Berry, John W

Acculturation

pp. 307-335

Berry, John W, (2013) Cross-cultural psychology : research and applications Cambridge University Press

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Trwyddedwyd i'w ddefnyddio ar gyfer y cwrs HPAN5015 - Culture and Psychology

Teitl: Cross-cultural psychology : research and applications

Enw'r Awdur: Berry, John W

Enw'r Cyhoeddwr: Cambridge University Press

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Course of Study: HPAN5015 - Culture and Psychology

Title: Cross-cultural psychology : research and applications

Name of Author: Berry, John W

Name of Publisher: Cambridge University Press

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In the ecocultural framework (Figure 1.1), two major sources of influence on the development and display of behavior were postulated: ecological and sociopolitical. The latter involves contact with other cultures and sets in motion the process of **acculturation**. This chapter examines some core aspects of this process and some of its outcomes.

Related to acculturation psychology is a field that has come to be known as intercultural psychology. These two branches of psychology are sometimes examined together because they both involve intercultural contact. However, they are clearly distinguishable: in acculturation, the focus is on how individuals change in order to live side by side with persons of different cultural backgrounds; and in intercultural work the focus is on how the two parties relate to each other. We are devoting separate chapters to these issues. In Chapter 14, intercultural relations are examined, and a further chapter (Chapter 15) is devoted to an important aspect of both acculturation and intercultural psychologies: intercultural communication.

In this chapter, we will first discuss the concept of acculturation and the different kinds of people undergoing acculturation. We also present a framework for understanding and studying acculturation. This will be followed by the main theoretical perspectives that have been used to study acculturation, as well as the processes, dimensions and outcomes of acculturation. Before concluding the chapter, we will briefly look at some methodological issues in acculturation research.

Definitions and framework

The most widely used definition of acculturation is:

> those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups ... under this definition acculturation is to be distinguished from cultural change, of which it is but one aspect, and assimilation, which is at times a phase of acculturation. (Redfield, Linton and Herskovits, 1936, pp. 149–152)

Although the above definition identifies assimilation to be a phase of acculturation, the two terms are sometimes used synonymously. Indeed, in the US-American sociological literature, acculturation is regarded as a phase of assimilation (see Gordon, 1964). In recent years, following increased global migration, there has also been a proliferation of new terms such as biculturalism, multiculturalism, integration and globalization, and these terms have either been used as alternative concepts or interchangeably with acculturation. While no attempt is made here to clarify the distinctions between all of these terms (see Sam and Berry, 2006, for discussion), we want to emphasize that of the two most widely used terms within this area – assimilation and acculturation – we prefer the term acculturation.

One reason for preferring the term acculturation over assimilation is that it acknowledges the reciprocity of the influence cultural groups have on each other

during the contact. A second reason is that acculturation entails a variety of processes and outcomes: groups and individuals within groups adopt different ways to deal with the acculturation experience, and these different ways may result in different outcomes. Because situational factors can alter the experience and course of acculturation, people also have different outcomes in response to their changing experiences. A third reason for our preference for the term acculturation is that, unlike assimilation, acculturation views change as bi-directional and bi-dimensional. The perspective endorsed by assimilation theorists assumes that individuals lose their original culture and identity as they acquire new ones that are similar to the second culture. The assumption is that the more individuals acquire of the new culture, the less they retain of the original culture (LaFromboise, Coleman and Gerton, 1993). A further assumption is that the two cultures in contact are mutually exclusive and that it is psychologically problematic to maintain both cultures (Johnston, 1976; Sung, 1985).

The bi-directional and bi-dimensional perspective proposes that: people do not necessarily move only in the direction of acquiring the dominant culture; and that it is possible for people to independently identify with, or acquire, the new culture without necessarily losing their original culture (Berry, 1980). Change can take place along two independent dimensions, one dimension being the maintenance or loss of original culture and the other being participation in, or adoption of, aspects of the new culture. It is therefore possible for an individual to have more or less of the two cultures in question. The final outcome is one of relative degree of involvement in the two (or more) cultures in contact. This issue is further discussed under cognitive perspectives and under dimensions of acculturation below.

Whereas acculturation as a concept was originally proposed by anthropologists as a group-level phenomenon (Linton, 1949; Redfield *et al.*, 1936), early discussions around the concept also recognized it as an individual-level phenomenon (see Devereux and Loeb, 1943; Thurnwald, 1932). Psychology's strong interest in the individual has contributed toward the formal use of the term psychological acculturation (coined by Graves, 1967) and to making the distinction between individual-level changes arising from acculturation and those taking place at the group level. Since our working position is that individual human behavior interacts with the ecological and cultural contexts within which it occurs, there is a need to keep the group and individual levels distinct. This distinction is essential because the kinds of changes that take place at the two levels (i.e., individual and group) are often different (Berry, 1990). Not every group or individual enters into or participates in the group, or changes in the same way as other members of their group during their acculturation. Vast individual differences in psychological acculturation exist, even among individuals who have the same cultural origin and who live in the same acculturative arena (Nauck, 2008).

Acculturating groups

While every person living in a culturally plural society (which is fast becoming the norm in the world) can be said to be undergoing some form of acculturation, research has focussed on some specific groups of people deemed to be undergoing major acculturation, including refugees, asylum-seekers, sojourners, immigrants, expatriates, as well as indigenous peoples and ethnocultural groups. These groups differ in the reasons (both historical and contemporary) for them living together in their plural society. The first reason is voluntariness: groups may find themselves together either because they have sought out such an arrangement voluntarily or alternatively because it has been forced upon them. Second is migration: some groups have remained on home ground, while others have settled far from their ancestral territory (sedentary vs. migrant). And third is permanence: some people are settled into a plural society permanently, while others are only temporary sojourners.

While these three distinctions have provided acculturation researchers with six different kinds of groups to study, the distinctions themselves are not as clearly defined in contemporary societies as they were some decades ago. For instance, some sojourners (e.g., international students) may change their temporary status to one of permanent immigrant status. However, for the purposes of discussion, we will maintain the distinction. Research accruing from the different groups is enormous, and no attempt will be made here to review it all. For a discussion on these groups see Sam and Berry (2006). First, there are indigenous peoples, who have "always been there" in the sense that their roots go way back. The basic characteristic of groups such as Basque and Breton in Europe, and Inuit and Sami in the Arctic, is that they are largely involuntary and sedentary. For discussion on acculturation of indigenous peoples see Kvernmo (2006).

Other peoples who have a long history in a society are the descendants of earlier waves of immigrants who have settled into recognizable groups, often with a sense of their own cultural heritage (common language, identity, etc.); these are termed ethnocultural groups. These ethnic groups can be found the world over, for example in French- and Spanish-origin communities in the new world, in the groups descended from indentured workers (such as Chinese and Indian communities in the Caribbean), from those who were enslaved (such as African Americans), and in Dutch and British groups in Southern Africa, Australia and New Zealand.

In contrast to these two sedentary acculturating groups, there are others who have developed in other places and been socialized into other cultures, who migrate to take up residence (either permanently or temporarily) in another society. Among these groups are immigrants (see Van Oudenhoven, 2006) who usually move in order to achieve a better life elsewhere. For most, the "pull factors" (those that attract them to a new society) are stronger than the "push factors" (those that pressure them to leave). Hence, immigrants are generally thought of as "voluntary"

members of plural societies. While immigrants are relatively permanent participants in their new society, the group known as sojourners are there temporarily, for a set purpose (e.g., as international students, diplomats, business executives, aid workers or guest workers). In their case, the process of becoming involved in the plural society is complicated by their knowledge that they will eventually leave, and either return home or be posted to yet another country. Thus, there may be a hesitation to become fully involved, to establishing close relationships, or to beginning to identify with the new society. Despite their uncertain position, in some societies sojourners constitute a substantial element in the resident population (e.g., the Gulf States, Germany and Belgium) and may hold either substantial power, or be relatively powerless. See Bochner (2006) for discussion of the acculturation of sojourners.

