the results presented below are those not accounting for place of birth. Descriptive statistics and zero-order correlations are reported in Table 3.

Predicting Name Preferences

Our method of analysis was the same as that used in Study 2a. In other words, we ran two hierarchical regression models, one for predicting ethnic name preferences and another for predicting mainstream name preferences. Both acculturation measures were entered in Step 1, and motivation for cultural continuity and perceived negative consequences of ethnic naming were entered in Step 2. Results from both regression analyses are presented in Table 4.

Predicting ethnic name preferences. As predicted, acculturation to heritage culture was positively associated with preferences for an ethnic name for one's child, B = .82, $p < .001$. Acculturation to mainstream Canadian culture was not significantly related to this outcome variable, B = -.17, $p = .14$. Importantly, however, inclusion of motivation for ethno-cultural continuity and perceived negative consequences of ethnic names in Step 2 added to the predictive power of the model, $\Delta R^2 = .05$, $\Delta F (2, 120) = 5.46$, $p = .005$. As hypothesized, motivation for ethno-cultural continuity predicted ethnic name preferences, above and beyond acculturation to heritage culture, B = .41, $p = .005$. In other words, stronger motivation to transmit one's heritage culture to future generations was associated with a stronger preference

for ethnic names.[4] On the other hand, perceived negative consequences of ethnic naming was not strongly related to ethnic name preferences, $B = -.12$, $p = .13$.

Predicting mainstream name preferences. As hypothesized, acculturation to mainstream Canadian culture was positively related to preferences for a mainstream name for one's child, $B = .53$, $p < .001$. It was also found that acculturation to the heritage culture was negatively related to mainstream-name preference, $B = -.31$, $p = .001$. Importantly, however, inclusion of motivation for ethno-cultural continuity and perceived negative consequences of ethnic names in Step 2 added to the predictive power of the model, $\Delta R^2 = .05$, $\Delta F (2, 120) = 4.22$, $p = .03$. In line with predictions, stronger perceptions that ethnic names are associated with negative consequences were associated with stronger preferences for mainstream names, $B = .23$, $p = .007$. On the other hand, stronger motivation for ethno-cultural continuity was not associated with preferences for mainstream names, $B = -.03$, $p = .87$.

Discussion of Studies 2a and 2b

The main goals of Studies 2a and 2b were to offer a psychological perspective and a quantitative examination of the study of baby-naming among bicultural individuals. To do this we built on insights from Study 1 and the non-psychological literature on the topic. Overall, we observed a stronger preference for ethnic names compared to mainstream names for one's future child among both our South Asian Canadian (Study 2a) and Iranian Canadian samples (Study 2b). This preference is also in line with the relatively strong motivation for ethno-cultural continuity reported in both samples. In both studies the observed relationships were in line with predictions. On the one hand, stronger acculturation to heritage culture and a stronger motivation to transmit one's heritage culture to future generations was positively associated with preferences for ethnic names. On the other hand, stronger acculturation to Canadian culture and stronger

perceptions of negative consequences of ethnic naming were associated with a stronger preference for mainstream names. Importantly, these two studies provide some initial quantitative evidence of the role of motivation for ethno-cultural continuity in the realm of baby naming, above and beyond the role of heritage acculturation. At the same time, in addition to issues of identity, baby name preferences are also associated with pragmatic concerns, as indicated by stronger preferences for mainstream names being related to concerns about negative consequences of ethnic naming.

Study 3

The key goals of this study were to establish ecological validity and refine the theoretical understanding of baby naming within a cultural psychological framework. To this end, we recruited only bicultural parents and examined actual name choices as opposed to naming preferences. Unlike Study 1, most participants in this study were relatively new parents, so their name choices as well as the motivations behind those choices reflect a more current context. In addition, in this study we test two new culturally-relevant variables, namely ethnic pride and perceptions of names as markers of cultural identity, as predictors of name choices.

Emotion tends to be an important aspect of decision-making (e.g., Schwarz, 2000; Van Kleef, De Dreu, & Manstead, 2010; Zeelenberg, Nelissen, Breugelmans, & Pieters, 2008), and recently it has been suggested that one emotion in particular, that of ethnic pride, may play an important role in ethnic naming decisions among bicultural individuals (Cila & Lalonde, in press). One of the key tenets of social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) is that individuals derive a positive sense of self from their membership in a valued social group, and they strive to maintain or enhance that positive self-concept. We argue that the group-level emotion of ethnic pride reflects not only a positive sense of identity derived from one's affiliation with one's

heritage culture, but it can also inform various decisions made by bicultural individuals (e.g., Castro, Stein, & Bentler, 2009; Smith & Mackie, 2015), including baby-naming decisions. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first study to quantitatively assess this relationship.

Lastly, although we discuss names as markers of cultural identity, this was never explicitly measured in the first three studies, and its relationship to actual name choices has not been previously assessed. We argue that parental perceptions of names as markers of cultural (ethnic or mainstream) identity might be reflected in actual name choices. For instance, someone who views ethnic names as important for signaling their child's ethnic group membership would be more likely to choose ethnic names. Conversely, someone who views mainstream names as important for signaling membership and belongingness to the mainstream culture would be more likely to choose a mainstream name for their child. These relationships have been suggested in the qualitative literature (e.g., Edwards & Caballero, 2008; Thompson, 2006), but never empirically tested. Therefore, in Study 3 we also examine the relationships between perceptions of names as markers of cultural identity and naming choices.

We predicted that stronger reported ethnic pride and a stronger view of names as markers of ethnic identity would predict choices of ethnic names, above and beyond the four key predictors of heritage and ethnic acculturation, and ethno-cultural continuity. We hypothesized that the likelihood of choosing an ethnic name would be positively related to one's ethnic identification and motivation for ethno-cultural continuity (in line with Studies 2a & 2b), and that ethnic pride and perceptions of names as markers of ethnic identity would predict choices of ethnic names above and beyond ethnic identification and cultural continuity. With regard to mainstream naming, we predicted that choices of mainstream names would be positively related to mainstream identification and perceived negative consequences of ethnic names (in line with

Studies 2a & 2b), and that perceptions of names as markers of mainstream identity would predict

mainstream name choices above and beyond mainstream identification and consequences of

names.

In this study we also gathered information on other aspects of naming, including

characteristics of names that parents considered important when making their decisions, use of

nicknames and naming regret. These were included primarily for exploratory purposes, thus no

specific predictions were made. Anecdotal evidence suggests that use of particular nicknames

(e.g., child has a mainstream first name, but an ethnic nickname is used at home) is a strategy

adopted by some bicultural parents in an effort to navigate competing cultural influences in the

domain of naming. Similarly, naming regret is also reported anecdotally, and sometimes in

media stories, but there is no empirical evidence on the topic. Therefore, in the present study, we

wanted to assess the extent to which use of nicknames and naming regret were present among

this group of bicultural parents. Any interesting findings related to regret and nicknames would

serve as a springboard for future research. As such, the two were included for exploratory

purposes and were not part of the overall model that was tested.

Method

Participants

Participants for this study ($N = 211$; $M_{age} = 40.86$, $SD = 8.80$) were recruited through

Qualtrics Panels following these eligibility criteria: be of an Indian cultural background; be

either first- or second-generation immigrant; be a citizen or permanent resident of Canada ($n =$

77), the United States ($n = 96$), or the United Kingdom ($n = 38$); and have at least one child born

in their country of residence. The decision to recruit only participants of an Indian cultural

background was done for three reasons: (1) consistency purposes: in line with our large sample

in Study 2a; (2) representativeness: Indians are among the largest ethnic groups in the three countries sampled; and (3) accessibility of name choices: they readily have access to both Indian and English names given that India was a former British colony. Just over half of participants were male (51.7%), the vast majority were born outside of their current countries of residence (89.5%), and their current status in those countries was that of citizen (64.5%) or permanent resident (35.5%). For those born outside of their countries of permanent residence, the vast majority (95.1%) were born in India, and mean age of arrival in their adoptive countries was 24.22 ($SD = 9.54$).[5]

On average, participants reported having 1.73 children ($SD = .74$; mode = 2), with 1.57 ($SD = .71$; mode = 1) born in their adoptive countries, with a median year of birth of 2008 for first-borns and 2011 for last-borns (with about 45% of first-borns and about 57% of last-borns being born on or after 2010). In 93% of the cases the partner (defined as their children's other parent) was of the same ethnic and religious background as the respondent. The vast majority of participants were highly educated (46.4% had a university/college degree, 40.8% a Master's degree, and 6.2% had a PhD, with the remaining 6.6% reporting a high school diploma). Participants also reported being of high socio-economic status ($M = 7.32$, $SD = 1.69$ measured on a 10-point scale, with 1 = *worst off* and 10 = *best off*).

Procedure and Measures

Data for this study were collected through an online survey distributed through Qualtrics Panels, and consisted of the measures described below. Unless otherwise noted, responses to the following measures were on a 7-point scale (*1* = Strongly Disagree and *7* = Strongly Agree).

Children's names. For each child, participants wrote down the child's first, and if applicable, their middle name, together with their gender and year of birth.[6]

Cultural identification. We used three items to assess participants' strength of identification with their heritage and mainstream cultures (αs = .88). These items were selected from Cameron's (2004) three-factor model of social identity: "Being Indian[Canadian/American/British] is an important part of my self-image", "I feel strong ties to other Indians[Canadians/Americans/British]", and "In general, I'm glad to be Indian [Canadian/American/British]." Higher mean scores on these scales indicated stronger cultural identification. This measure is theoretically related to the acculturation measure used in Studies 2a and 2b, but it has the advantage of brevity.

Motivation for ethno-cultural continuity. This was the same measure used in Studies 2a and 2b, and it demonstrated good reliability with this sample (α = .88). Higher mean scores indicate stronger motivation to transmit one's culture to future generations.

Ethnic pride. Four items were used to measure a sense of pride in one's ethnic heritage, with two items adapted from Phinney (1992; i.e., "I feel great pride in being Indian", "I want to learn more about Indian history and customs"), and two developed by the authors specifically for this study (e.g., "I am proud of my Indian heritage", "I feel proud when other Indians succeed in society"). Factor analysis using principal axis factoring with an oblimin rotation showed that all four items fell into a single factor, and the resulting measure demonstrated good reliability, α = .83. Higher mean scores indicate a stronger sense of pride in one's ethnic heritage.

Consequences of names. This was a four-item measure that assessed the extent to which participants endorsed beliefs about negative consequences of ethnic names (2 items) and positive consequences of mainstream names (2 items). Three of the items were adapted from Studies 2a and 2b and one new item was added ("An English name will put my child at an advantage in Canadian/American/British society"). Factor analysis using principal axis factoring with an

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oblimin rotation showed that all four items fell into a single factor, and the resulting measure demonstrated good reliability ($\alpha = .86$). Higher mean scores on this measure indicate stronger perceptions that ethnic names may carry negative consequences for the individual.

Names as markers of cultural identity. Two sets of items assessed participants' perceptions of names as markers of ethnic identity (4 items; e.g., "A name that reflects my Indian heritage will help my child identify as a member of my ethnic community"; $\alpha = .90$) and mainstream identity (3 items; e.g., "An English name would help my child identify with mainstream Canadian/American/British culture"; $\alpha = .91$), with higher mean scores indicating stronger perceptions of names as markers of cultural identity and belongingness. Factor analysis using principal axis factoring with an oblimin rotation confirmed that these items fell into two distinct factors (i.e., names as markers of ethnic identity, and names as markers of mainstream identity), with no cross-loading of items.

Naming characteristics. Participants were also provided with a list of 21 items reflecting potential characteristics of names that they could have taken into account when naming their children. All items began with the stem, "It was important that my child's first name:" followed by the 21 items (e.g., "had a good literal meaning", "was an English name", "runs in the family", "would help my child succeed as a grown person"). Higher scores indicated higher importance and relevance of each respective item.

Naming regret. Participants were also asked an open-ended question about whether they had ever had second thoughts about the names chosen for their children, and if so, to elaborate on that regret.

Nicknames. Participants were asked an open-ended question about whether they had given any nicknames to their children, and if so, what those nicknames were and why they were chosen.

Demographics. At the end of the survey, participants completed a number of demographic questions (e.g., age, gender, place of birth, religious affiliation, education, socio-economic status) and were also invited to provide feedback regarding the survey.

Results

Descriptive Analyses of Name Choices

First- and last-born children's names[7] were independently coded by the first author and a coder of an Indian cultural background using the following coding categories: (1) name only reflective of ethnic culture/language; (2) name only reflective of mainstream culture/English language; (3) name reflective of both cultures; or (4) name not reflective of either culture. Initial inter-rater reliability was acceptable (K = .81), and initial discrepancies were resolved through discussion to attain consensus.

Most participants reported giving their first-born child an ethnic name ($n = 146$ or 69.2%; e.g., Anjun, Arpita, Nihaar, Priya), with a mainstream name being next most popular ($n = 37$ or 17.5%; e.g., Andrew, Ethan, Jessica, Lily), and a name that is common in both cultures being least common ($n = 10$ or 4.7%; e.g., Jayden, Maya, Sam, Sereena). The remaining participants ($n = 17$ or 8.1%) provided a name that could not be meaningfully coded (e.g., AJ, SK), and one participant (0.5%) did not provide a name. An almost identical distribution was observed with regard to last-born children's names.[8]

Name choices (ethnic, mainstream, or both) were not associated with the gender of the child for first-born χ^2 (2, $N = 193$) = .50, $p = .78$, or last-born children, χ^2 (2, $N = 193$) = 2.25, $p =$

.33. There was also no association between name choices and participant's place of birth (host country vs. home country; χ^2 (2, N = 192) = 4.27, p = .12 for first-born children, and for last-born children, χ^2 (2, N = 192) = 2.98, p = .23.

