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Venture into Cross-Cultural Psychology

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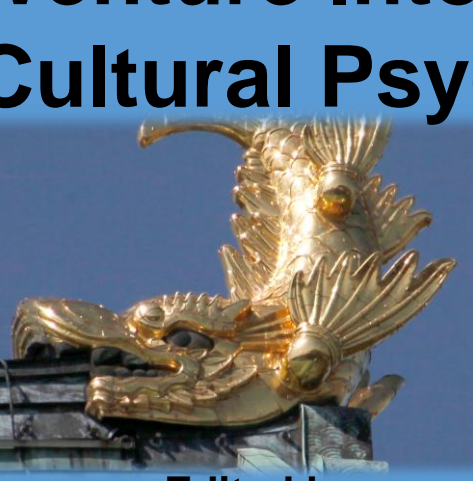
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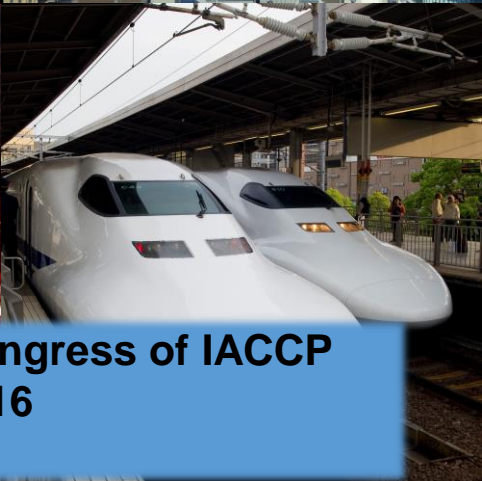
**Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of IACCP
July 30th – August 3rd, 2016
Nagoya, Japan**

Foreword

The 23rd International Congress of the International Association of Cross-Cultural Psychology was held in the city of Nagoya, Japan, from July 30 to August 3, 2016. A total of 1,056 scholars from 57 countries and regions participated in this meeting, and 751 presentations in various categories were made. This included 303 symposium presentations in 85 sessions, 387 individual oral presentations (including 136 rapid papers), and 279 posters. These numbers, all record-high in the history of IACCP, seem to reflect the growing recognition of the importance of studying the role of culture in the volatile situations that we have recently found across the globe. Indeed, as was illustrated in the Presidential Address by Patricia Greenfield, the analysis of the interaction between social change and the cultural bases of people's minds is expected to provide a key to resolve the difficult problems that today's societies world-wide are confronted with. This mission of cross-cultural psychology was presumably a chief motivation for the record attendance to the Nagoya Congress. The contributions assembled in this volume are a showcase of those works presented at the Congress, especially those in the format of individual papers.

While these numbers are impressive, we – the Organization Committee and Editorial Team – also recognize that a true achievement of the meeting was not only in its quantitative aspect, but also, or rather, in the high quality of academic exchanges that took place at the venue. The Scientific Committee, organized and managed by the core members of Masaki Yuki (Chair), Keiko Ishii, and Yukiko Uchida, invited speakers from diverse areas of cultural and psychological sciences in an unprecedented manner, and made their best effort to accommodate submissions from various fields. The uniquely wide range of the program was well exemplified in the line-up of four keynote speakers. The first was by Ed Diener on universal as well as culture-specific aspects of psychological well-being, followed by Peter Richerson on the role of symbolic markers of group identities in the processes of cultural evolution, and by Ying-yi Hong on positive and negative impacts of multi-cultural identity. The series of keynotes was closed by Junko Tanaka-Matsumi, a long-time central figure of the IACCP, with her review on the 100-year history of cultural-clinical psychology.

The line-up of invited presentations extended to other charming lectures such as a joint talk by Hazel Markus and Shinobu Kitayama. The year of 2016 coincided with a silver anniversary of their seminal *Psychological Review* paper on cultural self-construals, and they touched on the process of making their original work and also nicely demonstrated how the ideas evolved into their currently and respectively ongoing research. There were also award lectures by Sylvia Chen (Early Career Award) and Ji He (Harry and Pola Triandis Doctoral Thesis Award), both of which clearly projected the bright future of the field that these and other young scholars have already started to cultivate and harvest. The grand finale of the congress was the Walter J. Lonner Distinguished Invited Lecture by Laurence Kirmayer, who presented a number of paradigmatic challenges for the current state of cross-cultural psychology, displaying the astounding width and depth in his achievement in the research of cultural psychiatry.

In the midst of intellectual excitement and academic companionship, the congress participants also had an opportunity to solemnly remember past colleagues. Especially

notable was a tribunal session for late Kwok Leung. Colleagues, students, and family members that he left stood up one after another and shared with other attendants their experiences with Kwok as a diligent scholar, an organizational leader, a fun-loving friend, and a gentle husband and father.

Other unique characteristics of the 2016 Congress were exhibited outside of the main venue and timetable as well. This year's Summer School was held at the Tokai Inter-Collegiate Training Center in Nakatsugawa hills. This low-budget facility was chosen in part for the purpose of encouraging young scholars from developing countries and regions to participate, but it was also expected to provide all participants with a unique cultural experience that even Japanese society has long lost and forgotten. The boot camp-style center apparently promoted a true sense of communality among the instructors and students.

The biennial International Congresses have traditionally been preceded by pre-congress workshops, and the present meeting was not an exception. Two workshops were organized, with one entitled as "Teaching cross-cultural psychology: Course design and learning activities" (Organizers: Beth Morling & Benjamin Cheung) and the other as "Cultural-neuroscience: Accomplishment so far and future directions" (Organizer: Shinobu Kitayama). Both sessions received over-capacity attendances.

A high moment on the cultural side was the performance of *Taiko* (classic Japanese style of drums) and dances by *Onbu*. This team of Nagoya University students has developed their repertoire based on thorough research in folklore festivities, typically preserved in rural areas of Japan, and their own interpretations added from a modern viewpoint. Their enthusiastic show received sizable plaudits and camera clicks from the audience. The conference dinner(s) was another cultural exhibition in some ways. The 2-part BBQ and grills gathering at a "beer garden" with more than 400 guests for each session was extraordinary in its size on the Japanese standard, where dining facilities ordinary take the segmented form of *Izakaya* style. A sudden and heavy thunderstorm brought another unforgettable moment, though only for those attending the first part of the dinner. The roaring drums of the thundergods supposedly residing in the dark clouds, according to traditional Japanese folktales, were as memorable as the *Taiko* in the *Onbu* show.

Last, but not the least, on behalf of the Organizing Committee, the Scientific Committee, and the Editorial team, we would like to thank all of the volunteers who devoted time to this whole enterprise, including the student staff who gave directions to participants both inside and outside of the congress venue, the presenters who chaired their own session, panel discussants in the workshops, and, particularly notably, the reviewers who evaluated the submissions. This volume, too, owes itself to the full dedication shown by the reviewers for the present submissions. We also like to acknowledge the work and effort by the editorial assistant Hannah Hunter, who ensured that the format and language of these published papers are correct. Thank you all!

The Editorial Team
Minoru Karasawa, Masaki Yuki, Keiko Ishii, Yukiko Uchida, Kosuke Sato, and Wolfgang Friedlmeier

An Indigenous Measure of Social Desirability Across Non-Western Countries

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Abstract

Cross-cultural differences in Social Desirability (SD) could be partly due to the nonequivalence of constructs, items, or other challenges of cross-cultural research. We tested to what extent a Mexican, indigenous scale of SD, capturing both positive and negative features of SD, would be useful in other countries. Data were collected in convenience samples in eight countries (Argentina, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Lebanon, Mexico, Nicaragua, and Spain) in order to test the psychometric accuracy and invariance of the factor structure. Values of Tucker's factor congruence coefficients (gauging invariance) and tests of the similarity of the cross-country similarity of Cronbach's alpha (gauging internal consistency) revealed that SD, as measured by this indigenous list, is stable and comparable across cultures. The results are interpreted in a conceptual framework in which SD is viewed as a culturally embedded communication style that people use to integrate successfully into their groups.

Keywords: Social Desirability, communication style, Tucker's Phi, fitting in

An Indigenous Measure of Social Desirability across Non-Western Countries

There is considerable evidence that social desirability (SD) can be considered part of the core structure of personality (e.g., Acosta & Dominguez, 2012, 2014; Paulhus, 2002; Paulhus & John, 1998; Uziel, 2010). SD has two components: denial of negative, undesirable attributes/behaviors/characteristics; and the endorsement of positive- desirable attributes/behaviors. SD is based on the premise that individuals make an effort to portray themselves favorably, enhancing his skills, prowess, and social values to avoid social disapproval (Acosta & Dominguez, 2012; Dominguez & Van de Vijver, 2014; Lalwani, Shrum, & Chiu, 2009; Paulhus, 1984, 2002). In this line of reasoning, SD is not a manifestation of a deliberately distorted self-presentation (in line with the idea that SD refers to lying; Eysenck & Eysenck, 1963), but reflects the tendency to manage one's self-image within social contexts and demands in order to adapt in a favorable way. Various authors consider SD part of a communication filter that people use to express themselves, enabling any individual to fit in by enhancing personality traits that deal with collectivism, agreeableness, affiliation, integration, closeness, and personality traits deemed relevant for a specific cultural context (He, Van de Vijver, Domínguez, & Mui, 2014; He & Van de Vijver, 2013; Smith, 2004).

Extant cross-cultural SD research has two shortcomings in our view. Firstly, issues of cross-cultural comparability (Van de Vijver & Leung, 2000) are infrequently addressed. Some findings on cross-cultural differences of SD (Dudley, McFarland, Goodman, Hunt, & Sydell, 2005; Hough, 1998) could be partly or entirely due to nonequivalence of items or other challenges of cross-cultural comparability. Secondly, cross-cultural research uses predominantly Western instruments that are usually applied in other countries without adequately considering the cultural appropriateness of the instruments. We set out to address both shortcomings by including invariance issues in our study and by employing an instrument that was developed from an emic perspective, aimed to address SD in the Mexican population (Dominguez & Van de Vijver, 2014). The scale captured similar items to those used in Western scales, as well as more culture-specific ones referring to content particularly prominent among Mexicans. The scale uses a two-dimensional conceptualization of SD (cf. Dominguez, Procidano, & He, 2012), comprising behaviors that are either positive (desirable; e.g., unconditional love, forgiveness, altruism, kindness, loyalty) or negative (undesirable; e.g., bribery, speaking ill of friends, and lying). This two-dimension solution is like previous findings where SD is split in attribution (positive) and denial (negative) dimensions (Gravdal & Sandal, 2006; Paulhus & Reid, 1991; Pauls, Wacker, & Crost, 2005; Ramanaiah & Martin, 1980).

The link between culture and SD has been discussed by several authors (e.g., Crowne & Marlowe, 1964; Edwards & Riordan, 1994; Johnson & Van de Vijver, 2002; Keillor, Owens, & Pettijohn, 2001). Yet, a more precise delineation of which cultural aspects are involved is still missing. It has been argued that cross-cultural SD differences may be linked to cultural value systems such as individualism and collectivism. According to Johnson (1998), there

is some evidence that social desirability scores may be higher in collectivistic societies, which is consistent with other evidence (Jones, 1983), suggesting that cultural emphasis on certain modes of social interaction may encourage the production of socially desirable information in order to maintain a positive and harmonious relationship with their social group. The need for affiliation, conformity, approval, and lack of self-disclosure are closely related to SD. In the same line, collectivism is associated with a greater emphasis on interpersonal harmony and with less emphasis on individual opinions, and more yielding to social pressure (Chen et al., 2001; Hofstede, 2001).

For the present study, we considered a total of eight countries that show quite some variation in collectivism (Hofstede's Individualism-Collectivism scores are shown in parentheses; the scores can range between 0 and 100, with 50 as a midpoint): Argentina (46), China (20), Colombia (13), Costa Rica (15), Lebanon (40), Mexico (30), Nicaragua (unknown), and Spain (51). According to the Hofstede Centre (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010), scores below 50 are indicative of "collectivism" and above 50 of "individualism." Scores for Nicaragua are not reported by the Hofstede Centre, but scores for the two neighboring countries (Costa Rica and Honduras) are. As Nicaragua is located in an overall collectivist region, we assume that it qualifies as a collectivist country.

The present study had the following aims: 1) to gather additional information about the Indigenous Social Desirability Scale stability and its use in Latin-American and non-Western countries to test hypotheses on cultural differences, therefore providing evidence about the universality of the two-dimensional SD structure; 2) to compare country mean differences in the two SD dimensions. We expect more similarities across Latin American countries (Argentina, Colombia, Costa Rica, Mexico, and Nicaragua) when compared to non-Latin American countries in this sample (China, Lebanon, and Spain), as they share common characteristics and historical backgrounds (e.g., Spanish as an official language, a shared colonization experience, etc.). Even with the aforementioned difference, all of these countries still belong to the collectivistic group except for Spain, which has the highest score on individualism for this sample according to Hofstede's scale (Hofstede, 2001); thus we expect differences in social desirability between all these countries and Spain.

Method

Participants

A total convenience sample of 2,811 participants came from Argentina (n = 165), China (n = 445), Colombia (n = 201), Costa Rica (n = 253), Lebanon (n = 282), Mexico (n = 654), Nicaragua (n = 281), and Spain (n = 539). Mean age for the total sample was 26.08 years (*SD* = 11.85 years), and 49.9% of the sample was female. All respondents agreed to participate on a voluntary basis.

Instrument and Procedure

The Indigenous Social Desirability Scale (ISDS; Dominguez & Van de Vijver, 2014) consists of 14 items on a five-point Likert scale (1 -*Totally Disagree*, 5 -*Totally Agree*). The scale assesses positive (six items, e.g., "I easily forgive those who offend me") and negative (eight items, e.g., "I lie if I know I won't be discovered") aspects of SD. In a previous study, the scale showed adequate fit indexes for the two-factor solution (N = 1,227; RMSEA = .05, GFI = .96, AGFI = .95, TLI = .90). The original version was applied in Spanish to all Latin-American countries and Spain, and an English version for Lebanon was created using the translation-back translation method proposed by Brislin (1970). The English version was translated into Chinese by also using Brislin's procedure. A paper-pencil procedure was used in China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Lebanon, Mexico, Nicaragua, and Spain, while 30% of the Argentinian sample was collected through e-mail snowballing sampling. No monetary compensation was given to any of the participants, and confidentiality was ensured for all cases.

Table 1

Test of Independent Alphas and Cronbach's Alpha Values for Each Country on Both Dimensions of SD

| | Cronbach's alpha | | Test of independent alphas | | | | |
| | | | | SD-P | | SD-N | |
	SD-P	SD-N	Comparison of Mexico with	$\chi^2(1)$	p	$\chi^2(1)$	p
Argentina	.72	.79	Argentina	.14	.70	4.06	.04
China	.76	.69	China	1.12	.28	47.17	.00
Colombia	.85	.79	Colombia	15.54	.00	4.41	.03
Costa Rica	.75	.73	Costa Rica	.36	.54	21.38	.00
Lebanon	.72	.75	Lebanon	.19	.65	16.12	.00
Mexico	.74	.84					
Nicaragua	.70	.80	Nicaragua	.95	.32	4.36	.03
Spain	.93	.75	Spain	174.54	.00	27.02	.00
Total	.86	.78					

Notes. SD-P: Social desirability, positive scale. SD-N: Social desirability, negative scale.

Results

Table 1 displays Cronbach's alpha coefficients for each SD dimension for each country, indicating that the reliability coefficients were adequate. Positive SD seems to be stable in each country. Interestingly, the only value below .70 was obtained in China for the Negative dimension ($α$ = .69). All other values ranged between .70 and .93. Table 1 also shows the tests of identity of independent Cronbach's alphas when comparing scores for each country against Mexico. Since this was the country for which the scale was originally developed, Mexico was considered the comparison standard. Statistically significant differences arose when comparing Mexico with Colombia and Spain on Positive SD, and when comparing with China, Costa Rica, Lebanon, and Spain on Negative SD. The significant differences found were not clearly patterned, leading to the conclusion that, although there were several significant differences, these were not systematic deviances of the Mexican values. Country correlations between the positive and negative dimensions were as follows: Argentina $r(154)$ =-.03, p= .71; China $r(443)$ =.07, p = .13; Colombia $r(199)$ =.07, p = .31; Costa Rica $r(160)$ =.22, p = .01; Lebanon $r(280)$ =.11, p = .06; Mexico $r(652)$ =.03, p = .35; Nicaragua $r(279)$ =.01, p = .35; Spain $r(536)$ =.07, p = .09. These results suggest that the dimensions are orthogonal as they run from non-significant to small significant correlations.

Table 2 shows Tucker's congruence coefficients obtained when a pool solution with the whole sample (N = 2,811) is compared with the exploratory factor analysis obtained per sample. The Positive dimension obtained values that ranged between .98 and 1, while results on the Negative dimension ranged from .93 and .99. These data provide strong evidence of structural equivalence for the Indigenous Social Desirability Scale as this procedure has been used previously in cross cultural research (Fontaine, Duriez, Luyten, & Hutsebaut, 2003; Motti-Stefanidi, Pavlopoulos, Obradović, & Masten, 2008; Van de Vijver & Leung, 2000; Van de Vijver & Watkins, 2006).

Table 2
Tucker's Congruence Coefficients

	Social Desirability	
	Positive Scale	Negative Scale
Argentina	.98	.93
China	.97	.97
Colombia	.99	.97
Costa Rica	.98	.99
Lebanon	1.00	.99
Nicaragua	.99	.98
Spain	.99	.98

To test item bias, ANOVAs were conducted to test uniform and non-uniform bias. The results showed statistically significant differences with small effects (all $\eta^2 > .04$) in two items in the positive dimension and one in the negative dimension, pointing to uniform bias.

After the deletion of those two items, mean scores were compared across countries in a MANOVA with country as the independent variable. As seen in Table 3, significant differences were found across countries in both dimensions of SD. China had the highest ranking score in Positive SD, while Spain had the lowest. On the Negative dimension, China ranked as the lowest score and Colombia is the highest. As observed in Table 3, the effect was larger in the Negative dimension of SD. Moreover, specific contrasts between Latin American countries vs. Spain and Lebanon yielded significant differences but small effects ($\eta^2 \leq .05$).

Table 3
Mean Comparisons Across Countries

Country	SD-Positive			SD-Negative		
	M	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*n*
Argentina	2.79	.80	156	3.89	.66	156
China	3.12	.79	445	3.49	.63	445
Colombia	2.84	1.28	201	4.01	.69	196
Costa Rica	2.84	.83	252	3.88	.64	247
Lebanon	2.88	.88	282	3.86	.68	282
Mexico	2.88	.88	654	3.92	.79	652
Nicaragua	2.89	.97	281	3.68	.83	281
Spain	2.52	2.03	538	3.91	.66	510
$F(7, 2801)$	9.03			$F(7, 2761)$	20.60	
$p <$	.001			$p <$	.001	
Contrast η^2	.02			Contrast η^2	.05	

Discussion

The comparisons of Cronbach's alphas suggest that SD constitutes a rather stable personality trait, showing internal and cross-cultural consistency (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960; Dominguez & Van de Vijver, 2014; Ellingson, Smith, & Sackett, 2001; Lönnqvist, Verkasalo, & Bezmenova, 2007; Paulhus, 1984). Although reliability scores were adequate, the scale showed statistically significant differences across alpha scores, which could be due to the translation process. Despite language translation (Triandis, Bontempo, Leung, & Hui, 1990), our findings suggest that some core characteristics exist within the two-dimensional configuration that go beyond cultural limitations and manifest in a relatively stable fashion. Cultural consistency and construct bias (He & Van de Vijver, 2012) across countries were addressed with Tucker's congruence coefficient, which showed congruent coefficients within

the parameters proposed by Lorenzo-Seva and Ten Berge (2005) and Van de Vijver and Leung (1997, 2000), leading us to conclude that our definition of SD is stable across these cultures.

Despite the overall internal consistency and conceptual equivalence across countries, mean scores in SD turned out statistically different, probably because of China's scores, which were the highest and lowest in Positive SD and Negative SD, respectively. To our surprise, Lebanon did not differ statistically from the rest of the sample even though it is not a Latin American country. SD scores seem to be pointing out that people from China are the most worried about accepting socially desirable traits and the least worried about accepting socially undesirable traits. However, the scores could also point to another phenomenon. All countries in the study, except for China, are in regions that are known for their preference for extremity scoring in Likert scales (e.g., He & Van de Vijver, 2015). However, China often shows a tendency for modesty and midpoint responding. The pattern of means that we found in the comparison of China with the other countries is in line with this distinction between extreme and midpoint responding as Chinese are in both scales closer to the midpoint of the scale, as it has been observed previously (Lee, Jones, Mineyama, & Zhang, 2002).

Item bias, probably due to the translation procedure, could also be underlying the differences in SD scores, particularly when comparing China and Spain.

Interestingly, the scores from Lebanon were not as different as the Latin American countries, and they were all below China's score in Positive SD and over in Negative SD, probably due to the collectivist similarities that the Hofstede Centre reports (Hofstede et al., 2010). The individualist-collectivist continuum could also account for these differences considering that, according to Hofstede, the only true individualist country is Spain, which scored lowest on Positive SD and second highest on Negative SD. However, this may not account for all variability since Colombia, one of the most collectivist countries in the world, scored the highest. As Johnson (1998) and Ross and Mirowsky (1983) hypothesized, collectivist, Latin American countries seem to score higher than individualist ones, which is partially supported by our findings. Further research is needed in this area.

In our sample, all individuals seem to emphasize social interaction and social adaptation, congruent with their collectivist orientation according to Hofstede et al.'s (2010) standards. People seem to be maintaining positive and harmonious relationships with their social groups across cultures. Hofstede (2001) also suggested that motivations to achieve agreeableness and interpersonal harmony could be related to hierarchy and power distance. Hofstede (2001, 2011; Hofstede et al., 2010) and Chen et al. (2001) have noted that cultures high in power distance usually stress conformity and submissiveness, which could lead to behavior adaptation, impression management and strong endorsement of SD-related behaviors.

He et al. (2014) and Smith (2004) proposed SD as one of the core components of a general response style that people use to integrate successfully into groups, creating harmonious relationships that promote social acceptance and integration. This response style is influenced by cultural characteristics and, as the authors propose, it may be due not only to the desire of fitting in, as it presumably also manifests in various personality traits that may have not been considered in the present study.

The findings suggest that SD is likely a universal concept, given the similarities in ratings of SD in both Positive and Negative dimensions. This conclusion is remarkable, given that our measure was developed only to fit the Mexican context. Most items were found to be adequate across all cultural contexts. Much research in cross-cultural psychology employs Western instruments in a non-Western context without much consideration of the question of cultural adequacy of the instrument. We used the same procedure, but started from a non-Western instrument. It is interesting to note that our results are like many studies using Western instruments: the structure underlying the instruments is universal, but some items may need modification or adaptation. The procedure to use non-Western instruments has been advocated to inform Western psychology about its own cultural roots (Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997). We hope that our study provides impetus for conducting more studies using this template.

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Socioeconomic Status, Reactions to Choice Deprivation in Group Contexts, and the Role of Perceived Restrictions on Personal Freedom

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Abstract

This research examined whether socioeconomic status (SES) predicts reactions to situations in which a group member decides for the entire group, thereby depriving other group members of personal choice. We found, as predicted, that Americans with higher subjective SES accepted choice deprivation less and demanded personal choice more than subjectively lower SES Americans. Subjective SES was a better predictor for reactions to choice deprivation than objective indicators of SES. The degree to which participants interpreted the deprivation of choice as a violation of their personal freedom partially mediated the relationship between subjective SES and reactions to choice deprivation. The results highlight the role subjective SES measurements can play and the need to consider social status and associated models of agency when interpreting behavior and motivation related to choice in American contexts.

Keywords: agency, choice, freedom, social class, socioeconomic status

Socioeconomic Status, Reactions to Choice Deprivation in Group Contexts, and the Role of Perceived Restrictions on Personal Freedom

Imagine that you are working on a team project and need to collaborate with your colleagues on multiple tasks. How would you react if your colleague deprived you of your personal choice of which task to accomplish by taking over and distributing work among the entire team? Would you feel that your freedom to choose had been restricted? The present research addresses these questions and proposes that the answer most likely depends on one's sociocultural environment because these environments shape our ways of thinking and behaving. These environments include socioeconomic status (SES), that is, the social standing or class of an individual or group (American Psychological Association, 2016). Previous research in the US found that individuals' SES relates to their varying degrees of striving for control and choice (Lachman & Weaver, 1998; Kraus, Piff, & Keltner, 2009). To obtain a better understanding of this association, the current investigation examined how SES relates to reactions to choice deprivation by an in-group member.

Socioeconomic Status and Models of Agency

Examinations of SES often reveal inequities in access to resources, evoking varying degrees of power and control, self-esteem, self-focus, and coping strategies (Lachman & Weaver, 1998; Adler & Ostrove, 1999; Kraus et al., 2009; Na et al., 2010; Kraus & Park, 2014). Importantly, SES contexts reflect understandings of culturally normative and appropriate action (Snibbe & Markus, 2005; Markus & Schwartz, 2010). Congruently, recent studies suggest that higher SES individuals are likely to possess a *disjoint* model of agency that construes agency in reference to privately held attitudes and defines good actions as those that promote independence from others. Conversely, lower SES individuals are likely to possess a *conjoint* model of agency that construes personal agency in reference to attitudes held by relevant others and defines good actions as those that promote interdependence with and adjustment to others (Markus & Kitayama, 2003; Kitayama & Uchida, 2005; Stephens, Markus, & Townsend, 2007). These models of agency are relevant to preferences and choices. For example, Snibbe and Markus (2005) revealed that college-educated upper SES adults had a greater preference for self-chosen objects, whereas lower SES individuals did not. They argued that, in higher SES contexts, choice is considered an action through which a person expresses and actualizes her/himself through unique attributes, whereas in lower SES contexts, where agency is emphasized in more conjoint terms (e.g., maintenance of integrity), personal choice is relatively less crucial. This initial evidence for divergent models of agency is a milestone because it reveals that the widespread notion in mainstream American contexts that choice is strongly desirable and leads to positive outcomes for everyone represents only the perspective of the American middle-class.

Previous research also suggests that, when facing a situation that restricts personal choice, individuals with higher SES—unlike those with lower SES—reject and transform the situation so they can choose. In Stephens, Fryberg, and Markus's (2011) study, participants were initially offered a "thank you" gift from the experimenter in return for their participation and were then asked whether they would like to see and choose themselves from the other options. Higher SES Americans were more likely than lower SES Americans to ask to see the other options and choose one themselves. In this context, accepting the gift from the experimenter revealed a behavior fitting the conjoint model of agency, as it reflected a focus on the experimenter and emphasized interdependence with her. On the other hand, the offer by the experimenter discouraged individuals with higher SES who endorsed a more disjoint model of agency because they could not express their uniqueness through choice in this context. Thus, in Stephens et al. (2011), those with higher SES preferred to reject the experimenter-chosen gift and instead to choose from the other options, reflecting their impulse towards enacting their dominant model of agency, which emphasizes personal choice.

Personal Freedoms and Socioeconomic Status

Although there is no clear and acknowledged definition of freedom, the idea of having freedom of choice is part of human identity and a fundamental principle guiding action (Feldman, Baumeister, & Wong, 2014). However, as higher and lower SES contexts offer varying opportunities for choice among good options and varying consequences of choices made, previous research found that middle-class participants associate choice with freedom more than working-class participants (Stephens et al., 2011). Given this association, higher SES individuals might feel more restricted in their freedom than lower SES individuals in a situation characterized by personal choice deprivation.

Objective and Subjective Socioeconomic Status

Socioeconomic status comprises multiple intertwined components including an individual's material resources, family background, and perceived rank within the social hierarchy. As such, it is difficult to capture the construct with a single measure. It is common to distinguish between objective and subjective SES. Objective SES typically refers to an individual's financial resources and educational attainment, and it indicates material resources through which individuals are able to access valued goods and services (Oakes & Rossi, 2003). In contrast, subjective SES typically refers to an individual's perceived social class rank relative to other members of the same society. This can be assessed by asking participants to rank themselves within their local communities, with the wealthier people placed at the top and the poorer people at the bottom (Kraus et al., 2009). These two measures of SES correlate only moderately with each other (Adler, Epel, Castellazo, & Ickovics, 2000), suggesting that they are relatively independent aspects of socioeconomic status. Importantly, recent studies indicate that low subjective SES is associated with a reduced sense of control and is a better predictor than objective measures of various educational, physical, and psychological outcomes (Ostrove & Long, 2007; Kraus et al., 2009). Particularly, in Western cultures that

reflect an emphasis on the disjoint model of agency, one's subjective appraisal of one's own social status would matter more than the socially consensual understanding about one's position implied by objective measurements such as educational attainment and income. Indeed, when individuals compare themselves with other members of society, perceptions of reduced access to resources and subordinate rank relative to others have been shown to give them the impression that they have relatively little personal control over their environment (Lachman & Weaver, 1998). Further, among Americans, subjective SES, and not objective SES, predicts anger expression (Park et al., 2013). Concerning the relationship between SES and choice, previous research has used objective SES measures (e.g., Snibbe & Markus, 2005; Stephens et al., 2011), and to our knowledge no study has investigated the relationship between subjective SES and choice. There is no direct evidence that subjectively higher SES individuals are more likely than subjectively lower SES individuals to pursue personal choice and freedom. Nevertheless, given that subjective SES influences one's sense of control, and that subjective SES is more important and a better predictor of various outcomes than objective SES in Western cultures, we expected that subjective SES might predict reactions to choice deprivation better than objective SES among Americans.

The Present Research

Reflecting the middle-class American perspective that expressions of uniqueness and exertions of control through choice are common practices, thus far only a few studies (e.g., Stephens et al., 2011, as mentioned above) have examined how people with varying socioeconomic statuses react to situations characterized by the absence of personal choice. The topic requires further investigation to test the generalizability of previous findings and to add more evidence. The current research addresses two unexamined issues.

First, previous research used a paradigm in which an experimenter (an outgroup member) deprived participants of their choice. However, in addition to choice deprivation by outgroup members, situations in which ingroup members decide vicariously and thereby deprive others of their choices are frequent daily life occurrences, as illustrated by the example in the beginning of this manuscript. Therefore, whether the findings generalize to situations in which people are deprived of their personal choice by an ingroup member adds to the understanding of the effects of SES on choice behavior in daily life situations. Another advantage of focusing on choice deprivation by an in-group member and not by the experimenter is that the experimenter could be considered as respectable and having a lot of power, and this perception might confound examination of how social status and models of agency influence choice behaviors. Moreover, such an in-group context provided a strict test for whether higher SES individuals would try to exert control through personal choice against the backdrop of the dominance of disjoint agency even in a context urging them to focus on interdependence and maintenance of group harmony. The present research accordingly created two scenarios (see the materials section) in which an in-group member (i.e., a colleague) chose something on behalf of the group. The in-group member who chose did not consider the group members' individual preferences, thereby depriving them of the

possibility to express themselves through choice. We examined how participants would react to choice deprivation in these situations.