Among involuntary migrants, refugees and asylum-seekers (now often called collectively "forced migrants"; Ager, 1999) face the greatest hurdles: they frequently do not want to leave their homelands, and if they do, it is not always possible for them to be granted the right to stay and settle into the new society. People who arrive at the border of a country that has signed the "Geneva Convention on Refugees" have the right to be admitted and given sanctuary (as "asylum-seeker") until his or her claim is adjudicated. If granted permanent admission as refugee, much of the uncertainty that surrounded their life during their flight is reduced. However, most of them live with the knowledge that "push factors" (rather than "pull factors") led them to flee their homeland and settle in their new society; and, of course, most have experienced traumatic events, and most have lost their material possessions. Allen, Vaage and Hauff (2006) have provided a review of refugees and asylum-seekers in societies of settlement, and Donà and Ackermann (2006) of the same groups living in camps.

There are two important reasons why these six kinds of groups (i.e., indigenous peoples, ethnocultural groups, immigrants, sojourners, refugees and asylum-seekers) were introduced according to three factors (voluntary–involuntary, sedentary–migrant and permanent–temporary), rather than simply listed. First, as groups, they carry differential size, power, rights and resources; these factors have an important bearing on how they will engage (as groups or as individuals) in the acculturation process. A second reason is that the attitudes, motives, values and abilities (all psychological characteristics of individuals in these groups) are also highly variable. These factors also impact on how their acculturation and intercultural relations are likely to take place, and how well they adapt. Readers interested in the literature on ethnic minorities may notice that we have refrained from the use of the term, and this is deliberate. The reason is ethnic minorities are not minorities in terms of culture: they have cultures, which are often active and vibrant, like all other cultural groups, and they should not be demeaned by being given a minority status simply because they are small (numerically) and sometimes less powerful.

Quite often so-called ethnic minority groups are either immigrants, refugees or an indigenous group, and we prefer to refer to them by this other status.

To demonstrate that the different acculturating groups and individuals may have different acculturation experiences, Berry, Kim, Minde and Mok (1987) measured stress levels among immigrants, refugees, asylum-seekers, indigenous people and ethnic groups in Canada. The sample consisted of over 1,000 individuals. The study found significant differences in stress levels among the groups (measured with a scale adapted from the Cornell Medical Index by Cawte, 1972, reflecting anxiety and psychosomatic symptoms). These differences in stress level could be related to the voluntary–involuntary, migrant–sedentary and temporary–permanent status of the acculturating group.

Acculturation framework

A framework that outlines and links cultural and psychological acculturation, and identifies the two (or more) groups in contact is presented in Figure 13.1. This framework serves as a map of those phenomena which need to be conceptualized and measured during acculturation research (Berry, 2003). At the cultural level (on the left) we need to understand key features of the two original cultural groups (A and B) prior to their major contact, the nature of their contact relationships, and the resulting cultural changes in both groups that emerge to form ethnocultural groups during the process of acculturation. This requires extensive ethnographic, community-level work; the changes can be minor or substantial, and range from being easily accomplished through to being a source of major cultural disruption.

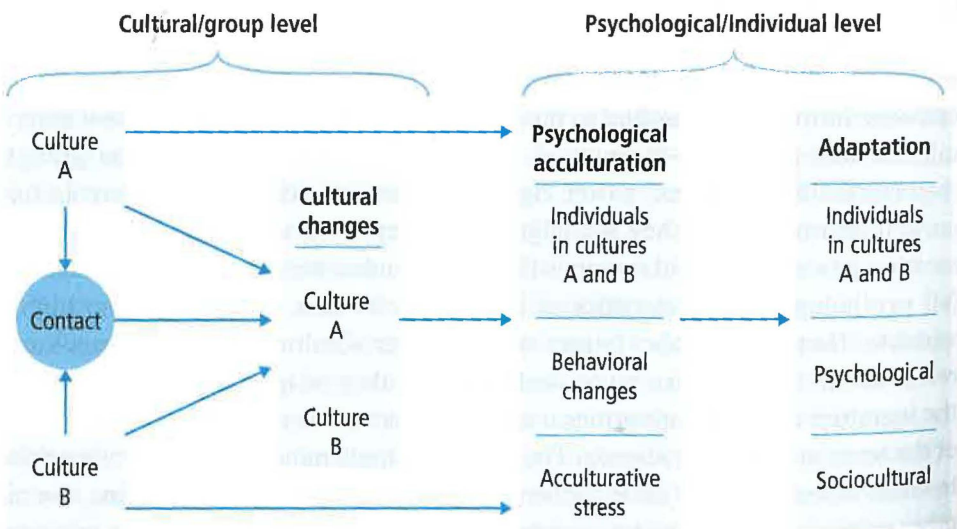


Figure 13.1 A framework for conceptualizing and studying acculturation.

At the individual level (on the right) we need to consider the psychological changes that individuals in all groups undergo, and their eventual adaptation to their new situations. This requires sampling and studying individuals who are variably involved in the process of acculturation. These changes can be a set of rather easily accomplished behavioral changes (e.g., in ways of speaking, dressing, eating, and in one's cultural identity), or they can be more problematic, producing acculturative "stress" (e.g., uncertainty, anxiety, depression, even psychopathology; Al-Issa and Tousignant, 1997). Adaptation can be primarily internal or psychological (e.g., sense of well-being, of self-esteem) or sociocultural, linking the individual to others in the new society (e.g., competence in the activities of daily intercultural living; Searle and Ward, 1990). General overviews of this process and these specific features can be found in the literature (e.g., Berry, 2006a, 2007; Sam and Berry, 2010; Ward, 2001).

In essence, a key task of acculturation research is to understand the links between the cultural and psychological sets of information, as well as relationships within these sets. Our position is that if cultural and psychological concepts are not distinguished and assessed independently, it is very difficult to obtain a clear picture of the processes and outcomes of the acculturation process.

In principle each culture could influence the other equally, but in practice one tends to dominate the other, leading to a distinction between dominant and non-dominant groups. For a complete picture, mutual influence should be studied; however, for most of this chapter we will focus on the culture receiving the greater influence (i.e., the non-dominant). This is not to say that changes in the dominant culture are uninteresting or unimportant. As we shall see below (and in the section on key concepts in Chapter 14) acculturation often brings about population expansion and greater cultural diversity in societies, attitudinal reaction (prejudice and discrimination) and policy development (for example, in the area of multiculturalism).

The core feature of the acculturation process is that cultural groups become transformed in some ways so that cultural features are not identical to those in the original group at the time of first contact; and frequently, over time, new ethnocultural groups emerge. A parallel phenomenon is that individuals in these groups undergo psychological changes (as a result of influences from both their own changing group and from the dominant group), and with continuing contact further psychological changes may take place. These changes are highly variable, and depend on many circumstances (e.g., discrimination) as well as characteristics of the dominant and non-dominant groups. For both groups, it is important to know the purpose, length and permanence of contact, and the policies being pursued.

Acculturative changes at the group level include political, economic, demographic and cultural changes that can vary from relatively little to substantial alterations in the way of life of both groups. While these population-level changes set the stage for individual change, we have noted previously that there are very likely to

be individual differences in the psychological characteristics which a person brings to the acculturation process, and not every person will necessarily participate to the same extent in the process. Taken together, this means that we need to shift our focus away from general characterizations of acculturation phenomena to a concern for variation among individuals in the groups undergoing acculturation.

Theoretical models and perspectives

The definition put forward by Redfield and colleagues (1936) identified acculturation as encompassing all forms of changes; Berry (1980) noted that these group-level changes could be biological, physical, economic and social. With reference to psychological acculturation, which is the main focus of this chapter, Ward (2001; Ward, Bochner and Furnham, 2001) has identified three main areas of individual change during acculturation, and referred to these as the "ABCs of Acculturation." These refer respectively to Affective, Behavioral and Cognitive aspects of acculturation. The ABCs are in turn respectively linked to different theoretical perspectives used in the field: a stress and coping theoretical framework; a culture learning approach and social identification orientation to acculturation. In recent years, concerns have been raised about the limited attention given to (ontogenetic) development in acculturation theories (Sam, 2006a). Except for the recent work by Motti-Stefanidi, Berry, Chryssocoou, Sam and Phinney (in press), many of these concerns have not resulted in a clear theoretical perspective. We will nevertheless present some of the issues pertaining to developmental aspects of acculturation as a separate theoretical position. In addition, this subsection will briefly look at personality and individual factors involved in acculturation, even though they also do not constitute a clear theoretical perspective.