Descriptive statistics and bivariate correlations among key study variables are presented in Table 5. A few interesting relationships are noted here. Not surprisingly, there seems to be a consistent positive relationship among ethnic identity, motivation for ethno-cultural continuity, ethnic pride, and perceptions of names as markers of ethnic identity. Interestingly, the strongest correlation is between expectations of negative consequences of ethnic names with perceptions of names as markers of mainstream identity.

Perceptions of Names as Markers of Identity

Overall parents reported stronger perceptions of names as markers of ethnic (M = 5.13, SD = 1.46) compared to mainstream identity (M = 4.08, SD = 1.84; F (1,181) = 6.34, p = .01, η^2 = .03, 90% CI [.004, .09]), although this was qualified by a significant interaction with actual name choice, F (1,181) = 30.21, p < .001, η^2 = .14, 90% CI [.07, .22]. Specifically, parents who chose ethnic names for their children scored higher than parents who chose mainstream names on perceptions of names as markers of ethnic identity (M = 5.40, SD = 1.34 vs. M = 4.39, SD = 1.57). Conversely, parents who chose mainstream names scored higher than their counterparts who chose ethnic names on perceptions of names as markers of mainstream identity (M = 4.97, SD = 1.73 vs. M = 3.82, SD = 1.81). Parents who chose mainstream names also reported stronger expectations of negative consequences of ethnic names (M = 4.26, SD = 1.63 vs. M = 3.42, SD = 1.64, $t(181)$ = 2.78, p = .006, d = .51, 95% CI [.15, .88]). These two groups did not differ, however, on their reported levels of ethnic identity, mainstream identity, ethnic pride, or motivation for ethno-cultural continuity, ts < 1.35, ps > .18, ds < .27.

Predicting Ethnic Name Choices

Given the very small count of first names that are common in both ethnic and mainstream cultures, our main analyses focused on first names that were coded as either ethnic or mainstream. Given the categorical nature of this outcome variable we ran a sequential logistic regression analysis (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007) with type of name as the outcome variable (mainstream = 0, ethnic = 1), and the four key predictors from Studies 2a and 2b entered in Step 1, and in Step 2 we entered the new predictors of ethnic pride and names as marker of ethnic identity. Results of the logistic regression analysis are presented in Table 6.[9]

In Step 1, the 4-predictor model correctly predicted 83.2% of the outcomes (100% for ethnic and 0% for mainstream). Interestingly, only perceived negative consequences of ethnic names predicted the odds of the outcome, so that a one unit increase in perceived negative consequences was associated with a 33% decrease in the likelihood of choosing an ethnic name, after controlling for the other predictors in the model. When ethnic pride and perceptions of names as markers of ethnic identity were entered in the model in Step 2, the overall model was improved ($\Delta R^2 = .28$, χ^2 (6, n=167) = 43.66, $p < .001$), and the rate of correctly predicted outcomes increased to 86.2% (97.1% for ethnic names and 32.1% for mainstream names). Perceived consequences of ethnic names was still related to the odds of choosing an ethnic name, such that a one unit increase in perceived negative consequences was associated with a 52% decrease in the likelihood of choosing an ethnic name, controlling for the other predictors in the model. Importantly, perceptions of names as markers of ethnic identity was also related to the odds of choosing an ethnic name, with the likelihood of choosing an ethnic name increasing 2.8 times with a one unit increase in perceptions of names as markers of ethnic identity.

Testing an exploratory mediational model for ethnic naming. Although we had predicted that ethnic identity, pride, and ethno-cultural continuity would be associated with higher odds of choosing an ethnic name, the results of the regression analysis did not support our hypotheses. Given the theoretical relevance of these predictors, however, we wanted to explore the possibility that their effect on naming choices might be transmitted indirectly. Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), recent qualitative analysis of baby naming (Cila & Lalonde, in press), and theories of emotions that emphasize the forward-looking, motivational function of emotions (Zeelenberg et al., 2008) informed our conceptualization of the mediational model. Specifically, we theorized that stronger ethnic identification would lead to a stronger sense of ethnic pride, which would predict stronger motivation to transmit one's ethnic culture to future generations, in turn leading to stronger perceptions of names as markers of cultural identity, ultimately predicting name choice. Therefore we tested a serial mediational model using PROCESS, a path analysis modeling tool (Hayes, 2018). Results from the mediational model are presented in Figure 1, and they revealed an indirect effect of ethnic identity on name choice through its association with ethnic pride, motivation for ethno-cultural continuity, and perceptions of names as markers of ethnic identity, $OR = 1.16$, 95% CI [1.04, 1.54].

Predicting Mainstream Name Choices

We ran a sequential logistic regression analysis to predict the odds of choosing a mainstream name, with type of name as the outcome variable (ethnic = 0, mainstream = 1) and the four key predictors included in Step 1, and perceptions of names as markers of mainstream identity included in Step 2. Results from the logistic regression analysis are presented in Table 7. In Step 1, the 4-predictor model correctly predicted 83.2% of the outcomes (99.3% for ethnic and 3.6% for mainstream), with only perceived negative consequences of ethnic names predicting the

odds of the outcome. Specifically, a one unit increase in perceived negative consequences was associated with a 50% increase in the likelihood of choosing a mainstream name, after controlling for the other predictors in the model. When perceptions of names as markers of mainstream identity was entered in the model in Step 2, there was a small, but statistically significant improvement in the model ($\Delta R^2 = .06$, χ^2 (5, $n=163$) = 17.47, $p = .004$), and the rate of correctly predicted outcomes increased slightly to 84.4% (99.3% for ethnic names and 10.7% for mainstream names). When controlling for all the other predictors, only perceptions of names as markers of mainstream identity predicted the odds of choosing a mainstream name, with the odds increasing by about 88% for a unit increase in this predictor. It is worth noting, however, that the percentage of mainstream names correctly predicted by the model is quite small, likely related to the relatively small count of mainstream names.

Testing two exploratory mediational models for mainstream naming. Given that mainstream identity did not predict actual name choice, contrary to expectations, we tested a mediational model to examine whether the extent to which one identifies with mainstream culture indirectly predicts the odds of choosing a mainstream name through perceptions of names as markers of mainstream identity, controlling for the other model predictors. Results of this analysis are reported in Figure 2. We did indeed find a statistically significant, albeit small, indirect effect, OR = 1.09, 95% CI [1.01, 1.26].

Given the strong relationship between perceptions of negative consequences of ethnic names with perceptions of names as markers of mainstream identity, we tested a second mediational model (Figure 3), this time with perceived consequences as the predictor, and we did indeed find a statistically significant relationship, OR = 1.82, 95% CI [1.16, 3.39] controlling for other model predictors. In other words, increased expectations of negative consequences of

ethnic names was associated with increased perceptions of names as markers of mainstream identity, which in turn predicted higher odds of choosing a mainstream name.

Exploratory Analyses

        Naming characteristics. Participants' ratings of the name characteristics considered when naming their bicultural children are reported in Table 8, but we highlight a few of those characteristics here. First, the most important characteristic these parents looked for in a name was that it had a good literal meaning. Given how names are rooted in language and culture, it is therefore not surprising that the majority of parents would find the good literal meaning they are looking for in an ethnic name. Second, participants put a lot of importance on the name being easily pronounceable in both English and their heritage language, ranking it second in importance. Given the overwhelming choice of ethnic over mainstream names, however, this likely referred to an ethnic name being easily pronounceable in English than vice versa. Third, ratings on several items indicated the importance of social approval of chosen name (e.g., "… was liked by my parents", "… was liked by our extended families"). Finally, worth noting is the emphasis placed on the name reflecting some form of status (i.e., "… would suit someone with a respectable career" and "... would help my child succeed as a grown person" were ranked 6th and 7th respectively).

        Naming regret. The vast majority of parents (87.2%) reported having no regrets or second thoughts over the names they chose for their children. Of those who did, about half reported concerns over (mis)pronunciation of ethnic names (e.g., considering whether a different spelling of the ethnic name would have made pronunciation easier), and the remaining responses varied widely. For instance, one parent stated that the children themselves had complained of teasing at school and difficulties getting jobs because of their ethnic names. Another parent

wondered whether the English name that they had chosen for their daughter would make it hard for her should she someday decide to go back to her ancestral land. One participant reported concerns that the English name she had chosen for her Canadian-born daughter was not liked by her parents. Lastly, two other parents reported preferring more unique names.

Nicknames. The majority of participants reported having no nicknames for their children (68%). Of those who did, most reported a nickname that was a shortened or a "baby" version of the child's actual name (e.g., Ameya to Ammu; Arjun to Ajju; Vanshika to Vanshu).

Discussion

Study 3 presents two key improvements over the previous studies by increasing ecological validity by recruiting a group of parents who have been through the naming process relatively recently, and examining new culturally-relevant predictors of baby-naming, namely ethnic pride and perceptions of names as markers of cultural identity. Overall, we found that a large proportion of parents chose ethnic over mainstream names for their children. These findings mirror the stronger preference for ethnic over mainstream names observed in Studies 2a and 2b with our non-parent samples, as well as with some qualitative work by Cila and Lalonde (in press). The likelihood of parents choosing an ethnic name increased as their views of names as markers of ethnic identity increased, with likelihood decreasing as perceptions of negative consequences of ethnic names increased. Although we did not find a direct effect of ethnic identity, pride, and cultural continuity on name choice, like we had anticipated, we found evidence of a serial mediational path, with the effect of ethnic identity on ethnic name choices being mediated by ethnic pride, motivation for ethno-cultural continuity, and perceptions of names as markers of ethnic identity.

Conversely, we found that as perceptions of names as markers of mainstream identity increased so did the odds of choosing mainstream names. The relative strength of perceived negative consequences of ethnic naming (compared to mainstream identity) on perceptions of names as markers of mainstream identity is in line with findings from Study 1, which found that pragmatic motivations were more frequently mentioned as reasons for choosing a mainstream name compared to identity motivations.

An interesting observation relates to the seeming importance of status in naming decisions. In part this could reflect the characteristics of our sample. South Asian cultures are typically considered to be high in hierarchy and status signals (e.g., Schwartz, 2006), and status concerns have in fact been found to explain Asian Americans' choices of higher-status, brand-name products (Kim & Drolet, 2009). We argue that names could be another medium through which an individual can convey to others information about his or her status in society. It is also possible, however, that the relative importance of high-status names can be a reflection of the aspirations that immigrant parents of various cultural backgrounds have for their children born in their adoptive-country (e.g., Bhattacharya & Schoppelrey, 2004; Hill & Torres, 2010; Li, 2001). Study 3 also provides important insights into various aspects of naming (e.g., characteristics deemed important in a name), thus providing a more comprehensive view of baby-naming experiences among bicultural parents.

General Discussion

Whereas the arrival of a new baby is an exciting time for parents, the process of choosing a baby name can be a challenging one. Among bicultural individuals in particular the challenge may be even greater as these parents may be faced with the additional task of navigating multiple cultural influences. Considering the universality of naming and its importance for one's identity,

it is surprising that so little psychological research has been conducted on the topic. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first set of studies that examines multiple predictors of baby-naming preferences and choices among bicultural individuals in a Western context using a cultural psychological lens. The limited research on baby-naming comes primarily from other disciplines (e.g., sociology) and has therefore focused on predictors that cannot speak to the individual psychology and experience of baby-naming (e.g., birth records, citizenship status, length of residence in host country, wearing a veil) (e.g., Becker, 2009; Carneiro et al., 2016; Gerhards & Hans, 2009; Parada, 2016; Sue & Telles, 2007; Zhang et al., 2016).

Given the paucity of research on this topic, we started our quest with an exploratory study with a culturally-diverse group of parents, then examined baby-naming preferences in South Asian Canadian and Iranian Canadian young adults, and lastly examined name choices among a sample of parents of an Indian cultural background residing in Canada, the United States, or the United Kingdom. A focus on actual naming choices as a form of concrete behaviour, in addition to attitudes toward naming preferences, is a key advantage of this research (Baumeister, Vohs, & Funder, 2007). Across all four studies, we observed that choices and preferences for baby names are informed by both *identity* concerns (e.g., wanting the child to identify with the heritage or mainstream culture) and *pragmatic* concerns (e.g., not wanting the child to become the target of prejudice or discrimination). Similar issues of identity and pragmatism in relation to naming have been previously reported in the qualitative literature (e.g., Suter, 2012), and have been more extensively discussed in Cila and Lalonde (in press). The present set of studies, however, offers the first quantitative examination of baby names as a cultural product within the discipline of psychology.