Second, the present research included a measurement of subjective SES and explored its effect on choice. This enabled us to test whether subjective SES is a better predictor of one's reaction to choice deprivation than objective SES among Americans, which to date no research has examined. Given previous findings that subjective SES influenced people's sense of control and health outcomes even after controlling for objective SES (Ostrove & Long, 2007; Kraus et al., 2009), reflecting its significance in Western cultures, it appeared likely that individuals' reactions to situations involving choice deprivation by an in-group member would be associated with their subjective estimation of their social rank, and that subjective SES is a better predictor of reactions to choice deprivation than objective measurements of SES.

This research focused on two possible reactions: accepting an in-group member's choice or demanding personal choice. We predicted that reflecting their dominant model of agency, higher SES individuals would be more likely than lower SES individuals to demand personal choice and less likely to accept an in-group member's choice for the entire team. We also examined whether objective or subjective SES predicts these reactions better. Moreover, we tested whether the extent to which individuals feel restricted in their personal freedom would influence their reaction to choice deprivation. The dominant models of agency were presumed to relate to differences in desired amounts of personal freedom, and thus, we predicted that a perceived restriction on personal freedom would partially mediate the relationship between subjective SES and reactions to the in-group member's choice for the team.

Method

Participants and Procedure

Two hundred fifty-seven adults living in the US (54.9% female; mean age 40.4 years, ranging from 18 to 75 years) were recruited online through Amazon Mechanical Turk. The majority was European American (84.1%), but the sample also included Asian Americans (5.8%), African Americans (5.4%), Latinos and Hispanics (2.3%), Native Americans (0.8%), and others (1.6%). They answered demographic questions, read the two vignettes, reported their likely reactions, and indicated their subjective SES. Participants spent on average 13 minutes and were reimbursed $0.30.

Materials

We constructed the following vignettes describing concrete scenarios in which a colleague chooses on behalf of a group of coworkers:

1. The Work Distribution Scenario: *You plan an event together with your coworkers, and there are many tasks to share. Someone needs to take care of the finances, someone needs to do advertising, someone needs to invite and take care of the guests, and*

someone needs to do the paperwork. One of your coworkers takes the lead and tells
you and the others what to do without asking about individual preferences.

2. The Feedback Scenario: *You are in a meeting and your boss asks for feedback about a*
   new policy that he had introduced the previous week. One of your colleagues answers
   in detail, representing the whole team without asking individual opinions.

To avoid possible confounding effects of power issues, we constructed the scenarios such
that the person choosing for the entire group is a colleague and neither higher nor lower in
the social hierarchy.

Measurements

Reaction to the situation: Acceptance versus choice demand

After reading the scenario, participants indicated on a 7-point Likert scale (1-very unlikely,
7-very likely). how likely they would be to

a. accept the decision and accomplish the tasks their coworker assigned to them/accept
   that the colleague speaks on behalf of the whole team,
b. choose the task they like best and declare that they want to do this and not what the
   coworker has assigned to them/pipe up and declare their personal evaluation of the new
   policy,
c. tell their coworker that they have a right to make their own choice/tell their coworker that
   they have a right to answer for themselves,
d. accomplish the tasks their coworker assigned to them because someone needs to do
   it/go along with their coworker's report because someone needs to give feedback, and
e. accomplish the tasks their coworker assigned to them because it would be impolite not
   to do so/go along with the coworker's report because it would be impolite not to do so.

We developed these items to include two reactions, acceptance (i.e., items 1, 4, and 5) and
choice demand (i.e., items 2 and 3) and found reasonable reliabilities for those, $\alpha_{Acceptance}$
= .80, $\alpha_{ChoiceDemand}$ = .68.

Perceived restriction on personal freedom

Participants were also asked to indicate to what extent this situation would restrict their
personal freedom (1: strongly disagree, 7: strongly agree).

Objective SES

We used two objective measurements of socioeconomic status: income and educational
attainment. Table 1 indicates the demographic information. Participants indicated their
monthly net income as coded into 10 categories ranging from 1 (less than $250) to 10 (more
than $4000). Sixteen participants who did not report their income were excluded from the
following data analysis concerning income. Participants also indicated their educational
attainment by reporting the highest degree or level of schooling they had completed.
Educational attainment was coded into four categories (1: less than high school, 2: high
school or some college, 3: college, 4: postgraduate). Four participants categorizing
themselves as students and one participant who did not report educational attainment were

excluded in the following data analysis concerning educational attainment.

Subjective SES

Participants indicated their perceived social rank on the MacArthur Scale of subjective SES (Adler et al., 2000). The measure consists of a picture of a ladder with 10 rungs representing people with varying levels of income, educational, and occupational status within the participant's own community. Higher numbers indicate higher placement on the ladder.

Table 1

Information about Monthly Income and Educational Attainment of the Sample

Monthly Income	%	Educational Attainment	%
< $250	4.7	Less than high school	1.9
$250 – $500	4.3	High school	37.0
$501 – $1000	9.3	College	44.0
$1,001 – $1,500	10.5	Postgraduate	15.6
$1,501 – $2,000	14.4	Still in school/not reported	1.6
$2,001 – $2,500	12.5		
$2,501 – $3,000	10.1		
$3,001 – $3,500	7.8		
$3,501 – $4,000	7.0		
> $4,000	13.2		
Not reported	6.2		

Results

We averaged participants' reactions to the two choice deprivation scenarios and analyzed how these reactions related to SES. As can be seen in Table 2, subjective SES correlated with acceptance and choice demand, $r_{acceptance}(255) = -.22$, $p < .001$; $r_{choicedemand}(255) = .23$, $p < .001$. As predicted, as subjective SES increased, participants were less likely to accept the choice made on their behalf and more likely to demand personal choice. Further, the higher the subjective SES, the stronger the participants felt the situations would restrict their personal freedom, $r(255) = .23$, $p < .001$. The correlational patterns between income as an indicator of objective SES and the dependent variables were also significant in the same direction, but weaker, $r_{acceptance}(239) = -.18$, $p = .004$; $r_{choicedemand}(239) = .17$, $p = .006$; $r_{restrictionoffreedom}(239) = .14$, $p = .032$. Educational attainment did not correlate significantly with any of the outcome variables.

Objective vs Subjective SES and Choice Deprivation

To simplify the procedure and to avoid iteration on these results, we created a composite reaction index by subtracting the mean rating for acceptance from the mean rating for choice demand for each participant and used this index as our dependent variable. Higher values on this index represent a preference for choice demand over acceptance. A strongly significant negative correlation between acceptance and choice demand validated this procedure, $r(255) = -.54$, $p < .001$.

Table 2

Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations among Acceptance, Choice Demand, Restriction of Freedom, Objective and Subjective Socio-Economic Status Measurements.

Measurement	*M*	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Subjective SES	4.79	1.84	---					
2. Income	5.95	2.62	.50***	---				
3. Education	2.74	0.74	.34***	.32***	---			
4. Acceptance	3.79	1.30	-.22***	-.18**	-.03	---		
5. Choice Demand	4.31	1.29	.23***	.17**	-.03	-.54***	---	
6. Restriction of Freedom	4.38	1.57	.23***	.14*	.05	-.14*	.32***	---

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

To test whether objective or subjective measures of SES are better predictors of reactions to choice deprivation, we conducted a series of regression analyses. Table 3 shows the univariate statistics, correlation of each predictor variable with reactions to choice deprivation, and the regression weights for the various models. The full model including age, gender, educational attainment, income and subjective SES explained 11.9% of the variance in reactions to choice deprivation, $F(5, 231) = 6.23$, $p < .001$. The second model including objective measurements of SES but no subjective SES explained only 5.9% of the variance and had a significantly lower R^2 as the full model, R^2-change = -.06, $F(1, 231) = 15.72$, $p < .001$. The third model including subjective SES but no objective SES measurements explained 9.9% of the variance, which was not significantly different from the full model, R^2-change = -.02, $F(2, 231) = 2.59$, $p = .077$. Finally, we compared the predictive utility of the two reduced models, using Steiger's Z for dependent correlations. The correlation between the two reduced models (one including objective, but no subjective measures of SES and one including subjective, but no objective indicators of SES) was $r(235) = .60$, $p < .001$. The model including subjective SES but no objective measurements of SES accounted for significantly more variance in reactions to choice deprivation than did the model including objective, but no subjective indicators of SES, $Z = 4.43$, $p < .001$.

Perceived Restriction on Personal Freedoms

To determine whether perceived restriction on personal freedom would mediate the association between subjective SES and reactions to choice deprivation independently of objective SES, we conducted a mediation analysis controlling for age, gender, income and educational attainment. As summarized in Figure 1, subjective SES significantly predicted the reaction index, $b = .38$, $SE = .10$, $t(236) = 3.97$, $p < .001$. Subjective SES also significantly predicted perceived restriction on personal freedom, $b = .20$, $SE = .07$, $t(236) = 2.99$, $p = .003$, and perceived restriction on personal freedom significantly predicted the reaction index, $b = .35$, $SE = .09$, $t(236) = 3.80$, $p < .001$. Although the link between subjective SES and the reaction index was still significant after we controlled for perceived restriction on personal freedom, $b = .31$, $SE = .09$, $t(236) = 3.27$, $p = .001$, a bootstrap analysis with a 95% CI (bootstrap sample = 10,000), which was conducted following the procedure suggested by Preacher and Hayes (2008), revealed a significant, indirect effect (confidence intervals = [0.02, 0.15]).

Table 3

Summary Statistics, Correlations, and Results from the Various Regression Models

Variable	M	SD	Correlations with the Reaction Index	Beta weights from various models		
				Full Model	Objective SES (Income, Education)	Subjective SES
Reaction Index	0.52	2.27	.---			
Gender	1.45	0.50	.04	.06	.03	.04
Age	40.35	13.35	.14*	.12	.11	.12
Income	5.95	2.62	.20**	.06	.21**	.---
Education	2.74	0.74	.00	-.15*	-.09	.---
Subjective SES	4.79	1.84	.26***	.30***	.---	.29***

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

Discussion

Our prediction that socioeconomic status differences would be associated with reactions to choice deprivation in in-group contexts found support with a measure of subjective socioeconomic status and income. In response to two hypothetical situations in which a colleague chose for a group of coworkers, socioeconomic status correlated with acceptance, personal choice demand, and perceived restriction on personal freedom. Notably, subjective SES predicted reactions to choice deprivation better than objective measures (educational
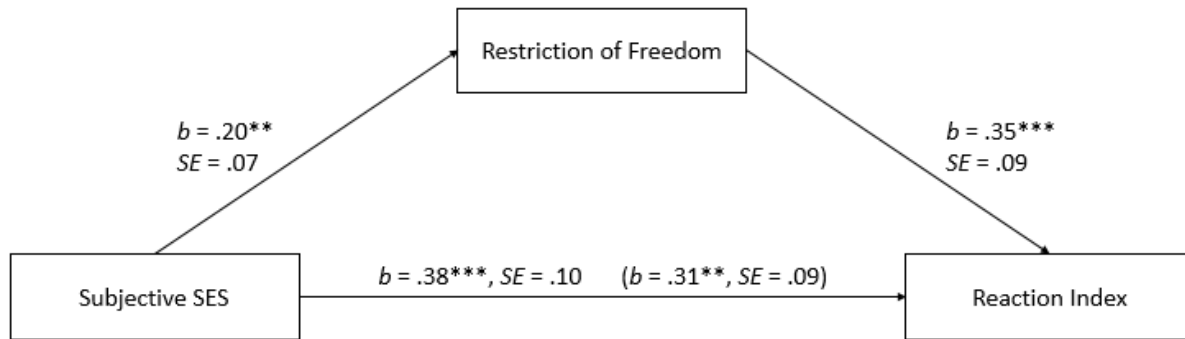
Figure 1. Regression coefficients for the relationship between subjective SES and the composite index of choice demand and acceptance as mediated by perceived restriction of personal freedoms. Coefficients indicating the relationship between subjective SES and the composite index after controlling for perceived restrictions of freedoms are given in parentheses. ** *p* < .01, *** *p* < .001.

attainment and income). Furthermore, subjectively higher SES individuals felt more restricted in their personal freedom, and this partially explained the association between SES and greater emphasis on personal choice demand over acceptance. By eliminating possible confounding by hierarchy, these results further support the theory that lower SES contexts lead to a conjoint concept of agency with an emphasis on others rather than merely on the individual self, while opportunity-rich higher SES contexts promote a disjoint model of agency emphasizing independence, autonomy, and choice.

Objective and Subjective SES

Our findings are consistent with the argument that subjective perception of social status, as opposed to socially consensual understanding of status, influences the perception of personal control over the environment (Kraus et al., 2009). Indeed, compared to objective SES measurements (i.e., educational attainment and income), subjective SES was a significantly better predictor of how likely participants would be to accept a choice made on their behalf or to demand personal choice. This provides further evidence for the recent claim in the social class literature that highlights problems with objective indicators of class (e.g., Liu et al., 2004; Oakes & Rossi, 2003).

In line with previous research, income as an objective measure of SES explained variation in reactions to choice deprivation. However, income and subjective SES were highly intercorrelated (r(239) = .50, p < .001), and our results suggest that subjective SES can explain additional variance in reactions to choice deprivation on top of the variance explained commonly by income and subjective SES. Therefore, subjective SES would seem to be a more useful predictor of responses to choice deprivation.

Contrasting previous research, education was not a good predictor of reactions to choice deprivation. This is surprising, as educational attainment has been shown to be associated with economic outcomes, social and psychological resources, and fewer health risk behaviors (Ross & Wu, 1995; Day & Newburger, 2002). However, despite finding other

SES effects, previous research using M Turk samples could also not find educational attainment effects (Varnum, 2015). Interestingly, while (according to the 2015 Census Report [Ryan & Bauman, 2016]) on average 33% of the US population holds a BA degree or higher, in our sample 59.6% of the participants reported holding a BA degree or higher. Although this sampling bias might mask an existing link between educational attainment and reactions to choice deprivation, other reasons for the nonsignificance of this association might exist and be revealed in future investigations on this issue.

Future Directions and Limitations

There are some limitations worth noting. First, because this research is correlational in nature, it cannot shed light on questions about causation. It is likely that socioeconomic status and concepts of agency both affect each other: parents teach their children their social classes' culture and the "right" way to behave, thereby fostering a specific model of agency in them (Lareau, 2003; Miller, Cho, & Bracey, 2005). By endorsing this model and behaving accordingly, people sustain their social class culture. To understand the link between SES and agency, it would be interesting to investigate whether concepts of agency change when an individual's SES rises or sinks. In addition, to extend these findings, we look forward to experimental manipulations of perceptions of socioeconomic status, which could be utilized to establish causal links with acceptance of a group member's choice, personal choice demand, and restriction on freedom. Second, this research reveals one factor that plays a role in explaining why SES differences exist in reactions to choice deprivation, namely perceived restriction on personal freedom. Although a demonstration of how feelings of restricted freedom relate to choice behavior would be worthwhile, future research should specify and examine empirically other underlying sources of and purposes for accepting someone else's decision or demanding choice. Finally, it would be interesting to investigate how people evaluate a target person who accepts a choice by another in-group member. Because this behavior is normative among individuals supporting a conjoint model of agency, lower SES individuals might evaluate the target person positively, whereas higher SES individuals might give a negative evaluation. On the other hand, reflecting the predominance of the disjoint model of agency in mainstream American contexts, the target person might be evaluated negatively independent of the evaluator's social status. A study by Stephens, Hamedani, Markus, Bergsieker, and Eloul (2009), which investigated North Americans' reactions to survivors of Hurricane Katrina, supports the latter possibility.

Conclusions

To our knowledge, this research is the first to investigate the impact of socioeconomic status differences in reactions to a social situation in which a group member decides for the entire group, thereby depriving other group members of personal choice. Using situations that occur frequently in daily life, we provide further evidence for the assumption that socioeconomic status affects models of agency and reactions to choice.

Despite increasing inequalities within the United States, the belief that anyone, regardless of his or her social status, can become successful, rich, and famous if he or she

works hard is still proudly cherished. However, to make this dream realistic, the system needs to change insofar that it should allow individuals from low SES contexts to succeed in American society. Therefore, addressing the psychological consequences of SES contexts, such as models of agency, is of extreme importance (see also Stephens, Fryberg, & Markus, 2012). Research helps to recognize the existing bias against low SES contexts and shows ways to avoid such biases. We believe that, despite their limitations, the current findings contribute to this line of research and promote a broader understanding of the influence of social status on individuals' psychological processes, particularly how individuals' perceptions of themselves in relation to others lead to behavior in social situations.

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'Team Australia?': Understanding Acculturation From Multiple Perspectives

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Abstract

In this paper we explore mutual acculturation among Australians from Indigenous, majority, immigrant and refugee backgrounds. Our aims were: to develop Berry's acculturation scales for use in Australia and from multiple perspectives and to explore acculturation expectations and strategies from these multiple perspectives. We conducted in-depth interviews (*n* = 38) in Perth, Western Australia. We investigated participants' views, guided by the two dimensions underlying Berry's model of acculturation: cultural maintenance and intercultural contact, and models of culture learning. We found that participants had different acculturation expectations for different groups, as well as different preferred strategies for themselves, although most indicated a preference for integration. In particular, the extent to which groups were seen as voluntary to intercultural contact was regarded as an important factor; participants had considerably different expectations of Indigenous Australians than for immigrants to Australia. This was consistent with the strategies of most immigrant participants who regarded the responsibility for integrating as resting with them by virtue of their decision to migrate. The findings highlight the importance of the multi-way approach to investigating acculturation in multiethnic and post-colonial societies such as Australia and have been used to develop acculturation scales for future quantitative studies.

Keywords: acculturation; mutual acculturation; Indigenous; immigrant; majority; Australia

'Team Australia?': Understanding Acculturation From Multiple Perspectives

"Everyone has got to put this country, its interests, its values and its people first, and you don't migrate to this country unless you want to join our team"
Tony Abbott, interviewed on 2GB radio 18, August, 2014

Former Australian Prime Minister Tony Abbot exhorted immigrants to Australia to 'join our team,' a popular theme in political discourse that emphasizes migrants fitting in and contributing to (white, Anglo-European) Australian society. Minus the political rhetoric, this focus on how migrants approach acculturation after settlement also has characterized much of previous acculturation research. That is, the emphasis has been typically on migrant-non-migrant relations, accenting the migrants' responsibility for cultural change and accommodation in order to fit in with the 'host' culture. Only recently has research begun to address how members of the host culture might approach the process of cultural change resulting from increasing ethnic diversity. Moreover, this 'mutual acculturation' takes place within a complex context of intergroup relations in societies like Australia, in which there is also a significant Indigenous minority whose views have rarely been canvassed in acculturation research. In our research program we aim to address these gaps, and in this paper we present findings from a preliminary step toward this goal: to adapt Berry's acculturation scales for use in Australia by using a multi-way approach to acculturation from the perspectives of Australians from Indigenous, majority, immigrant and refugee backgrounds.

Conceptual Framework

This study was a pilot for an Australian national survey as part of the Mutual Intercultural Relations in Plural Societies (MIRIPS) international project. Researchers from countries including Canada, Finland, Germany and Russia utilize a common research framework (Berry's acculturation model, described below) and research instrument to examine intercultural relations, their predictors and outcomes. This enables the investigation of patterns of relationships across different policy, socio-economic and intergroup contexts.

In the MIRIPS project, measures are adapted to the local context. To do this we drew upon Berry's (2001) acculturation framework in which intercultural relations are viewed as mutual, and people's intercultural strategies are based on two underlying issues: (1) the degree to which there is a desire to maintain the group's culture and identity; and (2) the degree to which there is a desire to engage in daily interactions with other ethnocultural groups in the larger society, including the majority. We also explored the second dimension operationalised as 'culture adoption,' which is how it has been conceptualised in many studies (Berry & Sabatier, 2011). In addition, we drew upon the culture learning framework (see Masgoret & Ward, 2006) such that we explored participants' desire to acquire

intercultural knowledge and skills in order to navigate intercultural contact. Finally, we considered all of these acculturation dimensions (maintenance, adoption, learning/shedding and contact) in relation to both: intercultural *strategies*, which we conceptualised as the approaches an individual or group might adopt as their orientation with regard to their own culture; and intercultural *expectations*, preferences for how others might (or should) approach acculturation.

The Australian Context

The Australian government introduced multicultural policy in 1978, but Australia was culturally diverse prior to British colonization: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples[1] comprised over 500 clan groups, with over 250 distinct language groups, at the time of White settlement (Dudgeon, Wright, Paradies, Garvey, & Walker, 2010). Clan groups had separate territories, laws and systems. Nonetheless, there are common features among the cultures of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders in terms of the importance of the land ('Country') and their relationship to it, spiritual beliefs ('Dreaming') and their social and kinship systems (Dudgeon et al., 2010). More recently, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders have shared political goals and identity, in a broad sense, because of their common history of oppression and in their pursuit of recognition by non-Indigenous Australians: a) as Australia's First Peoples, and b) of the negative impacts of colonization and post-colonial practices and policies.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders have lived in Australia for at least 50,000 years. Unlike immigrants, they were not voluntary participants in intercultural contact but were colonized by force by the British in 1788. The impact of British colonization (invasion) was profoundly negative, pervasive and enduring. Currently, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders are significantly disadvantaged in terms of health, education and employment outcomes relative to non-Indigenous Australians (Dudgeon et al., 2010; Mellor, Bretherton, & Firth, 2007).

Political activism among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders came to the fore in the 1970s, partly in response to the changes enacted as a result of the 1967 Commonwealth Referendum. This resulted in a self-determination movement which continues to the present, and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders have some degree of choice regarding how much to engage with non-Indigenous Australia. Recently, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders have proposed constitutional reform and the implementation of a process toward agreement-making (treaty) with governments (Referendum Council: Indigenous Steering Committee, 2017).

To promote population and economic growth, Australia has a substantial immigration

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[1] In general, we use the term 'Indigenous' to refer to Indigenous peoples (original inhabitants) worldwide. To refer to Australian Indigenous groups we use 'Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders' or more specific Nation or language groups such as Noongar. Our sample did not include people who identified as Torres Strait Islander so we refer to our participants as 'Aboriginal.'

program. In the early days, the intent was to maintain a predominantly white, European population; however, since the 1970s the ethnic and linguistic diversity of new immigrants has increased (Jupp, 2002), and in 1978 the government adopted a policy of multiculturalism. The approach had previously been one of assimilation, but there was increasing pressure from minority ethnic communities to be supported to maintain their languages and cultures (Jupp, 2002). Statistics from the last census show that approximately 28% of Australians were born overseas, and a further 20% has at least one parent born overseas (Australian Bureau of Statistics [ABS], 2016). In addition, since 1901 at least 750,000 refugees have settled in Australia (Refugee Council of Australia [RCOA], 2012), with 13,750 places for Humanitarian Entrants each year[2] (Department of Immigration and Border Protection [DIBP], 2016). Finally, Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islanders comprise 3% of the population (3.7% in Western Australia; ABS, 2013).

Research on Mutual Acculturation

Acculturation has been the subject of much research in the past 40 years, but there are two notable gaps in the literature: 1) the views of non-immigrant, and specifically Indigenous, groups have been neglected (Stonefish & Kwantes, 2017); 2) studies in which majority members' perspectives have been canvassed have focused on their expectations of immigrants rather than how they themselves approach cultural change resulting from intercultural contact (Haugen & Kunst, 2017). Thus, the *mutuality* of acculturation remains understudied. What we do know from past research is that immigrants usually report a preference for integration (Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Horenczyk, & Schmitz, 2003), whereas in some contexts, majority members are more likely to prefer immigrants to assimilate (Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2003). Differences can result in discordant or conflictual acculturation orientations and contribute to intergroup tensions (Bourhis et al., 1997). Majority members' preferred acculturation strategies seem to be separation and integration (Haugen & Kunst, 2017), but the research on this is scarce.

The little research conducted with Indigenous peoples suggests a preference for integration (Stonefish & Kwantes, 2017) and, in some cases, separation (Tonkinson & Tonkinson, 2010). Indigenous community members consistently report a strong desire for cultural maintenance or, more precisely, the rediscovery and revitalisation of heritage cultural practices and beliefs, lost due to colonisation and forced assimilation (Stonefish & Kwantes, 2017). Some authors (e.g., Garrett & Pichette, 2000) refer to this as 'pan-traditionalism,' an active process of selecting elements of the heritage culture to maintain and strengthen.

Relatively little is known about mutual acculturation in the Australian context. Findings from past research suggest that most immigrants to Australia endorse integration (e.g., Abu-Rayya, & Sam, 2017; Sam, Vedder, Ward, & Horenczyk, 2006), although some groups demonstrate a preference for separation (Lu, Samaratunge, & Härtel, 2011). Research from

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[2] A commitment to accept an additional 12,000 refugees from Syria and Iraq was made in September 2015.

the international ethnocultural youth project (see Berry et al., 2006) revealed that the acculturation profiles for Australian minority youth were: integration, 51.1%; assimilation, 24.9%; separation, 8.5%; and marginalisation, 15.6%.

Acculturation research with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders is rare, although early work by Berry (1970) identified moderate levels of marginalization among Aboriginal Australians in a community in New South Wales. More recently, Tonkinson and Tonkinson (2010) found an acculturation preference for separation among the Mardu[3] Desert people, with a strong emphasis on culture and language maintenance. Consistent with findings with Native Canadians (Stonefish & Kwantes, 2017), research on reconciliation has demonstrated that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders have a strong desire for cultural maintenance, as well as recognition[4] of their unique status as the first peoples of the nation and of their sovereignty of the land. The *Uluru Statement from the Heart* from the 2017 First Nations National Constitutional Convention suggests a preference for self-determination among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities, alongside engagement with non-Indigenous Australia toward 'agreement-making' (treaty) and constitutional reform (Referendum Council's Indigenous Steering Committee, 2017).

Finally, relatively little is known about acculturation strategies or expectations among majority Australians. Past research has demonstrated strong support for cultural maintenance by immigrants (Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2010) and preferences for integration in general (e.g., Abu-Rayya & White, 2010). However, their views on how they might change in response to the increasing diversity of Australia (own acculturation) remain unexplored. Moreover, research with immigrants has tended to focus on their strategies in relation to the dominant or mainstream Australian culture: it is unclear how they perceive intercultural relations with or their acculturation expectations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders.

Summary and Research Aims

There is a need to investigate current attitudes toward acculturation – expectations of other groups and for one's own group – in the Australian context. This will contribute data from the Australian experience to the development of intercultural relations theory, as well as reveal more about contemporary intergroup relations in Australia. Our aims in this paper were twofold:

1. To develop Berry's acculturation scales for use in the Australian context and from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander, majority, migrant and refugee perspectives.
2. To explore Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander, majority, migrant and refugee perspectives on acculturation expectations and strategies, adopting a multi-way approach to acculturation.

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[3] Also spelled as *Martu*.
[4] For many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders recognition is more than symbolic acknowledgement but includes constitutional recognition and legal rights to land and sea.

To our knowledge, this is the first study to examine these multiple perspectives on acculturation simultaneously.

Method

Participants

We used purposeful sampling: deliberately sampling from people living in Perth who identified as Aboriginal or majority (British heritage) Australian, or Australian from an immigrant (Indian or Chinese) or refugee background. Additional aims were to achieve approximately equal numbers of men and women and to sample a good representation of ages.

There were 38 participants (16 male and 22 female) recruited through personal networks and by third parties. Aboriginal participants (n = 10; 5 male, 5 female; M age = 40.80, SD = 16.50, range = 21 to 73 years) were self-identified. The majority identified as Noongar (from the southwest of Western Australia including Perth) but also from the neighbouring nations/clan groups of the Yamatji and Wongatha language groups.

Twelve participants were majority Australians, defined as Australian-born from a British cultural background or born in the UK (but long-term resident in Australia). There were six women and six men (M age = 47.92, SD = 18.71, range = 22 to 80 years). Four were born in the UK and had lived in Australia for 36 years, on average (SD = 8.35). Ten participants had migrated to Australia under the Skilled and Family Reunion Programme ('migrants'; five each from Indian and Chinese backgrounds; 7 female and 3 male; M age = 51.70; SD = 16.53, range = 24 to 70 years), and six participants had settled in Australia as part of the Humanitarian Programme ('refugees'; two male; four female; M age = 40.33, SD = 17.50, range = 21 to 65 years). Participants who came as Humanitarian Entrants were from Afghanistan, Iran and Sudan. All migrant and refugee participants had been living in Australia for at least two years (M = 11.06 years, SD = 8.15).

Measures

Participants completed a demographic questionnaire and participated in an individual, semi-structured interview. Interviews ranged in duration from 21 to 81 minutes (approximately 50 minutes on average)[5]. Based on the acculturation frameworks outlined earlier, the interview questions covered the topics: cultural background and identity; experiences settling in Australia (for migrants' and refugees); own acculturation including desire for cultural maintenance, intercultural contact, learning about other cultural groups and cultural adoption; and views on the acculturation of others (Aboriginal, migrant, refugee, majority; according to interviewee background). As discussed in more detail in the Results section, Aboriginal participants were not asked about adapting to Anglo-Australian society or culture because this was considered culturally insensitive.

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[5] One interview included more than one participant, i.e., a married couple was interviewed together, which was their preference.

Procedure

First, we consulted with Aboriginal Elders and researchers to develop the research proposal with their input and assistance. We then obtained approval from the university's Human Research Ethics Committee. Interviews were conducted in Perth and by the first author, with the exception of interviews with Aboriginal participants, which were conducted by the third author, a Noongar woman. This approach was to ensure cultural sensitivity, reduce power inequalities between researcher and participant and enhance cultural security for Aboriginal participants (Mellor et al., 2007). Moreover, it aligns with the university's standards for the ethical conduct of research with Aboriginal people. We included other methods to enhance methodological rigour, such as use of a common interview guide and audit trail and frequent discussion of themes and their interpretation among the three researchers (Smith, 2015).