Affective perspectives

The work of Berry on acculturative stress highlights the affective perspective (reviewed by Berry, 2006a). This perspective emphasizes the emotional aspects of acculturation and focusses on such issues as psychological well-being and life satisfaction. This approach corresponds to the acculturative stress component of Figure 13.1. The working hypothesis is that acculturation can be likened to a set of major life events that pose challenges for the individual. These life events may qualify as stressors, and provoke stress reactions in an individual, particularly if the appropriate coping strategies, and social supports are lacking. Drawing upon Lazarus and Folkman's stress model (1984), Berry (2006a; Berry *et al.*, 1987) proposed the acculturative stress model. The core idea is that when serious challenges are experienced during acculturation, and these are appraised to be problematic

because one is not able to deal with them easily by simply adjusting to them by changing one's behaviour (see next section), then acculturative stress results. In essence, acculturative stress is a stress reaction in response to life events that are rooted in the experience of acculturation. In line with Lazarus and Folkman's stress model, not all acculturation changes result in acculturative stress because there are a number of moderating and mediating factors (both before and during the acculturation) such as personal characteristics including age and gender, personal resources (such as education) and social support that may influence the perception and interpretation of the acculturation experience. (For a detailed discussion of this see Berry, 1997, 2006a.)

Behavioral perspectives

Stemming from social psychology, and with major influence from Argyle's (1969) work on social skills and interpersonal behavior, the working hypothesis of the cultural learning approach is that during cultural transitions, people may lack the necessary skills needed to engage the new culture (reviewed by Masgoret and Ward, 2006). This may result in difficulties managing the everyday social encounters. To overcome these difficulties, individuals are expected to learn or acquire the culture-specific behavioral skills (such as the language) that are necessary to negotiate this new cultural milieu (Bochner, 1972). Specifically, the cultural learning approach entails gaining an understanding in intercultural communication styles, including verbal and non-verbal components, as well as rules, conventions and norms, and their influences on intercultural effectiveness. This approach corresponds to the "behavioral changes" component of Figure 13.1. In an effort to predict sociocultural adaptation, the cultural learning approach has evolved in two directions: enquiry into sociopsychological aspects of intercultural encounter with a focus on communication styles and communication competence (see Gallois, Franklyn-Stokes, Giles and Coupland, 1988); and an enquiry into cultural differences in communication styles, norms and values (see Searle and Ward, 1990; Ward and Kennedy, 1999). Masgoret and Ward (2006) point out that second-language proficiency and communication competence are the core of all cultural learning approaches, and ultimately of sociocultural adaptation. Language skills are relevant both for the performance of daily tasks in the new cultural society and in establishing interpersonal relationships in the society. Cultural learning approaches assume a direct relationship between language fluency and sociocultural adaptation. Good language proficiency is argued to be associated with increased interaction with members of the new culture, and a decrease in sociocultural maladaptation (Ward and Kennedy, 1999).

The culture learning approach is more applied than theoretical, in its emphasis on social skills and social interaction (Masgoret and Ward, 2006; Ward *et al.*, 2001).

As indicated in Chapter 15, the cultural learning approach forms the basis of intercultural training, providing an underpinning for training and preparation for cross-cultural transitions. As an applied area, the starting point is to identify cross-cultural differences in communication (both verbal and non-verbal), rules, conventions, norms and practices that contribute to intercultural misunderstandings. It then sets out to suggest ways in which confusing and dissatisfying encounters can be minimized (see Chapter 15, p. 316).

A number of factors have been identified in the cultural learning approach that may affect language learning, and subsequently affect sociocultural adaptation. These factors include personal motivation and attitudes toward the learning of a foreign language, personality factors and situation factors. With respect to attitudes to learning a second language, Gardner and colleagues in a series of studies in Canada have identified "integrativeness," referring to an individual's attitudes toward the other language community, and openness to other cultural groups in general, and a willingness and interest in engaging in social interactions with members of the other language community, to be important for second-language acquisition (Gardner, 1985, 2000; Gardner and Clément, 1990; Masgoret and Gardner, 2003).

Cognitive perspectives

Whereas the affective and behavioral approaches to acculturation are respectively concerned with stress and emotional feelings, and with skills in dealing with everyday encounters and behavioral changes, the cognitive position (stemming from social cognition – see Chapter 4) is concerned with how people perceive and think about themselves and others in the face of intercultural encounters. The cognitive aspect is present during the appraisal process noted in the discussion of acculturative stress above. However, cognitive aspects mostly refer to how people process information about their own group (ingroup) and about other groups (outgroups), including how people categorize one another and how people identify with these categories.

When individuals and groups enter into an acculturation situation, they are faced with the questions "Who am I?" and "Which group do I belong to?" (Berry, 2007b). These two questions form the basis of one of the influential theoretical positions within the cognitive approaches: social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978, 1982; Tajfel and Turner, 1986). The theory is largely concerned with why and how individuals identify with, and behave as part of, social groups (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind and Solheim, 2009; Liebkind, 2006; Liebkind and Jasinskaja-Lahti, in press; Verkuyten, 2005b, in press). Tajfel and Turner (1986) argued that individuals need to belong to a group in order to secure a firm sense of well-being. Humans have the tendency to put others and themselves into categories, and this helps us to associate (i.e., identify) with certain groups and not others. Moreover, human

beings have the tendency to positively evaluate the group to which they belong, and this enhances their self-image.

Within the context of acculturation, social identity theory is concerned with how groups and individuals define their identity in relation to the members of their own ethnic group (i.e., ethnic identity) on the one hand, and to the larger society within which they are acculturating on the other (i.e., national identity; Phinney, 1990). Phinney (1993) has developed a comprehensive (developmental) theory regarding how ethnic and national identities develop, the stages individuals pass through (Phinney, 1989) as well as scales for assessing the ethnic and national identities (Phinney, 1993; Phinney and Ong, 2007). Phinney and her colleagues (Phinney, Lochner and Murphy, 1990) have also examined how ethnic and national identities may be linked to psychological adaptation.

Early research conceptualized ethnic and national identities at opposite ends of a continuum where the strengthening of one (e.g., ethnic identity) resulted in the weakening of the other (i.e., national identity). Stated in another way, one could not have strong ethnic and national identity at the same time. Current research regards ethnic and national identities as two independent dimensions where it is possible to have strong identification with both dimensions (bicultural identity or integrated) or weak identification with both identities (marginal) (Phinney, 1990). Alternatively, it is possible to identify strongly on ethnic identity and weakly on national identity (separated or ethnically embedded) and vice versa, strongly on national identity and weakly on ethnic identification (assimilated). This conceptualization parallels that of the bi-dimensional approach to acculturation noted above (see also "Dimensions of acculturation").

One line of research in this theoretical perspective is the Bicultural Identity Integration (BII) spearheaded by Benet-Martínez. BII is a framework for investigating individual differences in bicultural identity organization, where the focus is on biculturals' subjective perceptions of how much their dual cultural identities intersect or overlap. BII aims to capture the degree to which biculturals perceive their mainstream and ethnic cultural identities as compatible and integrated vs. oppositional and difficult to integrate (Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee and Morris, 2002). Benet-Martínez and Haritatos point out that "Individuals high on BII tend to see themselves as part of a 'hyphenated culture' (or even part of a combined, 'third,' emerging culture) and find it easy to integrate both cultures in their everyday lives" (2005, p. 1019). The two forms of biculturalism described here have respectively been referred to as alternating and blended biculturalism (LaFromboise *et al.*, 1993; Phinney and Devich-Navarro, 1997). Benet-Martínez and her colleagues have found that the two ways in which biculturals experience their identity are related to distinct personalities, and to contextual factors (Benet-Martínez, Lee and Leu, 2006). Individuals who see their two identities as separate are driven by dispositional factors such as cultural isolation and are low in openness; in contrast,

individuals who manage to blend the two identities may be low on neuroticism (Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, 2005).