One of the main findings of this research was a very strong preference for ethnic over mainstream English names, and this held true for both non-parent and parent samples. This high prevalence of ethnic name choices mirrors those found by Becker (2009) and Gerhards and Hans (2009) among Turkish parents in Germany. In part, this finding may reflect an in-group preference effect for personal names, with individuals usually preferring names that are common or reflective of their own ingroup compared to names that are reflective of a perceived outgroup (e.g., Heuvelink, McKelvie, & Drumheller, 2012). We argue that such effects, however, are best explained from a social identity approach (e.g., Gerhards & Hans, 2009) and more likely to be observed under certain conditions. Specifically, in societies that are culturally diverse and which manifest a decreased role of government regulations on naming issues there are few pressures on bicultural or minority parents to name their children in ways that conform to mainstream naming norms and conventions (Parada, 2016). Choices of names can therefore be considered to be a true reflection of parental acculturation orientations and can underscore efforts toward ethno-cultural maintenance. We also argue that parental perceptions about names as markers of ethnic identity are likely to be stronger among those cultural groups in which names are semantically meaningful in their respective languages. Many Indian and Iranian names have a corresponding meaning in their respective languages, whereas many Albanian names, for instance, do not. As a consequence, the latter group may be less likely to perceive names as a marker of ethnic identity, and therefore, may be less likely to use names as a means of ethno-cultural continuity. It is worth noting that ethnic naming and its inherent relationship to language and identity can be observed not only among racial or ethnic minority groups in immigrant-receiving nations, but also among Indigenous populations. For instance, a recent case in Canada highlighted the fact that Aboriginal Peoples are using names as a way of reclaiming their identity and revitalizing their

languages (Government of Northwest Territories, 2017; Hwang, 2018). Other researchers have similarly suggested that maintenance of ethnic names may be particularly important among those groups who have experienced colonization (e.g., Thompson, 2006).

Giving a child a name that is common in one's heritage culture might also serve to maintain a sense of connectedness with one's family and kin (Finch, 2008; Thompson, 2006). It is interesting to note that a sense of embeddedness within a family or kin network can well be provided by surnames, so parental decisions to further root the child within a particular cultural background through consciously choosing ethnic first names is further attestation to parental hopes for intergenerational maintenance of their heritage culture. It is possible that by choosing first names that increase family unity and strengthen family identity, immigrant or bicultural parents are better able to achieve their goals of keeping their heritage culture alive for generations to come.

At the level of individual predictors of baby naming choices and preferences we found relatively consistent support for all key variables, although the pattern of relationships varied somewhat between samples. The first key predictor that we examined was heritage acculturation/ethnic identification. With respect to baby-naming preferences, we found that the more acculturated an individual was to their heritage culture, the stronger their preferences for ethnic names. The importance of heritage acculturation and identity strength in naming decisions is also illustrated by name changes adopted by immigrants once they move to a new country. For instance, among immigrants of a Korean background living in a metropolitan city in Canada, those who identified strongly with their Korean culture tended to keep their Korean names and not Anglicize them (Kim, 2007). Importantly, however, we found that preferences for ethnic names were positively and strongly related with motivations to transmit one's heritage culture to

future generations, even after controlling for acculturation. Although this pattern of results was not directly replicated in our last study, we did find evidence of an indirect relationship, demonstrating that the association between ethnic identification and ethnic name choice can be explained through ethnic pride, motivation for ethno-cultural continuity, and perceptions of names as markers of ethnic identity. This not only shows a possible pathway through which ethnic identification influences name choices, but also illustrates the interplay of emotional, motivational, and symbolic functions of baby naming among bicultural individuals.

Decisions about what to name one's child can be underscored by a deep emotional involvement on the part of the parents. In contexts where a group identity is made salient, as is the case when bicultural parents decide on a name for their child, group-level emotions may play an important role. We focused our attention on one such emotion, that of ethnic pride. Research suggests that ethnic pride is an important element of ethnic socialization practices among minorities (e.g., Chatman et al., 2005; Hughes, Rodriguez, Smith, Johnson, Stevenson, & Spicer, 2006; Phinney & Ong, 2007), and in our research we show that such ethnic socialization can start even before the child is born, when parents decide to give the child a name that clearly denotes their ethnic belonging. As such, the role of pride in ethnic naming is future-focused, and in line with conceptualizations of emotions as being future oriented and necessary for goal-directed behaviour (Zeelenberg et al., 2007, 2008). There are multiple ways in which a bicultural individual can achieve the goal of cultural transmission, and in this research we demonstrate that ethnic naming is one important way to ensure (at least some) cultural continuity (see also Cila & Lalonde, in press).

Identity-related variables were also examined with respect to preferences and choices of mainstream names. Specifically, we assessed the extent to which acculturation to/identification

with mainstream culture and perceptions of mainstream names as markers of mainstream identity related to mainstream name preferences and choices. In the context of naming preferences we found that stronger acculturation to mainstream Canadian culture was associated with a stronger preference for mainstream names. In the context of naming choices, the effect of mainstream identification on mainstream name choices was transmitted indirectly. In other words, higher levels of mainstream cultural identity were associated with stronger perceptions of mainstream names as markers of mainstream cultural identity, which was in turn associated with mainstream name choices. Understandably, individuals who have internalized mainstream norms, values, traditions, and practices, may also be more likely to internalize mainstream naming conventions. Other research has found that other markers of acculturation or engagement with mainstream culture, such as length of stay in the US (Abramitzky et al., 2016), contact and friendships with majority group members (Gerhards & Hans, 2009) and citizenship status (Becker, 2009) are associated with higher likelihood of choosing mainstream names. Although no previous empirical research has directly tested the role that perceptions of names as markers of mainstream identity play in naming choices and preferences, insights from qualitative research show that mainstream first names are indeed perceived to be distinct markers of mainstream identity. For instance, Thompson's (2006) interviews with young Korean American women revealed that these women recognized that an American(ized) name facilitates their identification as American and their belongingness in American society.

In addition to identity-related variables (which were assessed through acculturation/ identification, motivation for ethno-cultural continuity, ethnic pride, and perceptions of names as markers of cultural identity), across all four studies we observed that both name preferences and actual name choices were in part influenced by pragmatic concerns. Specifically, stronger

expectations that one's child might be teased, bullied, or discriminated against because s/he has an ethnic name was an important factor informing both naming preferences and decisions. Some of these concerns might be rooted in parents' own lived experiences. For instance, immigrant or bicultural individuals whose names are not common in their adoptive countries may face a number of challenges in their everyday life, from a constant mispronunciation of their name, to deeper questions about identity and belonging (Cila & Lalonde, in press). Therefore, they might be less willing to give their own child an ethnic name and may instead opt for a name that is common in mainstream culture. Giving the child a name that is common in the mainstream culture might reflect a strategy used by parents to help their child "pass" as a full member of that society. These decisions may be especially important among cultural groups that belong to a visible ethnic or religious minority. By choosing a mainstream name, parents might facilitate the child's identification and belongingness with the dominant culture, and thus his or her acceptance by dominant group members. This pragmatic aspect of integration into a new culture is observed not only for children born in the parents' adoptive countries, but it also evident among first-generation immigrants. For instance, Bursell (2012) argues that individuals who are members of stigmatized groups might engage in name-changing as a strategy to distance themselves from the stigma associated with their group. His study of Middle-Eastern immigrants in Sweden revealed that some immigrants will go to great lengths by changing both their first and last names in order to pass as Swedish, at least on paper. In addition to having some pragmatic benefits (e.g., increasing one's chances of employment), name changing, at least among some, is seen as a sign of attachment to the mainstream culture. Gerhards and Hans (2009) describe similar situations as examples of "voluntary acculturation" (p. 1103), with the term voluntary indicating that these naming decisions are still made by individuals themselves,

rather than forced on them by the state. The present set of studies, however, present the first empirical investigation of the effects of perceived negative consequences of ethnic names on both name preferences and choices among bicultural parents and parents-to-be.

Limitations and Future Research Directions

Although we believe that the present set of studies makes an important contribution to the psychological literature on naming, we are aware that research on this topic is in its infancy. Here we discuss a few limitations and propose some avenues for future research. We realize that the pattern of findings observed in the present research may not extend to other cultural and linguistic groups. For instance, linguistic similarity can make it easier for parents to find names that are common in both heritage and mainstream cultures (e.g., German, Dutch), whereas phonetic differences may make it harder to do so (e.g., Chinese, Korean). It is also important to note that the parents surveyed seemed to place a strong emphasis on the meaning of the name. Since names are rooted in language and derive their meaning from it, we expect that the present findings might not extend to cultural and linguistic groups for which names are not necessarily attached to a meaning system. From a cultural perspective, it is also very important to incorporate a temporal perspective, which would make it possible to examine how length of stay may relate to naming choices. For instance, in our last study many first-generation participants had moved to their current countries of residence as adults and had lived there for a relatively short period of time before they had their children. Therefore, the pattern of results observed here might not extend to those who have been living in these countries for a longer period of time, which would allow a deeper immersion in the mainstream culture. Similarly, the present research was more focused on the ethnic aspect of naming (e.g., heritage acculturation, cultural continuity, ethnic pride), with less empirical attention being given to mainstream cultural

influences. For instance, in addition to perceptions of negative consequences of ethnic names, one could also assess negative perceptions of mainstream names (e.g., Thompson, 2006). Importantly, in our last study we observed a very strong relationship between perceptions of names as markers of mainstream identity and consequences of ethnic names, which may suggest that identity and pragmatic motivation for mainstream naming may be fused into one, and perhaps reflect a concern for status. It is thus important to test this relationship with other samples, as well as using other methodological approaches. Religiosity is yet another potentially important factor related to naming choices. Many names are derived from religious texts and it would be interesting to tease apart the cultural vs. religious influences on naming. It should also be noted that the pattern of preferences and choices of ethnic names observed in the present research may reflect the specific cultural context where the studies took place. In the highly diverse environments where our research was conducted it is not surprising that individuals might feel comfortable and even encouraged to embrace their ethnic identity, including through choosing ethnic names for their children. In smaller, more culturally and linguistically homogenous environments, or in contexts that emphasize assimilation over multiculturalism, we might not see this pattern of findings replicated. The importance of context in naming decisions is also highlighted in the work of Obukhova and her colleagues, who argue that societal constraints such as political ideology may influence naming choices (Obukhova, Zuckerman, & Zhang, 2014). Third, we would like to acknowledge another demographic that might be especially interesting to study from a cultural perspective, namely biracial children. Mixed couples (e.g., White/Black, Hispanic/Asian) constitute an increasing demographic in many multicultural societies (e.g., Bialik, 2017; Statistics Canada, 2016), and research, including the present one, does indeed suggest that having a partner of another racial or cultural background

can be an important factor in baby-naming choices (e.g., Becker, 2009). Little, however, is known about how biracial parents negotiate their cultural identities in the context of baby-naming decisions (for an exception see Edwards & Caballero, 2008). This demographic is of interest to researchers also because of the possible negative consequences associated with being biracial (e.g., Albuja, Sanchez, & Gaither, 2018).

Conclusion

Personal names are an important part of our self and our social identity, and the importance of the "social" aspect takes on a special significance in multicultural societies. Whereas choosing a name for one's child can be a challenging process for almost anyone, the task may become especially daunting for bicultural individuals, who may be influenced by multiple forces related to both the maintenance and transmission of one's heritage culture and immersion in mainstream culture. Because of the highly malleable nature of personal names and the many symbolic and practical functions they serve, the study of personal names may be a fruitful avenue of research for scholars of culture and identity.

Manuscript 2

What's in a Name? A Qualitative Examination of Motivations for Baby-naming in

Multicultural Contexts

Abstract

An increased diversity in the repertoire of first names has been one of the most visible, yet under-researched, cultural products ensuing from increasing cultural diversity in the West. Given the role that names play as markers of identity, a systematic examination of naming among bicultural individuals can help shed light into some of the motivational factors that relate to processes of acculturation and identity formation. The present chapter synthesizes our work on the topic of baby-naming among bicultural individuals in Canada. One approach to understanding the motivations underlying naming choices and preferences is through applying Gardner and Lambert's (1959) framework of second language acquisition, specifically, the role of integrative and instrumental motives. Across a number of studies conducted with bicultural past and prospective parents we find evidence that both integrative and instrumental motives have a role to play in naming choices and preferences. Specifically, bicultural individuals perceive ethnic names as a way of ensuring that their Canadian-born children identify with their heritage cultural roots, as well as fostering a deeper sense of connection with one's family and ethnic community. Importantly, these integrative motivations toward one's heritage culture and language are underscored by a sense of ethnic pride and individual agency. We also observe an integrative motivation toward mainstream Canadian culture reflected in choices of mainstream names as a way of embracing mainstream culture, but this motivation is weaker compared to the integrativeness toward heritage culture. Lastly, we also found evidence of a more pragmatic, or instrumental motivation in naming, with some bicultural individuals choosing mainstream names in order to avoid any potential prejudice or discrimination associated with having an ethnic name. We conclude the chapter by acknowledging the role of the context in which our research has taken place, and pointing to future research directions.

Introduction

Choosing a name for one's child is not a random act. On the contrary, naming is a conscious deliberation underlined by the motivations the parents bring into this process. In this chapter, we will focus on a specific instance of baby-naming, one that happens in a multicultural context and which focuses on bicultural individuals. Therefore, we approach baby-naming as a cultural decision that reflects the increasing ethnic, religious, and linguistic diversity of many Western countries. Although we draw on various theories and empirical work, most of the discussion in this chapter is based on results from our own research conducted in Toronto, Canada.

Names, Identity, and Motivation

Names are an important part of language, one that follows us throughout our lives and has a prominent place in our individual identity. Importantly, names have the power to convey a lot of social and cultural information about its bearer, including gender, race or ethnicity, religion, and even socio-economic status (e.g., Edwards & Caballero, 2008; Fryer & Levitt, 2004; Gerhards & Hans, 2009). Thus, one can argue that language and identity come together in the naming process. This is particularly true for bicultural parents, whose name choices may reflect parental motivations to maintain their heritage culture or fit within the mainstream culture. We view baby-naming among bicultural individuals as cultural decision (Cila & Lalonde, 2015; Sue & Telles, 2007). In other words, choosing an ethnic name for one's child may be interpreted by parents and their ethnic communities as an indication of ethnic maintenance. To majority group members, however, this may indicate a motivation to distinguish and separate oneself from the mainstream culture (Becker, 2009; Berry, 1997; Gerhards & Hans, 2009; Sue & Telles, 2007; Watkins & London, 1994). Conversely, adoption of

anglicized names among immigrants, for instance, may be seen as an indication of their intention to assimilate into mainstream culture. Thus, there is an understanding that naming can be used as a tool to signal belongingness with a particular cultural group. An appreciation of baby-naming as a cultural decision can therefore highlight the underlying cultural motivations for choosing a particular name. It is at this level of motivation that we see key parallels between baby-naming among bicultural individuals and Gardner's theory of second language acquisition.