To recruit majority, immigrant and refugee participants from a range of backgrounds and ages, organisations such as local government authorities and multicultural service organisations were approached to advertise the project. Additional participants were recruited through personal contacts of the researchers and through snowballing. Potential participants were provided with a copy of the Information letter and consent form via email or in person. Those interested in participating contacted the relevant researcher.

The interviews were conducted in participants' homes, workplaces or a university library and were audio-recorded for transcription. Prior to commencement of the interview, the researcher provided an additional copy of the Information letter, reiterated the main aims and procedure of the research and answered any questions the participant had. The participants then completed the consent form and demographic questionnaire and gave consent for the audio-recording of the interview. The interview commenced with general questions regarding the person's cultural background and/or immigration history before proceeding to the main topics of the interview. Participants were given a $20 store voucher to reimburse them for their travel and time.

With the exception of the Aboriginal participants' interviews, which were transcribed by the third author, the audio-recordings were transcribed verbatim by a professional transcription service, which included removal of potential identifying information. The transcripts were then imported into QSR NVivo 11 for analysis. Analysis began with coding according to the main topics of interest (e.g., own acculturation, further divided into maintenance, learning, adoption, mixing), then progressed to a second-pass analysis of key themes arising within and across topics and identification of new themes arising from the interviews (inductive analysis). Additional note was taken of similarities and differences in acculturation expectations of different groups. The analysis was conducted primarily by the first author, but the coding and interpretation of themes were cross-checked by the second and third authors to enhance interpretative rigour of the analysis.

Results

In the section below we address: firstly, findings relevant to the development and refinement of acculturation items for use in the Australian context; and secondly, substantive findings of the exploration of Australians' acculturation expectations and strategies. The latter are preliminary findings, given that this is a small sample restricted to residents of Perth, Western Australia.

Aim 1: Measuring Acculturation in the Australian Context

As described earlier, our approach was informed by the two dimensions underlying Berry's (2001) mutual acculturation model: desire for both maintenance of heritage culture and contact with other groups. In addition, we included questions regarding learning about and adopting aspects of other cultures, based on culture learning approaches and because various researchers have conceptualised Berry's second acculturation dimension as adoption of the new, host culture (Berry & Sabatier, 2011). Our questions were based on all of these acculturation dimensions in relation to both: intercultural *strategies*, which we conceptualised as the approaches an individual or group might adopt as their orientation with regard to their own culture; and intercultural *expectations*, preferences for how others might (or should) approach acculturation. These were addressed in turn for each of the other groups (Aboriginal, majority, migrant and refugee).

Thus we began with a lengthy, semi-structured interview schedule. This was then modified for Aboriginal participants, in consultation with senior Aboriginal researchers, an approach that is consistent with protocols for ethical research with Aboriginal and Islander communities (Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, 2012). Consequently, Aboriginal participants were not asked about adapting to majority Australian society or culture because this was considered culturally insensitive given the history and impact of British colonisation. Reconciliation with non-Indigenous Australians was seen as a more appropriate way to frame discussion and this topic came up in the interviews when discussing cultural maintenance, the need for others to learn about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures and the history of Indigenous-non-Indigenous relations in Australia. In addition, we asked Aboriginal (and migrant and refugee) participants if they experienced any challenges in maintaining their heritage cultures.

Through the process of interviewing, it became evident that the wording of survey items would influence participants' responses. For example, there was varied interpretation of terms such as 'should,' 'accommodate' and 'adapt' in the context of mutual acculturation, and participants often queried what was meant by these terms. They also frequently resisted endorsement of any statement that entailed obligation, for themselves or others, particularly for questions relating to intercultural contact or cultural adoption ('should majority Australians make efforts to interact more with Aboriginal cultures?'). Most participants did not think intercultural mixing should be forced, believing this would make it unnatural and defeat the purpose. Wording such as 'is it important for …?' seemed to be preferable.

Interview topics were addressed in the same order, in most cases, and this raises the issue of potential order effects. That is, we began all our interviews with questions about the person's cultural background, identity and own acculturation, and the resultant transcripts typically contained more content on those topics and less about later topics, which might be due to participant fatigue. The exception to this was majority Australians, who said little about own acculturation (see subsequent section) but considerably more about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders. This revealed another potential order effect introduced by our method of discussing each group in turn: when participants were discussing a subsequent group they tended to contrast their views with those they had expressed earlier. The first 'other' group they had discussed then became an anchor – in addition to their own acculturation strategy – for views on other groups (e.g., concluding that cultural maintenance is not as important for migrants as it is for Aboriginal Australians). Clearly, survey items need to be counter-balanced in subsequent administration of the multi-way measure.

Aim 2: Aboriginal, Majority, Migrant and Refugee Perspectives on Acculturation Expectations and Strategies

These findings are structured such that the main themes of participants' preferred approach to their own acculturation and views on intercultural relations are addressed first, followed by the primary themes of acculturation expectations of other groups. In the latter section we highlight some intergroup perspectives because a full multi-way analysis is beyond the scope of this paper. Consistent with the qualitative approach we include some interpretation and links to literature here, which are followed up in the Discussion.

Own acculturation

The majority of our **Aboriginal** (Noongar) participants stated a desire for cultural maintenance (and re-discovery, in some cases) alongside a desire to interact with others, indicating an integration acculturation orientation. Intercultural mixing was seen as a way to facilitate learning about each other's cultures, leading to understanding and mutual respect.

> *I think it's very important, and particularly that it's a two-way learning process… often they [majority Australians] come from a basis of ignorance and it's about sitting down and yarning[6] with them and explaining how we do things, why we celebrate things.*

However, one participant's response, when asked about mixing with migrants and refugees, reflected a separation approach ("*I got no problem with 'em, as long as they stay away from me and stay out of my way, I'll stay out of theirs").* This orientation is not surprising given the history of Indigenous/non-Indigenous relations in Australia, and, in particular, past policy and practices of forced assimilation which resulted in significant culture loss. Following from this,

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[6]   Yarning is a term in Aboriginal English which refers to informal conversation in which information is exchanged or people or events are discussed. It is open and responsive in the context of the situation or particular conversation.

cultural survival was a strong theme for these participants rather than maintenance, and participants spoke of their fears that their cultures would be lost in Australian multiculturalism:

> *… we are a multicultural society and our culture sometimes can be blended and sometimes distorted. So it's important we maintain our own self-identity and our own integrity, and continue to pass on our cultural beliefs and understanding.*

Elements of culture participants were particularly keen to maintain included language, and they emphasised the importance of maintaining connection to the land ('Country'), knowledge about the land and traditional spiritual beliefs. Consistent with findings with other Indigenous peoples (Kvernmo, 2006; Stonefish & Kwantes, 2017), some participants reported a drive to re-discover and re-invigorate their heritage culture in order to ensure that languages, culture and beliefs are passed on to future generations.

Participants also spoke of the challenges of maintaining traditional cultural practices, away from Country and in an urban environment:

> *I don't know how we'd go in the middle of Perth at any time, to do what we do, you know? Sometimes I go past and I think, wonder what they'd say if I suddenly sat down in the middle of the freeway there and started cooking in coals, and singing my language songs and whatever.*

Fears about culture loss are not uncommon for groups who are less dominant in intercultural contact, although they might be stronger among Indigenous peoples (Kvernmo, 2006).

In stark contrast to the views of Aboriginal Australian, participants in the **majority Australian** group had no strong desire for cultural maintenance. They indicated there was no real need, given their cultural, economic and political dominance within the Australian context. As one said *"That's [British history] what's taught in schools… it's sort of what the norm is."* This might also reflect a lack of consensus and dispute about what (Anglo-) Australian culture is (Fiske, Hodge, & Taylor, 2017) and ambivalence about our British heritage.

Participants from **Chinese and Indian backgrounds** (first generation) generally reported a preference for integration. For example, one participant said:

> *I think that goes back to our identity. It is important to integrate into the mainstream because it helps us but on the other hand I think we can live our lives with all the values and with what we have been born and brought up with... losing those will be like losing my own identity.*

However, some – particularly Chinese Australian women – tended more toward assimilation, and emphasised that it was their responsibility to 'fit in' (*"I think it's a balance… My policy is, do as the Romans do it, you are living there"*). Nonetheless, participants reported a variety

of ways in which they maintained their culture and connection to their cultural identity, including through language, food/cooking, recreational and spiritual activities, significant cultural events (e.g., Chinese New Year).

Migrant participants also indicated it was important to make friends outside of their cultural group, and they saw this as critical feature of integrating and developing a sense of belonging to the local and/or national community, as well as to combat the social isolation many new immigrants experience. However, not all had success in this regard and some spoke of the difficulties in getting to know people from other cultural groups, particularly majority and Aboriginal Australians

> *("It's [mixing] totally important, but it is actually important to the minor groups like Aboriginal, women, migrants… when you live in a dominant culture you don't feel you need to do that… They [the dominant culture] have no problem because they live in this dominant culture… they can mix with anybody.." and "I have some Japanese friend, and Chinese friends and locals… not so many. I mean local is Australian but not many, yeah").*

One of the barriers to mixing with majority Australians was the Australian drinking culture, which meant that social activities with one's work colleagues and others would take place at 'the pub' ('public house,' where alcohol is served) and involved drinking ("*because the Australian, they like to go drinking*"), which made some participants uncomfortable or prevented their attendance. Participants also recognised that the historical oppression of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders and their ongoing social and economic disadvantage might make some reluctant or unable to engage with members of other cultural groups.

The acculturation orientations of participants from **refugee backgrounds** shared some similarities with those of Aboriginal Australians and immigrants; whilst there was a general pattern of an integration approach ("*we want to keep our culture but we want to learn the people's culture as well*"), they spoke of cultural survival like the Aboriginal participants. Some described their culture as "all they had," reflecting the circumstance of settling with very few material possessions and/or family support. Others also indicated an orientation akin to assimilation ("*In my opinion, when we go to live in other countries, we have to respect their system, their law and their people*)" or were simply getting on with the challenges of daily life, including the settlement challenges of finding work.

Learning about and adapting to other cultures

All participants saw value in learning about others' cultures but were less supportive of personally adapting to or making changes to accommodate others' cultures. Here there were two interesting patterns in responses: 1) immigrants and refugees regarded it as more their responsibility to adapt and change, rather than that of majority and Aboriginal people, as reported earlier; 2) participants from the majority and Aboriginal groups regarded learning about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures as particularly important. This was the subject of considerable discussion in interviews with majority Australians and their responses were qualitatively different than those for majority-migrant relations because they

referred to themes of relevance ("*Because this is where we live, it's the real story*") and moral obligation ("*and we took their land and we continually take their land. And if we are doing that then we need to understand where they're coming from and why they may get upset when try to take sacred land … to put an oil rig on, or something*").

The expression of guilt has been observed by other authors in examining white Australians' attitudes to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders and Australia's colonial past (e.g., Williams, 2000). It is also possible that social desirability bias played a role in our participants' responses. Further investigation using an anonymous online survey would enable the validity of these findings to be tested.

In contrast, whilst many majority Australians regarded learning about non-Indigenous minority cultures as important because it would increase understanding and empathy, they did not see it as a priority or obligation. Rather it was something that one could do if one was interested, or "in an ideal world."

Aboriginal participants said that it was important for immigrants and refugees to learn about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders in order to gain an alternative perspective to the dominant Australian culture:

> *It's important not to just subscribe to the dominant culture which has been the white culture in Australia and so you can build a respect and knowledge of other people's culture that's gonna have a positive benefit not just for yourself but for them.*

> *I think that the first point they [migrants and refugees] should learn about, not about the Australian flag or anything like that, it should be Aboriginal culture and Torres Strait Islander because there is, many things, negative things are said about those, the first people and that's what they hear firsthand.*

Consistent with this, many immigrant Australian participants reported that their knowledge of Aboriginal cultures was very limited and they had heard predominantly negative things ("*the only thing I have learnt about from all Aussies is negative, you know*?"). Participants from refugee backgrounds also reported they did not know enough about Aboriginal cultures *("I feel like we've learnt a lot about it, education wise, but we haven't learnt a lot about it in real life"*). However, although they recognised the value of learning about Aboriginal cultures our immigrant participants saw learning about the majority and adapting to the dominant culture ("fitting in") as more important.

Acculturation Expectations

Consistent with the patterns observed for learning about and adapting to other cultures, our participants reported differing expectations of how other groups should approach acculturation. In general, there was a trend of preferring integration, particularly when viewed by majority Australians with regard to immigrants and refugees. Whilst cultural

maintenance was supported ("*it's very important to keep that connection to wherever you're from*"), this was tempered by comments regarding the need for migrants to also adopt aspects of Australian culture

> ("*but you've got to change a little bit, just to like, fit in, well, not fit in but to keep everyone happy*" and "*but I find it very important that they accommodate change and become part of society at large, and certainly, learn the language*").

The same cannot be said for majority Australians' views on how Indigenous communities might approach acculturation. They recognised that colonisation and subsequent assimilationist policies had forced Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders to adapt to British culture, and they thought that any reluctance to engage with majority Australians was understandable ("*who can expect that? Unless the white Australian community is available, and it isn't, and it never has been then yeah...There's gotta be another way*"). However, some majority Australians thought that Aboriginal people could (and should) make more effort to integrate, and this would provide them with more opportunities for employment and socio-economic advancement. This was a view shared by some Australians from immigrant backgrounds who indicated they supported cultural maintenance among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders, but it should be balanced with participation in mainstream society ("*for everybody, it's good to maintain their culture but it's also good to step out to know other people's culture*").

Our Aboriginal, immigrant and refugee participants disagreed with regard to how much effort majority Australians should make to adapt to or accommodate the cultures of others living in our diverse society. Not surprisingly, Aboriginal participants stressed that majority Australians should learn more about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures and recognise they were the original inhabitants. Learning was thought to bring understanding and empathy, and Aboriginal participants indicated they hoped that learning and interacting would dispel negative stereotypes, for example one participant said:

> *Yes, I think Anglo White Australian need to have a very strong understanding of our culture, our history because there is are a lot of myths out there about Aboriginal people they see us sitting in the parks - they don't know why we're there and they form views of us that are very negative and if they actually sat down and had a yarn with one of those people to find out who they are where there from and why they're there they might have a bit more empathy towards us. So they need to -- they need to need to learn at an individual level, family and community level and that will assist them in understanding our circumstances and wh-, why we are where we are.*

In contrast, whilst most immigrant participants regarded learning about others' cultures as an important feature of the mutuality of acculturation,

("It's a two-way process isn't it? It is a two-way process because the migrant comes into the country and you're learning about it/ then the host country got to really learn about it and have a wider understanding, so these two can come together")

they had mixed views on the extent to which majority Australians should change or adapt to migrants' and refugees' cultures

("No I don't think they need to adapt. But if they're interested in knowing what you do just of out of curiosity or plain interest then sure, but they definitely don't have to adapt. This is Australia, we need to adapt to them").

This was consistent with the view, described earlier, that it is primarily migrants' responsibility to 'fit in' and adjust. Similar views were expressed by participants from refugee backgrounds *("if they want to. I mean, you can't shove it down their throats")* and some emphasised the freedom (and plurality) of Australia *("I don't feel they should have to change their ways because of somebody else's culture. At the end of the day, Australia's a free country")*.

Discussion

In this study we explored acculturation strategies and expectations from the perspectives of Australians from Aboriginal, majority, immigrant and refugee backgrounds and utilising multi-way perspective. An additional aim was to develop mutual acculturation survey items for use in the Australian context and with these multiple groups. Consulting with Aboriginal Elders and engaging Aboriginal researchers enhanced the cultural appropriateness of our interviews and analysis, which in turn informed the development of culturally sensitive mutual acculturation items. Our interviews also taught us the significance and varied interpretation of terms such as 'should,' 'accommodate' and 'adapt' in the context of mutual acculturation. Finally, our interview experience highlighted the potential for order effects when repeating intergroup comparisons in a multi-way approach. These were valuable observations that will inform our national study of mutual acculturation in Australia.

Exploring acculturations strategies and expectations we found general preferences for integration as an acculturation orientation, for participants themselves and for others. The majority of participants valued diversity and intercultural contact. However, some participants' responses implied a personal orientation toward separation (Aboriginal) or assimilation (immigrant Australian). Discordant acculturation orientations, in which there is a mismatch between a group's preferred strategy and what is expected by others, can create intergroup tensions (Bourhis et al., 1997). The potential for this is deserving of further research in the Australian context.

Variations in the acculturation expectations of others demonstrated the complexity of intergroup relations in post-colonial contexts such as Australia. Recognition of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders as the country's original inhabitants and of their past oppression and forced assimilation weighed heavily in discussions of present day 'mutual acculturation.'

This was particularly the case for Aboriginal and majority Australian participants, and it affected their perspectives on who should learn and change, and how much, in the process of mutual acculturation. Similar 'privilege' was not afforded to migrant Australians, and it was a consensual view (shared also by migrants themselves) that they should carry the primary responsibility for adaptation and change because they had chosen to migrate. Taken together, these different perspectives highlight the value of the multi-way approach.

We do not claim that these findings are definitive nor are they representative of the Australian context more broadly. Our sample is small, English-speaking and largely one of convenience. It is also Perth-based, and it is known that local intergroup conditions and history can influence intercultural orientations. For example, the percentage of Western Australian people who identify as Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander is higher than in many other Australian states, at 3.7% compared with 3% nationally (ABS, 2013). Nonetheless, we would argue that the findings provide a snapshot of mutual acculturation in Australia, deserving of further investigation.

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Localised Differences in the Conception of Cultural and Economic Security: Examining the Multiculturalism Hypothesis in Singapore

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Abstract

This study examines the multiculturalism hypothesis (Berry, Kalin, & Taylor, 1977) in Singapore, a multi-racial nation steeped in Asian-Confucian culture, in an attempt to distil the underlying constructs of cultural and economic security. Using a nationally representative sample of 924 native-born Singapore citizens, we examined whether national pride, family ties and economic optimism mitigated the effect of realistic and symbolic threat on attitude toward number of immigrants. The results showed that, paradoxically, stronger family ties predicted less acceptance of immigrants but buffered against perceived realistic threat. More economic optimism predicted more acceptance of immigrants but also made one more sensitive to symbolic threats. National pride had no effect on one's receptivity towards immigrants, nor did it interact with threat. Possible reasons for these findings were discussed with reference to Singapore's unique culture, history and view towards immigration. Future study on the multiculturalism hypothesis should consider the particular cultural context of the site of study, instead of assuming a one-size-fit-all approach.

Localised Differences in the Conception of Cultural and Economic Security: Examining the Multiculturalism Hypothesis in Singapore

In an increasingly globalized world where plural societies are the norm rather than the exception, all countries will eventually grapple with the reality of ethno-cultural pluralism. In communities with a "multiculturalism" orientation (Berry, 1997), diverse cultures co-exist harmoniously, and all groups participate equally in society at large with mutual acceptance and understanding. This acculturative philosophy stands in contrast with the "melting pot" model, where non-dominant groups assimilate themselves into a singular, mainstream culture practiced in the host society.

Multiculturalism in general is seen to be the ideal approach as it celebrates diversity, allowing minority groups to flourish. Maintenance of cultural heritage coupled with engagement with the majority – also known as an "integration" acculturative strategy (Berry, 1997) – is associated with positive outcomes for minority group members such as lower acculturative distress (Scottham & Dias, 2010), higher self-esteem (Berry & Sabatier, 2010; Nigbur et al., 2008; Wang, Schwartz, & Zamboanga, 2010) and improved life satisfaction (Pfafferott & Brown, 2006).

However, the benefits of multiculturalism are less clear for majority group members. The host majority inherently enjoys certain privileges and higher status thanks to their numerical dominance and (in most cases) historical legacy. The presence of multiple minority groups, with each maintaining their separate cultures, may be seen as infringing on these advantages and threatens the majority's group identity and status position (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006). Studies on acculturative attitudes have shown that even though the majority group members may be in favour of integration, they are also equally or more pleased when minorities adopt an "assimilation" approach – participation in the host society without necessarily maintaining their own ethnic heritage (Berry, 1997; van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998). Thus, for the dominant group, the minority group's engagement with the host culture is more of a concern than the latter's cultural maintenance.

The Multiculturalism Hypothesis

Under what conditions would majority group members be supportive of multiculturalism in their society? Berry, Kalin and Taylor (1977) posit that feeling secure in one's economic livelihood and socio-cultural identity will lead to one being more accepting of other groups and thus engender a more positive intergroup relation. Conversely, threats to or the lack of economic and cultural security will result in negative attitudes and intergroup hostility. This is termed the *multiculturalism hypothesis*. Socio-economic security thus serves to protect one against the perceived threats from cultural diversity, resulting in more room for tolerance, acceptance and positive attitudes toward multiculturalism.

As operationalised by Berry and colleagues (1977; Berry & Kalin, 1995), the sense of confidence necessary for accepting "others" is derived through security in both cultural and economic spheres. Cultural security refers to one's confidence that his or her cultural identity as a national of the country, or as a member of his or her ethnic group, will not be undermined as a result of increased diversity from immigration. Economic security measures one's confidence that the country's economic climate is stable and the extent that one feels that he or she is financially secure in it. If one can feel both culturally and economically secure in the face of rising immigration, the multiculturalism hypothesis predicts that he or she will exhibit more accepting and tolerant attitudes. Put another way, security buffers one against perceived threats from immigration and diversity.

The multiculturalism hypothesis has seen some empirical support. In national surveys in Canada, measures of cultural and economic security were found to be positively associated with intercultural attitudes, including multicultural ideology (Berry et al., 1977; Berry & Kalin, 1995). A similar relationship was found in Russia (Lebedeva & Tatarko, 2013), with greater sense of national identity and cultural and economic security predicting more acceptance of other cultural groups, and in Australia (Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2010) and New Zealand (Ward & Masgoret, 2008), where security had a positive correlation with endorsement of multicultural ideology. In these studies, the multiculturalism hypothesis was supported for both majority and minority group members.

Additionally, the MIRIPS (Mutual Intercultural Relations in Plural Societies) studies on host and immigrant adolescents' identity and intercultural relations have shown robust influence of cultural and economic confidence in mitigating negative attitudes toward out-groups (e.g., Galyapina & Lebedeva, 2016). Host adolescents demonstrate greater acceptance and inclusion towards immigrants when they experience a greater sense of security over their socio-economic status.

One limitation of the current literature on the multiculturalism hypothesis is that much of it defines cultural and economic security very broadly. To enable a deeper understanding and application of the multiculturalism hypothesis, more research is needed to examine the constructs of cultural and economic security. Furthermore, these variables will differ across contexts due to cultural differences. The present study seeks to close this research gap by investigating the multiculturalism hypothesis among native-born citizens in Singapore – a society rooted in Asian-Confucian values. We use attitudinal measures that are theoretically related to cultural and economic security, as elaborated in the next section.

Cultural and Economic Security

National Pride

National pride refers to the positive affect citizens feel toward their country as a result of national identity (Smith & Jarkko, 1998). Although modern nations tend to be culturally heterogeneous, a national culture often exists which shapes public discourse and behaviour. Pride in one's country then suggests a measure of satisfaction and security in one's membership in the national culture, especially among the majority group. Lebedeva and Tatarko (2013) found that among ethnic Russians in Moscow both positive national

identification and feelings of cultural and economic security promote multiculturalism. Thus, national pride can contribute to higher confidence in one's cultural identity and buffer against the threat from immigration and diversity.

On the other hand, national pride can also have an adverse effect on multicultural attitudes. Self-categorisation theory (Turner & Reynolds, 2001) posits that group identification makes one more sensitive to potential threats to the in-group. Verkuyten (2009) found evidence among native Dutch samples that stronger national identification predicts less support for immigrants and other minorities, and this relationship is mediated by greater perception of threat.

One possible reason for the mixed findings is the way in which the national identity is construed. While Verkuyten's (2009) surveys of Dutch natives in the Netherlands defined national identity as "Dutch," Lebedeva and Tatarko (2013) tested a paradigm where the Russian national identity includes larger society members. Subsequently, the former predicted negative multicultural attitudes while the latter predicted more positive ones.

Family Ties

As the earliest form of social relationship, the strength of family ties can be a source of security from the stresses of life. As primary caregivers, family members are usually the first attachment figures with whom people form close relationships. Children can form a secure or insecure attachment style with their primary caregiver depending on the style of engagement (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978; Bowlby, 1969). A secure attachment is characterized by a willingness to explore one's surrounding environment, knowing they have a secure base (i.e., their caregiver) to return to in times of need. Secure attachment is also associated with better mental health and emotional regulation (Bowlby, 1973). The better psychological adjustment and feelings of safety as a result of secure relationships with one's family members may thus allow one the psychological bandwidth for cultural acceptance. This notion has received empirical support, with secure attachment style being found to be positively related to attitudes toward integration (Hofstra, van Oudenhoven, & Buunk, 2005).

Culturally, the family is an important part of societies in what has been termed the Sinic sphere, which encompasses China, Korea, Vietnam, and other Chinese communities in South-east Asia (Huntington, 1996). They are bound by a common belief in Confucian philosophy, which teaches that the self exists in the context of the family and that the family is central to one's self-concept. This makes family ties of much greater importance to Asian-collectivist cultures than in Western-individualist cultures. While individualist cultures place greater emphasis on independence and self-achievement, collectivists place more importance on cooperation and social relationships, especially that of the family (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, 1995). In the Asian context, strong family ties thus suggest stronger cultural affinity.

In the context of Singapore especially, the importance of the family is further affirmed by policies promoting the maintenance of the family unit. Family ties are encouraged through social policies such as priority for public housing among married couples and multi-generational families (Housing & Development Board, n.d.), as well as a financial grant to

help extended families live closer together ("Grant to help extended families live close together", 2015). Singaporeans themselves recognise the importance of family, with 90% agreeing that they have a close-knit family (Ministry of Social and Family Development, 2009; "Singaporeans value families: Survey", 2015). As such, maintaining strong family ties in Singapore is likely to be linked to a more secure sense of self.

Economic Optimism

Economic optimism refers to the belief that, on a macro scale, there is room for the country to prosper and be fiscally healthy. By extension, when the country is in a strong economic state, its citizens can have faith that they will have opportunities to prosper as well. This belief directly contributes to a sense of security around one's socio-economic status and prospects. Economic security features prominently in Berry and colleagues' (1977) original study on the multiculturalism hypothesis and subsequent research based on it (e.g., Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2010; Lebedeva & Tatarko, 2013; Ward & Masgoret, 2008). It was consistently found that economic security is positively correlated with support for multiculturalism.

Further evidence that economic concerns influence attitudes toward diversity come from Esses and colleagues' Instrumental Model of Group Conflict (Esses, Jackson, & Armstrong, 1998; Esses, Jackson, Dovidio, & Hodson, 2005). In their research, inducing native Canadians to believe that immigrants are finding economic success in their country led to more negative attitudes toward them, and this relationship was mediated by higher perceptions of zero-sum competition. Minority and immigrant groups can thus be seen as a source of economic stress, which would then lead to majority group members being less receptive towards the former. Greater economic optimism implies a sense that the economic pie is larger, which would then mitigate the perceived threat and competition from successful migrants.

The Present Study

In this study, we use attitude toward the number of immigrants in the country as a proxy for multicultural attitudes instead of measuring it directly. Singapore is historically a multicultural state that has actively enforced policies and norms of multiculturalism on its populace (Noor & Leong, 2013; Roets, Au, & van Hiel, 2015). As "racial harmony" between the major ethnic groups (Chinese, Malay, and Indians) is so integral to the Singaporean national identity, a multicultural ideology is widely endorsed. Furthermore, the internalisation and strong social norms of multicultural attitudes make it difficult to tease out strong deviations and would confound the measurement of true multicultural attitudes (Breugelmans & van der Vijver, 2004).

In contrast, perceptions toward immigrants tend to be more diverse, especially given the context in Singapore. Despite being an immigrant society throughout her short history, a sharp influx of migration in the 1990s and 2000s led to a public backlash against the government for having a loose immigration policy. Yet, Singaporeans largely accept the logic that the country needs immigrants to bolster the ageing population and keep the economy growing (Chang & Ong, 2012). In such a context, it would thus be more informative to

measure native-born Singaporeans' opinion of the overall number of immigrants as a reflection of how welcoming they are toward foreigners.

In line with Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and Integrated Threat Theory (Stephan & Stephan, 2000), higher perceptions of threat make one less welcoming towards immigrants. Perceived threats may take two forms: realistic threat, which refers to encroachment on tangible resources such as educational and employment opportunities; and symbolic threat, which refers to threats to one's worldview and cultural identity. Realistic threat tends to be perceived when one thinks that they have reduced access to resources they feel entitled to as a result of the presence of immigrants. Symbolic threat can be perceived when one feels that their concept of the national in-group is undergoing change due to the influence of immigrants.

In line with the Integrated Threat Theory, we predict that both realistic and symbolic threat will independently have negative effects on the acceptance of new immigrants. As per the multiculturalism hypothesis, we predict that national pride, family ties and economic optimism will buffer the effects of threat. In particular, we predict that national pride and family ties, being indicators of cultural identity, would mitigate the effect of symbolic threat. Economic optimism is directly related to concerns over resources and should thus mitigate the effect of realistic threat.

Table 1
Demographic Statistics

	N	%
Total	924	100
Gender		
Male	454	49.1
Female	470	50.9
Age		
21 to 29 years	183	19.8
30 to 39 years	162	17.5
40 to 49 years	215	23.3
50 to 54 years	110	11.9
55 years and above	254	27.5
Race		
Chinese	702	76.0
Malay	144	15.6
Indian	70	7.6
Others[1]	8	0.9

Notes: [1]Other races include: Bugis, Caucasian, Eurasian, Pakistani, and Sikh.

Method

The data was collected through door-to-door interviews throughout Singapore using a stratified quota sampling method that controlled for age, gender and ethnicity known in the population distribution. This data was collected as part of a larger study assessing the state of integration in Singapore.

The sample consisted of 924 native-born Singapore citizens, all at least 21 years old. The demographic breakdown of the sample is summarised in Table 1. The sample is representative of Singapore's population demographics.

Measures

Preferred number of immigrants

The dependent variable consisted of a single item assessing how respondents felt about the number of immigrants in Singapore. Respondents were asked, "What is your opinion on the overall number of permanent residents and new citizens in Singapore?" Participants answered on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (should have less) to 5 (should have more). The higher the score, the more tolerant and welcoming the respondent was toward immigration.

Perceived threats from immigrants

Measures of realistic and symbolic threats were adapted from the study by Leong (2008), which was modified for research in other regions including Singapore and Japan (e.g., Leong & Soon, 2011; Komisarof, Leong, & Teng, under revision). Respondents' views of economic threats from immigrants were obtained by aggregating the perceived threat on key resource areas of employment, public housing, healthcare, education and public safety; for example: "Job opportunities will be reduced for local-born Singaporeans if we have more immigrants." The Cronbach's alpha for this 5-item scale was 0.87.