Linking this line of research to personality, Benet-Martínez and her colleagues have also explored whether bilinguals have two personalities. In a series of studies, Ramírez-Esparza, Gosling, Benet-Martínez, Potter and Pennebaker (2004) found personality differences between US-American and Mexican monolinguals. These differences in personality were further explored in English–Spanish bilinguals in Mexico and in the US. The study showed that bilinguals were more extraverted, agreeable and conscientious in English than Spanish, and these differences were consistent with the personality displayed in each culture.

Developmental perspectives

With few exceptions (e.g., Motti-Stefanidi *et al.*, in press), many of the developmental perspectives to date lack clear theoretical positions, and are just strands of ideas highlighting the importance of including developmental issues in acculturation. Children and youth from immigrant families undergo major developmental changes at the same time as they are undergoing acculturation, such that acculturation and developmental changes confound each other, and it becomes difficult to disentangle the two kinds of changes from each other (Oppedal, 2006; Phinney, 2006).

In spite of these difficulties, Huntsinger and Jose (2006) in a longitudinal study with sixty European American and sixty second-generation Chinese American youths attempted to disentangle acculturation from developmental processes. They examined personality variables at two time points: at middle childhood (12 years old) and at adolescence (17 years old). They found that while the two groups substantially differed in their personality at Time 1, when they were 12 years old, by the age of 17 – Time 2 – there were hardly any differences between them. They demonstrated how these changes were related to psychosocial adjustment and academic achievement. For example, anxiety was the only Time 1 personality factor that predicted unique variance at Time 2 for both groups. Personality factors such as extraversion at Time 1 showed different predictions for depression, self-esteem and academic achievement among the two groups. Such findings indicate how complex the relationship between acculturation and development can be.

One area that may help to isolate acculturation influences from developmental changes may be through the examination of cultural transmission (see the enculturation and socialization section in Chapter 2) in different acculturation contexts and across acculturating groups. Such studies have been reported by Phalet and Schönpflug (2001) and by Vedder and colleagues (Vedder, Berry, Sabatier and Sam, 2009). It should be emphasized that neither study was designed with the intention of disentangling acculturation from development changes; however, they are referred to here to illustrate a possible research direction.

Because of the difficulties in isolating acculturation from development (Motti-Stefanidi *et al.*, in press; Sam, 2006a) researchers have to date identified developmental issues such as cultural identity (Phinney, 1990), development of self (Kağitçibaşi, 2007; Kwak, 2003), family relationships (Fuligni, Yip and Tseng, 2002; Stuart, Ward, Jose and Narayanan, in press) and peer relations (Fandrem, Strohmeier and Roland, 2009) that may become complicated by acculturation experiences during normal developmental changes. One exception to this trend is the work of Phinney (1990), who has proposed a developmental theory of how youths with immigrant background develop ethnic and national identity as part of their acculturation.

In recent years some researchers (e.g., García Coll, Lamberty, Jenkins, McAdoo, Crnic, Wasik and Vázquez Garcia, 1996; Oppedal, 2006; Motti-Stefanidi *et al.*, in press; Sam, 2006a) have tried to link these different aspects into an integrated model inspired by various developmental theories such as systems theory (e.g., Lerner, 2006) and ecological models (e.g., Bronfenbrenner and Morris, 2006).

The recurring question in developmental studies on acculturation is whether immigrant children and youth should be viewed as regular children, similar to their national peers when it comes to how they deal with developmental tasks, or whether they are special in that their acculturation experiences may impact on how they resolve developmental tasks. Based on a comparative study of almost 8,000 ethnocultural youths in thirteen western countries including Australia, Canada, Germany, Finland and the United States, Phinney and Vedder (2006) examined the universality of intergenerational discrepancies in family values. One conclusion from the study is that intergenerational family discrepancies may be a normal developmental process common to immigrant and national families alike. However, the study also found larger discrepancies in immigrant families with respect to family relationship values (such as obligations); the suggestion is that acculturation processes may be contributing to these discrepancies.

Personality and individual factors

One of the notions behind psychological acculturation as a concept is the recognition that individuals differ in the extent to which they engage in the acculturation process; nevertheless research findings highlighting the link between individual and personal factors (broadly defined as personality) and acculturation are mixed (Kosic, 2006). Personal characteristics as portrayed here are some of the moderating factors arising during acculturation described in the acculturative stress model, that is, the affective perspectives. Research on acculturation and personality usually examines a single or a number of personality characteristics or abilities to see their effect on stress reduction in the adaptation process (see the Internet for one such example; Additional Topics, Chapter 13). Similarly, research has focussed on

whether there are some individual characteristics that enhance or hamper cultural learning (from the behavioral perspectives approach). For this line of research, see the section on intercultural personality in Chapter 15.

Relatively few studies have succeeded in demonstrating the role of personality traits in cross-cultural adaptation (Ward, 1996), and these have generally documented low explained variance from personality variables. One reason for the lack of unequivocal support for personality's role in cross-cultural adaptation is a problem with measurement and prediction of "adjustment" and adaptation. Cross-cultural adjustment has been examined in different ways ranging from health indicators such as depression, intercultural relationships (e.g., friendship patterns) with members of the national society, feelings of acceptance, academic achievement and job performance with life, making it difficult to establish the predictive ability of personality (Ward and Chang, 1997); this is a situation which calls for a meta-analytic examination (see Mol, Born, Willemsen and Van der Molen, 2005). On the other side of the problem is precisely what constitutes personality trait. Equally problematic in establishing the contribution of personality in cross-cultural adaptation is the general lack of research on "person–situation" interaction. This situation led Searle and Ward (1990) to propose the cultural-fit hypothesis. These researchers highlighted the significance of the person–situation interaction and suggested that the "fit" between the personal characteristics and norms in the new cultural setting could be a better predictor of immigrants' adaptation than personality per se. Ward and Chang (1997) found support for the "cultural-fit hypothesis" when they demonstrated that US-Americans living in Singapore were more extrovert than Singaporeans and consequently experienced frustration or rejection in response to their persistent attempts to initiate and sustain social relations with the locals.

Acculturation processes

In the previous section, by examining the ABCs of acculturation we looked at what changes occur during acculturation. In addition, we also looked at some (ontogentic) developmental issues and personal factors involved in acculturation. In this section, we will look at how changes may come about. Much of research in this area comes from the work of Berry (1974, 2006a), in his acculturation strategies model.

Acculturation strategies

In this section, we turn our attention to the question of whether there are variations in how individuals acculturate. Berry (1974) proposed a model of acculturation strategies on the assumption that the way in which individuals acculturate depends on how they simultaneously deal with two fundamental issues. The first

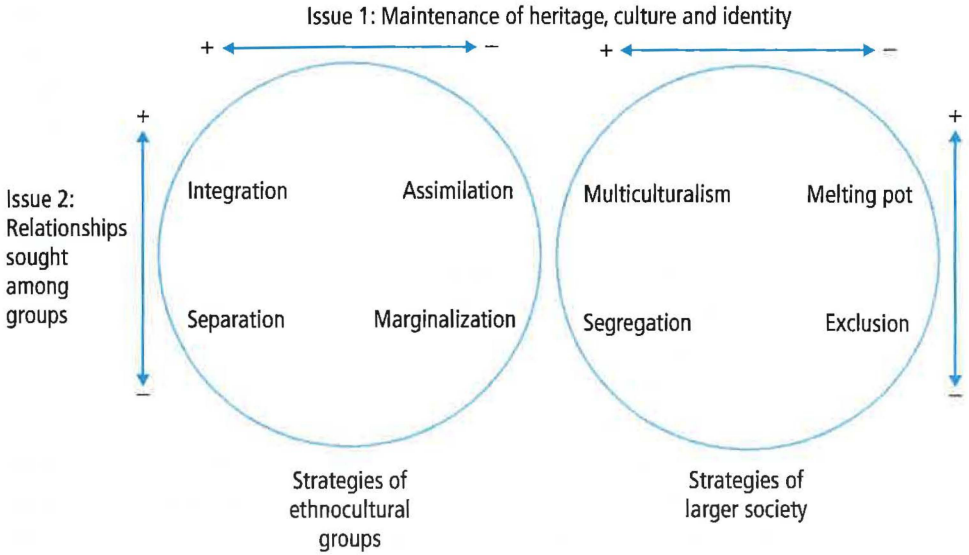


Figure 13.2 Acculturation strategies in ethnocultural groups and the larger society (from Berry, 2001a).