In their seminal paper, Gardner and Lambert (1959) argued that individuals' success in learning a second language is in part determined by their motivation orientations. Of particular importance is the conceptual and operational distinction between integrative and instrumental motives. They argued that a key feature of integrative motivation is its aim to "learn more about the language group, or to meet more and *different* people" (p. 267, emphasis in the original). In other words, an integrative motivation reflects an individual's openness and willingness to adopt features and characteristics of another linguistic or cultural group, and this has a strong affective component (Gardner, 2010). In the context of naming, this can imply a motivation to adopt names that permit the child to fit within mainstream naming conventions. Thus, among bicultural parents, choosing a mainstream name (i.e., a name that is common in that country's official language[s]), as opposed to a name that reflects their heritage culture and language, might be interpreted as a strong motivation to integrate with their new host nation. There is, however, the competing motivation to choose a name that is rooted within the heritage culture traditions and language. In this case, parental motivation to maintain their heritage culture and transmit it to future generations is akin to fostering an integrative motivation for the child to learn one's heritage language. Through ethnic naming parents may express their wishes and desires for the child to identify and connect with other members of their cultural and linguistic group.

Therefore, integrative motivations can inform our understanding of both ethnic and mainstream naming choices. In our research we examine both the motivation to integrate in a new host culture and the motivation for heritage cultural maintenance. To examine these motivations, our work draws on bi-dimensional models of acculturation (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000), as well as the construct of ethno-cultural continuity (Lamy, Ward, & Liu, 2013). We believe that when it comes to baby-naming among bicultural individuals, it is important to consider not only the extent to which these individuals are immersed in their heritage and mainstream cultures, but also the extent to which they are motivated to transmit their heritage culture to future generations.

The second motivation orientation that Gardner and Lambert discussed in their seminal paper reflects a utilitarian aspect to language learning, what they call an instrumental motivation. Here too we see a parallel between this particular motivation orientation and baby-naming among bicultural individuals. Specifically, we recognize that baby-naming reflects not only parental motivations to maintain one's heritage culture or adopt a new one, but also more pragmatic (i.e., instrumental) concerns about the implications of ethnic (*vs*. mainstream) naming in a mainstream cultural context. One particular factor involved in baby-naming among bicultural parents is a motivation to avoid any potential negative consequences of ethnic naming, such as teasing or bullying by peers, or discrimination.

In this chapter we will present some initial evidence linking four key variables to name preferences and choices among 1st and 2nd generation Canadians, both past and prospective parents. Specifically, we will discuss the role of (1) acculturation to ethnic/heritage culture, (2) ethno-cultural continuity, (3) acculturation to mainstream culture, and (4) perceived consequences of ethnic names. In our work, we approach the first two factors as illustrating a

motivation to retain and transmit the heritage culture to future generations, reflecting an integrative motivation. The third factor also illustrates an integrative motivation, but this one is directed toward the mainstream culture. The last factor, in contrast, illustrates a more pragmatic motivation, or in Gardnerian terms, an instrumental motivation toward baby-naming.

Review of Methodologies

This chapter is based primarily on studies we have conducted in Toronto, between the years 2014-2017. During this period we conducted six studies with sample sizes ranging from 71 to 326. Participants in these studies included bicultural parents (i.e., parents of an immigrant background with Canadian-born children), as well as young adults who were not parents, but rather were asked to reflect on the types of names they would prefer for a potential child. Thus, we present information on both name choices and naming preferences. Our research program has employed a mixed-method approach, collecting both quantitative and qualitative responses from participants. Quantitative data from some of these studies have been discussed elsewhere (e.g., Cila & Lalonde, 2015). In this chapter we synthesize key quantitative findings and provide an analysis of the qualitative data collected across all studies. In our research we use the term bicultural to refer to individuals who identify with two cultural groups. Typically, these individuals identify with a heritage or ethnic culture and a mainstream culture, and have internalized the values and norms of both cultures, albeit to varying degrees (see Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martínez, 2000). All of our participants reported identifying with an ethnic culture (e.g., Indian), in addition to mainstream Canadian culture, and the extent of involvement with each culture was assessed using a well-established measure of acculturation (Ryder et al., 2000).

The first study conducted on this topic focused on a culturally diverse group of parents representing over 30 different cultural groups (e.g., Chinese, Dutch, Filipino, Indian, Italian, Jamaican). Findings from this exploratory study laid the groundwork for the rest of our research program. Our next set of studies was more focused in scope and included participants of South Asian (Indian, Pakistani, and Sri Lankan) and Iranian cultural backgrounds. The decision to focus on these cultural groups was made based on two key factors. First, South Asian Canadians constitute one of the largest ethnic minority groups in Canada, and Iranian Canadians constitute a smaller, but quickly growing, cultural group in the country (Statistics Canada, 2017). Second, and most importantly for our purposes, both groups have strong linguistic and cultural ties to their heritage culture (e.g., Corbeil, 2012), making them ideal candidates for the study of names.[10]

Qualitative data was primarily obtained through targeted open-ended questions (e.g., "How important was it to choose a name that maintained some of your heritage cultural roots?", "Who were the people involved in the naming process?"), but also from generic open-ended questions (e.g., "Was there anything else that influenced your choice of names?", "Why would you prefer one type of name over the other?"). Participants' responses to these questions ranged from one sentence to a full paragraph. These responses were analyzed using thematic analysis, a method that is both useful in identifying patterns or themes in the data, and very accessible and flexible (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Before starting data analysis a decision was made to identify a theme based on its importance and relevance to the topic, and not necessarily on prevalence or extent of elaboration. In other words, a theme could be something that was discussed by most participants or a single participant, or something that was discussed in relative detail or in a single sentence. The writing of this chapter was also informed by informal interviews conducted

by the first author with past and prospective parents of various cultural backgrounds, and by both authors' personal experiences with naming their own bicultural children. Throughout the chapter we include direct quotations from participants to illustrate some of the key themes and motivations.

The rest of the chapter is organized into four key sections: (1) Motivation to retain and transmit ethnic language and culture, (2) Motivation to adopt mainstream language and culture, (3) Motivation to avoid prejudice and discrimination, and (4) Contextualizing naming motivations. Within each of these main sections we discuss a number of specific topics.

Motivation to Retain and Transmit Ethnic Language and Culture

Becoming a parent is a highly significant event in people's lives. Among minority group members in particular, this is a time when parents-to-be reflect on their own identities and the identities they want to transmit to their children (e.g., Zittoun, 2004, 2005). For instance, following the 1960s, there was an increase in the use of distinctly African American names among Blacks in the US. This was largely interpreted as an effort by this group to affirm their racial identity (Fryer & Levitt, 2004). Within a social identity framework (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), ethnic naming could be considered as an instance of establishing positive distinctiveness from the majority group. Naming can be a powerful tool in one's quest for identity affirmation, but it can also be interpreted as an indication of one's attitudes toward both ethnic and mainstream cultural groups.

In our work, we examine two related constructs that are associated with preferences and choices of ethnic names among bicultural individuals. The first construct is that of acculturation to one's heritage culture (or what sociologists call enculturation). Qualitatively, we have assessed this construct by asking bicultural parents open-ended questions about the extent to which their

heritage culture, as well as related customs and traditions, have influenced their choices of baby names. We have also asked them about the extent to which it was important to them to choose a name for their Canadian-born child that reflected their heritage culture. Quantitatively, we have assessed the degree to which a bicultural individual identifies with and is engaged in maintaining and practicing values and customs from one's heritage culture using well-established measures of acculturation (Ryder et al., 2000). We argue that the more strongly one is involved with their heritage culture and the more they identify with it, the more likely it is for them to choose an ethnic name for their child.

The second construct we examine in this context is that of ethno-cultural continuity, which reflects a motivation to transmit one's heritage culture and language to future generations (Lamy et al., 2013). An individual's level of engagement with the heritage culture (i.e., acculturation) and the desire to transmit that culture to future generations (i.e., motivation for ethno-cultural continuity) are two related, but conceptually distinct, constructs and in our work we find that each contributes uniquely to preferences for ethnic names. In other words, choices of ethnic names can be predicted by both one's level of acculturation to the heritage culture and a desire to transmit that culture to the future generations. These two factors, together, have more predictive power in baby-name selection among bicultural individuals than either of them separately.

Embracing ethnic culture. One of the key findings we have observed across a number of studies is a clear and strong preference for ethnic names over mainstream Canadian names. For many bicultural individuals, retaining their culture is very important to their sense of self. There is a strong sense that the name defines the individual, and because heritage and ancestry is an important aspect of an individual's identity, an ethnic name is seen as the logical choice for

many. Thus, engaging in naming practices that emphasize the use and transmission of ethnic names across generations seems to be one way in which bicultural individuals can ensure that at least part of their heritage culture can survive across generations. As an Indian Canadian father recalls:

> It was quite important to pick a name that maintained our heritage/cultural roots. As we want our son to know and remember where his parents and ancestors are from.

This sentiment is echoed by our prospective parents as well. In the words of a young Iranian Canadian adult:

> I have actually thought about this topic before, and every time, I only considered Iranian names. It came to me naturally. The thought of choosing a Canadian name, did not even cross my thoughts. I would choose an Iranian name; however, one that is easily pronounced … I would give my child an Iranian name because I believe it expresses his/her identity.

And as one Indian Canadian prospective parent discusses:

> I would choose a name that reflects my heritage because I would want my child to know to be proud of where he is from. Most likely a child growing up in Canada will reflect most the Canadian culture, however if he has a name that reflects cultural heritage then perhaps he would want to learn a little bit about their background when they grow up.

These quotes help highlight not only the importance of ethnic naming for individual identity, but also the expectation that an ethnic name would make an individual want to connect more with their heritage culture. An important element of embracing one's culture relates to the

meaning of names.[11] Many of our respondents explicitly discussed the deep meanings associated with ethnic names, something that they do not necessarily find in mainstream names. Ethnic names are often deeply rooted in the heritage culture and religion; they can be part of the family's history and traditions, and they are meaningfully rooted in the language itself. An Ethiopian Canadian mother, after describing that it was important to her as a mother to pick a name for her daughter that maintained her Ethiopian heritage, explained:

> My daughter's name means the beginning of the spring season and the end of the
>
> darkness … generally 'a new beginning'.

> Yet another aspect of embracing one's heritage culture reflects the rituals involved in

baby-naming. As this prospective Sri Lankan-Canadian prospective parent explains:

> Also, in our culture we number each letter and see how the name should be
>
> spelled according to the child's lucky numbers, so I would follow that as well.

> Keeping such traditions and rituals alive facilitates ethnic name maintenance from one

generation to the next.

Fostering parent-child connection. On one level, practices of ethnic naming could reflect a basic desire on the part of the parents for the child to be more like them. And this may include a similarity in naming. Especially among first generation immigrants, who likely have ethnic names themselves, choosing ethnic names for their children can help foster a sense of cultural connection to the child. Interestingly, we have some data that provide partial support to this contention. Specifically, among those individuals who are considered to be visible minorities (e.g., Pakistani, Sri Lankan, Jamaican), some of our preliminary data has shown that those who have an ethnic name report stronger ties to their families and a stronger desire to transmit their culture and language to future generations, compared to visible minorities who have a

mainstream name. These groups, however, did not differ in the extent to which they reported identifying with their heritage culture or Canadian culture (Cila, 2015). The issue of how being a visible minority might impact naming decisions has been spontaneously discussed by participants in some of our other studies. As a prospective parent of an Indian cultural background stated:

… But if the child looked or resembled me in any way including skin color it wouldn't feel right to give him/her a typical Canadian name.

The above quote raises an interesting point as it highlights the relationship between the way one looks and their perceived belongingness with the majority group, suggesting that the two may seem to be irreconcilable for some. Anglo-Canadian names are likely to elicit the prototype of a White person, particularly in a Canadian context, and it is understandable why some bicultural individuals would be aware of a perceived "mismatch" between the way one looks and the name they carry. The potential for mismatches may thus be influential in naming choices.

Fostering a sense of family and community. An examination of our qualitative data has revealed yet another important element of ethnic naming. Specifically, ethnic names, just like the languages they derive from, are perceived to have the power to connect the individual to family and ethnic community. Thus, the name is seen as central to one's social identity, and necessary for successful interpersonal relationships within that community. Therefore, we believe that fostering a sense of connection with one's ethnic community is fundamentally driven by an integrativeness motivation. At the family level, several parents described how the names they chose for their children were names that ran in the family, and how it was important to keep that

tradition. The following quote from a prospective Indian-Canadian parent, illustrates how an

ethnic name is important for both family and community:

> The first step for me in choosing a baby name is wondering if my mom can
>
> pronounce it. So, an ethnic name is more suitable over a mainstream Canadian
>
> one… Ethnic name also works in my community of mostly South Asians...