Symbolic threat was measured using a single-item instrument, "Having more immigrants in Singapore will weaken social cohesion in this country." For both realistic and symbolic threat, each statement was rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The higher the scores, the greater the respondent's perceived threat.

National Pride

National pride was measured using a 5-item inventory adapted from the international index developed by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC), University of Chicago (Smith & Jarkko, 1998). Items tapped on the pride respondents felt from being a Singapore citizen; for example: "Generally speaking, Singapore is a better country than most other countries." Items were rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Higher scores indicated greater national pride. The Cronbach's alpha for this scale was 0.56. Although this score was relatively low, further analyses based on inter-item

correlations were considered sufficiently strong for a 5-item inventory (Briggs & Cheek, 1986). Furthermore, this scale has been repeatedly used in both national and cross-national surveys of national values (e.g., Chung & Choe, 2008; Smith & Kim, 2006) and thus allows for international standardisation and comparison.

Family Ties

Family ties was measured using a 3-item inventory adapted from Gaines and colleagues (1997). The scale consisted of three items: "My family is always there for me in times of need," "I know that my family has my best interests in mind" and "In my opinion, the family is the most important social institution of all." Each item was rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Higher scores indicated stronger family ties. The Cronbach's alpha was 0.88.

Economic Optimism

Economic optimism was adapted from Leong (2013) to measure the level of socio-economic security. This 3-item inventory measures respondents' perceived economic prospects for Singapore for the next decade. The items were, "Singapore will continue to be economically prosperous in the next 10 years," "There will be sufficient jobs and opportunities for every Singaporean in the next 10 years" and "Singapore will continue to attract good foreign investment into the country in the next 10 years." Respondents rated each item on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Higher scores indicated greater economic security. The Cronbach's alpha was 0.81.

Results

The data was analysed in a three-step hierarchical regression model. In the first step, demographic variables (gender, age and race) were entered. In the second step, the two threat and three security variables were entered. These five variables were standardised before adding them to the model. In the third step, the interaction terms of each security variable with each threat variable were entered. The results are shown in Table 2.

None of the demographic variables had a significant effect on the dependent variable, although the R^2 (0.12) for the first step was significant, $F(4, 919) = 2.80$, $p = 0.025$. There were significant main effects for symbolic threat ($B = -0.21$, $t = -5.07$, $p < 0.001$), realistic threat ($B = -0.38$, $t = -8.95$, $p < 0.001$), family ties ($B = -0.08$, $t = -2.29$, $p = 0.02$) and economic optimism ($B = 0.09$, $t = 2.51$, $p = 0.01$). The more realistic and symbolic threat that native-born Singaporeans perceived from immigrants, and the stronger their family ties, the less tolerant they were of immigrants. Greater optimism toward Singapore's economic future predicted more tolerance toward immigrants. The main effects explained the change in R^2 of 0.23, $F(9, 914) = 31.83$, $p < 0.001$.

Adding the interaction terms revealed significant interaction effects for symbolic threat x economic optimism ($B = -0.14$, $t = -3.23$, $p = 0.01$) and realistic threat x family ties ($B = 0.09$, $t = 2.18$, $p = 0.03$). We adopt the method recommended by Cohen, Cohen, West and

Aiken (2003) for the interpretation of interaction terms. Simple slope analyses showed that, while participants who felt threatened generally preferred fewer immigrants around, *higher* economic optimism made one much more sensitive to symbolic threat (steeper slope; see Fig. 1). In other words, contrary to the hypothesis, respondents who felt more optimistic about the future economic prospects were more, not less, affected by the impact of symbolic threats from immigration. On the other hand, stronger family ties made one more resilient toward realistic threats (gentler slope; see Fig. 2). Strong family bonding moderated the impact of economic threats arising from immigration. The combined R^2 change of 0.02 for this step was significant, $F(15, 908) = 21.30$, $p < 0.001$.

Table 2

Hierarchical Regression Model on Preferred Number of Immigrants

Variables	Mean (SD)	Range (Min. – Max.)	B	t	p
Step 1					
Gender (Female)	-	-	-0.01	-0.14	0.89
Age	-	-	0.02	1.11	0.27
Chinese	-	-	0.12	1.00	0.32
Malay	-	-	-0.03	-0.21	0.84
Step 2					
Symbolic Threat (ST)	3.14 (1.01)	1 – 5	-0.21**	-5.07	<0.001
Realistic Threat (RT)	3.58 (0.75)	1 – 5	-0.38**	-8.95	<0.001
National Pride (NP)	17.3 (2.61)	6 – 24	-0.05	-1.38	0.17
Family Ties (FT)	12.8 (1.47)	3 – 15	-0.08*	-2.29	0.02
Economic Optimism (EO)	10.6 (1.93)	3 – 15	0.09*	2.51	0.01
Step 3					
ST x NP			0.06	1.38	0.17
ST x FT			-0.01	-0.28	0.78
ST x EO			-0.14*	-3.23	0.01
RT x NP			0.04	0.87	0.38
RT x FT			0.09*	2.18	0.03
RT x EO			0.06	1.33	0.19

*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.001$. *Notes*: $R^2 = 0.12$ for Step 1 ($p = 0.025$); $\Delta R^2 = 0.23$ for Step 2 ($p < 0.001$); $\Delta R^2 = 0.02$ for Step 3 ($p < 0.001$). All values for B, t, and p are those at Step 3.
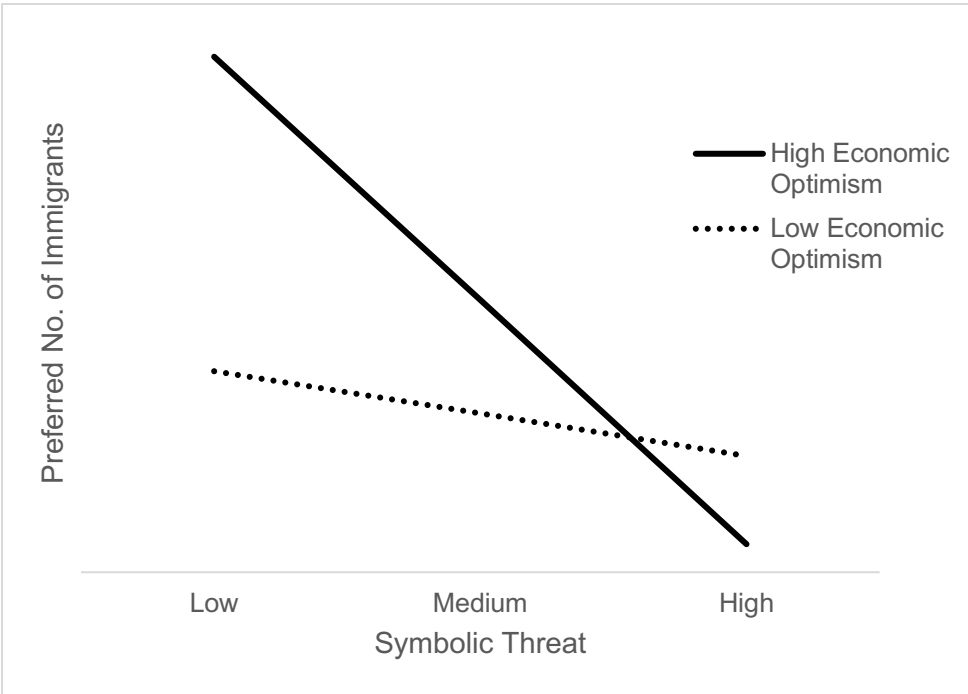
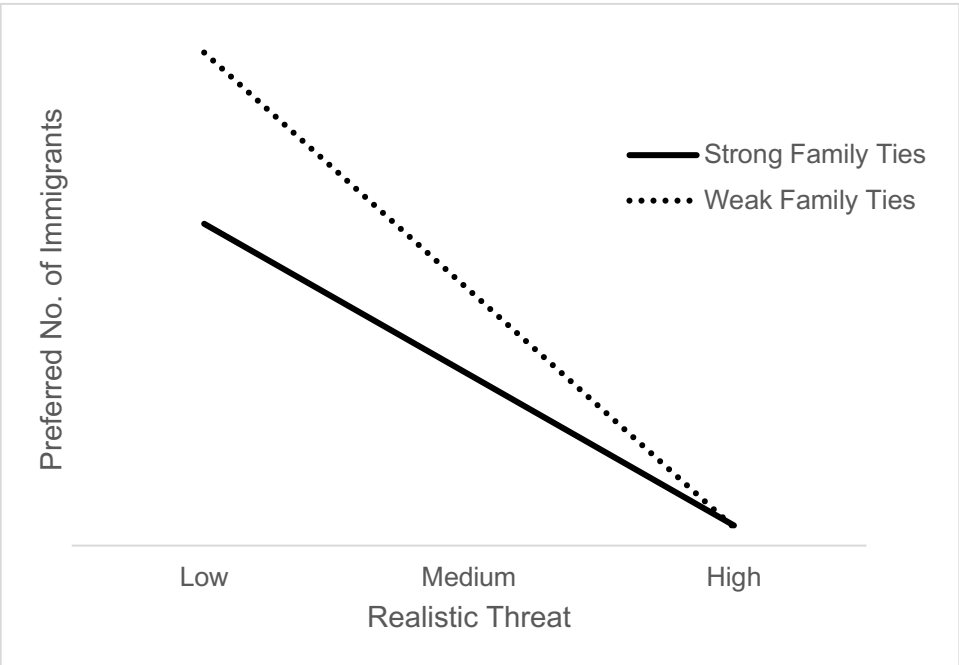*Figure 1*. Interaction between perceived symbolic threat and economic optimism.

Figure 2. Interaction between perceived realistic threat and family ties.

Discussion

The present study tests the multiculturalism hypothesis in Singapore. We expected national pride and family ties to mitigate the negative main effect of symbolic threat and economic optimism to mitigate the negative main effect of realistic threat. Our results showed seemingly paradoxical trends – although family ties predicted less tolerance for immigrants, it also weakened the effect of realistic threat. While economic optimism predicted more tolerance for immigrants, it also made one more sensitive to symbolic threats. We discuss each finding in turn.

Economic Optimism and Symbolic Threat

Although economic optimism independently predicted more support for immigration, it did not mitigate realistic threat as expected. The lack of a threat-buffering effect indicates that the hypothesis of economic optimism giving one the freedom and security to be more accepting of cultural diversity is not supported in this context. When economic optimism is low, Singaporeans are generally less welcoming of immigrants regardless of the perceived threat to social cohesion. When economic optimism is high, Singaporeans are much more reactive to symbolic threats, with tolerance of immigrants much higher when threat is low and much lower when threat is high.

It thus appears that economic optimism improves tolerance for immigration on an instrumental basis, with Singaporeans accepting the narrative that immigrants are good for the economy, so long as they do not upset the social fabric. Research by Guerra, Gaertner, António, and Deegan (2015) reflects this distinction between the indispensability of immigrants to national identity and the economic functioning of the country. Guerra et al. (2015) suggested that immigrant groups can be regarded as important for the contributions to the economy, without necessarily being perceived as necessary for the conception of national identity. In the past, the Singapore government relied primarily on economic and instrumental arguments to justify its open immigration policy (Lim & Leong, 2017). Such a narrative could have entrenched a general public perception that immigrants are only necessary for their economic contribution and never a true part of the national in-group.

Peculiar to Singaporeans is their sense of identity and self-worth being closely tied to their employment status and economic success (Velayutham, 2007). Since Singapore's independence, the government has consistently reiterated to its citizens that human capital is the island city-state's only marketable resource. The individual's economic contribution is thus crucial to the growth and survival of the nation. In addition, Zárate, Garza and Hitlan (2004) found that perceived similarity in work-related traits induced greater prejudice toward immigrants. In the last two decades, most immigrants that have settled in Singapore are highly-skilled and therefore directly compete with native-born Singaporeans for jobs and resources. Due to this competition, native-born Singaporeans might feel that immigrants infringe on their cultural identity. This may potentially explain the higher sensitivity to symbolic threat exhibited by participants who were higher in economic optimism.

Family Ties and Realistic Threat

Family ties was expected to reinforce cultural identity and security. Our results showed that while family ties indeed had a threat-buffering effect, it acted against realistic rather than symbolic threat as anticipated. Furthermore, family ties on its own predicted less tolerance for immigrants.

This paradoxical effect of close family ties has also been discussed by Fukuyama (1995), who theorized that prosperity in nations is related to the radius of trust in the society. While high trust societies are more willing to cooperate with others on a wider scale, low trust societies prefer to keep business interests within the family. Ermisch and Gambetta (2010) produced empirical evidence for a causal relationship between strong family ties and low trust for strangers, mediated by exposure to and experience with non-family members. As it happens, many Asian-Confucian countries, such as China, Korea, India, and Thailand (Ahmed & Salas, 2008; Fukuyama, 1995; Ward, Mamerow, & Meyer, 2014), are classified as having low trust alongside strong family ties. According to a 2015 survey on national values, Singaporeans consider family to be the top personal value among other virtues, but perceive society to be competitive, self-centred and blame shifting – reflecting a lack of trust in the larger society despite strong family values (Sim, 2015). As such, the importance of the family to Singaporeans seems to cast more suspicion toward foreigners by narrowing the circle of trust, resulting in a less welcoming attitude. Due to the new and somewhat counter-intuitive nature of this finding, more research is warranted.

On the other hand, when analysing family ties as a moderator, we found a significant two-way interaction effect (refer to Fig. 2) – the positive interaction between family ties and realistic threat affirms that strong family bonds can make one more resilient (Lee, Brown, Mitchell, & Schiraldi, 2008). Psychological resilience is largely dependent on protective factors that enhance adaptation such as life satisfaction, self-esteem and social support (Lee et al., 2013). Increased immigration and cultural diversity tends to cause the majority native population to be concerned over the availability of resources which they believe are entitled to them. This includes employment, education and housing (Esses et al., 1998). While resilience was not measured directly in this study, it is likely that it mediates the threat-buffering effect of family ties. Further research may be able to shed more light onto this phenomenon.

National Pride

Curiously, national pride did not mitigate the effect of realistic nor symbolic threat, and neither did it affect one's tolerance toward immigrants. This finding could be a testament to the mixed findings in the empirical literature on national pride. While national identification has been shown to be correlated with multicultural attitudes (Lebedeva & Tatarko, 2013), in some contexts it also predicts more negative outgroup perceptions (e.g., Louis, Esses, & Lalonde, 2013). More remarkably, Esses and colleagues (2006) found that even among Canadians, who are famed for their multiculturalism, making salient one's national identity led to more negative attitudes toward immigrants. It was only by emphasising a common national in-group inclusive of immigrants that attitudes improved. In the same study, inducing

a common national in-group among Germans backfired, worsening attitudes toward immigrants.

In Singapore, although multicultural ideology is well-internalised (Roets et al., 2015), there remains a stark divide between native-born citizens and naturalised immigrants, despite much of the latter being of the same ethnicities as the locals. The natives remain suspicious of the motives of immigrants, who fear that the latter are just taking advantage of the country as a springboard to greener pastures (Chong, 2015), or that they are unable to integrate (Ortiga, 2014). The relationship between Singaporeans' national pride and attitudes toward immigrants is thus complicated and warrants more direct study.

Conclusion

Taken together, this research finds that the multiculturalism hypothesis is only partially supported in the context of Singapore. More importantly, it highlights culture-specific nuances in the way host nationals respond to immigrants and diversity. It also shows that there are differences in how cultural and economic security are engendered. The threat-buffering effects of securing traits are not that intuitive, as seen by how economic optimism exacerbates symbolic threat but family ties mitigates realistic threat.

The principle behind the multiculturalism hypothesis is still an important one, as nations aim to reckon with increased cultural diversity. In expanding the literature on the multiculturalism hypothesis across different contexts, it is important to take note of the local nuances that would change the nature of both threat and security in that setting.

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Mutual Perception and Relational Strategies of Hindus and Muslims in India

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Abstract

The present study examines mutual perception and relational strategies of the Hindu and Muslim groups in the cultural context of India by focusing on religion-based "othering." A sample of 264 participants belonging to Hindu and Muslim groups was studied in Varanasi City. An instrument developed and used in an international project was adapted and given to participants (age range 20–60 years) for measuring their relational strategies, mutual perceptions and perceived discriminations. The findings revealed the 'Coexistence' relational strategy to be strongly placed in both Muslim and Hindu participants. Both 'Integration' and 'Assimilation' strategies were stronger in Muslim participants than in Hindu participants. Hindus preferred the 'Separation' strategy, perceived greater discrimination and held less positive views of Muslims. The findings are discussed along with their implications for dealing with the problem of Hindu-Muslim relationships in India.

Key words: Hindu, Muslim, relational strategies, mutual perception, intergroup relations

Mutual Perception and Relational Strategies of Hindus and Muslims in India

How to deal with cultural and religious diversity is a question that almost all societies of the world are seriously asking. The question is strongly debated, especially in societies that respect and promote cultural diversity. The plurality of culture and religion raises difficult questions when group positions are at stake and incompatible demands are involved. Several approaches have been proposed for dealing with cultural diversity. Multiculturalism is one approach that has been put to test both in research and practice. While many kinds of cultural groups exist in plural societies, their variety can be understood primarily in terms of three factors: mobility, voluntariness and permanence (Berry & Sam, 1997). Some groups face acculturation because of moving to a new culture (e.g., immigrants, refugees), while others stay in place (e.g., Indigenous or Native Peoples), and acculturation is brought on to them by people of other cultures. Similarly, some groups willingly participate in the acculturation process (e.g., immigrants), while others participate involuntarily (e.g., Native Peoples). Lastly, some groups and individuals settle permanently in the new culture (e.g., immigrants), whereas others stay there temporarily (e.g., sojourners).

In any case, cultural groups and their individual members have to essentially deal with the issue of how to acculturate. Two major issues are encountered by people while they negotiate daily lives in the new cultural contexts (Berry, 1976, 1980). These issues are related to (a) cultural maintenance (i.e., the extent to which individuals strive for the maintenance of their cultural identity), and (b) contact and participation (i.e., the extent to which individuals engage with members of other cultural groups). Strategies to deal with these issues are usually worked out.

Research indicates that all groups and individuals do not engage in intercultural relations in the same manner. In fact, there are large variations in how people seek to relate to each other in any society (Berry, 1980, 1990). Such variations in relationship orientations are also found in the cultural groups of Indian society (Mishra, Sinha, & Berry, 1996; Bano & Mishra, 2011; Mishra, Bano, & Tripathi, 2017). Depending on the degree to which there is a desire to maintain one's culture and identity, and the degree to which there is a desire to engage in daily interactions with other groups, four acculturation strategies have been identified (see Sam & Berry, 2016).

A positive or negative response to these issues presents us with four contrasting strategies: Integration, Assimilation, Separation, and Marginalisation (Berry, 1974). When there is an interest in maintaining one's original cultural identity while remaining in daily interactions with other groups, *Integration* is the option. When individuals do not wish to maintain their cultural identity and seek daily interaction with other cultures, the *Assimilation* strategy is defined. In contrast, when individuals place value on holding on to their original culture, and at the same time wish to avoid interaction with others, the *Separation* alternative is defined. Finally, when there is little possibility or interest in maintenance of own culture, and little interest in having relations with others, *Marginalisation* is defined.

Research with the Adivasi Peoples in India has identified "co-existence" as another strategy of inter-group relationships (Mishra et al., 1996). This strategy has been regarded as a major strategy displayed by Indian people at large for dealing with other cultures (Sinha, 1988; Sinha & Tripathi, 1994). Coexistence involves the presence of distinct elements (e.g., values, traditions, customs and practices) of two or more cultures in the life of individuals belonging to different cultural groups. In this case, no attempt is made towards synthesis or assimilation of the cultural elements; instead, they are "enfolded" in the system and kept side by side with the pre-existing elements without involving any evaluation or standards of comparison in any context (Mishra et al., 1996; Tripathi & Mishra, 2016).

Berry (1990) has argued that these options cannot be viewed as independent of the nature of the society in which one is working on relationship issues. In societies where cultural diversity is valued, accepted, respected, tolerated and encouraged, the more likely options are Integration, Coexistence and Separation. In societies where individuals have expectations to reduce cultural diversity, people are more oriented toward Assimilation or Marginalisation (Berry, 1976; Sommerlad, 1967; Sommerlad & Berry, 1970; Mishra et al., 1996; Bano & Mishra, 2011; Mishra et al., 2017).

For a long time it was assumed that societies (in which intercultural relations are usually studied) are made up of two kinds of groups: a mainstream, and a number of minorities. There was also the assumption that the minorities would eventually be absorbed into the mainstream and disappear as distinct cultural groups. These beliefs have generated research interests in a unidirectional way. On the one hand, we find studies of ethnic relations, which examine stereotypes, attitudes, prejudice, and discrimination only among members of the mainstream. On the other hand, we find studies of acculturation, which focus only on the minorities. There is very little research that examines acculturation process and ethnic relations among minorities as well as among members of the mainstream society. Berry (2006) argues that the knowledge of the interrelationship of these two approaches is important for understanding intergroup relations in multicultural societies. In this paper, we have combined the approaches of acculturation and ethnic relations to understand certain issues related to the Hindu and Muslim relationship in India.

Hindu-Muslim Relationship in India

The Hindu-Muslim relationship in India has greatly puzzled social scientists. India is committed to "unity in diversity" as an ideal of a secular democratic republic. In practice, however, the linguistic, regional, ethnic and religious diversities have posed numerous problems concerning the relationships between groups. Hindu and Muslim contact dates back to more than 1,000 years, and the relationship between the two groups has generally been peaceful. Since ancient times, India has represented the mixing of races and cultures. Thapar (1989) points out four important and interrelated dimensions of the process of acculturation in ancient India: (1) diffusion of cultural traits and technology; (2) miscegenation; (3) Aryanization or Sanskritization; and (4) incorporation and assimilation of regional as well as foreign beliefs, rituals and customs. The last three centuries have witnessed a creative synthesis of Hindu and Islamic cultures. This tradition not only

manifested itself in syncretistic traditions of music, art, literature and architecture, but it also found expression in folklores, dressing patterns, food habits, names, and surnames.

In recent years, however, the relations between Hindus and Muslims have turned progressively negative and violent. The conflicts surfaced mainly due to the "policy of divide and rule" practiced by the British people (Thapar, Mukhia, & Chandra, 1981). As Tambiah (1997) observed, colonial support for dividing India on religious lines into two separate nations, India and Pakistan, deepened the divide between the Hindus and Muslims. A communal interpretation of Indian history by British historians (Thapar et al., 1981) and frequent communal riots after partition have further reinforced the communal identity of the Muslims (Engineer, 1991). This has resulted in a loss of the feeling of 'oneness' in spite of the fact that both groups still share a common territory in many parts of the country.

The Hindu and Muslim groups in India are often classified as "majority" and "minority" groups, respectively. At the national level, the majority group clearly represents Hindus. Although "minority" is largely used to refer to the Muslims in local contexts, the definition of majority and minority changes depending on which region of the country one is talking about. For example, in Jammu and Kashmir, Muslims are in majority and Hindus are in minority (Registrar General & Census of Commissioner, India, 2011). Tripathi and Mishra (2006) have pointed out that the nature and status of minority groups in India are not the same as in other parts of the world. They have shared resources with other groups for several hundred years now and have participated with other groups in creating the nation's history. This is not so with respect to the relationship of ethno-cultural groups in other parts of the world. In light of this, we hope that the dynamics of the Hindu-Muslim relationship in India would be different from what has been reported in studies elsewhere.

In the present study, we have examined the mutual perception and relational strategies of Hindu and Muslim groups in the city of Varanasi, India. As an ancient city, Varanasi represents a syncretic culture where Hindus and Muslims are economically interdependent on each other in the weaving and trade of silk products (e.g., sarees and other garments). Thus, our expectation is that both Hindus and Muslims would have a positive perception of each other and would prefer to use Coexistence or Integration relational strategies over Assimilation, Separation or Marginalisation strategies.

Methods

Sample

The study was carried out in the city of Varanasi, which is situated in the northern part of India. Since ancient times, Varanasi has continued to be a seat of Hinduism. It is one of the seven important cities of Hindu pilgrimage (Dalmia, 1997). The sentimental feelings that the Hindus have for this city are similar to what Muslims have for Mecca, or the Jews for Palestine, or the Christians for Jerusalem or Rome (MacLeod, 1870; Nevill, 1909; Sherring, 1868). During the 17th and 18th centuries, people of diverse religious backgrounds came to the city (Kumar, 1988). Today, Varanasi is the home of Hindus (79.73%), Muslims (19.26%),

Christians (0.18%), Buddhists (0.10%), Sikhs (0.32%), Jains (0.11%) and people of other religious groups (0.30%) (Registrar General & Census of Commissioner, India, 2011). As the largest minority group, Muslims have earned a significant place in the society, culture and economy of the city. There are more than a thousand Hindu temples and about 300 mosques in the city. Since the last two decades, Varanasi has been presented as a sensitive site for politicization of the Hindu–Muslim relationship. In spite of this, the city is known as the confluence of Muslim and Hindu cultures. Metaphorically, it is referred to as *"Tana-Bana culture."* The term refers to the production of silk in which threads of different colors and shades are intermixed to create a splendorous fabric. At the social level, it symbolizes the interwoven, coexisting and interdependent nature of the life of Muslims (weavers) and Hindus (traders) in the production and sale of silk for which Varanasi is known world-wide. Another metaphor popularly used for this Hindu and Muslim relationship is "*Ganga-Jamuni culture."* The term refers to two sacred rivers of India, which originate from different points, flow through different routes carrying water of white and bluish shades, but meet along their journey and flow together as one stream with water of a new tinge (see Mishra et al., 2017).

A sample of 264 participants belonging to Hindu (N = 135) and Muslim (N = 129) groups was selected. Both groups had 28% female respondents, and covered a wide age range (20–60 years, *M* = 36.91 years, *SD* = 14.75 years). In both groups, about 35% of the participants had low socio-economic status. Muslim participants had lived in the city for a longer period (*M* = 53.4 years) than the Hindu participants (*M* = 36.2 years).

Measures

An instrument developed and used in an international project (MIRIPS, of which we have been a part) was adapted and used for measuring the acculturation strategies of the Hindu and Muslim groups, including their mutual perception and perception of discrimination. The 'mutual perception' measure was created by aggregating participants' scores on 'tolerance' and 'attitude towards the out-group,' measures, which had a high, positive correlation. The scales were translated and back-translated into Hindi and Urdu languages for use with the Hindu and Muslim participants, respectively. The alpha values of different measures were: Integration = .66, Assimilation = .47, Separation =.68, Marginalisation =.53, Coexistence = .64, perceived discrimination = .90, and Mutual perception = .80. Each variable was measured on a 5-point response scale through the rating of a number of statements related to each domain. Data collection was done by a Hindu and a Muslim investigator with prior consent obtained from the participants. Both of the investigators were trained in the process of interviewing. Sample items of the measures of relational strategies, perceived discrimination and mutual perception are given in Table 1.

Table 1.

Sample Items of the Relational Strategies, Perceived Discrimination and Mutual Perception Measures

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1. Relational Strategies
Integration
I feel that Muslims should maintain their own cultural traditions but also adopt those of the Hindus.
I feel that Hindus should maintain their own language but also learn the language of the Muslims.

Assimilation
Muslims should engage in social activities that involve Hindus only.
I prefer to make only Hindu friends.

Separation
I feel that Hindus should maintain their own cultural traditions and not adapt to those of the Muslims.
Muslims should engage in social activities that involve their own group members only.

Marginalization
It is not important for a Hindu to be fluent either in the Hindi language or the Urdu language.
Muslims should not engage in either their own group's social activities, or those of the Hindus.

Coexistence
Muslims should maintain their own customs, but there is no harm in adopting the customs of the Hindus.
It is important for me to be fluent in Hindi, but there is no harm to be also fluent in Urdu as well.

2.Mutual Perception
Tolerance
It is good to have people from different ethnic and racial groups living in the same country.
We should promote equality among all groups, regardless of racial or ethnic origin.
Attitude towards the out-group
Please provide a number between 0 and100 to indicate your attitude toward Hindus.
Please provide a number between 0 and100 to indicate your attitude toward Muslims.

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3. Perceived discrimination
I have been teased or insulted because of my religious (Hindu/Muslim) background.
I have been threatened or attacked because of my religious (Hindu/Muslim) background.

Results

Table 2 presents the mean scores and the significance of difference between the mean scores of the Hindu and Muslim groups on the various measures. There was a significant difference between Hindus and Muslims on the measures of Integration, $t(262)$ = 5.56, $p < .001$, Assimilation, $t(262) = 6.46$, $p < .001$, Separation, $t(262) = 6.60$, $p < .001$, perceived discrimination, $t(262) = 4.05$, $p < .001$, and mutual perception, $t(262) = 8.37$, $p < .001$. The difference between the two groups was not significant on the measures of Coexistence, $t(262) = 1.27$, $p = .20$, and Marginalisation, $t(262) = 0.72$, $p = .47$.

Regarding relational strategies, an ANOVA revealed a significant difference among the relational strategies of Hindus, $F(4, 131) = 232.03$, $p < .001$, and Muslims, $F(4, 125) = 179.79$, $p < .001$. The highest mean scores in the Hindu ($M = 14.35$, $SD = 4.09$) and Muslim ($M = 15.87$, $SD = 2.92$) groups were found on Coexistence and Integration, respectively. Hindus showed preference for Coexistence, followed by Integration, Separation, Marginalisation and Assimilation. Muslims preferred Integration, which was followed by their preference for Coexistence, Separation, Assimilation and Marginalisation. Muslims displayed stronger preference for Integration ($M = 15.87$, $SD = 2.92$) and Assimilation ($M = 7.42$, $SD = 2.33$) as compared to Hindus ($M = 13.40$, $SD = 4.18$; $M = 5.45$, $SD = 2.57$). Hindus, in contrast, displayed a significantly stronger preference for Separation ($M = 13.14$, $SD = 4.53$) than Muslims ($M = 9.83$, $SD = 3.53$). Hindus also perceived more discrimination ($M = 11.59$, $SD = 5.64$) as compared to Muslims ($M = 8.85$, $SD = 5.32$), which was against our expectation. While Muslims had a more positive perception of Hindus ($M = 89.87$, $SD = 21.04$), the Hindus had a less positive perception of Muslims ($M = 65.89$, $SD = 23.99$).