of these two issues is the extent to which acculturating individuals regard maintenance of their cultural heritage important or not (i.e., cultural maintenance). The second issue is concerned with the extent to which individuals regard contact with members of other cultural groups and participating in the new society to be important or not (i.e., contact and participation). When orientations to these two issues intersect, Berry (1974) proposed four different acculturation strategies termed assimilation, integration, separation and marginalization. These strategies are depicted in the lefthand side of Figure 13.2

Assimilation is the strategy when individuals do not wish to maintain the identity of their heritage culture, seek close interaction with other cultures, and adopt the cultural values, norms and traditions of the new society. When individuals place a high value on holding onto their original culture, and at the same time avoid interaction with members of the new society, the Separation strategy is defined. When there is an interest in maintaining one's original culture, while also having daily interactions with other groups, this is called Integration. The strategy of Marginalization arises when there is little possibility or a lack of interest in cultural maintenance (often for reasons of enforced cultural loss), as well as little interest in having relations with others (often for reasons of exclusion or discrimination).

The four strategies are neither static, nor end-outcomes in themselves. They can change depending on situational factors (e.g., in the wake of the 9/11 attacks in the US, Muslims had to renegotiate their identities – see Sirin and Fine, 2007). The righthand side of Figure 13.2 illustrates the parallel concepts that are often employed when describing the public attitudes and public policies in the larger society. This side of the figure will be discussed in Chapter 14.

Using cluster analysis, Berry and his colleagues (Berry, Phinney, Sam and Vedder, 2006) found four acculturation profiles, which reflect the different ways in which young people orient themselves to five intercultural issues: their acculturation strategies; cultural identities; language use and proficiency; peer relationships; and family relationship values. The sample for this analysis included over 4,000 immigrant youths in thirteen different countries, and involved over thirty different ethnic groups (see Internet, Additional Topics, Chapter 13). The profiles give support to the original four acculturation strategies: the National, Ethnic, Integration and Diffuse profiles generally correspond to the assimilation, separation, integration and marginalization strategies. However, the profiles go beyond them in their inclusion of attitudes, identities, language, social behaviors and values.

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Much research has been devoted to the relative preference for the different acculturation strategies (Van Oudenhoven, Prins and Buunk, 1998) and how acculturation strategies may impact on adaptation outcome (Castro, 2003). Regarding preferences for acculturation strategies, numerous studies have been undertaken in different countries and with different kinds of acculturating groups. With some few exceptions, integration is the most preferred strategy, and marginalization is the least (Berry, 2003). Relative preference for assimilation and separation seems to vary with respect to the ethnic group and the society of settlement, and also situational domains. In the Berry *et al.* (2006) study, the researchers found that among all the immigrants combined, integration was the most preferred strategy. However, for the combined Turkish samples (N = 714) separation appeared to be the most preferred strategy (40.3%). In contrast, Vietnamese (N = 718) seemed to prefer assimilation (25.6%) nearly as much as integration (33.1%), and these preferences were related to whether the Vietnamese resided in a "settler society" (i.e., a society that has a long history of settling people, such as Australia, Canada or the USA), or one of recent immigration (e.g., Finland and Norway).

Acculturation strategies as presented above assume that acculturating individuals and groups have the freedom to choose how they want to engage in intercultural relations. This, of course, is not always the case (Berry, 1974). The kinds of attitudes members of the larger society have toward immigrants, or the kinds of settlement policies the larger society has toward acculturating groups, can influence the adopted strategy. The expectation of the larger society (i.e., acculturation expectations) toward how a group should acculturate has been the basis of theoretical models such as the Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM) of Bourhis and his colleagues (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault and Senecal, 1997). The IAM model has been useful in making predictions about acculturation preferences of Japanese–US-American worker relationships with great success (Komisarof, 2009).

Extending IAM, and arguing that differences exist between what immigrants or acculturating groups do in terms of chosen acculturation strategies (real plane) and the strategies they prefer (ideal plane), Navas and her colleagues have developed

the Relative Acculturation Expanded Model (RAEM) (Navas, García, Sánchez, Rojas, Pumares and Fernández, 2005). This reasoning is in line with the discrepancy between attitudes and behaviors (see Fishbein and Ajzen, 2010). Navas and her colleagues also point to the fact that preferred strategies (i.e., on the ideal plane) and the actual chosen strategy (real plane) vary with respect to the sphere of life (e.g., work, family and religious beliefs). The REAM has been extended to incorporate acculturation expectations of members of the larger society (see Bourhis *et al.*, 1997) to predict areas of agreement and disagreement in the acculturation of Maghrebians and Spaniards in Spain (Navas, Rojas, García and Pumares, 2007).

Dimensions of acculturation

Until the 1970s much research on ways of acculturating assumed that one's level of acculturation could be understood using a single dimension (one-dimensional view), varying from a preference for fully remaining as a member of one's heritage culture, through to becoming a full member of the dominant society. The existence of two independent dimensions proposed by Berry (1974, 1980) has been verified by a number of studies (e.g., Ryder, Alden and Paulhus, 2000).

Although there is support for the existence of two dimensions, controversy has been brewing regarding the operationalization of the two underlying dimensions (i.e., the degree to which people wish to maintain their heritage cultures and identities, and the degree to which people participate with others in the larger society). Some researchers (e.g., Liebkind, 2001; Snauwaert, Soenens, Vanbeselaere and Boen, 2003) have noted that the second dimension has been operationalized in different ways, including identification with the larger society (e.g., Hutnik, 1986, 1991), adoption of the national culture (e.g., Donà and Berry, 1994; Nguyen, Messe and Stollak, 1999; Sayegh and Lasry, 1993) and adapting to the larger society (e.g., Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver, 2006).

Whereas many studies have operationalized the second issue in one specific way, some studies have compared the different operationalizations (Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver, 2007; Playford and Safdar, 2007) yielding very different results. For instance, in two separate studies among two groups of immigrants of Moroccan and Turkish descent in Belgium, Snauwaert *et al.* (2003) operationalized the second issue in three different ways: as contact, adoption and identification. In line with these hypotheses, these conceptualizations yielded substantially different distributions of participants in terms of their acculturation strategies (i.e., integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization). Whereas integration was the most popular strategy according to the contact conceptualization, separation was the most popular one when the second issue was conceptualized as adoption and identification.

In part to deal with such discrepancies in findings, Berry *et al.* (2006) examined how young people orient themselves to five intercultural issues: their acculturation

strategies; cultural identities; language use and proficiency; peer relationships; and family relationship values. As was previously pointed out (see the previous section), the researchers identified four acculturation profiles in their analysis, and they concluded that the integration profile remains the most common way to acculturate when the operationalization is expanded to acculturation variables beyond that of attitudes. See the Internet for a summary of the four acculturation profiles (Additional Topics, Chapter 13).



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Acculturation outcomes

A core question to acculturation research is what are the consequences of acculturation? One view on human behavior is that it entails adaptations to ecological and cultural contexts. If this is the case, it should follow that behavioral problems may arise when an individual who has been born and raised (socialized) in one cultural context moves to another cultural context. This question also can be stated as *how well* do people adapt to acculturation demands? A closely related question is whether there is a relationship between *how* people acculturate and *how well* they adapt.

When discussing *how well* people adapt during acculturation, the interest is in the long-term outcome of acculturation (Berry *et al.*, 1989). Adaptation is not synonymous with acculturation, but follows from the change. Adaptation in the context of acculturation has been defined variously, including health status, communication competence, self-awareness, stress reduction, feelings of acceptance and culturally skilled behaviors (see Mendenhall and Oddou, 1985; Ward, 1996). We begin this discussion by drawing on the distinction between psychological and sociocultural adaptation.