This sense of community can also be seen in the process of baby-naming, and more

specifically, in the people and the rituals that are involved. In mainstream Canadian culture (and

other Western cultures) it is typical for the parents of the child to be the only decision-makers in

the naming process. In many other cultures around the world, however, including some of those

we have surveyed, naming a baby can be a community effort. In such contexts, the naming

process can include grandparents, uncles, aunts, and even community or religious leaders, and is

sometimes embedded in specific rituals and practices (e.g., Cila & Lalonde, 2015; Sutton, 1997).

Ethnic pride. Another interesting factor that has emerged from our qualitative data is the

role of emotion in naming. Pride, in particular, seems to be very important to participants, and it

seems to operate at two distinct levels. On one level, participants themselves report feeling proud

of who they are and proud of their heritage. On another level, participants believe their children

should feel pride in their ethnic background and their heritage culture and language. As these

prospective parents stated:

> I want my child to wear his ethnic name with pride.
>
> … An ethnic name will always remind them where they came from and to be
>
> proud just like it does for me.

Although we have not explicitly examined the role of emotions in our work thus far, we

recognize that this could be an avenue for future research. Understanding how emotions, in

particular group-level emotions such as pride, relate to naming practices would further refine our understanding of naming from a social psychological perspective, and extend the literature that examines the links between emotion and behaviour to a new domain, that of personal names. Gardner himself stressed the affective component of integrativeness for second-language learning (2010), and here we discuss it in the context of naming, as a specific aspect of language.

Identity continuity and parental agency. On a broader level, ethnic naming can be considered an illustration of the concept of identity continuity (e.g., Iyer & Jetten, 2011; Sedikides, Wildschut, Gaertner, Routledge, & Arndt, 2008). Moving to a new country and joining a new culture can be an exciting experience. It can, however, also present various challenges. One such challenge relates to a disruption in the continuity of one's engagement with the heritage culture and the social and cultural identities that come with it. Among bicultural individuals, in particular, social identification based on their heritage culture is not only an important part of their self-identity, but also an important part of the social identity being ascribed to them by majority group members. In the context of naming, one way in which individuals can maintain a sense of identity continuity is through ensuring that new generations have names that carry the heritage culture and the identity that comes with it. Importantly, however, there seems to be an understanding that if the child is to identify with the parents' heritage culture at all, it is up to the parents themselves to make sure of that. As the following Indian-Canadian prospective parent explains:

> … It is important that my children are knowledgeable about my heritage culture
> as well as the Canadian culture. In school, they would learn about the Canadian
> culture for sure, however, it is my responsibility that I teach them about my
> heritage culture along the side…

This quote illustrates an active agency on the part of the bicultural individual to make sure that the child is rooted in their heritage culture and does not lose touch with it. Although the particular focus here is on naming, this illustrates a broader phenomenon among bicultural individuals. Specifically, it highlights the pivotal role that family plays in teaching children about their heritage culture and religion, and the norms, values, and traditions associated with them, thus ensuring some degree of cultural continuity across generations. This may be seen as important not only to one's identity, but perhaps also to the survival of the group as a distinct cultural entity, as illustrated by the quotes below from two prospective parents of an Indian cultural background:

> It's just the right thing to do. If everyone chooses Canadian names then there will one day be no one with a name from their culture.

> I would choose a name from my heritage culture because that is one thing I want my child to have if they ever assimilate into the Canadian culture.

Some of these responses suggest that being born in Canada automatically identifies one as Canadian, but an ethnic name is necessary for the individual to identify with their heritage culture. Moreover, whereas the larger society provides the child with mainstream cultural knowledge, it is the responsibility of the parent to teach the child about their heritage culture. We argue that part of the child's acculturation and identification with their heritage culture comes though ethnic naming.

Motivation to Adopt Mainstream Language and Culture

In this section, we focus our attention on a third motivational factor, namely wanting the child to identify with the majority culture (in our studies, Canadian). Thus, this reflects an

integrative motivation, and is typically related to the parents' own engagement and identification with the mainstream culture. Thus, the argument can be made that those bicultural parents who strongly identify with the mainstream cultural group and are fully immersed in the mainstream culture, will tend to prefer mainstream, as opposed to ethnic, names for their children. The extent of intergroup contact one has with the mainstream culture has sometimes been used as a proxy for cultural immersion and integration. However, the quality of that contact is important. Thus, close friendships and inter-marriage with members of the majority group tend to be related to more mainstream naming (e.g., Gerhards & Hans, 2009). Other work has shown that citizenship status in one's adoptive country may also impact the chances of giving one's child an ethnic or mainstream name, with possession of full citizenship status being linked to a higher probability of choosing a mainstream name (Becker, 2009).

Embracing mainstream culture. In our work, we have employed a bi-dimensional model of acculturation (Ryder et al., 2000) that assesses various aspects of engagement with the mainstream culture (e.g., having friends from the majority group, watching typical mainstream TV shows, etc.), and we have also asked participants to respond using open-ended questions. Quantitatively, we have observed that mainstream name preferences are positively related to one's levels of acculturation to mainstream Canadian culture (Cila & Lalonde, 2015). As a Peruvian-Canadian parent stated:

> ... Trying to keep a balance for her, to embrace her home country, was a very
> important aspect.
> And an East-Asian Canadian mother of a mixed Chinese-Korean background described:
> We both agreed that it is more important to choose a name that maintained more
> of the Canadian root than our own heritage cultural roots.

The above quotes illustrate how for some parents choosing a mainstream Canadian name for their child is seen as a sign of embracing Canadian culture, and recognizing it as part of the child's identity. The latter quote serves the added purpose of drawing attention to an important demographic, that of bi/multi-racial individuals, who, depending on the specific configurations of their identities, may be trying to juggle three or more cultures. With the rise of mixed unions and increasing numbers of bi/multi-racial children, this is an interesting demographic to study with regard to baby-naming.

Integrative motivations toward Canadian culture were also echoed by some of our prospective parents, such as the following Indian Canadian respondent:

A mainstream Canadian name may allow the person to feel better fit with the Canadian society. A person may feel as if they are an outsider or different if they had an ethnic name.

Although these identity concerns were emphasized by some of our bicultural participants, for others identity and pragmatism intertwine. In other words, wanting the child to feel Canadian was just as important as avoiding certain difficulties with ethnic naming, in particular, pronunciation. As this Indian Canadian prospective parent explained:

[mainstream names] sound nice and simple. Ethnic names are generally hard to pronounce and people often get it wrong. Also I've been very attracted to Canadian culture.

Being Canadian without having a mainstream name. An interesting observation from our studies has been that although it seems to be important for the child to identify with Canadian culture in which they are born, not all parents believe that this identity can be fostered through choosing a Canadian name. This is in stark contrast to beliefs about the role of names in

fostering ethnic identity. Whereas choices of ethnic names are seen as an important aspect of making sure the child identifies with their heritage culture, mainstream identification does not seem to require having a mainstream name, at least for some of our participants. Rather, being born in Canada is seen by some as sufficient proof that the child is Canadian, and the child doesn't need a Canadian name to attest to that. As an Indian Canadian prospective parent put it:

> As I said earlier, I want my child to be unique and represent our culture. Being a
> Canadian does not mean having a Canadian name. Being a Canadian means much
> more than that. A name does not define how dedicated you are towards your
> country or your patriotism.

> Others, however, explicitly mentioned that a mainstream name would make their child's identification as Canadian easier, and that a mainstream name can actually facilitate one's perceived belongingness to the majority group. In the words of another Indian Canadian prospective parent:

> It's easier to pronounce and people don't question you or treat you like you're
> from out of this country.

> Although we believe this to be an interesting theme, relatively few participants explicitly discussed how a mainstream name would be important for their child's identification as Canadian (in contrast to the importance of ethnic naming for ethnic identification). Thus, the extent to which this particular motivation is important in naming decisions is a good topic for future empirical investigation.

Motivation to Avoid Prejudice and Discrimination

A fourth motivational factor we discuss here relates to the perceived negative consequences of ethnic naming. This reflects an instrumental motivation for baby-naming. As

Gardner noted, there can be multiple practical reasons for people to learn a new language, and we acknowledge that there can be various practical reasons why people choose a certain name. Our work thus far has focused on one specific reason: namely the motivation to avoid negative consequences associated with having an ethnic name. Ethnic names can be associated with negative consequences, such as teasing by friends and peers, discrimination in the job market, as well as discrimination in the rental housing market (e.g., Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Carpusor & Loges, 2006; Edwards & Caballero, 2008; Kaas & Manger, 2011). In Canada, recent news stories have highlighted another issue facing some bicultural parents, namely having their young children being flagged in no-fly lists primarily because of the cultural and religious connotations of their names (e.g., Murphy, 2016). This is no doubt a frustrating experience for parents and, as some scholars suggest, experiences such as these may lead parents to have doubts about their naming choices. For instance, through their in-depth interviews with parents of biracial children in the UK, Edwards and Caballero (2008) found that some of the parents who had given their children names that clearly denoted their racial or ethnic origins had started having doubts about their choice, fearing that their children might become targets of racism on the basis of their name. Children themselves sometimes were made to feel different from their peers because their name did not fit mainstream naming conventions.

Other work has shown how some individuals whose names clearly convey a racial or ethnic heritage choose to engage in "resume whitening," oftentimes by changing their first name from a clearly ethnic one to a more mainstream name in hopes of increasing their chances of employment (e.g., Bursell, 2012; Kang, DeCelles, Tilcsik, & Jun, 2016). It is likely that when these individuals become parents, their personal experiences with name-based prejudice or discrimination (real or perceived) might influence the choices they make for their children's

names. To the best of our knowledge, however, we are the first to offer an empirical test of the role of motivation to avoid negative consequences of ethnic naming (Cila & Lalonde, 2015).

Name-based prejudice or discrimination. Our research has found support for this particular motivation to be a clear and distinct motive influencing bicultural individuals' naming choices and preferences. Different from the other three motivations discussed above (motivation to retain heritage culture, transmit heritage culture, and motivation to be identified with mainstream culture), which tap into identity issues and reflect integrative orientations, the motivation to avoid negative consequences of ethnic naming reflects a more pragmatic concern (or as Gardner might call it, instrumental). Not only have we seen this play out statistically, but open-ended responses from various participants in our studies have explicitly indicated concerns over name-based prejudice and discrimination. A Jamaican Canadian mother explains:

It was very important for our son's name to reflect North American culture

because we did not want him to be identified as Black when completing forms.

Similar concerns about possible negative consequences of ethnic names were observed among our prospective parents:

I want to choose a name where he/she won't be picked on for. I was teased a lot

when I was in school in Canada for my name and it made my experience in school

that much tougher. I don't want that for my child." (Iranian Canadian prospective

parent)

But I have seen that people get declined at my workplace, not because of the lack

of qualification, but the name that points to their culture and can be hard to

pronounce. (Indian Canadian prospective parent)

The following quote by another Indian Canadian prospective parent also hints at another strategy employed by some individuals who have ethnic names, that of legally changing one's name:

> Being born in Canada has great benefits, and having an ethnic name might make those benefits less effective when in a social or public situation. For the comfort of my child and safety of his well-being, I would name him something I knew he would be comfortable carrying the rest of his life, instead of changing it once he reached a legal age.

We need to point out that the motivation to avoid negative consequences of ethnic names does not operate the same way for all individuals. For some, higher concerns that one's child might be faced with prejudice and discrimination if they have an ethnic name can lead to choices of mainstream names. Others, despite expectations of possible negative consequences of ethnic naming, report they would still choose those names, but pay more attention to certain features of the names, such as pronounceability, to make the names and hence their children, less likely to be targets of teasing or bullying in school, or targets of discrimination in the job market. Research on this topic is still in its early stages, and at this point we are not able to offer an empirical explanation of these two different ways of addressing the same issue, and how individual difference variables, situational constraints, or the interaction between the two may influence either choice. From a social identity framework, however, it is plausible that individuals who identify strongly with their heritage culture would be more likely to prefer ethnic names, despite experiences of name-based prejudice or discrimination.

Issues of (mis)pronunciation. Pronunciation of names was not something that we explicitly assessed in our studies. This did, however, spontaneously emerge as an important issue

for many of our respondents. Interestingly, not all of our participants seemed to be affected the same way from recurring mispronunciations of their ethnic names. Although many individuals report feeling annoyed and irritated when others constantly mispronounce their name, some interpret this as a relatively small price to pay for the pride that comes with being an identifiable member of their ethnic group. In other words, a strong sense of attachment to one's culture and community, and a motivation to carry that forward through ethnic naming, is deemed to be more important than the relatively small inconveniences that may arise from it. These individuals, in particular, tend to feel personally responsible for the transmission of their heritage culture to future generations, highlighting that although their children will inevitably adopt Canadian culture through their immersion in Canadian society, the main way to learn about their ethnic culture is through the parents. For other individuals, however, these experiences of constantly having to correct others' mispronunciations of their names translate into a desire and motivation to spare their children from its negative effects. As an Indian Canadian prospective parent explained:

> I have an ethnic name, so I have been through the stages where for example a
> teacher mispronounces your name, and you attempt to correct them however, it is
> too embarrassing to do so. Which is why many people with ethnic names have
> given themselves nicknames.

Often this means that they will opt for a mainstream name, whereas other times, individuals try to be creative and come up with names that would be common to both languages, or if that is not a possible or a desired option, they might opt for choosing ethnic names that can be easily pronounced in the mainstream language. For instance, it is not uncommon for bicultural

parents to "test" their preferred ethnic names with majority group members before making a final decision on the name.