Table 2.
Mean Scores of Hindus and Muslims on Various Measures

Measures	Groups		
	Hindus (n =135) $M(SD)$	Muslims (n = 129) $M(SD)$	t-values
Integration	13.40 (4.18)	15.87 (2.92)	5.56***
Co-existence	14.35 (4.09)	14.90 (2.58)	1.27
Assimilation	5.45 (2.57)	7.42 (2.33)	6.46***
Separation	13.14 (4.53)	9.83 (3.53)	6.60***
Marginalisation	6.79 (2.78)	7.05 (3.02)	0.72
Perceived discrimination	11.59 (5.64)	8.85 (5.32)	4.05***
Mutual perception	65.89 (23.99)	89.87 (21.04)	8.37**

*** $p < .001$.

Discussion

The findings reveal that the Coexistence strategy is strongly placed in Hindu and Muslim participants, Rather, Muslims are slightly higher in coexistence than are Hindus, although the difference between the two groups was not statistically significant. Integration and Assimilation strategies were stronger in Muslim rather than Hindu participants. Hindus preferred the Separation strategy and had a less positive perception of Muslims. As compared to Muslims, they also perceived more discrimination

These findings bring about a couple of issues that need some discussion in the multicultural context of India. One question is: why did the Hindus prefer the Separation strategy, have a less positive perception of Muslims, and perceive more discrimination as compared to Muslims even though they constitute the majority group in India? A probable answer is that they are infused with the notion of "purity" in all spheres of their life, including even the matters like dress and food (Bano & Mishra, 2011). In the Hindu tradition, everything, including people and groups, are ranked according to certain qualities. Those who behave like gods are considered "pure"; those who behave like demons are considered "impure." God-like behavior involves not only treating people well and being careful about one's food, dress and sexual behaviors, but also abstaining from mental, verbal and physical transactions that harm others. Those who do not follow these rules of conduct and behave otherwise are considered unclean, polluted or impure even if they are part of the Hindu society. Tripathi (1987) has pointed out that the idea of "purity" is germane to Hinduism and "…for a Hindu the journey of his life is a constant search for purity and refinement" (p. 238). All of the rites and rituals of Hindus from birth till death are associated with purification. For traditional Hindus, people who have not found refinement through "*samskara*s" (rites and rituals) are considered "impure." In traditional Hindu families, non-vegetarian food is still considered impure and sinful and is observed as a social taboo. Bano and Mishra (2006, 2014) found that even the young Hindu children mentioned non-vegetarian food, which they believed was prevalent among Muslims, as one important reason for keeping distance from them. Relating to Muslims seemed to threaten their purity and put their Hindu identity at stake.

There are also suspected threats to the Hindu religion from Islam, evidenced by the sporadic incidences of conversion of Hindus to Islam in some parts of the country. The fact that Hindus' perception of Muslims is affected by the "Islamophobia" (Green, 2015) that surrounds Muslims world-wide is also undeniable. To avoid potential dangers, some Hindus prefer to keep from Muslims as much distance as possible in spite of the fact that the overall preference is for Coexistence. In one study (Mishra et al., 2017), we have found that the Separation strategy, which was preferred over Assimilation, threatens cultural security, reduces out-group contact and mutual acceptance, and leads to perception of a higher level of discrimination.

Another interesting question is: why were the Integration and Assimilation strategies strongly placed among Muslims, and why did they show a more positive perception of Hindus, and perceive lesser discrimination than the Hindu participants? The answer lies in

the structure of the Indian society at the national level. As we have mentioned earlier, the constitution of India grants equal rights to Hindus and Muslims. With this provision, while Muslims have fundamental rights to maintain their identity and heritage culture, as a minority group they are also granted certain privileges, which are not available to Hindus. This national context provides them with a fairly secure environment and allows them to live without any suspected threat to the Muslim identity and culture.

Historical evidence suggests something beyond what we have said earlier. There is much evidence for "co-construction" (interdependence) of identities through a process of mutual respect and support, which has not happened anywhere else in the world (Tripathi & Mishra, 2016). The process does not necessarily involve conflict between personal and social identities, often pointed out in social-psychological literature. For example, in the state of Punjab, one may find a considerable number of evidences where one brother is Hindu, while another is Sikh, or in the western part of Uttar Pradesh, where one brother is Hindu and another is a Muslim. These faith-related differences do not come in the way of family or group relationships.

Our findings revealed Coexistence to be a strong relational strategy of Hindu as well as Muslim groups. It is to be noted that the study was conducted in Varanasi City where the Hindu-Muslim relationship is nurtured somewhat differently. The silk industry has allowed Hindus and Muslims to maintain an economically interdependent relationship. It forms a solid basis for the nurturance of the "*Tana-Bana*" or "*Ganga-Jamuni*" culture in Varanasi. Other studies (Bano & Mishra, 2011; Mishra et al., 2017) have also found Coexistence to be a strongly preferred relational strategy of other groups in India, including the Adivasi groups (Mishra et al., 1996).

The findings of this study allow us to conclude that Coexistence and Integration are highly preferred relational strategies of Hindu and Muslim groups. The Separation strategy is more preferred by Hindus than Muslims. Muslims' perception of Hindus is more positive than the Hindus' perception of Muslims. In the case of Assimilation and Marginalization strategies, since the alphas values were not optimal, the results may suffer from measurement error and should be taken with caution. On the other hand, these strategies are also the least preferred relational strategies and hence not a matter of serious concern. Despite being a majority group, Hindus perceive greater discrimination from Muslims than do the Muslims from Hindus. There is still a need to understand domain-specific relational strategies and their dynamics in order to manage inter-group relationship more effectively in the pluralistic context of India than what is obtained at the present time.

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International Students' Integration in Classroom: Strategies and Support by Teachers and Local Students in Higher Education

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Abstract

European Higher Education institutions often have students from different countries and cultures. This situation, in part encouraged by the Erasmus program, has provided universities with an international character. Institutions have the opportunity to improve by strengthening cultural ties and making cultural diversity a true reality in universities. The present study focuses on examining teachers' and local students' support of integrating international students into classrooms, and the way local students build relationships with those students. Using a qualitative approach, two sets of interviews were conducted with Erasmus students and teachers from a Spanish university. In general, results indicate that teachers' support depends on their own ideologies about integration, and it plays a relevant role in understanding Erasmus students' emotional, academic and social adaptation in the classroom. In addition, results reveal that local students' intention to start relationships with exchange students depends mainly on their personal characteristics. In conclusion, communication difficulties and a lack of support in the classroom can lead to a decrease in international students' satisfaction, decreased contact with local students and maladjustment in the host culture.

Keywords: International students, support, teachers, classroom, relationships, adaptation

Integration of International Students in the Classroom: Strategies and Support by Teachers and Local Students in Higher Education

The Erasmus program and its diverse exchange modalities have increased the mobility of students in European Higher Education (De-Juan-Vigaray, Parra, & Beltrán, 2014; García, 2013; Pineda, Moreno, & Belvis, 2008; Rodríguez, Bustillo, & Mariel, 2011). As the data show, the number of Erasmus students has increased from 3,244 in 1987-1988 to 272,497 in 2013-2014, with a higher percentage of women (60.2%) in 2013-2014. Spain is the destination most widely chosen by European students, with 39,277 students received in 2013-2014 (European Commission, 2015). Currently, a high level of mobility (incoming and outgoing) is a sign of prestige and quality for many Higher Education institutions, and internationalization is a fundamental indicator in the ranking of worldwide universities (Kehm, 2005; Souto-Otero, Huisman, Beerkens, de Wit, & Vujié, 2013). The increase in the number of international students in Higher Education has led to a growing interest in these programs (Li, Chen, & Duanmu, 2010), especially related to perceived support, intercultural relations, barriers in communication, and the adaptation process of these students in the host country (Kudo & Simkin, 2003).

The interaction between international and local students enriches interpersonal relationships between them and with teachers (Luo, 2016; Volet & Ang, 2012). This unique intercultural space in the classroom develops diverse perspectives of knowledge, intercultural relations, and communication (Aguaded & Pozo, 2009; Cho & Yu, 2015). In spite of the benefits for exchange students, they must face a series of obstacles in the host university and country. In their report, Bracht et al. (2006) show that Erasmus students face housing, administrative and academic problems, but students also feel lower self-esteem when they opt for subjects in a foreign language if they do not get adequate support from their teachers and peers. As De-Andrés (1999) explains, students' self-esteem depends on the positive or negative experiences that they get from their environment as well as on how they are perceived by their teachers or peers. In addition, the inability to integrate with the local students due to language and cultural barriers could make them feel homesick, helpless and doubtful of their intellectual and social competences. Cacioppo and Patrick (2008) explain that hassles in social adaptation could also cause loneliness. Hence, well-being is seen to be naturally correlated to the positive relations with and the cultural empathy that they receive from others (Ryff, 1989). Thus, several questions arise: (1) How can international students integrate and feel better in a Higher Education classroom? (2) What strategies can local students and teachers use to facilitate the Erasmus students' adaptation?

The complete integration of international students at the university must meet various requirements related to the social, academic and organizational systems of Higher Education (Himmel, 2002; Rienties, Beausaert, Grohnert, Niemantsverdriet, & Kommers, 2012). On one hand, the social integration demands include the development and frequency of positive interactions with other students and teachers, as well as the

participation in activities inside and outside the classroom (Himmel, 2002). On the other hand, psychological integration demands feelings of well-being and satisfaction (Searle & Ward, 1990). In addition, this process involves controlling negative emotions such as fear and anxiety in adverse situations and consequently remains highly dependent on each individual. Psychological and social integration can even improve if there is some type of support system (Cho & Yu, 2015; Gerdes & Mallinckrodt, 1994; Yusoff, 2012), specific contact with faculty teachers and awareness of what they want to achieve during their stay abroad (Gerdes & Mallinckrodt, 1994; Rienties et al., 2012). However, the fact that some students give up can be due to a mixture of emotional and social factors, which means there is a need for support among local and international students and teachers (Gerdes & Mallinckrodt, 1994). In addition, it is necessary for international students to feel at the same time accepted, valued and included in the classroom, both by teachers and by their classmates (Mak, Bodycott, & Ramburuth, 2015).

Regarding strategies to improve integration, Kudo (2016) mentions, first, that it is necessary to look for strategies that favour the exchange within the classroom and, second, strategies that foster the exchange in extracurricular activities because "it has been found that the majority of interactions between foreign and national students occur in a non-academic setting" (p. 7). Moreover, Ward (2001) proposed forming groups of national and international students that would meet regularly outside the classroom, in addition to carrying out intercultural strategies of cooperation inside the classroom, in order to improve social support and intercultural friendships in the international context. However, Colmenero and Pantoja (2016) mention that the greatest influence on the majority of the students' university experience is what occurs inside the classroom, so teachers must be prepared to create inclusive environments when selecting texts, handling students who are not native speakers of the local language, fomenting their participation and facilitating learning. For both groups, teachers are the key to helping national students to learn more from this intercultural context.

Another proposal formulated by Kudo (2016) was to consider the existence of a common language between the students, in addition to the native language, in order to allow good interaction. Otherwise, language barriers could cause hassles in the integration process overall, as well as in creating intercultural friendships and fostering team spirit (Medven, Franco, Gao, & Yang, 2013). Although the effort of learning to speak a common language, such as English, should be mutual (local and international students), Li et al. (2010) mention that international students learn and live successfully in the host country when they integrate themselves within the group dynamics of the host country and when there is good communication with the local students. Therefore, promoting the learning of foreign languages by both parts is necessary in order to get to know local and international students, learn new cultures and get better integration to accomplish personal enrichment (Marginson & Sawir, 2011). Moreover, in the case of teachers, a certain foreign language level is increasingly required for the internationalization of the universities (Martín del Pozo, 2013) in order to facilitate better cultural exchange.

A further aspect to highlight is the need for good interaction between local and international students and between teachers and international students. On the one hand, according to the British Council (2014), those teachers who present little interaction with international students are less informed about their experiences and motivations and, at times, present a neutral feeling towards them. On the other hand, Colvin, Volet, and Fozdar (2014) revealed that the more flexible students, who were open and accepted change, interacted and mixed better with international students compared to students who did not show this interest.

International students' integration must be the responsibility of all students, and the teacher must help them to see the benefits of constructing a broader and more diverse international network that will enrich their personal and social experience at the university. Without the support of local students and teachers, the international students will face more sociocultural challenges (British Council, 2014) and emotional difficulties such as low morale, depression and loneliness. Kudo, Volet, and Whitsed (2017) found that "when intercultural interaction brought socio-emotional difficulties (e.g., anxiety and uncertainty), the international students tended to revert to their comfort zone (i.e., same culture communities)" (p.109).

Currently, there exist many studies which have addressed general exchange programs and international students' mobility, as well as their benefits (improved social ability, cultural sensitivity, heightened acceptance of other cultures, knowledge of other languages). However, few studies have analysed how to integrate these international students and which strategies to use so they are enriched with these benefits; fewer still have examined this issue within the context of Spanish universities, where a large number of Erasmus students face challenges and barriers of integration. The present study hopes to span this important gap, both theoretically and practically. By enhancing understanding of these strategies, teachers can enable Erasmus students' adaption within higher education, specifically within the classroom, and ultimately provide better support and integration for Erasmus students by building internationally inclusive environments.

Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to know what strategies teachers use to support and integrate international students and to understand which elements facilitate their integration in the classroom by: analysing the factors that facilitate the integration of international students in the classroom, and examining the strategies used by the teacher to achieve a greater integration of international students.

Method

Participants

Participants in this sample were a total of 13 Erasmus students and 2 teachers in the field of Educational Sciences. The Erasmus students varied in nationality (see Table 1 for sample description). In 2015, the students carried out their second-semester studies

(period of 5 months) at the University of Valencia (Spain). The ages ranged between 22 and 25 years, and 11 participants were women due to the actual university context in education field. The majority of the participants presented at the A1 level in Spanish. The sample selection was based on the non-probabilistic accidental method. Regarding teachers, both were women with wide experience working with international students (M age = 43 years).

Instrument

This study is based on a qualitative methodology, where semi-structured interviews were used to gather the information from both samples. In the interviews, the questions posed to international students were comprised in the following dimensions: expectations, adaptation, integration, interpersonal relationships and support perceived. In the teachers' interviews, topics were related to social support for Erasmus students, communication between teachers and Erasmus students, local students' support and support among the Erasmus students group itself.

Procedure

The Erasmus students' interviews were carried out in the international relations office of the Faculty. With help of the International Relations coordinator, the Erasmus students were contacted by email. If they agreed to participate, a day and time were chosen for the interview. The interviews lasted between 30 and 60 minutes, some in Spanish and others in English due to language difficulties. The teachers were selected based on the number of Erasmus students in their lectures, and the interviews were held in their own offices.

Table 1
Sample Description

Erasmus students (n = 13)	Gender	Nationality	Bachelor degree
2	Women	Portuguese	Pedagogy
4	Women	Italian	Pedagogy
3	Women (1) /Men (2)	German	Pedagogy
4	Women	Belgian	Pedagogy: 2 Social Education: 2

Results

The interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim and then content analyses were performed. Results are described based on the main dimensions of the study.

Results of the Erasmus Students' Interviews

Relationships with and support from local students
International students can support each other and have good relationships between themselves, but at the same time they need the support of local students to adapt better both inside and outside of the classroom and university (Ramsay, Jones, & Barker, 2007). Results show that, for the majority of the exchange students, their friendship with local students was not able to go beyond the classroom walls:

> *"I do not meet Spanish students outside classroom, but I meet a girl from Belgium because I know her from Erasmus program" (German student, f, 22).*

However, we observed that Erasmus students have both international and Spanish relationships, although they usually have more contact and friendship with international students. This tendency to associate and bond with similar peers is very common among international students and promotes intercultural inclusiveness. Participants feel more accepted amongst each other as they are subject to similar experiences or situations; also, some of them have the same nationality and share a common language, which makes it easier to interact with each other:

> *"I think it is easier to make friends with a group of Erasmus students as we are in the same boat, far from our homes and countries, so we understand each other and can communicate better" (Portuguese student, f, 22).*

The lack of interaction between international and local students is one of the factors that contributes to the creation of mixed groups (international and local students) (Volet & Ang, 2012). The majority of the sample of Erasmus students indicated that they limit their social interactions to their study group or with other Erasmus or international students. Moreover, when these students have doubts or need to work collaboratively, they tend to contact other international students. One reason for this may be the ease of building trust and acceptance with these students:

> *"It is easier to talk to an Erasmus student who speaks Spanish than to a Spanish student. Among foreign students, it is easier to talk and build friendships" (Belgian f, 23).*

Therefore, when the teacher allows students to form their own study groups, it is more likely that local students will form their study groups with other local students. Similarly, Erasmus students display a tendency to study with other international students, regardless of nationality (De-Juan-Vigaray et al., 2014). Thus, international students remain in their "comfort zone" and isolate themselves from local students:

> *"…at the beginning of the semester we had to make a group and*
> *everyone already knew each other, so we looked at each other [Erasmus*
> *students] and decided to do it together because the teacher gave us*
> *more freedom" (Italian student, f, 23).*

However, data reveals that teachers usually adopted a strategy to form blended work groups with both international and local students.

A lack of empathy creates an additional hassle in the creation of positive intercultural relationships. International students often feel isolated being away from their loved ones. In such situations, local students can promote feelings of inclusiveness. However, support and friendship obtained from local students differed greatly depending on cultural empathy. According to the interviewees, some local students do not understand what it is like to be an Erasmus student,

> *"…they can't imagine the double effort we have to do for adapt to the*
> *university: group work, reading texts in Spanish, and we need more time*
> *than they do, and today the girl said you can read twenty pages of*
> *exercises for today and I said no, it's not possible, I can't sleep, and I*
> *have class, I have the practicum, it's impossible" (Belgian student, f, 22).*

and sometimes they express certain prejudices toward them:

> *"…she said to another guy something like Erasmus never understand*
> *anything, but I'm not sure what she said because she was talking really*
> *fast, but I know it is something very negative; I talked to other Erasmus*
> *and they said yes, she doesn't like them" (German, f, 22).*

The interviewees also felt that local students are unaware of the reasons why Erasmus students are less available to do class work and find it more difficult to understand the activity; they assume that these aspects indicate a lack of interest. These socioemotional challenges and prejudices can be reduced by increasing the contact among members of different cultures; as an example, Ward (2001) explained that intercultural study groups discourage stereotypes and promote interaction with other cultures. This is commonly referred to as the contact hypothesis theory (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), where contact and interaction with a given culture reduces prejudice (Schiappa, Gregg, & Hewes, 2005). In fact, Allport (1954) (as cited in Schiappa et al., 2005) posits that prejudice and stereotypes result from incomplete or mistaken information.

However, not all students behave in the same way. Instead, according to some of the other interviewees, they feel accepted because some local students support and help them:

> *"…helping me a lot, for example, in situations where we have to do some exercises, my classmates do a lot, trying to explain meanings to me, and so I had a lot of help from my classmates" (German student, m, 25).*

Intercultural friendships are often also hindered by linguistic problems. In particular, difficulty in understanding local language is a factor that affects international students' low social participation in activities (Tatar, 2005). Hashimoto and Kudo (2010) revealed that students with lower proficiency in a language (in this case Spanish) tend to feel insecure or inferior towards students who can express themselves freely. The results obtained from the interviews with Erasmus students reveal that linguistic difficulty has been one of the most significant barriers for their integration with other students. It also creates barriers when attempting to inform their teachers about problems. Some of the participants have expressed:

> *"In the beginning it's hard, it was hard for me I wasn't understanding what others students were saying […] It was hard to me to ask the teacher because of the language problem, it was like going to him and ask him something in Spanish and he wasn't understanding the problem, and I wrote an email and he was answering me something different and I was like ok he is not getting it" (German student, m, 25).*

> *"It's really difficult for me to talk to others because I don't talk Spanish really well, so it made it little difficult to speak to teachers and also to others students and to fully integrate in the whole group" (Belgian student, f, 20).*

Also, international students feel disappointed with themselves when they do not reach their language level expectations, as they understand that learning the local language is a key factor to communicate and create deep relationships:

> *"I thought it would be easier at the end of the semester to talk to the other students and mix up with them, but because I didn't take Spanish classes, it's still really hard for me but that's my own responsibility, so yes that was the only thing I was little disappointed with myself" (German student, m, 25).*

Beyond the language barrier, there is a need to interculturally communicate and improve relationships between local and international students in Higher Education (Kudo, 2016).

Support from teachers

Erasmus students in the host country must understand a different cultural context and adapt to new methodologies while taking subjects in a different language and with a higher level of demand (Bracht et al., 2006) in terms of time and effort. All of these barriers could disappear with adequate support from the teachers, though. Thus, results show the need to reduce the workload in the initial days of class in order to ease the pressure on international students, ultimately aiding in adaptation. As Colmenero and Pantoja (2016) point out, "it is important to assess the work in order to offer the students guidelines for improvement" (p. 501).

In addition, international students bring an international perspective into the classroom that encourages teachers to propose new strategies and attitudes that foment openness, flexibility, tolerance and the acceptance of individual and group differences (Fernández, 2011). The results of the study reveal the importance of the teacher's role in students' integration. Closeness, interest, concern and empathy from the teacher are factors that make students feel more or less integrated:

> *"…this teacher is a person who knows the difficulties a student can have in an experience like Erasmus […] she asks me how I've been or if she sometimes hasn't seen me in class, she asks if I've been okay, and she doesn't say you have to come to all the classes" (Italian student, f, 22).*

However, when the teachers do not show enough attention or support for exchange students, the students' experiences may not be as positive as expected. The results also reveal that in situations where Erasmus students do not receive sufficient support from the teacher, the support offered by local students may help them to feel more included in classroom:

> *"…I have a classmate who sends me her summary of all the classes she can, which is a great help to me" (German student, m, 25).*

Sometimes teachers are not very flexible with Erasmus students. In those cases, exchange students have to look for less costly emotional alternatives:

> *"…no, I only talked to the teacher at the end of the class" (Portuguese student, f, 22).*

Tatar (2005) points out that international students do not participate during the class until they are directly asked by the teacher. There are even various Erasmus students who directly ask their classmates instead of asking the teacher because they feel closer to their peers:

> *"…because I ask my classmates the meaning of what my teacher says, no conversation with the teacher, only whether it is possible to write in*

English" (German student, m, 25).

Results of Teacher interviews

Teachers' support for Erasmus students
Teachers play an important role in integrating the international students in classroom and in campus life. Their support and interest in providing an international perspective in the course helps to create an inclusive environment (Valdez, 2016).

Results of the interviews with teachers show that they provide support through: fostering group dynamics, integrating exchange students in different work groups, giving support during the first month, giving additional time to complete tasks and carrying out positive discrimination, among other ways.

As an additional strategy, teachers ensure that exchange students feel included and accepted:

> *"I make sure I ask them how it is done in their country, so that they know*
> *that they matter to us and we are interested to know them better"*
> *(Spanish teacher, f, 43).*

Moreover, teachers also make sure that international students have meetings in the initial days to evaluate emotional and psychological adaptation to the culture and university context. This strategy ensures that international students feel prepared to be part of the group in the classroom and that their adaptation process flows in an adequate environment.

Regarding communication with exchange students, teachers prefer to communicate in Spanish, and they only translate into English when necessary. Spanish teachers feel that this strategy will ensure that international students are forced to communicate in Spanish, taking them out of their "comfort zone."

The teachers' attitudes toward Erasmus students are, first, to take into account the Erasmus students they have in the classroom and, second, to recognize that they are an essential and worthy element:

> *"…just as the Erasmus students gain when they go to another country to*
> *know another university, another culture, the Spanish students also gain*
> *by knowing Erasmus student's perspective" (Spanish teacher, f, 43).*

Local students' support and relationship with Erasmus students
The teachers' perspective of local students' relationships with and support toward Erasmus students reveals that local students are usually empathetic toward the Erasmus students. They also recognize that there are two types of students: some who are more competitive and others who are more supportive. The more competitive ones avoid working with international students because:

> *"…they respond to an educational system that is competitive by nature,*
> *and no matter how much you want to work in class using cooperative*
> *techniques, integration of support strategies, the system continues to be*
> *competitive. It depends on each person and the values that guide the*
> *way of being and understanding what education is, what the world is,*
> *etc. of each person" (Spanish teacher, f, 43).*

Erasmus students' relationships

Teachers feel that the relationships outside of the university between Erasmus students are usually more common than with local students, and there is little relationship with local students.

The following table (Table 2) provides an overview of the teachers' perspectives in the dimensions mentioned above: teachers' support, communication and attitude towards Erasmus students, and support and relationships between local and Erasmus students.

Discussion

The aim of this study was to find out what factors facilitate international students' adaptation and which strategies teachers use to achieve this integration. Regarding the first objective, "factors that facilitate the integration of international students in the classroom," there are some elements that seem to play an important role when it comes to Erasmus students' integration, such as support offered by teachers and other students, relationships between international and local students, or the obstacles that interfere in the interpersonal relations (language barrier).

First, the support offered by the teacher and the other students facilitates the integration at both the personal and sociocultural levels (British Council, 2014). The results show quite diverse experiences, where at times the local students are not aware of the difficulties the Erasmus students have, and at other times they offer even more support than teachers. The empathy, flexibility and open-mindedness of the local students also support this integration (Colvin et al., 2014), just as the closeness, interest and concern of the teacher is important, along with the foreign student's attitude about integration. Various studies (Harumi, 2010; Jaworski, 2005; Ping, 2010; Tatar, 2005) have examined the reasons that international students remain silent and do not integrate in the classroom. Some reasons include: lack of comprehension, fear of making mistakes, belief in the traditional learning style and the specific and different dynamics of the class. For these reasons, results show that international students ask questions mainly at the end of class and try to avoid participating in the class when they feel insecure or are not confident.

Thus, the ideal situation for adaptation would be one mutual collaboration amongst teachers, local students and international students so that the exchange experience can lead to personal success and development in both directions.

Table 2

Summary of Teachers' Strategies, Attitudes and Local Students' Relationship with Exchange Students in the Classroom

Dimensions				
1.Support	2. Communication with Erasmus students	3. Attitude towards Erasmus students	4. Support and relationship of local students towards Erasmus students	5. Erasmus relationships among themselves
Group dynamics introduction.	Professors do not consider speaking with Erasmus students in other language.	Aware of Erasmus students in class.	Local students are empathetic with Erasmus students.	Erasmus students relate more often with other Erasmus than with local students outside class.
Integration in different groups.	Force to communicate in Spanish taking them out of their "comfort zone".	Thinking Erasmus students are a key element: Those students offer an international perspective to the course content.	Two students' perspectives: competition vs solidarity.	In class they try to gather in groups also with local students.

Next, the relationship between international and local students inside the classroom has been more or less positive depending on personal experiences. Concretely, results show that group work improves interpersonal relationships, as long as the students have a supportive and empathic mentality and are willing to help exchange students. According to Ward (2001), group work improves performance and friendship even though it has the disadvantage of impeding the relationship with the rest of the class.

According to the results, language is also a key factor in having more contact and relationships with local students both outside and inside the university (Medven et al., 2013). Additionally, Kudo (2016) indicates the importance of having a common reference language in addition to the native language. On the one hand, in the case of the international students, it has been observed that some universities, in order to eliminate

these barriers and improve the performance of the international students, provide them with linguistic support (Mak et al., 2015). On the other hand, in the case of the local students, it is easy to imagine that it would be difficult to foment foreign language learning (for example, English) because local students do not really see the need for it. However, it is important for the students to get to know each other better, integrate and learn about new cultures and languages as a form of personal enrichment (Marginson & Sawir, 2011). Also, in another exploratory study (Vazirani et al., 2016), local students understood that international students felt satisfied and perceived university to be a more positive, enriching and beneficial experience when international students engaged in social activities with local students. Local students also considered this to be beneficial for themselves. This social interaction, according local students, contributed to the overall development and well-being of the international students.

Results reveal that, in spite of the existence of a relationship between national and international students outside of class, this was only minimally possible because strong friendship ties were not established. According to Kudo (2016), "the majority of the interaction between students and nationals occurs in a non-academic setting" (p. 7). Thus, Ward (2001) proposed an integration strategy: form groups of international and local students outside the class environment.

The results also show that the relationships among Erasmus students have been positive for various reasons: common language, mutual understanding and the same international situation and difficulties. Hence, on various occasions exchange students tend to group together and create a bubble, and this phenomenon can be observed in many universities (Mak et al., 2015). These authors also indicate that many international students present neutral social support from local students and that this support is instead given by other non-local students. Moreover, Yussof (2012) found that international students with international partners gave better support than other contacts due to having similar experiences.

Finally, it is important to understand that, for full adaptation, it is necessary to integrate exchange students in two levels. According to Searle and Ward (1990), the levels are: a psychological level, which involves feelings of well-being and satisfaction; and a social level, which involves the ability to interact with the new culture (in this case, with local and international students, and teachers). Both levels mentioned can improve if there is some type of support system (Cho & Yu, 2015; Gerdes & Mallinckrodt, 1994; Yusoff, 2012), which can be seen in the results from the international students.

Regarding the second objective, "strategies used by the teacher to achieve a greater integration of international students," results reveal that teachers understand "integration" of Erasmus students in different ways and, therefore, use different types of strategies to handle internationalization in the classroom. However, integrating the Erasmus students in groups of national students was one of the most widely utilized strategies by the teacher. De-Juan-Vigaray et al. (2014) show that if this distribution did not exist the tendency would be to create isolated groups of Erasmus students and create an exchange students' bubble.

Also, we find some discrepancies between the viewpoints of international students and teachers. On one hand, teachers believe that they provide enough support through various strategies to integrate the international students and ensure that they matter in the classroom; however, some international students believe that the classroom environment and work groups prevent them from fully integrating. Additionally, while teachers believe that international students interact with each other primarily outside of the classroom, the students assert that they typically communicate both inside and outside the university. Though teachers generally believe that local students demonstrate empathy, except in some ultracompetitive cases, international students posit that they have encountered some local students who do not understand Erasmus students' situation and therefore demonstrate less empathy with their plight.

Moreover, we must mention that the study was focused more on the factors and strategies that would allow Erasmus students to adapt more fluidly to a foreign environment than on the psychological processes (e.g., well-being, loneliness, self-esteem), which remains one of the limitations of the present research.

Finally, results show that teachers give international students support depending on personal characteristics and their concept of internationalization at the university. There are teachers who are very interested in and concerned about the Erasmus students, and there are others who somewhat ignore them.

In conclusion, results show that a lack of support and relationships, as well as communication problems with teachers and students, could lead to negative experiences and feelings during an international exchange experience. However, we need to highlight that the positive international experiences in our study were connected to specific inclusive strategies in classroom and the perceived support by local students, teachers and other Erasmus students.