Psychological and sociocultural adaptation

The distinction between psychological and sociocultural adaptation proposed by Ward and colleagues (e.g., Searle and Ward, 1990; Ward, 1996, 2001) gives us two forms of adaptation that have dominated acculturation research. Simply stated, these two forms of adaptation respectively deal with "feeling well" and "doing well" (Van de Vijver and Phalet, 2004). Psychological adaptation in this case refers to an individual's satisfaction and overall emotional or psychological well-being. Studies interested in psychological adaptation have often focussed on mental health outcomes such as (lack of) depression and anxiety, and are based on the affective approach to acculturation (Berry, 2006a). Sociocultural adaptation refers to how successfully the individual acquires the appropriate cultural skills in living effectively in the new sociocultural milieu. Studies of sociocultural adaptation have

usually focussed on the absence of behavior problems, and on school achievement, and social competence; these studies commonly use the B (behavior) approach to acculturation. The two forms of adaptation are interrelated: dealing successfully with problems and positive interactions with members of the larger national society culture are both likely to improve one's feelings of well-being and satisfaction; similarly, it is easier to accomplish tasks and develop positive interpersonal relations if one is feeling good and accepted.

In a meta-analysis involving sixty-seven independent samples (N = 10,286 participants), Wilson (2009) examined the effect sizes of three different groups of predictor variables on sociocultural adaptation. Effect size correlations with sociocultural adaptation ranged from small to medium with respect to demographic factors (e.g., previous overseas experience and duration of sojourn) and interpersonal variables (e.g., discrepancy in expectations, language and personality) to medium-to-large effects for intercultural variables (e.g., cultural empathy and perceived discrimination).

Depending on the group of acculturating people being examined, these two forms of adaptation and in particular that of sociocultural adaptation can be expanded to include school adaptation for young people, who need to adjust, and succeed in the school, and work adaptation for adults, who have to adjust to work and occupational challenges that may be different from what they are used to. With respect to young people, Motti-Stefanidi and her colleagues (in press) have suggested that much of their sociocultural adaptation in reality is concerned with dealing with developmental tasks they face.

Do acculturating groups adapt equally well, better or more poorly than a reference group? The basis for comparisons is an important issue when discussing the adaptation of people undergoing acculturation. Should acculturating people be compared with (1) non-acculturating members of their own ethnic group; (2) other acculturating groups in the new society; or (3) with members of the new and larger society? Or, should they be assessed against a psychometrically and standardized instrument measuring adaptation? All three reference groups for comparison and a standardized instrument should ideally be utilized simultaneously. But, quite often, information on the comparison reference groups is not available, nor does the standardized instrument provide unbiased scores. Considering the different groups that could be used in making comparisons, it is perhaps not surprising that research findings in terms of how well acculturating groups adapt are mixed. Some studies have found good adaptation outcomes (both psychological and sociocultural) with some acculturating groups doing either better or equally well as their national peers in the society of residence (Ali, 2002; Berry *et al.*, 2006; Escobar, Nervi and Gara, 2000; Motti-Stefanidi, Pavlopoulos, Obradovic and Masten, 2008). However, other studies have found poor adaptation outcomes (Alegría *et al.*, 2008; Frisbie, Cho and Hummer, 2001).

Beyond different reference groups being used when comparing the adaptation of immigrant groups, mixed findings have also arisen because of differences in operationalization of acculturation itself, and the adaptation outcome of interest (see Koneru, Weisman de Mamani, Flynn and Betancourt, 2007, for a review). For instance, studies have focussed on satisfaction with life (Neto, 2001); self-esteem (Nesdale and Mak, 2003); antisocial behaviors (Murad, Joung, van Lenthe, Bengi-Arslan and Crijnen, 2003) and school adjustment (Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco and Todorova, 2008). Moreover, adaptation is dependent on several moderating factors, including immigration policies, and acculturation expectations of the society of settlement.

Although much attention has been directed to psychological and sociocultural adaptation, some research has found links between acculturation and physical health (Schulpen, 1996), such as different forms of cancer (Abraído-Lanza, Chao and Gates, 2008; Hyman, 2001) and cardiovascular diseases (Kliewer, 1992; Maskarinec and Noh, 2004). However, rather than acculturation resulting in poor physical health, many studies seem to suggest that immigrants have better physical health, when compared with their non-migrating peers in the society of emigration (see Kliewer, 1992). It appears that with increasing acculturation, health status "migrates" toward the national norm; this has been referred to as the "convergence hypothesis" (Sam, 2006b). Closely linked to this observation is what has become known as the "immigrant paradox" (García Coll *et al.*, in press). Its most important aspect is the counterintuitive finding that immigrants show better adaptation outcomes than their national peers; in addition, first-generation immigrants are found to report better adaptation than their second-generation peers (Sam, Vedder, Liebkind, Neto and Virta, 2008; Sam, Vedder, Ward and Horenczyk, 2006).

School adjustment

Schools and other educational settings constitute the main acculturation context for immigrant children and youths. They can be viewed as a miniature society of settlement; schools represent and introduce the new culture to immigrant children. School adjustment can be seen as a primary task, and as a highly important outcome, of the cultural transition process. Accordingly school adjustment is seen as one major acculturation outcome for immigrant children and youth. Immigrant children, just like their parents, constitute a heterogeneous group in terms of ethnicity, nationality and immigration history. Similarly, they have diverse backgrounds (ranging from debilitating factors like poor SES/socioeconomic status, prejudice and discrimination to remarkable strengths like high parental aspirations and close family ties). This makes it difficult to make generalizations about antecedent factors in school adjustment.

Within many immigrant communities the importance attributed to school adjustment is particularly high (Horenczyk and Tatar, in press; Vedder and Horenczyk,

2006). However, there is no doubt that many immigrant children struggle to succeed academically in the school system of the larger society (Suárez-Orozco, Pimentel and Martin, 2009) and this is manifested in poor school grades, and high rates of school dropout (Nusche, 2009). This is contrary to the number of studies that show that immigrant children generally have positive attitudes to school (Berry *et al.*, 2006; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, 1995), have high school aspirations (Fuligni, 1997, 1998) and are optimistic about their academic future (Phalet and Andriessen, 2003). In a study by Andriessen, Phalet and Lens (2006), these researchers showed that school achievement may not simply be a matter of having high school aspirations, but the perception of the importance of school work and future career. Specifically, Andriessen and her colleagues examined the motivational benefits of perceived instrumentality (defined as perception of the importance of school work for future successful life) and internally regulated future goals among adolescents of Dutch, Moroccan and Turkish descent in Dutch high schools. They found that positively perceived instrumentality for future goals increased task motivation and indirectly increased adaptive learning for all three groups of the sample. On a different note, it has been found in the United States that length of residence may be related to poor academic performance and academic aspirations (i.e., the immigrant paradox) (see, e.g., Fuligni, 1997, 1998). This decline in academic achievement among immigrant youth has also been linked to a number of debilitating factors within the school (e.g., perception of school violence) and at home (e.g., family conflicts and parents' educational background) (Suárez-Orozco, Pimentel and Martin, 2009). In sum, school adjustment and academic achievement of immigrant youth is a more complex phenomenon than personal aspirations and school milieu.

Work adaptation

Work adaptation refers to competent performance, the successful accomplishment of work goals and organizational commitment to a local unit (Aycan, 1997). For immigrants and other acculturating individuals, work adaptation is not limited to doing well at the workplace, and meeting the organizational goals successfully. It also encompasses being employed in the occupational sector where one has been educated and trained, and, frequently, the unfortunate event of being unemployed. It is common that acculturating individuals experience downward mobility in occupation (Hayfron, 2006) brought about by lack of recognition of previous education and training, lack of culturally appropriate skills for the job and various forms of cultural barriers and discrimination. In addition, acculturating individuals with the same qualification and experience may also be discriminated against in their wages, even after several years on the labor force of the new society (Laryea and Hayfron, 2005). Downward mobility and loss of occupational status for the immigrant can jeopardize

the overall adaptation (Aycan and Berry, 1996). Indeed, studies have shown that better-adapted acculturating individuals also report being more satisfied with their employment conditions. (See also the section on sojourners and sojourner effectiveness in Chapter 15 for more discussion on work adaptation of expatriates.)