Contextualizing Naming Motivations and Other Considerations

It is important to note that all of our research has been conducted in one of the most multicultural cities in the world, where diversity is a fact of life and individuals representing over 200 ethnic and linguistic groups from all over the world live in relative harmony (Corbeil, 2012). In such cultural contexts, individuals cherish the ability to not only openly use their own languages in public without any fear or expectation of being stared at, but also the ability to transmit that language to their Canadian-born children. For instance, schools, which normally act as the key milieu of immersion into mainstream culture, have over the years increasingly encouraged children and their families to learn their mother tongue. They are doing this by not only emphasizing to families the importance of teaching one's mother tongue to their Canadian-born children, but also offering a number of practical supports to achieve that, such as furnishing libraries with bilingual books and offering heritage language classes.[12] It wouldn't come as a surprise then that in these particular contexts bicultural individuals are strongly motivated to transmit their language and culture to their children. This is something that is perceived to be not only accepted, but also enabled by mainstream society. Ethnic naming can thus be seen as a product of such encouragement to retain and live out the heritage culture.

It is unclear at this point if similar, strong preferences for ethnic names would be observed in contexts that are less culturally diverse or contexts that tend to favour assimilationist over multicultural ideologies. In fact, some of our participants, in their open-ended responses have reflected on this specific issue. These participants demonstrate an awareness of the specific characteristics of Canada, and the Greater Toronto Area more specifically, that make it possible

to want to name one's child an ethnic name. In the words of two of our Indian Canadian respondents:

> Canada is a diverse place and they would fit in even if they didn't have a
> mainstream Canadian name.

> To me it doesn't matter. I feel like in 2016, Canada is so multicultural, our
> different ethnic names are in fact Canadian in their own sense now. Sanjay is as
> Canadian as Rick to me.

The second quote in particular suggests that increasing diversity in naming may imply a shift in what constitutes a "mainstream" name, at least in the more multicultural cities in Canada. This could be an interesting area of research in its own right.

Another important issue we want to draw attention to is the fact that naming does not have to be an either/or decision for parents, although our discussion so far may have implied that. Specifically, for certain cultural groups, especially those that share a common religion or linguistic similarity with the majority culture, it is possible to choose names that are in fact common to both cultures. In those cases, one can simultaneously transmit heritage culture and adopt mainstream culture, thus showing an integrative orientation to both cultures. Importantly, however, even among those cultural groups that do not share any religious or linguistic connections with mainstream culture, it is still possible for parents to come up with name combinations that would accommodate both cultures. For instance, parents could choose a first name that is common in one cultural group (e.g., mainstream) and a middle name that is common in the other cultural group (e.g., heritage). Although such name combinations may sometimes simply reflect parental identity motivations (i.e., wanting the child to identify with both cultures),

at other times, this strategy may combine both pragmatic and identity concerns (i.e., both integrative and instrumental motivations). As a Vietnamese Canadian mother described it:

I chose a mainstream Canadian name to make it easier for my son's life here. I have a Vietnamese name for my son that is used at home instead to still preserve culture. I refer to my son by his Vietnamese name.

Religion. We acknowledge that research on baby-naming from a cultural perspective is still in its infancy, and many new research avenues could be pursued in the future. Specifically, most of our work so far has focused on a definition of culture based on nationality or ethnicity. Culture, however, can take many forms, including religion, socio-economic status, and region within a country (Cohen, 2009). All of these other forms of culture can influence the types of names parents choose for their children. In this section we focus on religion as an important source of influence, not only because it informs traditions and customs, but also because it often is an actual source of names. Religion provides its adherents with many names to choose from, and many of the names appearing in religious texts and scripture are still in use today (e.g., Bethany, David, Eva, Fatima, Jacob, Mohammed). Some of these names also cut across religious divides (e.g., Adam, Sara(h), variations of Mary). Just like choices of ethnic names can be interpreted in terms of integrative motivation, choices of religious names for one's child can also be considered as a reflection of an integrative motivation toward one's religion.

Although our baby-naming studies did not explicitly examine the role of religion, respondents sometimes spontaneously invoked religion to explain their naming choices. As a Jewish mother remarked about naming her daughter:

We wanted an original name that sounded Jewish.

An Italian Canadian father also emphasized the role of religion in naming his son:

It was not important to be common but it was important to be a Christian name.

And so did an Indian Canadian father when describing the decision to name his son:

Our son's name is from the Quran, it is the name of a prophet.

A Sikh mother explains that in her religion, naming decisions start at the place of worship:

The letter G was picked at the Gurdwara (place of worship). The first letter of the

hymn that appears in the holy book is the letter the name should start with...

In a study with Muslim Canadian young adults that examined the relationship between religiosity and attitudes toward various social issues, Haji and colleagues (2017) found that stronger religious identification predicted a stronger preference for Islamic names. The same study observed denominational differences, with participants who identified as Sunni or Shia showing a stronger preference for Islamic names, compared to those who identified themselves as "just Muslim" (Haji, Cila, & Lalonde, 2017). Other work has also shown religion to be an important factor in baby-naming, so that stronger religious observance is associated with choices of religious names (e.g., Edwards & Caballero, 2008). Thus, if religion is an important part of the individual's identity, then it is likely that they will be motivated to transmit that part of their identity to their offspring, so it becomes part of their child's identity too.

Gender. Another interesting aspect of naming that we have yet to discuss, but which may offer additional insight, relates to the gender of the child. Research suggests that there is a consistent effect of gender in naming practices among immigrant parents, with parents giving their sons names that are more reflective of their ethnic identity, while giving their daughters names that are more mainstream (Becker, 2009; Lieberson & Mikelson, 1995; Sue & Telles, 2007). This research suggests that the importance of traditions and generational continuity may

be gendered (Finch, 2008; Joubert, 1985). We ourselves have not observed an effect of gender in our work, although this may be a function of the specific cultural context where our studies have taken place or the specific cultural groups we have studied. Given that in many cultures, generational continuity follows the paternal line, it would not be surprising to see the above-mentioned gender difference in naming patterns, especially when continuity and survival of the cultural group is at stake. From a motivational standpoint, it would be interesting to examine whether integrative *vs.* instrumental motivations might differentially influence choices of names for daughters and sons.

Uniqueness. Lastly, an interesting trend has been observed over the years showing an increase in unique name choices, paralleling increases in individualism (Grossmann & Varnum, 2015; Twenge, Abebe, & Campbell, 2010). In fact, there is a trend showing names moving away from tradition and custom and toward uniqueness instead. Whereas these trends have been mostly observed in individualistic cultures, we do not know whether the same would be true for more collectivistic cultures that typically emphasize family and tradition. Therefore, it would be interesting to examine preferences and choices of unique names among bicultural individuals, and how their connection to the heritage culture and the motivation to transmit it to future generations may be influenced by these trends. A few of our respondents did in fact mention that they did not have any preferences for specific cultural names, and would rather prefer names that were unique in some way. Nevertheless, it is unclear at this point how prominent such preferences are among biculturals and the various factors that may be associated with it. Furthermore, comparing different generations of biculturals (e.g., first- *vs.* second-generation) would add yet another layer of inquiry and understanding to this issue, and would provide further insights into the potentially different motivations underlying naming decisions.

Conclusion

Studying personal names is especially relevant in today's increasingly diverse world. Our work shows that naming choices and preferences among bicultural individuals are informed by both identity and pragmatic concerns, or using Gardner's terminology, integrative and instrumental motivations, respectively. An integrative motivation was directed toward both the heritage culture and mainstream Canadian culture, and was related to choices of and preferences for ethnic or mainstream names, respectively. Nevertheless, the integrative motivation toward one's heritage culture was more prevalent than an integrative motivation toward mainstream Canadian culture, and more fully elaborated by our participants. This preference for ethnic naming was underscored by a number of factors, including importance of embracing one's ethnic identity and the sense of pride that comes with it, the role that naming can play in fostering a sense of family and community, and also an understanding that ethnic naming offers a way for bicultural individuals to be active agents in the intergenerational transmission of their heritage language and culture. The importance of ethnic names in the larger context of ethnic culture maintenance has been previously observed in the literature (e.g., Edwards & Caballero, 2008; Gerhards & Hans, 2009; Kim, 2007). This integrative motivation toward heritage culture and language is in line with Gardner's conceptualization of integrativeness as being primarily driven by an affective, as opposed to a cognitive, component. In this context, individuals' strong emotional connections to their heritage culture and language can emerge as key factors influencing naming choices, and can supersede the more practical (and often cognitive) reasons for choosing a mainstream name. For instance, although a number of participants highlighted issues of mispronunciation of their ethnic names, many emphasized that the importance of carrying an ethnic name and the pride associated with it superseded the pragmatic convenience

of carrying a mainstream name. Another interesting finding we observed was that although participants perceived an ethnic name to be necessary and important for the formation of ethnic identity in the child, the same was not true for a mainstream name, at least among some of our respondents. In other words, one can be and feel Canadian without having a mainstream Canadian name. Across our studies, we have also found that choices and preferences of mainstream names are also associated with more pragmatic concerns (i.e., an instrumental motivation), such as avoiding potential prejudice or discrimination that may come as a result of having an identifiably ethnic name. Such perceptions or expectations seem to have at least some empirical support. For instance, individuals who have a clearly ethnic name have been found to be targets of prejudice or discrimination (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Carpusor & Loges, 2006; Edwards & Caballero, 2008; Kaas & Manger, 2011; Kang et al., 2016; Zhao & Biernat, 2017). Overall, our findings point to the complex nature of baby-naming in a multicultural context, both in terms of its motivational antecedents and outcomes. In this chapter we provide a number of new research directions, but acknowledge that the empirical paths one can pursue are not limited to the ones proposed here.

Robert Gardner along with his mentor, Wallace Lambert, have established a tradition of looking at the seminal role of language in intergroup relations and intercultural communication. The name that one receives as a baby serves as an important anchor in these areas. Not only does the name often reveal parental motivations that are framed within a cultural context, but it will also serve as the individual's calling card in daily interactions throughout their life. First impressions are formed not only on appearance, but also on individualized personal labels. The title of this chapter asks the question "What's in a name?" We hope the reader can share the same answer that we have reached, and that is "plenty!"

General Conclusion

To the best of our knowledge, this dissertation presents the first psychological study of baby naming choices and preferences among bicultural individuals, thus assessing both attitudes toward naming and actual naming choice as a concrete behaviour (see Baumeister, Vohs, & Funder, 2007). As such, this research offers important insights into multiple factors that relate to baby naming decisions in a multicultural context.

One of the research elements highlighted by this dissertation is the importance of a multi-method approach to the study of baby-naming among bicultural individuals. Although such an approach is recommendable in all areas of research (e.g., Eid & Diener, 2006), it is particularly important when investigating a new topic or one for which relatively little is known, as was the case of baby-naming.

Another interesting element shown here is that the topic of baby-naming among bicultural parents can lend itself well to empirical investigations from various scientific disciplines and perspectives (e.g., anthropology, sociology, linguistics). Even within psychology it is possible to approach this topic from various perspectives and theoretical frameworks. Specifically, although both parts of this dissertation examined the role of culture on baby-naming choice and preferences among bicultural individuals, the first part approached this question primarily from a cultural psychological perspective, whereas the second part approached the same topic from a language and identity perspective. Given the complexity of cultural identities and the various ways in which cultural influences can manifest themselves in the real world, an approach that addresses this issue from multiple perspectives is beneficial.

The key conclusions derived from this research are discussed in the respective concluding sections of the quantitative and qualitative parts of the dissertation. The focus of this general

discussion will be to elaborate on some of the key findings and to further suggest some new research ideas. We start with a discussion of the role of emotions in naming decisions. Results from both Study 3 as well as the qualitative data provided some initial evidence about how the group-level emotion of ethnic pride can influence both actual choices and reported preferences for ethnic names among bicultural individuals. Future research on this topic can further examine some of the pathways through which pride relates to naming decisions. For instance, decision making researchers have shown that when people are in a positive emotional state they tend to overestimate the likelihood of positive events and underestimate the likelihood of negative events (e.g., Schwarz, 2000). At the same time, research on ethnic socialization shows that instilling a strong sense of racial or ethnic pride is a very common strategy employed by racialized parents, and this can help individuals better cope with the negative effects of prejudice and discrimination (e.g., Hughes et al., 2006). In the context of ethnic naming this may help explain why, when their sense of ethnic pride is made salient, some bicultural individuals report a preference for ethnic names despite simultaneously recognizing that ethnic names can carry negative consequences. In other words, it is possible that a strong sense of pride may lead the individual to downplay the negative effects of ethnic names, or emphasize one's ability to handle them, increasing the likelihood of choosing an ethnic name over a mainstream one.

Some researchers have theorized that one way in which to better understand the role of emotions in decision making is by taking into account the fact that emotions are social in nature (Van Kleef et al., 2010). This approach is well-suited to the topic of baby-naming, as baby names, typically, are not individual decisions. Rather, they reflect the wishes and the direct involvement of both parents, and sometimes others as well. Future research that employs dyadic methods may benefit from incorporating this conceptualization of emotion. Further, this

approach to emotions may be especially relevant in the study of baby naming choices among mixed couples. In our last study we observed that individuals whose spouses or partners were of a different ethnic background differed along many important dimensions compared to those in same-ethnicity unions, including ethnic pride and actual name choices. It would be interesting to examine baby-naming among mixed couples, and in particular the role that group-level emotions and identifications may play both in the process of baby-naming and actual name choices. This is especially important given that they constitute an increasing demographic in many diverse societies (e.g., Bialik, 2017; Statistics Canada, 2016).