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Teaching Cultural Competence: A Comparison of Outcomes Between In-Class and Study Abroad Programs

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Abstract

This study examined whether students develop cultural competence in classrooms and study abroad programs by comparing three groups of students: students in a Cross-Cultural Human Development Class (CCHD), Study Abroad programs (SA), and the control group. Participants were 106 undergraduate students from a predominantly White institution in the United States. CCHD students took a semester-long course in culture and human development, and SA students attended a short-term study abroad program. Students took pre- and post-surveys to examine their cultural competence skills. The results demonstrated that the cultural competence skills of the SA students were significantly improved after the program. CCHD students also demonstrated similarly increased cultural competence after completing the semester long course emphasizing cultural diversity, while the control group did not show an increase in cultural competence. Implications for teaching courses in cross-cultural psychology are discussed.

Teaching Cultural Competence:
A Comparison of Outcomes Between In-Class and Study Abroad Programs

The world is becoming increasingly multicultural. The number of international migrants, people living in countries other than where they were born, was estimated at 244 million in 2015 (United Nations, 2015). This was a 41% increase compared to 2000, and it was almost twice as much as the population of Japan. As indicated in the theme of the 23rd IACCP: "Honoring Traditions and Creating the Future," educating people to understand and celebrate traditions across cultures in our increasingly diverse societies is a critical role for researchers in the field of cross-cultural psychology. Cultural competence can be discussed at the institutional level (e.g., governmental policies, healthcare and educational systems, organization) and at the individual level. In this study, we focus on individual cultural competence, which can be defined as the ability to develop and maintain relationships, to communicate effectively and appropriately with others, and to work in cooperation with people of different cultures (Fantini, 2005). The current study examined whether students increased their cultural competence in a variety of educational contexts: Cross-Cultural Human Development Course, Study Abroad Programs, and a control group who did not experience either of these educational programs.

Why is it important to increase cultural competence? There are a variety of examples which demonstrate that a lack of cultural competence has costs for our societies and the well-being of individuals. Diversity is increasing across the world. For example, in the United States, it is projected that children of color will soon represent 57% of the student body. Without cultural competence, intercultural contacts can lead to prejudice, discrimination, and racism. There have been numerous reports covered in national and international media that demonstrate tensions created by intercultural conflicts. One benefit of increasing education in cultural competence is to potentially decrease these incidents. Another benefit of educating undergraduate students is to increase cultural competence in the community. Undergraduate students will be participating in our community by taking many roles, such as teachers, healthcare providers, policymakers, volunteers, and parents. It is thus important to start developing cultural competence at the undergraduate level.

Existing research shows that students' cultural competence and cultural understanding are significantly increased when they participate in study abroad programs (Kitsantas, 2004; Watson, Siska, & Wolfel, 2013). For example, studies have shown that students strengthen creative thinking skills, problem solving skills, and have higher levels of emotional resilience, openness, flexibility, and personal autonomy due to their study abroad experience (Kitsantas, 2004; Lee, Therriault, & Linderholm, 2012). Another study by Douglas and Jones-Rikkers (2001) found a positive impact of study abroad programs on students' development of worldmindedness, which is the habitual thought that considers global issues and values global perspectives.

The development of cultural competence has also been observed in classrooms. For instance, Lenchuck and Ahmed (2013) discussed the positive role of increased cultural competence in the context of language learning. Students who developed better cultural competence more readily learned English as a second language in Canada. Another study conducted content analyses among undergraduate physical education students when they completed a service-learning program in which they taught physical education to African-American and Hispanic children from low socioeconomic neighborhoods (Meaney, Bohler, Kopf, Hernandez, & Scott, 2008). Examining students' experiences via daily logs, weekly reflections, and focus group interviews, their findings indicated that daily interaction with the children broadened students' understanding of under-served children, changing their preconceived stereotypes; improved their language and communication skills; and impacted future teaching expectations.

Previous research indicates a significant and positive impact of study abroad programs on students' development of cultural competence. Would we be able to mimic this positive impact in classroom education? While the development of cultural competence has been widely discussed in education for specific professions such as teachers and social workers (e.g., Weinstein, Tomlinson-Clarke, & Curran, 2004), empirical research examining students' development of cultural competence in general education courses is limited.

The current study examined the development of students' cultural competence in one of the university's general education courses: Cross-Cultural Human Development. While this is an upper level course in Human Development, many students from a variety of backgrounds take this course as part of their general education. The learning outcomes for this course were: 1) explain how culture shapes human development across the lifespan, 2) approach cross-cultural human development research with a critical eye, 3) apply students' knowledge about cross-cultural development in everyday life, and 4) communicate students' knowledge to others effectively in a variety of methods such as discussion, presentation, and/or writing. In addition to lecture, readings, and exams, the students took part in a variety of culturally focused assessments, such as a "Norm Breaking Paper" where they had to break a cultural norm and reflect on their experience. In another important assessment, "Hot Topics Debate," students chose a topic and completed a debate on a variety of issues in relation to intercultural conflicts. The goals for this assessment were for students to gain awareness of their own values as well as others and to expand their critical thinking skills.

We compared students' cultural competence between those who completed a Cross-Cultural Human Development course, short-term study abroad programs, and the control group. It is important to note that cultural competence requires continuous education, and we do not make a claim that students become completely culturally competent after taking the course; however, we predict that students' cultural competence increases after taking educational programs that encourage cultural diversity.

Methods

Participants

There was a total of 106 students from a mid-sized Midwestern university in the USA that participated in this study. These students were divided into three groups: Cross-Cultural Human Development Class (CCHD), Study Abroad programs (SA), and the control group. CCHD students consisted of 52 students (45 female; M = 19.5 years; 48 White and 4 Hispanic; 9 freshmen, 18 sophomores, 17 juniors, and 8 seniors). The SA group consisted of 27 students (21 female; M = 21.0 years; 26 White and 1 Asian; 2 freshmen, 7 sophomores, 13 juniors, and 5 seniors). SA students completed short-term study abroad programs (ranging from 2 weeks to a semester) in a variety of countries (Argentina = 2, Ecuador = 7, Germany = 6, Italy = 4, Mexico = 5, South Africa = 3). Finally, the control group consisted of students who were in a different course (Infancy and Early Childhood) who had not completed either the Cross-Cultural Human Development course or a study abroad program. There were 27 students in this group (24 female, M = 20.5 years; 25 White, 1 Black, and 1 Asian; 3 freshmen, 6 sophomores, 13 juniors, and 5 seniors). For the CCHD and control group students, we only included those who were born and raised in the USA. For the SA students, only one student was an international student in the U.S. while all other students were born and raised in the U.S. prior to their study abroad experience.

Table 1
Intercultural Abilities Items

I can cite a definition of culture and describe its components and complexities.
I know the essential norms and taboos of other cultures (greetings, dress, behaviors).
I can recognize signs of cultures stress and some strategies for overcoming it.
I know some techniques to aid my learning of other cultures.
I can contrast my own behaviors with those of other cultures in important areas (social interactions, basic routines, time orientation).
I can cite historical and socio-political factors that shape my own culture and other cultures.
I can describe a model of cross-cultural adjustment stages.
I can cite various learning processes and strategies for learning about and adjusting to other cultures.
I can describe interactional behaviors among people in other cultures in social and professional areas (family roles, teamwork, problem solving).
I can discuss and contract various behavioral patterns in my own culture with those of other cultures.

Materials and Procedure

This study utilized a subset of questions from Fantini's (2005) Assessing Intercultural Competence Scale. The scale is intended to measure the outcomes of intercultural education (such as studying abroad) on students and is a valid and reliable measure in assessing normative, formative, and summative indicators of intercultural competence (Fantini, 2005). For the current study, we focused on the intercultural ability section. Items used in the current study are listed in Table 1.

Students rated themselves on a 0-5 Likert scale to the degree in which they believed or agreed with the statement about their intercultural abilities, with 0 being "none" and 5 being "highest." SA students completed the survey before and after they completed a study abroad program. Other students (CCHD and control) completed the same survey at the end of the semester. All the surveys were completed online.

Results

To compare the outcomes of cultural competence skills, we conducted a one-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) comparing post-SA, CCHD, and control on intercultural abilities. The results revealed a significant effect of group, $F(2, 103) = 4.47$, $p = .014$, $\eta_p^2 = .080$ (Figure 1). The planned post-hoc analyses with Tukey HSD found that there was a significant ($p = .016$) difference between CCHD students ($M = 4.21$, $SD = 0.74$) and the control group ($M = 3.66$, $SD = 0.82$), while CCHD students and post-SA students ($M = 4.27$, $SD = 0.95$) did not differ in their intercultural abilities. The outcomes of post-SA and control students were also significantly different ($p = .045$).

We also conducted a repeated-measure t-test to compare pre-SA ($M = 3.72$, $SD = 0.68$) and post-SA intercultural abilities, and there was a significant increase in their abilities, $t(26) = 3.03$, $p = .005$, confidence interval (CI) = [0.18, 0.94]. When comparing pre-SA and CCHD students, the difference was also significant, $t(77) = 2.89$, $p = 005$, confidence interval (CI) = [0.17, 0.49].

Discussion

The current study tested students' development of cultural competence by examining the intercultural abilities of three groups of participants: Cross-Cultural Human Development course students (CCHD), Study Abroad (SA) students, and the control group that did not participate in either of the educational programs. To our knowledge, the current study was the first study to compare students who completed a cross-cultural course vs. those who completed a study abroad program in their cultural competence skills. Our results indicated that both CCHD and post-SA students demonstrated increased cultural competence compared to pre-SA and control students. Furthermore, since pre-SA and control students
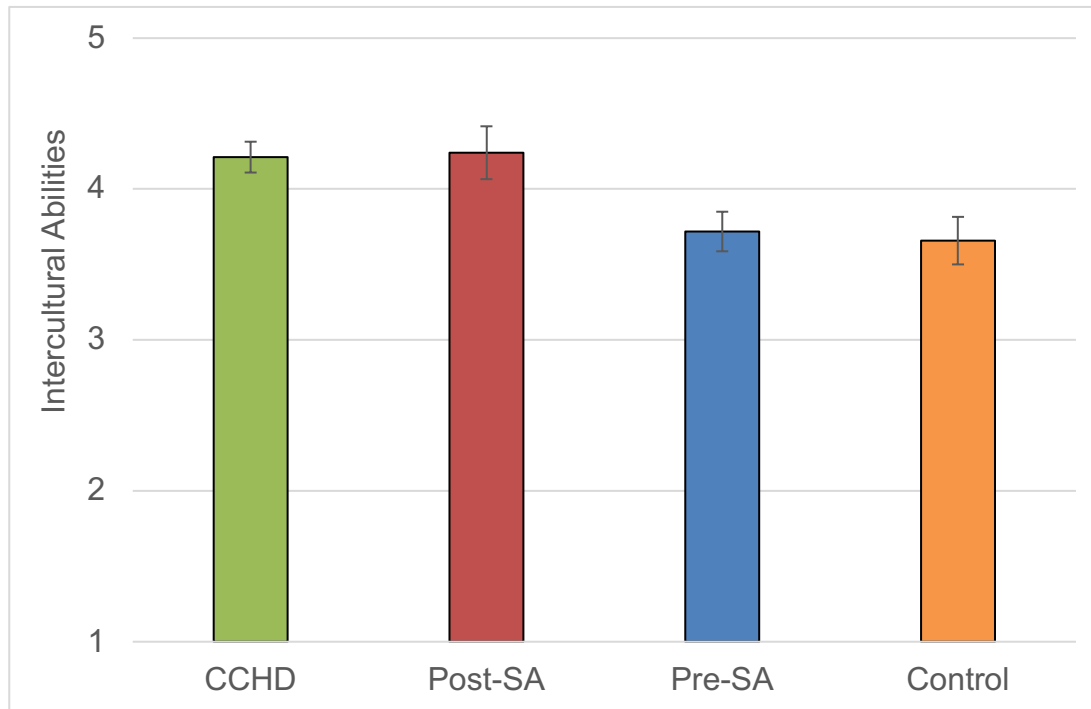
Figure 1. Mean intercultural abilities (and SE) across groups: Cross-Cultural Human Development (CCHD), Post- and Pre-Study Abroad (SA), and Control.

showed similar cultural competence, these results suggested that the increase in post-SA students' cultural competence could be attributed to their participation in the program, rather than other confounding variables such as the selection bias. Overall, our findings are in line with findings of Fantini's (2005) study.

CCHD students demonstrated similar outcomes as the post-SA students in their cultural competence. This finding suggests that the course strengthens students' intercultural abilities as much as a study abroad experience. It is possible that CCHD students were exposed to an in-depth analysis of a variety of cultures, in comparison to the SA students who had an exposure to one culture.

The limitation of the current study was that cultural competence was tested with a self-report. It is thus possible that students may have had a perception of strong cultural competence without actual abilities. This is a critical issue in the field, as most assessments for evaluating cultural competence rely on self-reports (for review, see Kumas-Tan, Beagan, Loppie, MacLeod, & Frank, 2007).

It is also important to note that we do not assume that cultural competence is acquired quickly nor causally. Research indicates that the roles of awareness, reflection, and continued change in striving toward cultural competence are essential (Diller & Moule, 2005). In fact, one of the first steps may be to realize that you are probably not culturally competent.

Despite these limitations, our results provide an insight into the role of undergraduate education in helping students develop cultural competence. In an increasingly diverse world, cultural competence is an essential skill for not only professionals but also for all citizens. Diversity brings challenges and opportunities. Future research should investigate how a variety of undergraduate programs, both inside and outside of classrooms, can help students take these challenges and turn them into opportunities.

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Mexicans' Emotion Regulation Strategies and Relationship Satisfaction by Gender

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Abstract

Vater and Schröder-Abé (2015) found that suppressing expression can potentially interrupt couple communication, therefore producing negative interpersonal behavior and diminishing satisfaction in the relationship. Considering that emotional regulation and relationship satisfaction have shown cultural variations, the object of the study was to assess the relationship of these two constructs in 166 male and 231 female Mexican young adults. Sánchez-Aragón's (2012) Emotional Regulation Strategies Scale, adapted for couples, and Córtes, Reyes, Díaz-Loving, Rivera-Aragón, and Monjaraz's (1994) Relationship Satisfaction Inventory were administered to the sample. Negative and significant correlations were found between both expressive suppression strategies and relationship satisfaction. Data is discussed in terms of the Mexican culture and in terms of gender differences, emphasizing the importance of acquiring skills and abilities to regulate emotions in close relationships. Emotion regulation becomes essential as it fulfills an important social function: it encourages the use of adequate strategies that allow couples' better communication skills, better interpersonal resources and the possibility of solving and/or managing any conflict that may arise in a relationship. Therefore, the use of proper emotion regulation strategies becomes essential in promoting relationship satisfaction, diminishing the odds of deteriorated relationships, and promoting well-being and quality of the relationship.

Keywords: Emotion regulation strategies, satisfaction, gender, Mexico, culture

Mexicans' Emotion Regulation Strategies and Relationship Satisfaction by Gender

Relationship satisfaction is and has often been the reference point for evaluating couple interactions, as it is considered an indicator of the quality of the relationship (Díaz-Loving, 1990; Díaz-Loving & Sánchez, 2002). Satisfaction has been defined as a complex phenomenon that includes attitudes towards interaction; aspects of the couple, including satisfaction with the emotional reactions of the couple; as well as structural aspects, like the type of organization, the establishment and compliance of rules, and education of children (Martínez, 2004). For this reason, when talking about satisfaction it is also necessary to consider the emotions experienced by each member of the dyad.

Emotional regulation strategies are those actions that modify emotions, whether modifying antecedent factors to emotions (the situation) or modifying some components of the emotion itself (i.e., supressing or reappraising) (Martínez-Pérez & Sánchez, 2014). Gross and Thompson (2007) state that people use five different processes of emotional regulation, among which we can find the election of situation, modification of the situation, attention, cognitive reappraisal, and response modulation.

Identifying how emotion regulation strategies relate to satisfaction is important since during an interaction emotions, cognitions and behaviors (both positive and negative) emerge. These have to be managed to produce positive feelings and satisfaction based on the way in which members of a dyad react, automatically or controlled, in order to modulate, suppress or enhance emotional experiences (Sánchez, 2016).

Some studies (e.g., Yuan, McCarthy, Holley, & Levenson, 2010) show that positive emotions are a key component in order to achieve satisfaction and well-being; they allow the individual to build and construct personal and psychological assets that enhance behaviors and cognitions that turn out to be essential to cope with negative situations.

Another fundamental element that should be taken into account is the fact that there is an important effect of culture on interaction well-being. Interpersonal relationships are heavily guided by social norms, customs and expectations that are derived from culture (Fiske, Kitayama, Markus, & Nisbett, 1998). In particular, satisfaction with one's couple may largely depend on the degree to which a relationship fulfills culturally determined expectations and obligations (Lucas et al., 2008). Regarding this, Cheung (2005) states that much of her marriage research findings on Eastern Europe shows that men reported higher levels of marital satisfaction than their wives, while Western men reported less marital satisfaction than their Eastern counterparts. Given that Mexico is considered a collectivist culture where family comes before the individual, and males normally have power while females tend to sacrifice themselves, favoring family, it seems logical that research has found that men show higher levels of satisfaction towards the relationship in comparison to women (Díaz Guerrero, 1994, 2003). In addition, although social obligations are a defining feature of relationships in many collectivistic Eastern cultures, such influences may be viewed as obstacles to personal happiness in individualistic Western cultures (Fiske et al., 1998).

Regarding satisfaction in Mexican couples, Ojeda, Melby, Sánchez, and Rodarte (2007) found that males who say they are satisfied with the level of emotional bonding in their relationship reported higher levels of expression and manifestation of emotions (referred to positive femininity in the literature; e.g., Spence & Helmreich, 1978) with their partner, while satisfaction in females is more related to instrumental and agentic attributes (referred to as positive masculine traits in the literature; e.g., Spence & Helmreich, 1978).

Given that positive emotions play an essential role in relationship satisfaction for both males and females (Diaz-Loving & Sanchez-Aragon, 2002), it presents the opportunity to study which emotions are involved in producing different levels of well-being on each member of couples. Emotions are generally classified according to their subjective experience, and divided into two areas: positive emotions, such as love and happiness; and negative emotions, such as anger, sadness and fear (Fischer, Shaver, & Carnochan, 1990). In terms of the regulation of emotions, constructive regulation is associated with well-being (Ryan, La Guardia, Solky-Butze, Chirkov, & Kim, 2005). Kriegelewicz (2006) found that couples who have greater satisfaction are those who use positive strategies to solve conflicts. As an example, dialogue and loyalty are rarely used as regulators for escape or avoidance. Effective emotion regulation (or emotional regulation) is difficult when people lack the necessary skills, or these skills are impaired or damaged, resulting in inappropriate emotional regulation characterized by excessive intensity or an enormous inhibition of emotions. In fact, such inadequate emotion regulation strategies are cause of clinical psychological syndromes (Reyes, 2013). Hence, it is important to properly regulate emotions to enhance well-being both for the individual and the couple.

Research has shown that extraversion, openness, kindness and awareness are associated with more adaptive emotion regulation techniques, which in turn predict positive interpersonal behavior and lead to greater relationship satisfaction. In contrast, neuroticism is linked to dysfunctional emotional regulation and interpersonal behavior, which leads to lower relationship satisfaction (Vater & Schröder, 2015). These researchers also found that expressive suppression has the potential to disrupt communication with the partner, precipitating negative interpersonal behavior, which decreases the satisfaction with the relationship. In general, Bradbury and Shaffer (2012) found that people who have difficulty regulating their emotions experience lower satisfaction in their love relationships. It has also been shown that individuals use emotional regulation strategies like expressive suppression as a response modulator that involves the inhibition of expressive behaviors and cognitive reappraisal. These strategies in turn are used to create cognitive and situational changes that potentially generate positive and negative emotions, modifying the emotional impact they generate, and therefore favoring marital satisfaction in its multiple manifestations (Sánchez, Díaz, & López, 2008). On the other hand, the presence of negative emotions like anger, fear and sadness vary in their intensity; their presence produces both psychological and physiological changes that, although they fulfill some adaptive functions for the individual, actually can deteriorate the relationships, productivity, well-being and quality of life of the members of the family (Taylor & Sánchez, 2014).

The impact of culture on satisfaction has recently become an important topic of research (Ratzlaff, Matsumoto, Kouznetsova, Raroque, & Ray, 2000). According to Hofstede (2011), culture is "the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from others" (p. 3). Matsumoto (2000) defines culture as a dynamic system of explicit and implicit rules established by groups in order to ensure their survival, involving attitudes, values, beliefs, norms, and behaviors, shared by a group and harbored differently by each specific unit within such group. Matsumoto also states that if a person agrees with the shared values or behaviors of their group, then that culture resides in him/her; if he/she does not share those values or behaviors, then he/she does not share that culture. Triandis, Bontempo, Leung, and Hui (1990) distinguish three levels of culture: the cultural level (usually measured by nation or other geographic grouping), the demographic level (measured by ethnicity, race, gender, or other socio-demographic characteristics), and the individual level (unique variations on any individual).

As an effect of growing in a particular culture and receiving different socialization and enculturation practices, cultural differences may exist in these emotion regulation processes. For instance, culture could affect antecedent-focused strategies (such as reappraisal) because cultures differ in their worldviews, ideologies, values, and concepts of the self (Markus & Kitayama, 1998; Matsumoto, 2006b; Schwartz & Bardi, 2001). Matsumoto (2006a) mentions that cultural worldviews are social constructions of reality that presumably characterize important aspects of one's culture (e.g., American culture is individualistic; East Asian cultures are collectivistic and group oriented; Mexican culture is family oriented, etc.). As suggested by Hofstede (2001), Mexico is a collectivist culture that emphasizes values such as conformity, obedience and in-group harmony, at least as ideologies. These, in turn, produce guidelines for individuals in more collectivist cultures to downplay emotional expressions that threaten in-group harmony and to encourage the expression of emotions that maintain or create harmony. Therefore, we hypothesize that men and women that have collective oriented norms and beliefs will choose to consider the position of others as adequate emotion regulation strategies, and thus will show higher levels of satisfaction towards the relationship, family and groups.

As it can be observed, there are sufficient grounds to believe that the strategies of co-regulation of each of the members of the dyad will directly affect the perceived relationship satisfaction for both, and proving this is the purpose of this study. Nonetheless, this study is exploratory for a Mexican sample. The hypotheses that will be guiding this paper are the following:

H1. Cognitive reappraisal (considering others and the situation) should correlate positively with relationship satisfaction.

H2. Expressive suppression (not showing emotions) reduces relationship satisfaction in Mexico.

Method

Participants

The sample consisted of 397 Mexican volunteer participants; 166 were males and 231 were females, with ages between 18 and 70 years (*M* age = 32.7 years, *SD* = 11.6 years). As for education, 34.8% had undergraduate studies, 26.7% had only a high school education, 13.9% had a technical education and 23.2% had only an elementary and/ or secondary school education. Most reported being married (45.3%) or single (31%), some cohabiting (18.4%), and 5.1% reported being divorced or separated. It is worth mentioning that all single and cohabiting participants were currently involved in a couple relationship. The reason for selecting a sample that included a high proportion of lower education is because lower education is related to more traditional collectivistic norms and values (Díaz Guerrero, 1994).

Measurements

Relationship satisfaction was measured with selected factors of the Multifaceted Inventory of Marital Satisfaction (MIMS) of Córtes and colleagues (1994), which consists of 48 items with a Likert-type scale (1- I dislike it very much, 5- I like it very much) distributed in 6 factors: Interaction (e.g., The way my partner is interested in me*; alpha* = .89), Physical-sexual (e.g., The way my partner hugs me; *alpha* = .92), Organization and operation (e.g. The way my partner solves family conflicts; *alpha* = .89), Family (e.g., The way my partner distributes family chores; *alpha* = .90), Fun (e.g., Amusement activities that my partner proposes; *alpha* = .86), and Children (e.g., Education that my partner proposes for our children; *alpha* = .90). In total, the items account for 68.8% of the total variance and have a Cronbach's alpha of .90. In the case of single participants, they did not respond to the section about children. This inventory was adapted in such a way that it could be responded to by anyone in any kind of couple relationship (married, dating, cohabiting): instead of answering regarding "marital satisfaction," people were assessed on "couple relationship satisfaction."

To measure self-regulation, the Emotional Regulation Strategies Scale Adapted to Couples (Sánchez-Aragón, 2012) was applied. The scale consists of seven factors with eigenvalues above 1 that explain a total of 57.83% of the variance and whose overall reliability coefficient is .93 with a total of 41 items. The factors are: Expressive suppression-trait (e.g., I try not to show how I feel; *alpha* = .85), Cognitive reappraisal-trait (e.g., I think of what I feel, and that helps me behave accordingly to the situation; *alpha* = .83), Cognitive reappraisal of anger and sadness (e.g., When I get angry, I take my time to think about things and then I react; *alpha* = .85), Expressive suppression of love and happiness (e.g., I can control any expression of love; *alpha* = .86), Expressive suppression of fear and sadness (e.g., When I'm afraid, I do my best to contain what I'm feeling; *alpha* = .83), Cognitive reappraisal of fear (e.g., Before letting myself go by fear, I think of the

reasons behind this; *alpha* = .76), and Cognitive reappraisal of love and happiness (e.g., When I'm in love, I re-evaluate the best way of expressing my feelings; *alpha* = .84).

Procedure

In order to obtain the sample, several public places like parks, malls and schools were visited. Also, most of the sample was obtained using a snowball procedure. All participants were asked if they were over 18 years old (adults), if they were currently involved in a couple relationship (even those who were divorced or separated), and were given an informed consent, which reassured them that all participation was voluntary and collected data would remain strictly confidential. The instructions asked each participant to answer honestly to each of the statements that were presents taking in mind that there were no correct or incorrect answers. Participants took around 20 minutes in order to complete all measures and received our gratitude after completing them. Each participant was told that in case they needed some kind of help, support or information they could attend the attention centers for individual help at the University. No reward was given upon completion of the measures.

Results

Table 1 shows the correlations of emotional regulation with relationship satisfaction; for females, expressive suppression of love and happiness was negatively correlated with the factors of physical-sexual, interaction and children. This means that participants who suppressed love and happiness tended to be less satisfied with these areas in their relationship. The expressive suppression factor of fear and sadness was negatively correlated with satisfaction with organization and functioning, family, physical-sexual, interaction and fun. People who suppressed emotions like fear and sadness did not perceive much satisfaction in these factors. For the factor of expressive suppression as a trait, negative correlations appeared with organization and functioning, physical-sexual and interaction. This means that females who presented suppression as a personality trait had less satisfaction in those areas of the relationship. Regarding cognitive reappraisal factors, they were not significantly related to satisfaction for females.

Emotional regulation factors were also negatively related to relationship satisfaction factors in males. Expressive suppression factor of fear and sadness was related to organization and functioning, interaction and fun. Males who suppressed love and happiness were less satisfied with the sexual part of their relationship, as well as the factors of interaction and fun. Consistent with this, males who had suppressive personality traits perceived less satisfaction with the organization and functioning factors, the physical and sexual aspects of the relationship, as well as perceiving less interaction and fun.

Table 1

Correlations Between Relationship Satisfaction and Emotional Regulation in Men and Women

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1	CR anger and sadness		.13**	.47**	.49**	.71**	.29**	.50**	.06	.07	.14	.10	.09	.64
2	ES love and happiness	.18**		.46**	.50**	.29**	.51**	.02	-.10	-.01	-.23**	-.20**	-.17*	.07
3	ES fear and sadness	.31**	.54**		.55**	.47**	.55**	.15	-.19*	-.03	-.12	-.20**	-.24**	.11
4	CR love and happiness	.55**	.34**	.35**		.52**	.40**	.43**	.05	.05	.05	.09	.05	-.24
5	CR fear	.72**	.41**	.35**	.60**		.35**	.51**	.05	.09	.06	.08	.07	-.06
6	ES trait	.26**	.50**	.50**	.34**	.32**		.32**	-.19*	-.05	-.15*	-.20**	-.24**	-.07
7	CR trait	.61**	.03	.13*	.48**	.52**	.33**		.16*	.07	.15*	.17*	.14	-.20**
8	Org. and functioning	-.00	-.09	-.23**	-.07	-.00	-.18**	-.01		.66**	.62**	.72**	.79**	.07
9	Family	.05	-.00	-.19**	.01	.07	-.16*	.03	.68**		.48**	.54**	.61**	.12
10	Physical-Sexual	.02	-.20**	-.16*	-.07	-.03	-.13*	.02	.60**	.46**		.82**	.77**	-.17**
11	Interaction	.08	-.14*	-.21**	-.05	.05	-.15*	.04	.72**	.60**	.83**		.86**	-.13
12	Fun	.03	-.08	-.19**	-.01	.03	-.12	-.04	.58**	.57**	.58**	.69**		-.09
13	Children	.00	-.14*	.11	.08	.04	-.01	-.00	.21**	.08	-.00	.02	.00	
Mean		3.10	2.30	2.90	3.00	3.00	3.40	3.50	3.80	3.50	4.10	4.00	3.90	2.40
SD		.82	.82	.80	.84	.73	.80	.73	.91	1.00	.75	.79	.99	2.00

* p ≤ 0.05; ** p ≤ 0.01. Notes. CR (cognitive reappraisal), ES (expressive suppression), Org. (Organization). Correlations for women are at the bottom-left section of the table, while for men are shown in the top right section.

Additionally, males who had a cognitive reappraisal as part of their personality, that is, as a trait, were those who perceived more satisfying couple relationships in terms of organization and functioning, physical and sexual aspects and interaction with their partner. In turn, satisfaction with children decreased with this personality characteristic.

Discussion

The results indicate that expressive suppression as a strategy and trait is linked to lower relationship satisfaction in areas such as physical-sexual satisfaction, couple fun, interaction and organization. When a person suppresses their positive or negative emotions, satisfaction with the relationship decreases, since it makes it harder for the partner to empathize and feel a sense of solidarity and sharing, which is consistent with previous findings (Vater & Schröder, 2015). Therefore, emotional regulation deficiencies lead to less satisfaction with the relationship and a general negative sense of well-being of the couple (Ryan et al., 2005). Similarly, suppressing emotions, which other authors link to an avoidant personality, is associated with relationship dissatisfaction; couples who have greater satisfaction are those who use positive strategies to solve conflicts such as dialogue and loyalty and rarely use the escape or avoidance strategies (Kriegelewicz, 2006), resulting in a constructive affective interaction link that relates to satisfaction and happiness (Freedman, 1978; Gottman, Coan, Carrére, & Swanson, 1998). In a similar manner, as the reevaluation of emotions increases (cognitive reappraisal), satisfaction with the relationship in areas such as interaction, physical-sexual and organization also increases for males.