Recently studies have been carried out on the relationship between acculturation strategies, ethnic and national identification and labor success among immigrants into Germany (see Constant and Zimmermann, 2008; Zimmermann, Zimmermann and Constant, 2007). In one study Constant and Zimmermann (2008) argued that ethnic identity can affect the attachment to the host country, and performance of immigrants in its labor market, beyond human capital and ethnic origin characteristics. Estimates for immigrants in Germany showed that ethnic identity is important for the decision to work and significantly and differentially affects the labor force participation of men and women. While women with integrated identity were more likely to work than assimilated women, this pattern did not hold true for migrant men.

To answer the question whether there is a relationship between how people acculturate and how well they adapt, we refer once more to the thirteen-country comparative study on ethnocultural youth. In this study Berry *et al.* (2006) found that irrespective of the society of settlement, those with an integration profile had the best psychological and sociocultural adaptation outcomes, while those with a diffuse profile had the worst. In between, those with an ethnic profile had moderately good psychological adaptation but poorer sociocultural adaptation, while those with a national profile had moderately poor psychological adaptation and slightly negative sociocultural adaptation. For some ethnic groups, such as Turks, the ethnic profile is psychologically, but not socioculturally, adaptive in non-settler societies (such as Germany and Norway), although on the whole the integration profile appeared to be the best way to acculturate. Phinney and her colleagues have also found that identification with both the heritage society and the national society (i.e., acculturation involving integration) is predictive of higher self-esteem (Phinney, Cantu and Kurtz, 1997; Phinney and Chavira, 1992). In addition, Chen, Benet-Martínez and Bond (2008) have found that Chinese immigrants high in terms of bicultural integration also had the highest level of psychological well-being. In short, there appears to be a link between how people choose to acculturate, and how well they adapt.

Methodological issues

Acculturation research has come under some criticisms in recent years (e.g., Chirkov, 2009; Rudmin, 2003), and most of the criticisms have been on methodological grounds, such as how constructs should be conceptualized and operationalized. In

addition, some critics (e.g., Chirkov, 2009) have expressed the view that culture and acculturation should be understood using more social constructivist approaches and qualitative methods. Here, we highlight two methodological issues of concern, beginning with assessment of acculturation and then design of acculturation research.

Assessment of acculturation

Using the model in Figure 13.1 as our point of departure, we recommend that all elements in the model need to be assessed in all acculturation research (Berry, 2006b). These are: (1) the cultural (group) as well as (2) psychological (individual) features of the two groups in contact, both (3) prior to contact and (4) resulting from contact. Research on acculturation at the group level should begin by examining some of the core cultural phenomena that are brought to the contact setting by each of the original cultures as well as those cultural features that change following contact; these examinations require the use of ethnographic methods (see Chapter 10, the section on "Ethnography"). These may include political (e.g., policies regarding settlement), economic and demographic, as well as cultural changes (e.g., new language, and traditions). In addition to features brought to the acculturation setting by the two original cultural groups, it is important to consider the factors determining the nature of their interaction, such as cultural distance (e.g., Ward *et al.*, 2001). This refers to how similar or different the two groups are on cultural dimensions such as language, religion and values. It is important to stress here that the group-level phenomena to be examined are largely cultural in nature, and as such the use of ethnographic methods may be an appropriate approach. Unfortunately, studies that assess this aspect of acculturation are rare, and therefore making inferences about the role of culture, and cultural differences, in acculturation outcomes is problematic.

At the individual level of acculturation, assessment should include factors such as personality characteristics and abilities that existed prior to the contact, and changes in these following contact, including changes in attitudes, behaviors and identities in both groups. It is also important to assess the acculturation strategies and levels of psychological and sociocultural adaptation in both groups.

Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver (2006, pp. 147–154) have identified six issues that acculturation researchers need to deal with when designing their study. These issues are, however, not exclusive to acculturation research. They recommend:

1. Explicitly stating the goal of the study, the rationale for including acculturation measures and the choice of acculturation variables. It is important that there are explicit measures for acculturation, rather than using proxies such as length of residence, or generational status.

2. Clearly identifying the aspects of acculturation (e.g., knowledge, behavior, values and attitudes) to be studied. These different areas do not change uniformly, resulting in lowered reliability of scales.
3. Providing a rationale for the research methodology selected, such as survey, case study, observation or experimental approach. A triangulation of methods or mixed methods may be ideal. Much acculturation research has utilized the survey method, making it difficult to establish causality; experimental studies are very much lacking.
4. Justifying the choice of a theoretical model and measurement method for assessing acculturation strategies (e.g., use of one, two or four statement instruments, use of priming or survey approach; see below).
5. Justifying the choice of life domains and situations to be dealt with in the items. This could be social relations and affiliations, daily activities and cultural traditions. Language use and proficiency is often used as an indicator of acculturation. But this may best be thought of as a (sociocultural) outcome.
6. Justifying the choice of item wording and language. People undergoing acculturation may not be very fluent in the national language; hence short and straightforward sentences devoid of colloquial expression are preferable. Moreover, it should be determined whether the instrument should be presented in the national, ethnic or an international language, or participants be given the choice of different languages. Since language is an indicator of acculturation outcome, it needs to be controlled for in statistical analyses.

Measuring acculturation strategies

Earlier in the chapter, we made reference to differences in results depending on how the two underlying issues of acculturation strategies are operationalized. In many studies, both attitudes (i.e., preferences for ways of acculturating) and behaviors (e.g., language knowledge and use, friendship choice), as well as cultural identities, have been assessed. The term "strategies" is intended to refer to a pattern beyond attitudes alone. As noted above, these different psychological aspects of acculturation form a pattern (or profile) in some studies. Rudmin (2003, 2009; Rudmin and Ahmadzadeh, 2001) has criticized how the four strategies of assimilation, integration, separation and marginalization have been assessed, and these criticisms have been responded to (Berry, 2009; Berry and Sam, 2003). Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver (2006) have identified three main approaches in which acculturation strategies have been assessed, and have referred to these as the one-, two- and four-statement methods. Briefly, whereas the "one-statement method" typically involves a one-dimensional, bipolar scale ranging from maintaining the heritage culture at one pole to adopting the national culture at the other pole, the

"2-statement method" entails assessing acculturation strategies using two separate scales: one representing orientations toward the mainstream culture and the other representing orientations toward the heritage culture. The "4-statement method" is also based on the bi-dimensional model of acculturation. Here, orientations toward each of the four acculturation strategies are discussed in separate items. A more detailed description of the different methods, their advantages, limitation and studies that have used them can be found on the Internet (Additional Topics, Chapter 13; see also Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver, 2006).

Design of acculturation studies

Methods for studying acculturation vary; they range from observation and case studies to self-report. The method chosen depends to some extent on which aspect of acculturation (i.e., acculturation conditions, orientations or strategies and acculturation outcomes) is being examined. In the previous section, we looked at issues to be borne in mind when studying acculturation, which aspects of acculturation should be studied, as well as how to measure acculturation strategies in particular. In this subsection, we look at some specific acculturation research designs.

Cross-sectional and longitudinal designs

Acculturation is a process which takes place over time, and results in changes both in the culture and in the individual. As a process, change can best be understood using longitudinal designs. This is not to suggest that cross-sectional designs are useless. Much of what we know of acculturation today comes from cross-sectional studies. Still, longitudinal studies are very much needed.

Culture change, as well as individual change, can only be noted and assessed when groups and sets of individuals are compared over time. While this is ideal, in practice such comparisons are not practicable in most acculturation research settings. Instead, a more usual practice is that many of the cultural features are identified from other sources (e.g., earlier ethnographic accounts) or partially reconstructed from reports of the older members of the community, who have had less acculturation experience. Similarly, individual change should ideally be assessed in longitudinal research, although such designs are often plagued with problems of "subject mortality" through death or out-migration (Berry, 2006b).

A common alternative to longitudinal research is cross-sectional research in which a time-related variable (e.g., length of residence, generational status or proportion of time spent in new society is employed). Such variables are used as acculturation proxies. An assumption here is that acculturation is a cumulative process over time, but this assumption may not always be valid. Nevertheless, some research (e.g., Berry *et al.*, 2006) has found systematic and interpretable differences in acculturation strategies according the length of time that the immigrant

had lived in their new society. Preference for integration was higher, and for marginalization lower, in cohorts that had lived longer in the new society.