An interesting observation of the samples studied for this research is the extent of elaboration and complexity related to ethnic naming compared to mainstream naming. Specifically, we tested and found evidence for either direct or indirect effects of various variables on ethnic naming, including acculturation/ethnic identity, ethnic pride, motivation for ethno-cultural continuity, and perceptions of names as markers of ethnic identity. Preferences and choices of mainstream names, on the other hand, seem to be related to fewer variables, especially identity-related ones. In part this may reflect the relatively lower importance placed on mainstream names (as evidenced, for instance, by much lower frequency of mainstream name choices). It is also possible, however, that there might be other culturally-relevant variables not yet tested that may help researchers gain a better understanding of how mainstream naming is related to issues of mainstream cultural identification. For instance, it would be interesting to examine how a sense of pride in national identity (the mainstream equivalent of ethnic pride) might be related to mainstream name choices and preferences.

Another important line of research within the context of naming can examine whether and how choices of mainstream names impact one's sense of connection with the ethnic

community. For instance, Thompson (2006) argues that names can be used by both in- and out-group members to evaluate whether one is a legitimate member of the group. Thus, naming can act like a double-edged sword: although a mainstream name may make a bicultural individual feel more accepted into the mainstream society, that very same name might make one feel less connected to the heritage culture and less accepted by its members. Research with bicultural children who have either ethnic or mainstream names can help shed light into this aspect of naming. A related line of research could examine how ethnic naming is experienced by the children who bear that name. Specifically, if a key motivation for ethnic naming is cultural continuity, it would be interesting to empirically examine whether ethnic names do indeed facilitate a stronger connection with one's ethnic culture and community, especially one that goes beyond the effect of other culturally relevant factors, such as norms and values.

It is also important to highlight some of the applied or practical implications of this research. Overall, we believe that a better understanding of the motivations underlying specific name choices can help foster better intergroup and intergenerational understanding. These findings may help facilitate parent-child interactions, but they may also be useful in a school or work setting. For instance, counselors may help children who are teased at school because of how their ethnic name sounds in English, and hiring managers could be more mindful of potential biases toward ethnic names. These applied issues are especially important in a highly diverse environment where multiple languages and identities interact on a daily basis.

Lastly, we want to draw attention to the fact that just like cultures change and evolve over time, so does the repertoire of first names. Names that were once reflective of a specific ethnic group may over time become common in the mainstream, and we saw some evidence of this in our qualitative analysis. Gerhards and Hans (2009) refer to this as boundary shifting, whereby

names that were once considered foreign have become part of the mainstream. From this perspective, names can be considered as both a cultural product and an antecedent of cultural change, making them an exciting and fruitful topic of research.

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Endnotes

1. A more in-depth analysis of the qualitative data for Study 1 can be found in Cila and Lalonde (in press).

2. In addition to the open-ended questions, participants also completed measures of heritage culture and mainstream Canadian cultural identifications (Cameron, 2004), and motivation for ethno-cultural continuity (Lamy et al, 2013). Given the relatively small sample size and diversity of the sample, however, we could not meaningfully run any statistical analyses on these measures.

3. Given the strong correlation between measures of acculturation to heritage culture and motivation for ethno-cultural continuity, we assessed multicollinearity by examining variance inflation factors (VIF). The VIF value for motivation for ethno-cultural continuity was 3.1, whereas that of heritage acculturation was 3.5. This degree of multicollinearity is expected given the theoretical and conceptual overlap between heritage culture acculturation and motivation for ethno-cultural continuity. Whereas there is no agreed upon cutoff, most scholars argue that VIFs that are lower than 10 indicate no problematic collinearity (e.g., Fields, 2009; cf. Allison, 2012). Importantly, this degree of multicollinearity might have been problematic if both variables were entered in the same step in the regression model, which is not the case with our model. We also ran an exploratory factor analysis to assess whether both measures would converge into one, and that was not the case. Therefore, the observed degree of collinearity is not deemed to be problematic, and retaining motivation for ethno-cultural continuity as a separate construct in the model is of theoretical importance to the research question.

4. Similar to our procedure in Study 2a, here too we assessed multicollinearity by examining VIFs. The VIF value for motivation for ethno-cultural continuity was 2.27,

whereas that of heritage acculturation was 2.40. This degree of multicollinearity is not deemed problematic, and therefore no changes were made to the model.

5. Most participants resided in large and diverse cities in their respective countries. Specifically, 58.4% of the Canadian respondents resided in or around the Greater Toronto Area, 23.4% resided in or around the Metro Vancouver Area, and the rest resided in other large cities such as Calgary, Edmonton, or Ottawa. Almost 50% of the UK sample resided in London, and the rest resided primarily in other large cities such as Birmingham, Manchester, or Leicester. The American sample was more diverse in terms of residence, but a clear majority of around 80% lived in or around large and diverse cities such as New York, Chicago, Atlanta, Jacksonville, Houston, Irvine, etc. Country of residence (United States, Canada, United Kingdom) was independent from baby name choices, χ^2 (6, 210) = 2.55, p = .86. In addition, responses to all but one of the main study measures were independent of country of residence, Fs < 1.56, ps > .21. The only measure that differed by residence country was mainstream identification, $F(2, 207)$ = 3.84, p =.02, η^2 = .04, 95% CI [.002, .09]. Specifically, Canadian participants (M = 6.10, SD = 1.20) scored higher than both US (M = 5.63, SD = 1.18) and UK (M = 5.61, SD = 1.31) participants on their extent of identification with mainstream culture, although only the Canada – US comparison was statistically significant, p = .03. The Canada – UK (p = .12) and US – UK (p = 1.00) comparisons were not statistically significant.

6. In addition to providing the children's actual names, participants were also asked to rate each name in terms of the extent to which the name reflected their heritage culture/language, as well as the extent to which the name reflected mainstream culture/English language (i.e., "To what extent does this name reflect your Indian

culture/language[mainstream culture/language]"). Parents were instructed to respond based on their own perceptions of their children's names, and not on how others might perceive those names. Responses to this question were on a 5-point scale, with *0* = not at all and *4* = completely. After coding names as being either ethnic or mainstream, we ran a mixed model ANOVA with coded names as the between-subjects factor and participants' own perception of the extent to which the names were reflective of mainstream and heritage cultures as the repeated measures factor. This revealed a statistically significant interaction ($F(1, 177) = 124.46$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .41$), such that the names that were coded as ethnic were rated higher on reflecting heritage culture (*M* = 4.36, *SD* = 1.05) compared to mainstream culture (*M* = 2.31, *SD* = 1.34). Similarly, names that we coded as mainstream were rated higher on the extent to which participants believed they reflected mainstream culture (*M* = 3.86, *SD* = 1.27) compared to ethnic culture (*M* = 2.19, *SD* = 1.35).

7. First-born and last-born refer to the first and last child born in the participant's current country of residence, respectively. These two categories are non-independent, however, as over half of the sample (54.5%) had only one child born in their current countries of residence, so for these participants first- and last-born refers to the same child.

8. Just over half of participants (51.2%) stated that their children had no middle names, 35.5% had an ethnic middle name, and 10% had a mainstream/English middle name (three participants had a middle name common in both languages, and four could not be coded). Choices of middle names (ethnic vs. mainstream) were not independent from choices of first names (ethnic vs. mainstream), $\chi^2 (2, N = 89) = 9.05$, $p = .003$, such that those parents who chose ethnic first names for their children were also more likely to

have chosen ethnic middle names. Similarly, those who chose mainstream first names also were more likely to choose mainstream middle names.

9. For this analysis we excluded data from participants who had a partner of a different ethnic background, as name choices were not independent of partner's ethnicity (χ^2(1, N=183) = 7.06, p = .008), such that having a partner of a different ethnic background was associated with higher than expected choices of mainstream names and lower than expected choices of ethnic names. In addition, participants who were in mixed-unions scored lower than their counterparts on measures of ethnic identity, ethnic pride, motivation for ethno-cultural continuity, and names as markers of ethnic identity, ts > 2.23, ps < .03. Although we recognize the important role that type of union (same-ethnicity vs mixed) may play in naming decisions, the small sample size precludes us from including this as a predictor in the model. We further excluded data from three participants who were deemed to be outliers, defined as those observations with standardized residuals larger than ± 3. These exclusions resulted in a final sample size of 167 (n = 139 ethnic names, n = 28 mainstream names).

10. Interestingly, group size and ethnolinguistic vitality may offer necessary, but not sufficient conditions for observing variability in naming choices. Notably, Chinese Canadians, despite being one of the largest minority groups in the country and demonstrating relatively high levels of ethnic language maintenance, show a consistent and strong preference for mainstream names compared to ethnic names. To the best of our knowledge, however, there has been no systematic analysis of naming patterns among this population, although some literature on name-changing among college-age Chinese immigrants in the US supports our observations (Zhao & Biernat, 2018).

11. Meaning of names in one's heritage language needs to be considered against the backdrop of its possible meaning in the dominant language of the mainstream culture. Although to the best of our knowledge there is no empirical research on this particular topic, there is anecdotal evidence suggesting that certain ethnic names sound "funny" or "embarrassing" in English and can therefore make individuals targets of teasing and bullying by peers. A few of our respondents raised this issue in their responses.

12. Such moves, especially in the elementary school years, can be seen as an extension of the bilingual (French –English) learning models that were pioneered by Wallace Lambert (e.g., Lambert & Tucker, 1972).

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics and Zero-order Correlations Among Main Study Variables for South Asian Canadians (Study 2a)

		M	*SD*	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
1	Heritage acculturation	6.86	1.40	.37***	.81***	-.14*	.58***	-.22***
2	Canadian acculturation	6.95	1.03		.17**	.06	.09	.16**
3	Cultural continuity	5.33	1.22			-.15**	.60***	-.30***
4	Consequences	3.11	1.58				-.19**	.25***
5	Ethnic name preference	4.92	1.71					-.42***
6	Mainstream name preference	3.35	1.56					

* *p* < .05, ** *p* < .01, *** *p* < .001

Table 2

Predicting Name Preferences Among South Asian Canadians (Study 2a)

	Ethnic name preferences			Mainstream name preferences		
	R^2	B	95% CI	R^2	B	95% CI
Step 1	.35***			.12***		
Heritage acculturation		.77***	[.66, .89]		-.36***	[-.48, -.24]
Canadian acculturation		-.24**	[-.39, -.08]		.42***	[.26, .59]
Step 2	.40***			.18***		
Heritage acculturation		.38***	[.19, .58]		-.07	[-.28, .14]
Canadian acculturation		-.13	[-.29, .03]		.33***	[.16, .50]
Cultural continuity		.49***	[.28, .70]		-.33**	[-.56, -.11]
Consequences		-.09†	[-.19, .00]		.19***	[.09, .29]

Note. Beta values (b) represent unstandardized regression coefficients.
† *p* = .06, ** *p* < .01, *** *p* < .001

Table 3

Descriptive Statistics and Zero-order Correlations Among Main Study Variables for Iranian Canadians (Study 2b)

		M	*SD*	2	3	4	5	6
1	Heritage acculturation	6.57	1.37	.25**	.75***	-.08	.64***	-.19*
2	Canadian acculturation	6.40	1.07		.12	.20*	.06	.30**
3	Cultural continuity	5.35	1.17			-.12	.62***	-.18*
4	Consequences	3.54	1.52				-.19*	.31***
5	Ethnic name preference	5.06	1.69					-.35***
6	Mainstream name preference	3.51	1.51					

* *p* < .05, ** *p* < .01, *** *p* < .001

Table 4

Predicting Name Preferences Among Iranian Canadians (Study 2b)

	Ethnic name preferences			Mainstream name		
	R^2	B	95% CI	R^2	B	95% CI
Step 1	.43***			.17***		
Heritage acculturation		.82***	[.65, 1.00]		-.31**	[-.49, -.12]
Canadian acculturation		-.17	[-.39, .06]		.53***	[.30, .77]
Step 2	.47***			.22***		
Heritage acculturation		.54***	[.29, .79]		-.26†	[-.53, .02]
Canadian acculturation		-.09	[-.31, .13]		.46***	[.22, .70]
Cultural continuity		.41**	[.12, .70]		-.03	[-.34, .29]
Consequences		-.12	[-.27, .03]		.23**	[.06, .39]

Note. Beta values (b) represent unstandardized regression coefficients.
† *p* = .07, ** *p* < .01, *** *p* < .001

Table 5

Descriptive Statistics and Zero-order Correlations Among Main Study Variables (Study 3)

		M	*SD*	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Heritage identification	5.92	1.23	.18**	.50***	-.15*	.70***	.33***	-.06
2	Mainstream identification	5.79	1.23		-.07	.06	.13†	.03	.14*
3	Cultural continuity	5.41	1.06			-.29***	.61***	.47***	-.19**
4	Consequences	3.68	1.67				-.19**	-.01	.86***
5	Ethnic pride	6.06	1.02					.35***	-.05
6	Names as markers of ethnic ID	5.13	1.46						.03
7	Names as markers of mainstream ID	4.08	1.84						

† *p* = .06, * *p* < .05, ** *p* < .01, *** *p* < .001

Table 6

Predicting Ethnic Name Choices (Study 3)

	χ^2	R_N^2	B	OR	95% CI
Step 1	11.00*	.11			
Heritage identification			-.19	.83	[.51, 1.34]
Cultural continuity			-.25	.78	[.45, 1.34]
Mainstream identification			-.13	.88	[.60, 1.30]
Consequences			-.40**	.67	[.51, .89]
Step 2	43.66***	.39			
Heritage identification			-.19	.83	[.47, 1.47]
Cultural continuity			-.37	.69	[.36, 1.34]
Mainstream identification			-.13	.87	[.56, 1.37]
Consequences			-.74***	.48	[.32, .72]
Ethnic Pride			-.64	.53	[.21, 1.35]
Name as marker of ethnic ID			1.03***	2.79	[1.79, 4.37]