With regards to the correlations of satisfaction and regulation, expressive-suppression strategies were related to a decrease in relationship satisfaction in areas such as physical and sexual, giving a sense of closeness for both males and females; however, caresses and cuddles appear as a relation mainly for females. In general, people who avoid or suppress emotions are dissatisfied with the physical aspects of their relationship. Matsumoto, Seung, and Sanae (2008) suggest that cultures high on Power Distance, Embeddedness and Hierarchy should be associated with less Reappraisal and more Suppression because they value emotions less and require individual-level Suppression to maintain in-group cohesion and harmony. This seems to be what is happening in Mexico; being a collectivist culture, there is a preference for suppressing emotions in order to 1) avoid hurting the family, both nuclear and extended, and 2) maintaining the relationship despite being unsatisfied with the interpersonal relationships, which is learned in family with the purpose of keeping it united.

Cognitive reappraisal associations with relationship satisfaction were higher for males, similar to what Ojeda et al. (2007) found. This is perhaps due to the fact that males tend to be more satisfied than females in their marital interaction (Rivera, 1992), which may be because males use more cognitive reappraisal strategies, leading to better adaptation in the relationship compared to females. Our findings also indicate that lower levels of suppression of negative emotions favor relationship satisfaction, since it allows a

better adjustment in dyadic dynamics. However, for males, more cognitive re-appreciation is related to less satisfaction in the area of children, meaning that when men restructure their feelings, they see less eye to eye with their spouses on how they should treat and educate their children. Thus, Mexican men prefer suppressing their own emotions to favor the well-being of their family and their children. Nevertheless, although they show this pattern, when recurrent or strong conflicts arise, they tend to express their disagreement on how their female partner treats their children.

The findings for Mexico are in line with what Matsumoto et al. (2008) and Butler, Lee, and Gross (2007) propose. It seems that attachment to cultural norms moderates suppression and expression of emotions, and it has immediate consequences during social interaction. As Butler et al. (2007) and Gross and John (2003) suggest, emotion suppression tends to create actively hostile interactions for Europeans, but it seems to work the other way around for people with other cultural orientations. For a Latin-American, collectivist country such as Mexico, this could be working in such a way that emotion suppression leads to higher levels of smiling, laughing, emotional disclosure and the willingness to establish relationships, which could transform into relationship satisfaction.

Other studies (Escobar & Sánchez, 2014) identify that, upon the presence of negative emotions in couple relationships, members of the dyad tend to perceive more support from their couples. In the case of women, they are more reactive towards negative emotions coming from men and tend to be more emotionally expressive, understanding and receptive, even so towards their children. Men, on the other hand, usually suppress their emotions, and they modify the way they evaluate situations in which they face negative emotions like fear, anger or sadness; also, they feel the need to hide what they feel, since they have adopted several cultural norms that men have to be instrumental and caregivers.

A key finding of this study is that emotion regulation is a fundamental component in the development of satisfying relationships, which is why when people regulate their experiences and negative emotions better levels of satisfaction arise, since marriage and couple relationships are an essential part in people's lives. Emotion regulation therefore fulfills an important social function, which encourages further research about the topic, since there are few studies that really study this relationship. The use of adequate strategies allows couples to escape from negative states, which then leads to the maintenance of affective and effective communication behaviors that can repair any damage that has been made and solve any conflict (Bloch, Haase, & Levenson, 2014; Story et al., 2007).

In general, when men consistently use cognitive reappraisal as a coping style, they tend to be more positive about their relationship. When this strategy becomes a trait, it is fundamental to emotion management by fulfilling an adaptive function that allows the generation of thoughts that redefine reality, keeping some things at a distance and allowing the emergence of positive emotions; they are therefore reflected in satisfaction with the interaction, its functioning, organization and physical and sexual aspects (Rivera, Díaz, Velasco, Jaen, & Villanueva, 2014). In conclusion, the use of positive emotional

regulation strategies for both positive and negative emotions is of great importance to increase relationship satisfaction as well as happiness, both for individuals and couples. The applied implications for well-being and the reduction of violence are an important reason to continue research on emotion management and its link to thoughts and behavior.

Our findings suggest that those with adequate emotion regulation are able to evaluate the importance of several life events. Therefore, they can cope with distressful experiences and promote their happiness, which can in turn lead to relationship satisfaction. According to Azizi, Radpey and Alipour (2015), maladaptive strategies promote low levels of relationship satisfaction because they enhance negative attitudes and behaviors such as self-reproach and catastrophizing, increasing worrisome feelings in couples and preserving and intensifying relationship dissatisfaction. Mirgain and Cordova (2007), Abbot (2005), and Azizi et al. (2015) came to similar conclusions compared to those of the present research. It seems that people who use adequate emotion regulation strategies, like thinking on positive events instead of negative ones, designing effective courses to solve problems and attributing positive meanings to events, experience higher levels of relationship satisfaction. The increase in relationship satisfaction may decrease negative emotions and improve people's cognitive and emotional skills, which could help to confront problems in a much more efficient manner.

Emotion regulation gives those capable of regulation a better understanding of their own as well as others' feelings in a much more effective way and allows them to understand different situations better, which makes it easier to enjoy better internal and interpersonal skills (Asadzadeh, Makvandi, & Mobaraki, 2015). Emotion regulation helps couples prevent negative situations and promotes better communication, which can be seen in higher quality of marriages and longer, more satisfied relationships. Our findings suggest that emotion regulation is in fact related to relationship satisfaction. It can be seen that emotion perception, consideration, as well as reasoning about emotions and regulating and managing emotions, are essential in marriages and couples' relationships. The capability to recognize someone's emotions and to regulate one's own transforms into satisfying, lasting relationships.

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Cross-Cultural Differences in Interpersonal and Intrapersonal Understandings of Forgiveness

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Abstract

Most theorizing about forgiveness conceptualize forgiveness as an intrapersonal process in which negative feelings are transformed into positive ones, with the goal of inner peace for the forgiver. Forgiveness viewed as an interpersonal process, in contrast, focuses on behaviors, such as reconciliation, that lead to the restoration of social harmony. Several studies have demonstrated that the understanding and practice of forgiveness differs across cultures. We examined the hypothesis that North Americans understand forgiveness as more of an intrapersonal phenomenon and less of an interpersonal phenomenon relative to Asians. A sample of 153 participants recruited through Facebook completed an online survey. Findings generally support the hypothesis: North Americans endorsed intrapersonal over interpersonal understandings of forgiveness, Southeast Asians endorsed interpersonal over intrapersonal understandings, and South Asians were closely split between the two definitions. The current findings suggest that collectivistic forgiveness is not a unitary construct, and that the application of theory and therapy models based on Western conceptions of forgiveness to Asian populations may be inaccurate and even harmful. Future research should examine forgiveness across collectivistic cultures. Additionally, cross-cultural research on forgiveness should use specific affective, cognitive, and behavioral terms when assessing a participant's level of forgiveness; broad questions assessing a participant's general forgiveness may be difficult to interpret and compare cross-culturally.

Keywords: Forgiveness, Cross-Cultural Differences, South Asia, Southeast Asia, North America

Cross-Cultural Differences in Interpersonal and Intrapersonal Understandings of Forgiveness

Despite significant attention from researchers on the topic of forgiveness in the past several decades (for reviews, see Fehr, Gelfand, & Nag, 2010; McCullough, Pargament, & Thoresen, 2000), little attention has been given to cultural differences in lay conceptualizations of forgiveness (Hook, Worthington, Utsey, Davis, & Burnette, 2012). The limited research on this topic was briefly summarized by Sandage, Hill, and Vang (2003), who noted "between-group differences in overall levels of forgiveness may not be as significant as …cultural differences in meanings and motivations for forgiveness" (p. 572). Yet, forgiveness theorists rarely address the context in which forgiveness occurs (Lamb, 2002). This study seeks to address this gap by comparing interpersonal and intrapersonal understandings of forgiveness in North American, Southeast Asian, and South Asian samples.

Cultural Differences in the Willingness to Forgive

As noted by Suwartono, Prawasti, and Mullet (2007), research on cultural differences in the willingness to forgive, or forgivingness as it is also called, is sparse. We discuss three studies here, for illustrative purposes: Kadiangandu, Mullet, and Vinsonneau (2001), with Congolese and French samples; Suwartono, Prawasti, and Mullet (2007), with samples of Indonesian and French; and Paz, Neto, and Mullet (2008) with Chinese and French samples. Having hypothesized across these studies that individuals from the collectivistic cultures (Congolese, Indonesian, and Chinese) would report higher rates of willingness to forgive than those from the individualistic culture (French), the results of these studies were inconsistent. In two of the studies, the samples thought to be more collectivistic (the Congolese and Indonesian samples) reported higher willingness to forgive and lower levels of lasting resentment than the French sample. Yet in the third study, unexpectedly, the overall levels of dispositional forgiveness reported by the Chinese and the French were similar, with the Chinese reporting higher levels of lasting resentment than the French. The authors of the third study (Paz et al., 2008) concluded that the individualism-collectivism dimension may not adequately explain the differences in forgiveness (or lack thereof) observed across cultures, suggesting that other factors, such as religion, may also contribute to differences. Another consideration complicating the interpretation of these findings may be underlying differences in the understanding of forgiveness across these cultures and whether the selected measures of forgiveness captured both cultures' understandings equally well.

A study of forgiveness from within a single culture (Fu, Watkins, & Hui, 2004) suggests that conceptualizations of forgiveness in China may differ from the motivations for forgiveness typically discussed in the vast body of research on forgiveness, which has been predominantly conducted in the United States by American researchers. In the Chinese sample, forgiveness was more strongly predicted by what the authors termed 'other-oriented

personality variables,' such as a desire for harmony and relationship orientation, compared to more self-oriented personality traits, such as self-esteem and anxiety. The authors therefore concluded that forgiveness is more closely related to preserving social harmony in China than to the individual variables typically studied in relation to forgiveness in the US (e.g., agreeableness and neuroticism; McCullough, Bellah, Kilpatrick, & Johnson, 2001). If motivations for forgiveness have been shown to differ between cultures, it follows that definitions of forgiveness may also differ.

Cultural Differences in Definitions of Forgiveness

Much of the theory regarding cultural differences in the understanding of forgiveness focuses on the cultural value of individualism and collectivism. It has been suggested that Western models of forgiveness adhere closely to values associated with individualism: the self as independent from others and the prioritizing of personal well-being. Consistent with this, forgiveness is thought of as a more intrapersonal process, with the goal of release from negative emotions and the development of a sense of inner peace for the forgiver (Paz et al., 2008). In this context, the process of forgiveness is clearly distinguished from reconciliation with the offender (Sandage & Weins, 2001). In fact, it can even be seen as a way to more completely sever a relationship (Augsburger, 1997): once negative emotions toward the offender are lifted, the final tie to that person is broken. In contrast, collectivists are thought to view forgiveness and reconciliation as inseparable. Forgiveness is considered a social duty with the ultimate goal of preserving social harmony (e.g., Ho, 1993; Sandage & Wiens, 2001; Sandage & Williamson, 2005; Ting-Toomey, 1988). Although much theory has focused on differences between collectivist and individualistic cultures, it should be noted that other factors, such as religion, also likely have a role in explaining cultural differences in understandings of forgiveness (Lamb, 2002), and thus there may be differences *between* collectivistic (and between individualistic) cultures.

Empirical Investigations

Despite extensive theorizing, empirical investigations of cultural differences in the understanding of forgiveness are sparse. Hook et al. (2012) examined the relationship between collectivistic self-construal and interpersonal/intrapersonal understandings of forgiveness in a sample of American undergraduates. As predicted, those with more collectivistic self-construals viewed forgiveness as more of an interpersonal phenomenon, tied more closely to interpersonal harmony and reconciliation than to fostering inner emotional peace.

In the only cross-cultural comparison of understanding of forgiveness, Kadiangandu, Gauché, Vinsonneau, and Mullet (2007) found, as predicted, that their Congolese sample (thought to be collectivistic) viewed forgiveness and reconciliation as more closely related than did their French sample (thought to be individualistic), who understood it as a more intrapersonal process.

The Current Study

The current study seeks to address the lack of cross-cultural comparisons of the understanding of forgiveness. We examined intrapersonal and interpersonal understandings of forgiveness in a sample of North Americans, South Asians and Southeast Asians, hypothesizing that North Americans would report a more intrapersonal and less interpersonal view than the Asian subsamples. We also conducted exploratory analyses to compare these understandings between the South Asian and Southeast Asian subsamples, but had no justification to hypothesize a particular direction of difference. It is important to note that, although the theoretical literature explains cultural differences in understandings of forgiveness as stemming from cultural differences in the value of individualism and collectivism, we were unable to directly test this hypothesis, as collectivism and individualism were not measured.

Methods

Participants

Participants were recruited in two ways: 1) online through postings on the Facebook accounts of the authors and of those participants who voluntarily agreed to post the link of the survey on their Facebook accounts, and 2) through a university-wide email sent out to all faculty, staff and students of an international women's university in South Asia. Of the 357 participants who began the online survey, 200 (56%) completed it. Those who completed the survey and provided demographic information included 153 women and 29 men. Because all but three of the men were from North America, potentially biasing the results, these participants were omitted from the analyses (however, we should note that the pattern of findings is identical with and without the inclusion of men in the sample). Of the remaining 153 participants, 80 were born in North America and 73 in Asia (44 from South Asia and 29 from Southeast Asia; see Table 1 for a breakdown by country). They ranged in age from 16 to 80 years (M = 30.4, SD = 11.9).

Measures

Understanding of Forgiveness

The Forgiveness Understanding Scale (Hook, 2007) has two six-item subscales: the tendency to understand forgiveness within an interpersonal context (e.g., "A person can completely forgive another without telling him or her."), and the tendency to understand forgiveness within an interpersonal context (e.g., "The purpose of forgiveness is to heal the relationship between two or more people."). Using a Likert scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree), participants rated their agreement with each item. Internal consistency in the current sample was good with Cronbach's alphas of .83 for each of the subscales.

Table 1

Participants' Countries of Origin

North America		South Asia		Southeast Asia	
Country	N	Country	N	Country	N
Canada	8	Bangladesh	21	Cambodia	2
USA	72	Bhutan	2	Malaysia	1
		India	10	Myanmar	2
		Nepal	7	Vietnam	24
		Pakistan	2		
		Sri Lanka	2		
Total	80		44		29

Procedure

After reading a consent form describing the study procedures and their rights as research participants, participants indicated their consent by pressing a button to enter the survey rather than by signing their names in order to preserve anonymity. Those who did not consent were directed away from the survey. The survey took approximately 15 minutes to complete. Participants were given no remuneration for their participation in the study. We provided our contact information and encouraged participants to contact us to discuss any questions, comments or concerns regarding the survey. At the end of the survey, participants were also requested to post the survey's link in their own Facebook accounts, if they were willing, in order to facilitate snowball sampling. The online survey was active for approximately one month.

Results

Sample Characteristics

Table 2 displays the age and occupations of the Asian and North American subsamples. Significant differences existed between the Asian and North American subsamples in age, $t(95.99) = 10.92$, $p < .001$, and occupation, $\chi^2(3) = 81.81$, $p < .001$. Compared to the North American subsample, the Asian subsample was significantly younger and more likely to be a student. There were no significant differences in these variables between the South Asian and Southeast Asian subsamples.

Table 2
Participant Characteristics

Demographic			North Americans n = 80	Asians n = 73	South Asians n = 44	Southeast Asians n = 29
Occupation						
Employed	n	(%)	64 (80%)	10 (13.7%)	6 (13.6%)	4 (13.8%)
Student	n	(%)	10 (12.5%)	63 (86.3%)	38 (36.4%)	25 (86.2%)
Mother	n	(%)	2 (2.5%)	0	0	0
Retired n (%)			2 (2.5%)	0	0	0
Age in years M (SD)			37.75* (12.05)	22.25* (3.81)	22.41 (3.68)	22.00 (4.05)

Note. The difference between the Asian and North American subsamples in age is significant at *p* < .001.

Main Results

Our hypothesis, that the North American subsample would be more likely to understand forgiveness as an intrapersonal phenomenon and less likely to understand forgiveness as an interpersonal phenomenon compared to the Asian subsample, was supported by the data. The North American subsample scored significantly higher on the Intrapersonal subscale [$t(151) = 6.46$, $p < .001$] and significantly lower on the Interpersonal subscale of the Forgiveness Understanding Scale [$t(151) = -8.24$, $p < .001$)] than the Asian subsample. There were no differences between the South Asian and Southeast Asian subsamples on the Intrapersonal subscale [$t(71) = .96$, $p = .34$] or the Interpersonal subscale [$t(71) = -1.55$, $p = .13$]. Table 3 displays the means and standard deviations of these subscales by subsample.

Table 3
Means and Standard Deviation of Intrapersonal and Interpersonal Understandings of Forgiveness by Subsample

	North American n = 80 M (SD)	South Asian n = 44 M (SD)	Southeast Asian n = 29 M (SD)	Total Asian Sample n = 73 M (SD)
Intrapersonal Understanding of Forgiveness	23.78 (4.39)	19.61 (3.88)	18.62 (4.94)	19.22 (4.32)
Interpersonal Understanding of Forgiveness	15.59 (4.22)	20.80 (4.84)	22.48 (4.10)	21.47 (4.61)

Note. Subscales range from 6-30.

Given the significant age differences between the North American and Asian subsamples, it was important to rule out age as a potential confound. We performed two ANCOVAS with interpersonal forgiveness and intrapersonal forgiveness as the dependent variables, age as the covariate and region (North America, Asia) as the between-subjects factor. In both cases, age was not a significant predictor [intrapersonal: $F(1,150) = 0.12$, $\eta_p^2 < .001$, $p = 0.73$; interpersonal: $F(1,150) = 2.85$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.02$, $p = 0.09$], while region remained a highly significant predictor [intrapersonal: $F(1,150) = 21.80$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.13$, $p < .001$; interpersonal: $F(1,150) = -54.67$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.27$, $p < .001$].

To circumvent possible reference-group effects and cultural differences in response to Likert scales that can undermine the validity of cross-cultural comparisons, we also compared endorsement of interpersonal versus intrapersonal understandings of forgiveness within each subsample. We found that North Americans endorsed an intrapersonal understanding of forgiveness significantly more strongly than an interpersonal understanding of forgiveness [$t(79) = 9.66$, $p < .001$]. South Asians did not more strongly endorse an interpersonal or intrapersonal understanding of forgiveness [$t(43) = -1.20$, $p < .24$]. Southeast Asians more strongly endorsed an interpersonal understanding of forgiveness than an intrapersonal understanding [$t(28) = -2.56$, $p = .016$].

Discussion

As predicted, the North American subsample endorsed more intrapersonal understanding and less interpersonal understanding of forgiveness compared to the Asian subsample. There were no differences in understanding of forgiveness between the South and Southeast Asian subsamples. Examining differences within groups, the North Americans endorsed a more intrapersonal understanding than interpersonal understanding of forgiveness, the Southeast Asians endorsed a more interpersonal understanding than intrapersonal understanding, while the South Asians seemed to view forgiveness as an interpersonal and an intrapersonal construct about equally. We should note that all three subgroups endorsed both interpersonal and intrapersonal understandings of forgiveness. Differences were only by a matter of degree.

Cross-Cultural Differences in Understanding of Forgiveness

Collectivism and individualism were not measured in the current study. However, given previous research that identifies the USA and Canada as individualistic and some countries in South Asia and Southeast Asia as collectivistic/less individualistic (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010), the current findings are consistent with theory that suggests that individuals from collectivistic cultures may consider forgiveness as more of an interpersonal phenomenon and less of an intrapersonal phenomenon relative to those from individualistic cultures. For those in the Southeast Asian subsample, like the Congolese in the Kadiangandu et al. (2007) study, forgiveness was more closely tied to reconciliation with the goal of social harmony. For those in the North American sample, like the French in the

Kadiangandu et al. (2007) study, forgiveness was somewhat more divorced from reconciliation; forgiveness could simply be a change of internal feeling toward the offender.

However, the findings also suggest some diversity in collectivistic understandings of forgiveness. While the Southeast Asian participants more strongly viewed forgiveness in interpersonal terms, the South Asian participants seemed to view forgiveness in interpersonal and intrapersonal terms equally. This finding highlights the need to look beyond the individualism/collectivism dimension when thinking about forgiveness. As stated by Hook, Worthington, and Utsey (2009), although there had been, at the time of their writing, no studies comparing forgiveness across collectivistic cultures, there is reason to believe that collectivistic forgiveness is not a unitary construct. Again, it should be noted that, although previous research has identified most of the countries from which our Asian subsample came as primarily collectivistic, we did not measure this dimension in the current study. Therefore, it is unclear if differences in collectivism can account for the different findings between the South Asian and Southeast Asian subsamples. Alternatively, as originally suggested by Paz, Neto, and Mullet (2008), religion may also be relevant: differences in the dominant religious traditions of the South Asian (Muslim and Hindu) and Southeast Asian (Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism) countries represented here could underpin the Asian subgroup differences in understandings of forgiveness.

The differences between the North American and Asian subsamples must be considered only tentatively, given the significant age and occupation differences between the groups. However, previous meta-analytic findings have found negligible relations between age and forgiveness (Fehr et al., 2010), and the current findings were also maintained after controlling for age, suggesting that these comparisons deserve attention, if only to encourage future explorations.

Much of the research on forgiveness takes place in North America and uses an intrapersonal conceptualization of forgiveness. The current findings suggest that this research may not be generalizable to Asian populations. In fact, there is a potential for misunderstanding and even harm if Western conceptions of forgiveness are privileged. For instance, Enright and Fitzgibbon (2000) present a developmental model of motivation for forgiveness with the top stage of the most complex and mature understanding identified as "forgiveness as love," and the second most sophisticated stage of understanding identified as "forgiveness as social harmony." The current findings suggest that this model may not apply equally well across cultures. Consequently, cross-cultural applications of interventions based on this model (or other Western conceptualizations of forgiveness) may be ineffective or even detrimental.

Strengths and Limitations

This sample is notable for its inclusion of Southeast Asian and South Asian participants, when most cross-cultural studies have focused on East Asians in comparison to Westerners. However, several limitations of our study should also be noted.

Firstly, there are limits to the generalizability of our sample. Given there was no remuneration for participation, volunteer bias is likely present. Furthermore, due to low

participation by men, the sample was restricted to women and the findings may not be generalizable to men. Secondly, all participants filled out the surveys in English, possibly resulting in comprehension difficulties in the Asian subsample (although the vast majority were studying at an English-medium university). Furthermore, prior research suggests that responding in English primes independent self-construals (e.g., Trafimow, Silverman, Fan, & Law, 1997). However, it should be noted that this bias would have worked against the research hypothesis, making support of the null hypothesis more likely. Thus, the finding of cross-cultural differences despite this limitation strengthens our confidence in the finding. Thirdly, although it would be difficult to assess participants' understanding of forgiveness without directly asking, self-report data is subject to response biases and limitations of self-knowledge. Additionally, the measure we used to assess understanding of forgiveness has not undergone full peer-review and requires further testing before we can be confident of its reliability and validity (Hook, 2007), as well as equivalence in cross-cultural comparisons. Reference group effects and response biases can also undermine the validity of cross-cultural comparisons. This concern was somewhat abated by including within group comparisons. Finally, as noted above, nationality/culture in this study is confounded with age and occupation.

Directions for Future Research

In light of the noted limitations, replication of this study with a more balanced gender representation among participants would be a useful endeavor. Future research in this area would also benefit from the use of measures translated to participants' native language and validated in the cultures from which the participants are drawn. The current finding further suggests that cross-cultural research on forgiveness should use specific affective, cognitive and behavioral terms when assessing a participant's level of forgiveness; broad questions assessing a participant's general forgiveness may be difficult to interpret and compare cross-culturally. These findings also suggest the need to develop measures of forgiveness based on indigenous understandings of the concept. The use of forgiveness surveys derived in one culture and applied to another culture may not be measuring what we hope to measure.

Another potential fruitful area of research concerns the positive correlation that has been found between forgiveness and emotional and physical health in North American samples (Worthington & Scherer, 2004). It is worth exploring whether these findings, which typically examine intrapersonal forgiveness, are relevant to Asian populations, as well as how behaviors that lead to the restoration of social harmony in a group (i.e., interpersonal forgiveness) are tied to health for this group.

In summary, although replication is necessary, our findings support the supposition that forgiveness is a culture-laden construct (Sandage et al., 2003). Yet, as so eloquently stated by McCullough et al. (2000), "The field [of forgiveness research] still lacks a thorough understanding of the influences of religion, culture, and life situation on people's understandings and experiences of forgiveness. Without addressing religious, cultural, and situational variations, scientific notions of forgiveness are likely to be disconnected from lived

experience" (p. 10). We hope this study will be followed by richer, more nuanced explorations of cultural differences in understanding of forgiveness with attention to explicating the underlying mechanisms for these differences. Efforts to obtain a better understanding stand to make important contributions towards the development of programs targeting the prevention and resolution of conflict as well as the restoration of personal and social well-being following perceived transgressions.

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Who Cares? Attitudes of High School Students From Various Countries Towards Global and Domestic Environmental Issues

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Abstract

This study focused on attitudes of 16 year-old students from six countries towards environmental issues on domestic and global scales. Male and female students from China, Guinea, Japan, Malaysia, Ukraine and Vietnam expressed their level of concern about the following in regard to their country and the world: (a) air quality, (b) drinking water quality, (c) pollution caused by atomic power plants, (d) clearing of forests, (e) extinction of plants and animals, (f) climate change and (g) global disaster. This research focused on gender and cultural variability and invariance under diverse conditions of students' backgrounds.

The most pronounced intercultural regularity found was the prioritization of certain issues. In all countries, both genders showed similar priorities when assessing global and domestic environmental issues. The differences were mainly in the level of anxiety expressed towards environmental problems. While in some countries the level of concern expressed by girls was higher than that of boys, there was no such pattern across all cultures. Only in Japan were the ratings given by boys higher when comparing to those of girls.

Another intercultural regularity was that the level of concern about the world's environmental problems listed above is higher for both genders than about own country with exceptions of specific pressing national problems.

Keywords: Adolescents, attitude, culture, environmental issues, gender

Who Cares? Attitudes of High School Students From Various Countries Towards Global and Domestic Environmental Issues

A connection and mutual influence between humans and their environment can create and destroy cultures. Early highly developed civilizations partly owe their achievements to favourable environmental conditions. In contrast, those who happened to live in unfavourable ones could retrogress. For example, Yakut, a traditionally nomadic culture presently residing in northern Russia, may have had writing forms, which were gradually forgotten when the environmental conditions became more severe (Yakut, 2018).

While the environment nourishes and provides humans with all necessities, it also poses dangers; natural disasters have occurred frequently throughout history. Modern technologies allow the prediction of such events to some extent, but they still may produce an enormous impact on cultures and even civilization as a whole. For example, the tsunami in South-East Asia in 2004 affected 14 countries and therefore had a profound effect on people all over the world. In old times, when disasters occurred without a warning and resulted in devastation, they were attributed to supernatural powers, such as mythical beings. In modern times, researchers have found that the influence of humans on their environment could contribute to their decline, such as on Rapa Nui (Easter Island) and in other places.

There are many examples of humans having failed to recognize and prevent dangers in the environment while also using it to an uncontrollable extent. Even now, we fail to recognize such dangers and often even prefer to do so. For example, while there is a compelling evidence of climate change, still many in the general public, even among politicians and scientists, continue to deny it and the role of industry in this phenomena. There are many reasons why people avoid analyzing and recognizing the risks of environmental pollution. One of the main reasons is that this recognition has to lead to action towards an environmental protection that may be difficult and costly to implement while also requiring significant changes in the ways of modern life.

To survive and let some of 'nature' survive, it is crucial to study and understand the environment, its regularities, our perception of it and the reasons for this perception. The attitudes of people from different localities, ethnicities and countries towards environmental issues should be studied in depth. These attitudes reflect a wide variety of regularities that are both fundamental, such as biological, and specific to nations and cultures. They are interconnected on many levels creating a complex pattern of local, ethnic and global views based on physiology and psychology, gender, national identity, history of culture, economy and so on. These views evolve and develop with time and under certain conditions, especially with changes in the environment.

Sometimes natural events on an enormous scale produce a major impact on civilization, thus changing the national and international 'psychology,' and possibly the course of history. Recent examples of such events are the Chernobyl accident, the tsunami in Asia in December of 2004 and the earthquake and tsunami in Japan in March of 2011. For instance, a systematic review of literature on psychological effects of the Fukushima

accident has concluded, based on nearly 60,000 cases, that a substantial proportion of the affected individuals experienced considerable psychological distress resulting in posttraumatic stress disorder, depression, anxiety symptoms, physical health changes and others (Harada et al., 2015). Since then, a public opinion on the safety of nuclear energy and possibilities of disaster prediction and prevention has changed substantially. The Chernobyl accident not only affected mental and physical health of thousands of people in the USSR and other countries (Danzer & Danzer, 2016; Havenaar, De Wilde, Van den Bout, Drottz-Sjöberg, & Van den Brink, 2016), but possibly changed the course of history. In particular, politicians, including M. Gorbachev, and researchers attributed the USSR collapse mainly to the Chernobyl disaster (Stern, 2013).

A significant number of studies, including major international projects, have explored the attitudes of international youth towards environmental problems (Atav, Altunoglu, & Sonmez, 2017; Hedlund-de Witt, De Boer, & Boersema, 2014; Martin et al., 2008; Martin, Mullis, Foy, & Stanco, 2012; Tucker & Izadpanahi, 2017). An example of a profound survey, while only partly focused on the perception of the environment, is the Relevance of Science Education (ROSE) project (Schreiner & Sjoberg, 2005; Sjoberg & Schreiner, 2008, 2010). A number of issues have been clarified by researchers as contributing to sociology, psychology and gender and cultural studies, among other domains. In particular, the ROSE project, based on results from over 30 countries, concluded that environmental issues are important for both genders, but more for females. In particular, girls, more than boys, agree that people should care more about protection of the environment and believe that they personally can influence what happens with the environment. Boys, more than girls, think that environmental problems are exaggerated and think that experts should cope with them. Boys also more often think that science and technology can solve all environmental problems. Girls believe that each individual makes a difference in terms of the environmental protection, and boys are more skeptic (Sjoberg & Schreiner, 2010).