Experimental studies

Much of acculturation research is interested in understanding factors and conditions that affect or bring about change, or can account for an outcome. To be able to account for the outcome, extraneous and confounding factors have to be excluded, or controlled for in our analyses. To achieve this, experimental studies are most ideal (see the section on internal and external context in Chapter 12). Although there are several forms of experimental studies, one form that is very much needed in acculturation research is priming. This type of study involves experimentally manipulating the mind-sets of participants and measuring the resulting changes in behavior (Matsumoto and Yoo, 2006). In one priming study, Hong and her colleagues used US-American and Chinese iconic images (e.g., the US Capitol and Chinese Great Wall) to stimulate American and Chinese mind-sets among bicultural Chinese Americans in order to examine attribution errors (Hong, Morris, Chiu and Benet-Martínez, 2000). Maddux and his colleagues (Leung and Chiu, in press; Leung, Maddux, Galinsky and Chiu, 2008; Maddux and Galinsky, 2009) also used the priming method to demonstrate a link between intercultural experience (e.g., time spent living abroad) and creative thinking. In one study, the researchers showed that priming foreign living experiences temporarily enhanced creative tendencies for participants who had previously lived abroad. In another study, they showed that the degree to which individuals had adapted to different cultures while living abroad mediated the link between foreign living experience and creativity.

Comparative studies

While it is important to seek general principles that relate acculturation experiences to acculturation outcomes, many acculturation studies examine one acculturating group settled into one society. The findings from such studies cannot be generalized beyond the group(s) and the societies where the study has taken place. Moreover, most acculturation research has been conducted in just a few western societies (e.g., Australia, Canada, Europe, USA), while most acculturation is taking place in other parts of the world (e.g., China, India, African and South American societies). Although it is important to know about acculturation phenomena in one group in one society, there is the risk that such limited research findings will be generalized beyond the setting in which they were obtained (Berry, 2006b). Hence, comparative studies of acculturation have long been advocated (e.g., Berry *et al.*, 1987), but few have been accomplished until now. One ambitious comparative study is the thirteen-country analysis by Berry and his colleagues (Berry *et al.*, 2006). This study has brought research closer to identifying some universal features

of acculturation. For instance, the study showed that the kind of society in which individuals reside (i.e., settler vs. non-settler society) affects the way the individual chooses to acculturate, in addition to how well they adapt. But more importantly, irrespective of which society the individual resides in, the most successful acculturation strategy was found to be integration.

Conclusions

Psychology of acculturation is a young area within the broad field of cross-cultural psychology. Nevertheless, it is the fastest-growing area as evidenced by changes in the published articles in journals (Brouwers, Van Hemert, Breugelmans and Van de Vijver, 2004; Lonner, 2004). The interest in and growth of acculturation psychology undoubtedly is in response to unprecedented increase in worldwide migration and globalization (Sam and Berry, 2006). As a growing field, the issues being addressed and emphasized are still in flux. As we conclude this chapter, we highlight four issues that may influence the future direction of the field, namely domain, context, process and generalization.

In the original definition of acculturation (Redfield *et al.*, 1936), acculturation was defined as taking place in both (or all) cultural groups and individuals that are in contact. One current issue in acculturation research is whether acculturative change should be examined only among the non-dominant populations or among all groups in society. In some studies of the acculturation expectations held by dominant groups (e.g., Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver, 2007) there is a clear distinction between public and private domains of cultural maintenance and change. The expectations are that immigrant and ethnocultural groups can retain their cultures, but do so in family and heritage community contexts. However, in some societies (Australia, Canada and the European Union), public policy clearly articulates that acculturation is a process of change in all groups. For example, the EU (2005) "Common Basic Principles on Integration," policy states that: "Integration is a dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of Member States. Integration is a dynamic, long-term, and continuous two-way process of mutual accommodation, not a static outcome. It demands the participation not only of immigrants and their descendants but of every resident." This vision of acculturation and adaptation as a mutual process corresponds well with the original definition. However, it appears that many in the larger receiving societies do not accept this vision (see the subsection on multiculturalism in Chapter 14). This issue may well be the most important one for acculturation researchers to monitor in future studies.

The issue of context deals with acculturating conditions, that is, under what conditions is the acculturation taking place. This calls for a detailed understanding

of the acculturating groups, and of individuals in these groups. Although acculturation involves at least two groups and their individual members, research seems to have focussed almost exclusively on the non-dominant group. Moreover, the condition prior to the acculturation of the non-dominant group has also been neglected in acculturation studies. The importance of the context has been demonstrated clearly (Birman, Trickett and Buchanan, 2005; Nguyen, Messe and Stollak, 1999). Nevertheless, contextual information needed for the proper understanding of the process has only been given cursory attention in psychological acculturation research, and in cases where this vital information is available, it is often placed in an appendix, and not well linked to acculturation process or outcome variables.

Acculturation entails a process of change for which longitudinal studies are invaluable. However, the cost and time involved in longitudinal studies have led to a relative lack of them. The need for longitudinal studies will among others help disentangle the confounding of development and acculturation.

One goal of cross-cultural psychology is to achieve some degree of generalization. That is, we seek to identify those psychological processes and outcomes that are culture-specific and those that are culture-general. In the absence of comparative studies, we are very much limited in making generalizations, and even more so in identifying universal features of acculturation. To date, most comparative studies of acculturation have involved at best two or three countries and about the same number of ethnocultural groups. More large-scale comparative studies are needed.

As the world goes through globalization, and our lives become increasingly intertwined with distant people and economies, there are two issues relevant to acculturation. The first is whether globalization will bring about cultural and psychological homogenization in a process of assimilation leading to a "melting pot," or will breed resistance to such an outcome. The second question is whether individuals will develop a global identity without having to physically live next to other cultural groups, or being physically annexed or colonized by another country. With respect to the first issue, it has been argued (Berry, 2008) that all four acculturation strategies are evident in response to globalized contact: homogenization and assimilation are not inevitable. Regarding the second issue, precisely how this global identity develops, and how it affects psychological adjustment is less understood (Chen *et al.*, 2008) and this will undoubtedly attract a lot of research attention. In addition, the recent economic recess may result in repatriation of some labor and economic migrants into their country of origin, and these changes may stimulate another line of research (Tartakovsky, 2008; Yijälä and Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2010). In contemporary societies the meeting between cultures has taken different forms, including virtual. How these new realities impact on acculturation is an area lacking in research.

KEY TERMS

acculturation • acculturation profiles • acculturation strategies • acculturative stress • adaptation (to acculturation) • assimilation • cultural identity • immigrant paradox • integration • larger society • marginalization • psychological acculturation • separation

FURTHER READING

Berry, J. W., Phinney, J. S., Sam, D. L., and Vedder, P. (eds.) (2006). *Immigrant youth in cultural transition: Acculturation, identity and adaptation across national contexts.* Mahwah, N.Y.: Erlbaum.

This book is an empirical report of a comparative study of the acculturation of immigrant adolescents, their national peers and their parents in thirteen countries. The book provides both empirical evidence of how immigrant youth acculturate, how well they adapt and the link between acculturation and adaptation. Moreover, the book provides a basis for policy formulation. For a summary of this book see *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 2006, 303–332.

Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., and Mähönen, T. A. (2009). *Identities, intergroup relations and acculturation: The cornerstones of intercultural encounters.* Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.

This fifteen-chapter edited book focusses on identity, intergroup relationships and acculturation as a dynamic process. The book also presents methodological solutions for capturing the acculturation as a process.

Sam, D. L., and Berry, J. W. (eds). (2006). *The Cambridge handbook of acculturation psychology.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

This 31-chapter edited book provides an extensive overview of different aspects of acculturation, including theoretical, empirical and contextual factors.

Ward, C., Bochner, S., and Furnham, A. (2001). *The psychology of culture shock.* Hove: Routledge.

This is a second edition of a book first published by the last two authors on the acculturation of different acculturating groups. Although the book is almost ten years old, and a new edition is currently underway (by the first author), it is still a very up-to-date book that provides good insights into different aspects of how individuals deal with new cultures.