Note. OR = odds ratio

* *p* < .05, ** *p* < .01, *** *p* < .001

Table 7

Predicting Mainstream Name Choices (Study 3)

	χ^2	R_N^2	B	OR	95% CI
Step 1	10.88*	.11			
Heritage identification			.07	1.08	[.69, 1.67]
Cultural continuity			.26	1.29	[.75, 2.21]
Mainstream identification			.15	1.16	[.78, 1.71]
Consequences			.42**	1.52	[1.14, 2.03]
Step 2	17.48**	.17			
Heritage identification			.04	1.04	[.66, 1.63]
Cultural continuity			.18	1.20	[.69, 2.09]
Mainstream identification			.03	1.03	[.68, 1.57]
Consequences			-.12	.89	[.54, 1.47]
Name as marker of mainstream ID			.63*	1.88	[1.14, 3.08]

Note. OR = odds ratio

* *p* < .05, ** *p* < .01

Table 8

Mean Ratings of the Importance of Various Name Characteristics (Study 3)

|	"It was important that my child's first name:"	*M*	*SD*
1	... had a good literal meaning	6.08	1.37
2	... was easily pronounceable in both English and my heritage language	6.02	1.42
3	... would be liked by my child	5.96	1.25
4	... was emotionally meaningful	5.80	1.39
5	... was unique	5.77	1.40
6	… would suit someone with a respectable career	5.62	1.55
7	... would help my child succeed as a grown person	5.59	1.61
8	... was liked by my parents (if applicable)	5.58	1.48
9	... reflected my ethnic/cultural heritage	5.45	1.58
10	... wouldn't make my child the target of teasing at school	5.40	1.80
11	... was liked by our extended families	5.29	1.65
12	... was liked by my in-laws (if applicable)	5.27	1.63
13	... was an ethnic name	5.26	1.70
14	... went well with the last name	5.15	1.79
15	... was liked by my other children (if applicable)	5.08	1.60
16	... made for a nice nickname	4.66	1.96
17	... went well with sibling names (if applicable)	4.59	1.83
18	... had unique spelling (e.g., Ashleigh instead of the more common Ashley)	4.48	2.08
19	... was popular (e.g., name in the top 100)	4.28	1.99
20	... runs in the family	4.15	1.94
21	... was an English name	3.81	2.01
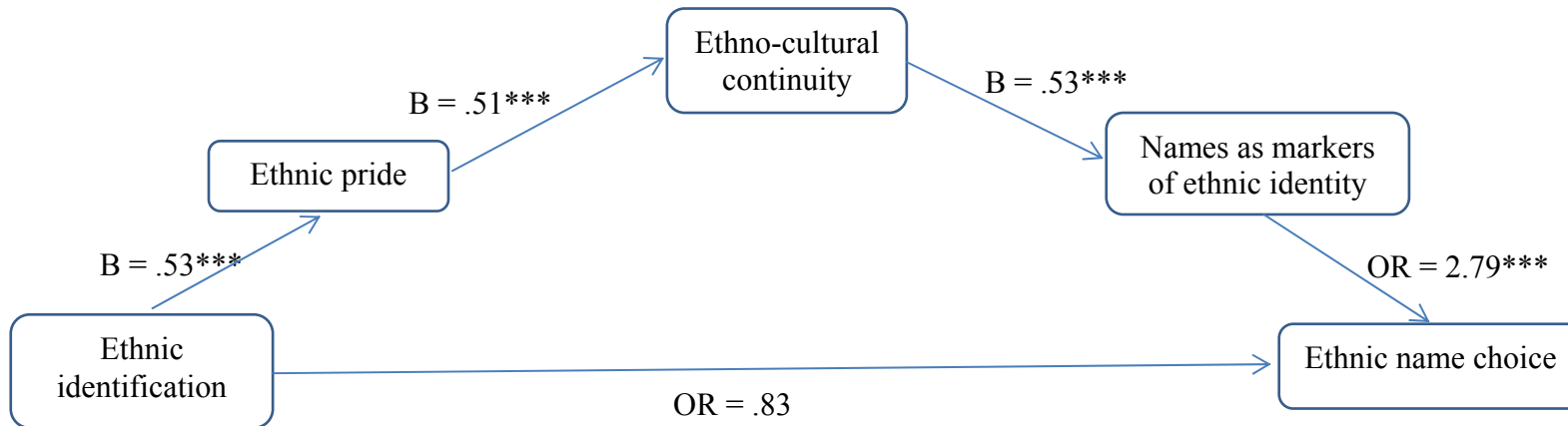
Figure 1. Mediation Model Testing the Effect of Ethnic Identification on the Likelihood of Choosing an Ethnic Name.

Note. All paths, except for those reporting OR, represent unstandardized regression coefficients. OR refers to odds ratio. This model includes mainstream identity and perceived consequences of ethnic names as covariates.
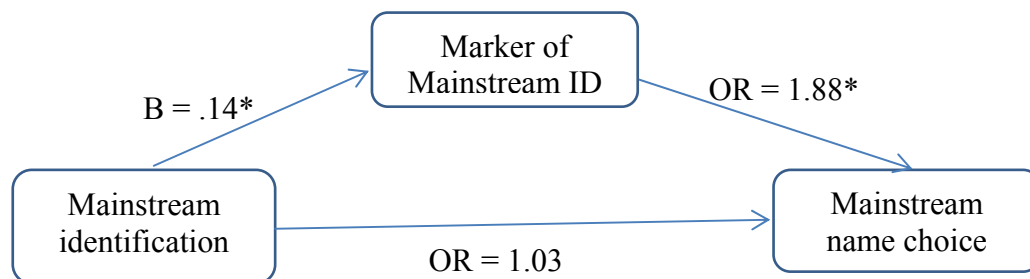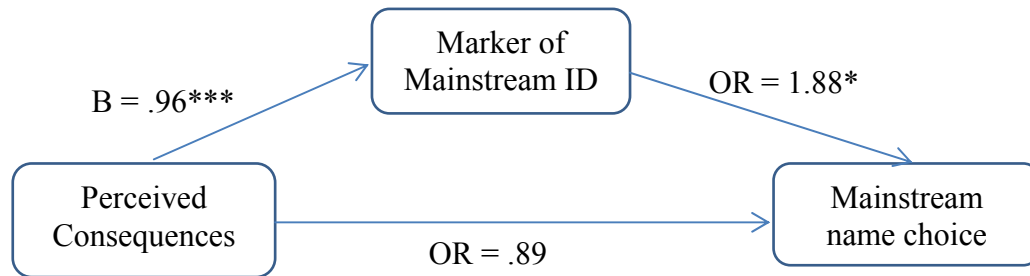
*** $p < .001$

Figure 2. Mediation Model Testing the Effect of Mainstream Identification on the Likelihood of

Choosing a Mainstream Name.

Note. "B" represents unstandardized regression coefficients; OR refers to odds ratio. This model

includes perceived consequences of ethnic names, ethnic identity, and motivation for ethno-

cultural continuity as covariates.

* $p < .05$

Figure 3. Mediation Model Testing the Effect of Perceived Consequences of Ethnic Names on the Likelihood of Choosing a Mainstream Name.

Note. "B" represents unstandardized regression coefficients; OR refers to odds ratio. This model includes mainstream identification, ethnic identity, and motivation for ethno-cultural continuity as covariates.

* $p < .05$, *** $p < .001$

Appendix A: Study 1 Open-Ended Questions

1. Who were the people involved or had an influence on the naming process?

2. What was the significance or meaning of the name that was chosen?

3. How important was it to pick a name that maintained some of your heritage cultural roots or a name that was common in mainstream Canadian culture?

4. Was it important to choose a name that runs in the family?

5. How easy or difficult was the process of deciding on a name?

6. Was there anything else that influenced the choice of the name (e.g., concerns about whether the child would like the name, etc.)?

Appendix B: Studies 2a and 2b Measures

Acculturation to heritage culture (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000)

1. I often participate in Indian/Pakistani/Sri Lankan cultural traditions

2. I would be willing to marry a(n) Indian/Pakistani/Sri Lankan person

3. I enjoy social activities with other Indians/Pakistanis/Sri Lankans

4. I am comfortable working with other Indians/Pakistanis/Sri Lankans

5. I enjoy Indian/Pakistani/Sri Lankan entertainment (e.g., movies, music).

6. I often behave in ways that are "typical Indian/Pakistani/Sri Lankan"

7. It is important for me to maintain or develop Indian/Pakistani/Sri Lankan cultural practices

8. I believe in Indian/Pakistani/Sri Lankan cultural values

9. I enjoy Indian/Pakistani/Sri Lankan jokes and humor

10. I am interested in having Indian/Pakistani/Sri Lankan friends

Acculturation to mainstream culture (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000)

1. I often participate in mainstream Canadian cultural traditions

2. I would be willing to marry a Canadian person

3. I enjoy social activities with typical Canadian people

4. I am comfortable working with typical Canadian people

5. I enjoy Canadian entertainment (e.g., movies, music).

6. I often behave in ways that are "typically Canadian"

7. It is important for me to maintain or develop Canadian cultural practices

8. I believe in mainstream Canadian values

9. I enjoy typical Canadian jokes and humor

10. I am interested in having Canadian friends

Motivation for ethno-cultural continuity (Lamy, Ward, & Liu, 2013)

1. Continuing to practice my Indian/Pakistani/Sri Lankan traditions and celebrations is important to me

2. Ultimately, I would like my children to identify as Indian/Pakistani/Sri Lankan

3. The future continuity of our Indian/Pakistani/Sri Lankan community is NOT a concern of mine

4. Maintaining my Indian/Pakistani/Sri Lankan heritage is NOT something I really care about

5. I would like to encourage my children to learn my heritage language

6. Long term, I would like my grandchildren and greatgrandchildren to continue our Indian/Pakistani/Sri Lankan heritage

7. I do NOT mind setting aside the traditions of my Indian/Pakistani/Sri Lankan heritage

8. I would like to keep on living according to the traditions of my Indian/Pakistani/Sri Lankan heritage

9. I want to transmit to my children a love for and interest in their Indian/Pakistani/Sri Lankan heritage

10. I think it's good to create an environment at home where my Indian/Pakistani/Sri Lankan traditions can be a normal part of life for my children

Negative consequences of ethnic names

1. An Indian/Pakistani/Sri Lankan/Iranian name might make my child the target of teasing and bullying

2. An Indian/Pakistani/Sri Lankan/Iranian name would only make life harder for my child

3. An English name would make my child's life easier

Appendix C: Study 3 Measures

Ethnic identification (adapted from Cameron, 2004)

1. Being Indian is an important part of my self-image

2. I feel strong ties to other Indian people

3. In general, I'm glad to be Indian

Mainstream identification (adapted from Cameron, 2004)

1. Being Canadian/American/British is an important part of my self-image

2. I feel strong ties to other Canadians/Americans/British people

3. In general, I'm glad to be Canadian/American/British

Negative consequences of ethnic names

1. An Indian name might make my child the target of teasing and bullying

2. An Indian name would only make life harder for my child

3. An English name would make my child's life easier

4. An English name will put my child at an advantage in Canadian/American/British society

Ethnic pride

1. I feel great pride in being Indian

2. I want to learn more about Indian history and customs

3. I feel proud when other Indians succeed in society

4. I am proud of my Indian heritage

Names as markers of ethnic identity

1. A name that reflects my Indian heritage will help my child identify as a member of my ethnic community.

2. A name that reflects my Indian heritage will help my child better connect to my ethnic community

3. I see my child's name as a way for me to carry on my Indian heritage to future generations

4. An Indian name is like a badge of honour that my child will wear with pride

Names as markers of mainstream identity

1. An English name would help my child identify with mainstream Canadian/American/British culture

2. An English name would make my child feel truly Canadian/American/British

3. An English name would make my child feel more accepted by mainstream Canadian/American/British

Naming characteristics

It was important that my child's first name:

1. ... had a good literal meaning
2. ... was emotionally meaningful
3. ... was easily pronounceable in both English and my heritage language
4. ... was unique
5. ... had unique spelling (e.g., Ashleigh instead of the more common Ashley)
6. ... was popular (e.g., name in the top 100)
7. ... was an English name
8. ... was an ethnic name

9. ... runs in the family

10. ... went well with the last name

11. ... went well with sibling names (if applicable)

12. ... reflected my ethnic/cultural heritage

13. ... would be liked by my child

14. ... was liked by my other children (if applicable)

15. ... was liked by my parents (if applicable)

16. ... was liked by my in-laws (if applicable)

17. ... was liked by our extended families

18. ... made for a nice nickname

19. ... wouldn't make my child the target of teasing at school

20. ... would help my child succeed as a grown person

21. ... would suit someone with a respectable career

Naming regret (open-ended)

"If you have ever had any second thoughts about the names you chose for your child(ren), can you please elaborate on your answer? (e.g., why were you having second thoughts, any other names you prefer now, anything you would have done differently, etc."

Nicknames (open-ended)

"Have you given nicknames to any of your children? If so, can you please describe below what those nicknames are (along with the corresponding first name) and why you chose them? Also, if the nicknames reflect a different language, please specify. For instance, you may have chosen a mainstream English name for your child, but the nickname reflects your heritage language (or vice versa)".