Hedlund-de Witt and collegues (2014) developed a survey on the basis of the Integrative Worldview Framework and administered it to over 1000 participants. The authors concluded that intrinsically oriented worldviews correlated with pro-environmental attitudes, while extrinsically oriented ones correlated with less environmental attitudes. In general, three major worldviews were found: traditional, modern and postmodern.

The TIMSS project, as a framework for the evaluation of adolescents' achievements in science, among others, studied students' understanding in major environmental issues among a wide range of countries (Martin et al., 2008, 2012). Meyers-Levi and Loken (2014) outlined three main theories on gender differences. The first is the social–cultural theory. It suggests that sexes have adopted social different roles, and these roles have inspired a development of believes related to males and females. The second, the evolutionary theory, implies that human beings have programs that were developed as a part of evolution, and these programs can be observed in the behaviour of present-day people. The third theory contributes to the other two as it studies biological differences in present-day males and females (brain, hormonal, etc.).

However, more research on students' perceptions of the environment and environmental issues is necessary in order to understand their various aspects, especially how age, gender, culture, ethnicity and other factors shape them. In particular, it would be valuable to investigate the attitudes towards environmental problems on various scales (global, national, local, etc.) of youth from different areas and backgrounds. Depending on the scale (global, domestic, local, etc.) and respondents' backgrounds (urban, rural, etc.), environmental problems may be perceived differently, and therefore, the level of concern expressed towards them may vary significantly. In research, however, participants are often asked to express their perception of such without any details.

This study explores the influence of gender and culture on the attitudes of international youth towards environmental issues, both domestically and globally. Such research would improve the present body of knowledge in gender and cultural studies, in particular in perception and empathy. Research in this area showed that females in average are more empathetic. For example, a study conducted among adults by Baron-Cohen and Wheelwright (2004) confirmed that women scored significantly higher in empathy than men. Another study on the empathy in relation to science enrollment has made several interesting findings. In particular, it concluded that empathy was a stronger predictor than gender for subject major enrollment. Authors suggested that low social skills and cognitive empathy predicted physical science enrollment. In contrast, high affective empathy predicted life science and social science enrollment. Students with majors in physical science and humanities did not differ in affective empathy (Thomson, Wurtzburg, & Centifanti, 2015).

Therefore, it is supposed that girls would express a higher level of concern towards environmental problems. This assumption is also based on the reports showing higher ratings of female students in a number of questions covering environmental issues and challenges (Sjoberg & Schreiner, 2008, 2010). However, the ROSE project did not explore adolescents' concern for particular environmental problems, which is the objective of this study. The objectives of the research were as follows:

Objective 1: to conduct a comparison of attitudes of male and female students from different cultures towards a number of environmental issues of domestic and global scales, i.e., of students' native countries and the world.

Objective 2: to identify consistent patterns in students' answers that characterize the influence of gender and culture.

Methods

Materials

This research was conducted through a survey (a questionnaire). Firstly, respondents had to indicate their gender and age. Then, they were asked to evaluate the level of concern about seven kinds of environmental issues in regard to own country (domestic scale) and the world (global scale). The issues were listed in the following order:

a) air quality;
b) drinking water quality;

c) pollution caused by atomic power plants;
d) clearing of forests for other land use;
e) extinction of plants and animals;
f) climate change;
g) global disaster.

In contrast to others, the last issue (the 'global disaster') was not specified. Therefore, it could have a range of meanings and be interpreted differently depending on participants' nationality, gender, personal experience, etc. For example, students from Japan expressed a concern over earthquakes, tsunamis and a nuclear accident. Many students from Ukraine interpreted the 'global disaster' as a climate change with catastrophic consequences, such as continuous droughts, extremely cold and prolonged winters and so on.

Respondents were asked to express the level of concern by Linkert scale in the range from 1 to 4: (1) no concern, (2) a little concern, (3) a moderate concern, (4) a deep concern.

Participants

The participants in this study were 200 (100 male, 100 female) 16 year-old 2nd year high school students. Students from at least three schools from each country (both public and private) were included in the study.

Procedure

Schools and teachers in six countries were contacted by various means of communication, for example by e-mail or in person, and asked to participate in the survey.

The following criteria for data collection were designated with a purpose to have a representative pool of answers. Schools that were engaged in the research had to be those providing a general science education, i.e., not specialized in sciences, including environmental and life studies. A minimum of three public and private schools from each country were to be studied. Schools from various locations with different population densities had to be covered. One school from an area with a high population density (a capital or a major city) and one from a rather rural area were to be engaged. If a country had several major ethnic groups, students from all of them were to be involved in the survey.

The original questionnaire was designated in English. The author and colleagues from participating countries translated it into their respective languages. Formats of questionnaires in all languages were identical.

Copies of the questionnaire and instructions were sent by postal packages to the schools that agreed to participate in the research. If schools requested cover letters for students, such letters with an explanation about the research and instructions were added to the copies of the questionnaire. Teachers who participated in the study administered the questionnaires to students in their classes and collected them afterwards.

The results were delivered to the author by postal packages or scanned and sent by e-mail. In several cases, the documents were delivered to the schools and received by the author in-person. When the author received the results, 200 copies filled by students from all participating schools were randomly selected and analysed for each country.

Malaysian example

As an example, the data collection process in Malaysia is described below in detail. A list of public and private schools in Malaysia was identified using school directory information for this country. Fifteen schools were selected in different parts of the country and contacted by e-mail. From them, three schools answered positively to the invitation to participate in the survey. One school was located in Kuala Lumpur, the second one in Malacca (a city located approximately 150km south of Kuala Lumpur, population 485 thousand). The third one was a rather rural school located in Kedah State, approximately 400km north of Kuala Lumpur.

The schools had students from at least three ethnicities of Malaysia, i.e., Malay, Malaysian Chinese and Malaysian Indians. All three schools provided a general science education. The schools in Kuala Lumpur and Malacca were private; the school in Kedah State was public. The school in Kuala Lumpur was visited by the author, and the school in Kedah State was contacted through a teacher with whom the author met while visiting that area. The school in Malacca city was contacted only by e-mail.

The survey was conducted by the teachers, and the results were sent by an international postal service to the author. From the received results, 200 copies representing all three schools were randomly selected and analysed.

Results and Discussion

The summarized results of the survey from all countries are presented in Table 1. Respondents were asked about seven environmental issues.

Chinese High Schoolers (see Figure 1)

The attitudes of genders were similar in trends in regard to both own country and the world (see Figure 1).

Girls' concern level was slightly higher than that of boys towards all measured environmental issues, but the difference was mostly insignificant.

In regard to own country, both boys and girls expressed a moderate level of concern of five issues: air and water quality, clearing of forests, extinction of plants and animals and climate change.

Interestingly, both genders were the least concerned about a possible nuclear pollution in their country, which has nearly 60 nuclear power reactors in operation and under construction. More are being planned with a purpose to increase the nuclear capacity in the next several decades. This approach is pursued due to the air pollution from coal-fired plants. While China has substantially relied on nuclear energy, it has also tried to meet the world's highest standards in nuclear safety. With several agencies, both domestic and

Table 1

Students' Attitudes Towards Environmental Issues

Country	Boys						
	a	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f*	*g*
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
CN1	3.05	3.09	2.34	2.99	2.98	2.92	2.76
CN2	2.64	2.78	3.04	2.95	3.10	3.27	3.26
GN1	2.81	3.04	2.06	2.86	2.56	2.86	2.29
GN2	3.30	3.46	2.86	2.74	2.83	3.37	3.09
JP1	2.82	2.62	3.18	2.81	2.74	2.84	3.18
JP2	3.05	3.03	3.06	3.16	3.06	3.06	3.17
MY1	3.17	2.97	2.53	3.21	3.13	3.18	2.81
MY2	3.17	3.08	2.93	3.32	3.26	3.35	3.29
UA1	3.25	3.39	3.26	3.17	3.12	3.04	2.94
UA2	3.13	3.31	3.29	3.18	3.28	3.13	3.28
VM1	3.21	3.39	2.60	3.21	3.26	3.30	3.49
VM2	3.52	3.46	3.27	3.44	3.43	3.56	3.58
	Girls						
CN1	3.34	3.30	2.87	3.19	3.24	3.26	3.15
CN2	3.07	3.13	3.18	3.09	3.30	3.39	3.34
GN1	2.61	3.21	2.13	2.85	2.67	2.89	2.68
GN2	3.05	3.32	2.74	2.84	2.82	3.13	3.23
JP1	2.81	2.47	3.05	2.76	2.81	2.83	3.12
JP2	2.85	2.85	2.84	2.92	3.00	2.88	2.81
MY1	3.24	3.11	2.68	3.23	3.37	3.18	3.09
MY2	3.43	3.33	3.20	3.40	3.57	3.36	3.55
UA1	3.31	3.49	3.16	3.18	3.19	2.83	2.89
UA2	3.15	3.31	3.44	3.13	3.51	3.10	3.28
VM1	3.18	3.40	2.72	3.20	3.00	3.35	3.50
VM2	3.54	3.38	3.45	3.34	3.31	3.60	3.45

*$p<0.05$, ** $p<0.01$. Notes: CN-Canada; GN-Guinea; JP-Japan; MY-Malaysia; UA-Ukraine; VM-Vietnam; Students' attitudes towards environmental problems in regard to their country are marked by '1' and in regard to the world by '2.' The values range from 1 - no concern, 2 - a little concern, 3 - a moderate concern, to 4 - a deep concern. Issues: (a) air quality; (b) drinking water quality; (c) pollution caused by atomic power plants; (d) clearing of forests for other land use; (e) extinction of plants and animals; (f) climate change; (g) global disaster.
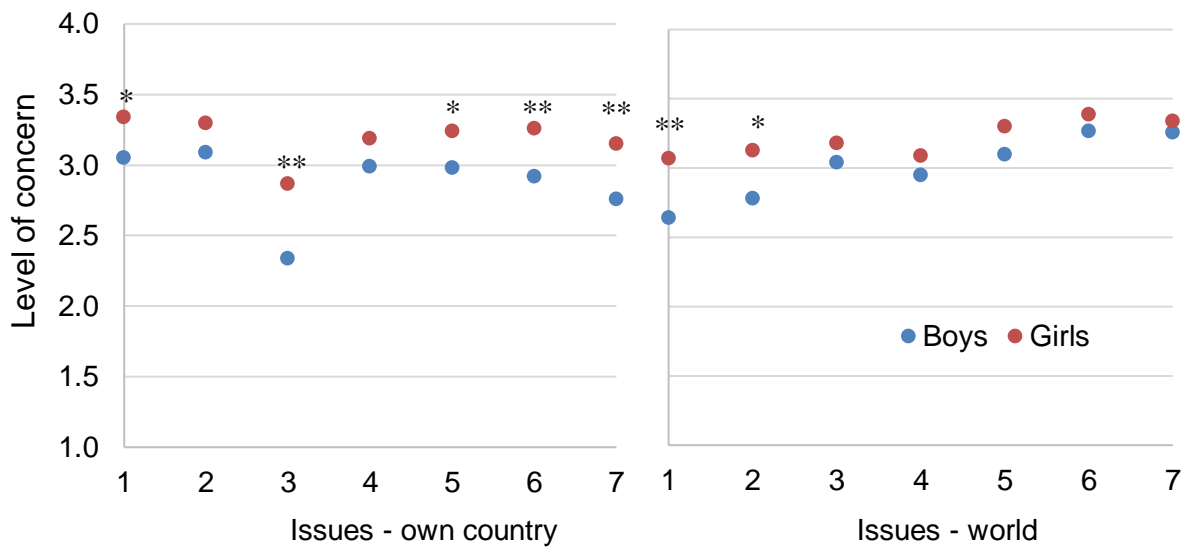
Figure 1. **China**: Concern about own country (left side) and about the world (right side); Issues: (1) air quality; (2) drinking water quality; (3) pollution caused by atomic power plants; (4) clearing of forests for other land use; (5) extinction of plants and animals; (6) climate change; (7) global disaster. * p < .0.5; ** p < .01.

Figure 2. **Guinea**: Concern about own country (left side) and about the world (right side); Issues: (1) air quality; (2) drinking water quality; (3) pollution caused by atomic power plants; (4) clearing of forests for other land use; (5) extinction of plants and animals; (6) climate change; (7) global disaster. * p < .0.5.
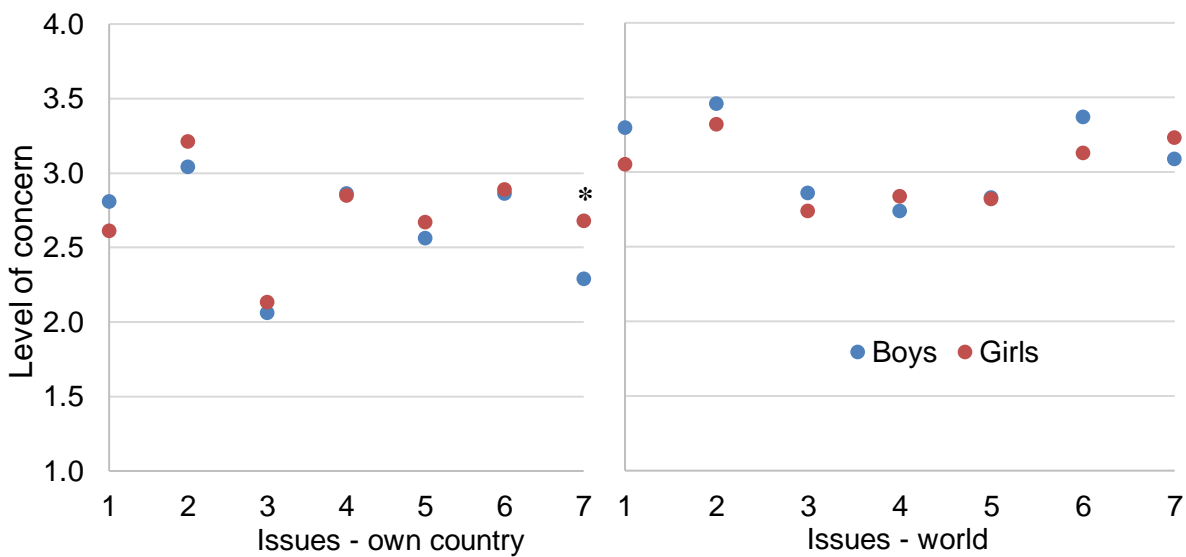
international, performing safety checks of power plants, the nuclear power in China may be evaluated by citizens as a rather safe energy source. Therefore, students may have a lower level of concern in this regard.

In regard to the world, the most concerning issues were the extinction of plants and animals, climate change and a global disaster.

On issues of the air and water quality, both genders were more concerned in regards to their native country (air quality: *M* boys = 3.05, *M* girls = 3.34; water quality: *M* boys = 3.09, *M* girls = 3.3) when compared to the world (air quality: *M* boys = 2.64, *M* girls = 3.07; water quality: *M* boys = 2.78, *M* girls = 3.13). In d) clearing forests, the level of concern in relation to both categories was almost the same (boys: *M* country = 2.99, *M* world = 2.95; girls: *M* country = 3.19, *M* world = 3.09). On issues of the nuclear pollution, species extinction, climate change and global disaster the concern about the world was higher.

Guinean High Schoolers (see Figure 2)

The attitudes of genders are very similar in trends at both global and domestic scales. The only significant difference was observed in regard to the risk of a global disaster in own country where girls showed a higher level of concern.

In regard to own country, both genders expressed the highest level of concern towards the drinking water quality (*M* boys = 3.04, *M* girls = 3.21). The lowest level of concern was shown towards the pollution caused by atomic power plants (*M* boys = 2.06, *M* girls = 2.13), possibly as there are no such in Guinea.

In regard to the world, the highest level of concern was also expressed towards drinking water quality (*M* boys = 3.46, *M* girls = 3.21), with air quality, climate change and global disaster following it.

Interestingly, students were more concerned about environmental issues on the global scale than on the domestic one, with only one exception of d) clearing of forests.

Japanese High Schoolers (see Figure 3)

The attitudes of genders were similar in regard to both own country and the world. The only significant difference is towards a global disaster in the world where boys showed a higher level of concern. At the same time, interestingly, only in Japan did male students show a slightly higher level of concern over all listed issues except one. Possibly a larger sample size could provide a more pronounced difference or confirm a similarity of genders' assessments.

In regard to own country, both genders expressed the highest level of concern towards c) pollution caused by atomic power plants (*M* boys = 3.18, *M* girls = 3.05) and g) global disaster (*M* boys = 3.18, *M* girls = 3.12). The survey was conducted 3 years after the major earthquake that triggered a tsunami and caused the Fukushima accident. The high awareness of participants about such environmental issues is explainable by these events. Unfortunately, such data prior to the accident are unavailable, while their comparison would be of considerable interest. Among environmental issues on the domestic scale, students were rather less concerned about the quality of drinking water (*M* boys = 2.62, *M* girls = 2.47). In Japan, this issue does not receive as much attention as others included into the

present survey, as many areas of this country have an abundance of fresh water.

Figure 3. **Japan**: Concern about own country (left side) and about the world (right side); Issues: (1) air quality; (2) drinking water quality; (3) pollution caused by atomic power plants; (4) clearing of forests for other land use; (5) extinction of plants and animals; (6) climate change; (7) global disaster. * $p < .0.5$.
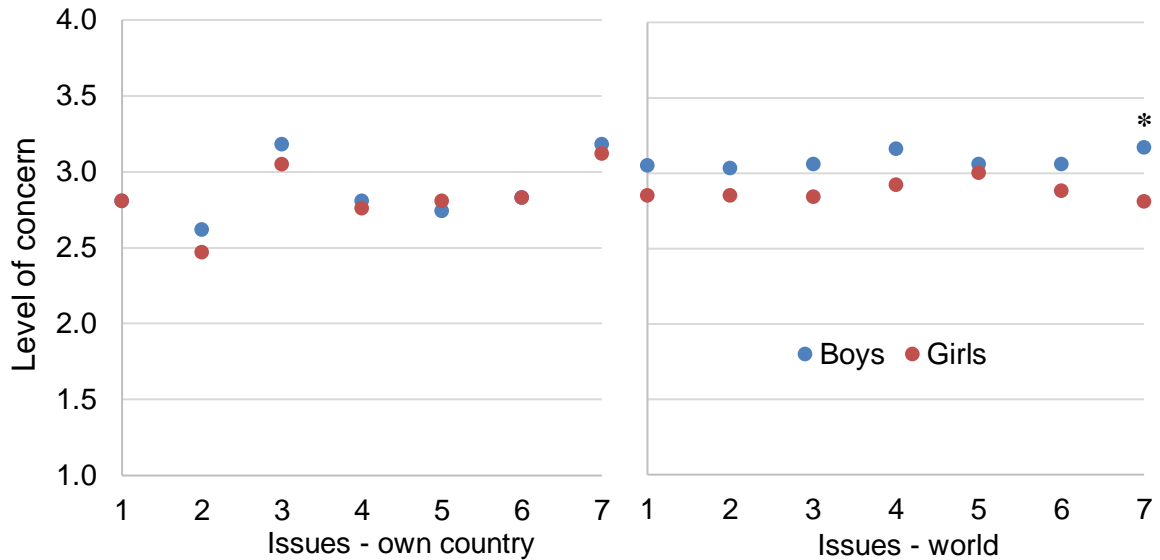

Figure 4. **Malaysia**: Concern about own country (left side) and about the world (right side); Issues: (1) air quality; (2) drinking water quality; (3) pollution caused by atomic power plants; (4) clearing of forests for other land use; (5) extinction of plants and animals; (6) climate change; (7) global disaster.

At the global scale, the difference in attitudes between issues was minor, with a slightly higher concern of girls towards extinction of species and of boys towards clearing of forests and a global disaster.

Students appeared to be more concerned about environmental issues on the global scale than on the domestic one, with exceptions of a nuclear pollution and a global disaster. While for girls in several issues the difference was minor, for boys it was more pronounced.

Malaysian High Schoolers (see Figure 4)

The attitudes of genders were very similar in trends in regard to environmental issues of both own country and the world. However, girls appeared to be more concerned about 5 out of 7 issues on the global scale.

In regard to own country, both genders expressed similar attitudes towards a number of issues (a), d), e), f) for boys and all except the nuclear pollution for girls. The lowest level of anxiety was shown towards the pollution caused by atomic power plants (M boys = 2.53 , M girls = 2.68), possibly as there are no such in Malaysia.

In regard to the world, both genders also expressed similar levels of concern towards most of the issues.

Students were more worried about environmental issues on the global scale than on the domestic one, with only one exception of a) air pollution for boys.

Ukrainian High Schoolers (see Figure 5)

The attitudes of genders were very similar in trends at both scales.

In regard to own country and the world, both genders expressed similar levels of concern towards most of the issues.

Similarly to their peers in China, Guinea and Malaysia, both boys and girls from Ukraine were more worried about a possibility of a global disaster for the world than for own country.

Students appeared to be more concerned about species extinction, climate change and global disaster at the global scale than at the domestic one. For girls it was so for nuclear pollution, too. It was the opposite for air and drinking water quality, i.e., students appeared to be more worried about domestic issues.

Vietnamese High Schoolers (see Figure 6)

The attitudes of genders were almost the same in trends in regard to both own country and the world.

Similar levels of concern were expressed towards most of the issues. with the only substantial difference in regard to nuclear pollution on the domestic level. In Vietnam, there are no atomic power plants, and in 2016 the government decided to stop preparations for their operation after several decades of planning.

Interestingly, students appeared to be rather concerned over a risk of a global disaster at the domestic level. While respondents were not asked to provide more information on this

Figure 5. **Ukraine**: Concern about own country (left side) and about the world (right side); Issues: (1) air quality; (2) drinking water quality; (3) pollution caused by atomic power plants; (4) clearing of forests for other land use; (5) extinction of plants and animals; (6) climate change; (7) global disaster.

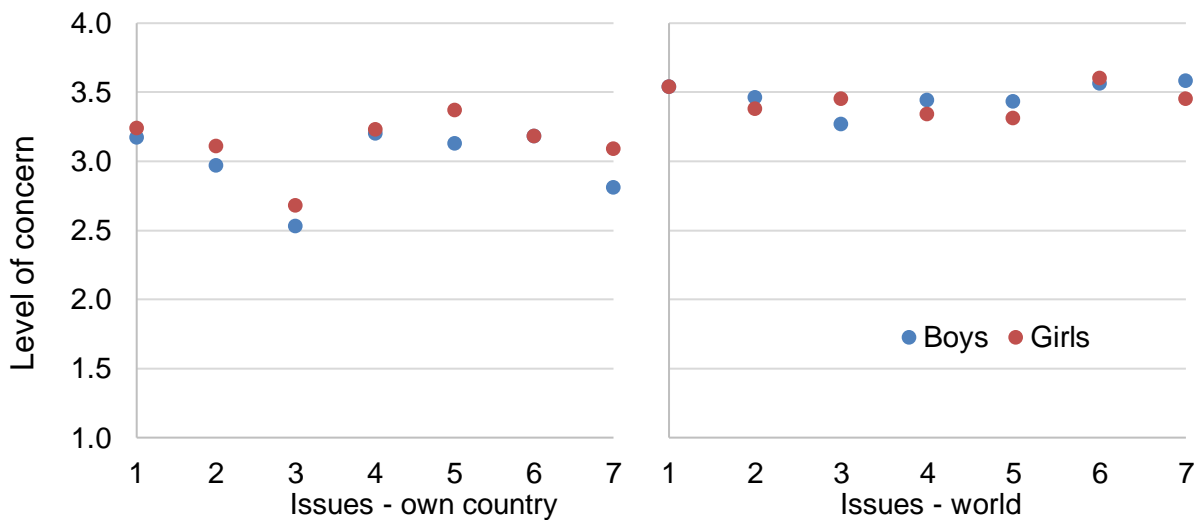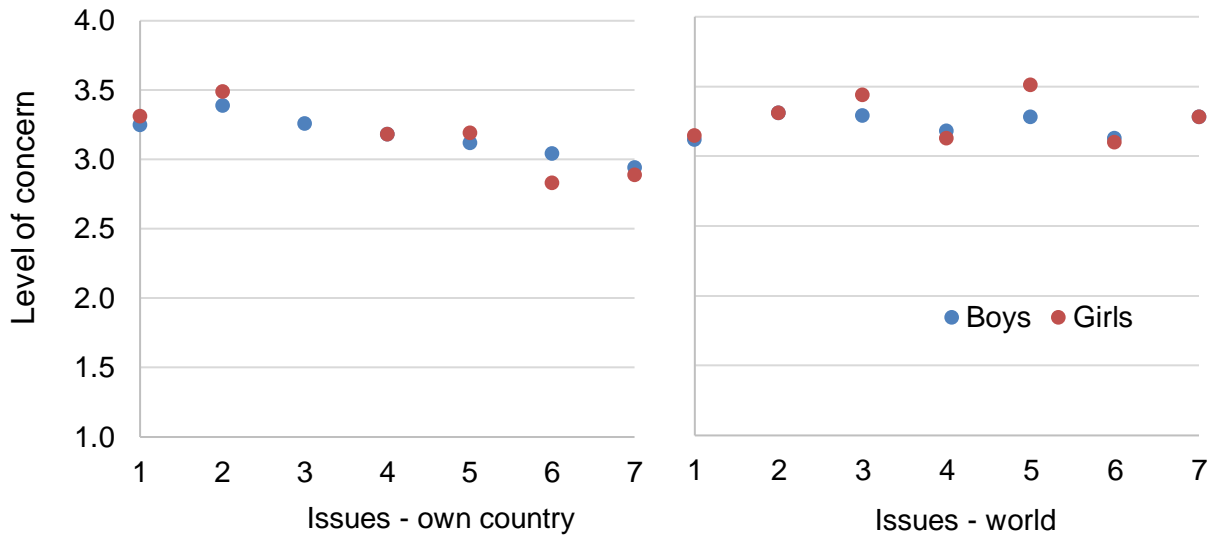*Figure 6*. **Vietnam**: Concern about own country (left side) and about the world (right side); Issues: (1) air quality; (2) drinking water quality; (3) pollution caused by atomic power plants; (4) clearing of forests for other land use; (5) extinction of plants and animals; (6) climate change; (7) global disaster.
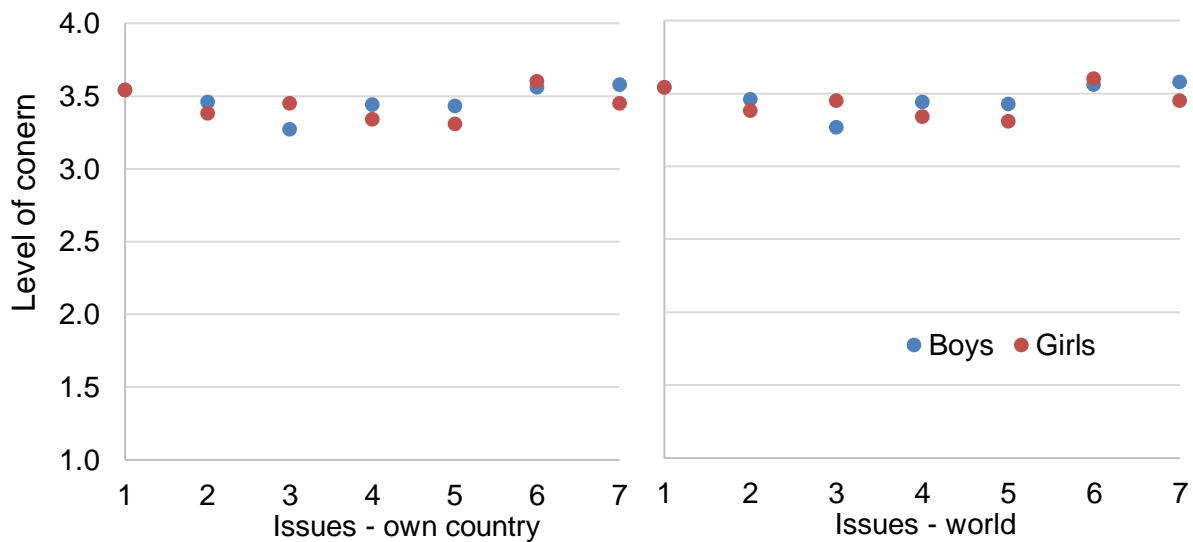
question, some of them expressed a concern over floods in the Mekong delta and a possibility of major earthquakes and tsunamis.

Students appeared to be more concerned about environmental issues on the global scale than on the domestic one. The exceptions were for drinking water quality and a global disaster in which the difference was minor.

General results
The trends of students' answers were very similar for both genders in each country. The differences were mostly in the level of concern. Therefore, within a particular country genders appeared to have similar priorities, but somewhat differ in the intensity of emotions expressed towards them.

The level of concern of girls was higher than that of boys about all issues (in regard to the country and the world) in China. The same pattern is present in Malaysia, but the ratings of genders are equal in regard to 'climate change.' In Guinea, Ukraine and Vietnam the gender difference varies between measurements. Interestingly, only in did Japan male students show a slightly higher level of concern for all listed issues except one. The difference, however, was insignificant and unclear in some cases. Possibly, a larger sample size could produce a clearer insight into this pattern.

In general, for both genders concern about the world was higher than about own country. Exceptions were present for: a) air quality (China, Ukraine); b) drinking water quality (China); c) pollution caused by atomic power plants (Japan). The difference in some cases is unclear. For example, in Ukraine and Vietnam regarding the drinking water quality, in China and Ukraine regarding clearing forests and in Vietnam regarding the global disaster. It is obvious that when students show a higher concern at the domestic level than at the global one, the issues are specific and pressing for these nations. For example, air and water pollution are known to be especially severe in China.

While reasons of students' generally higher concern over global issues were not questioned, several explanations may be applied. For example, unfamiliarity and lack of specific knowledge of global issues might contribute to higher anxiety and concerns over them when compared to domestic ones. Also, the variability in ratings across issues was larger for national issues than for global ones, which likely reflects students' lack of specific knowledge of global issues.

Conclusions

The most pronounced intercultural regularity observed in this survey was the prioritization. In all participating countries both male and female students appeared to have similar priorities when assessing global and domestic environmental issues. If gender differences occured, they were mainly in the intensity of emotions expressed, not in the difference of priorities.

It was initially supposed that females would express a higher level of concern over environmental issues than males. The results, however, only supported this presumption for two countries (China and Malaysia) out of six. Therefore, it was not confirmed at the intercultural level. Only in Japan may the level of concern of girls be lower than that of boys. However, to either confirm or reject this finding, a larger sample of answers is needed.

A rather surprising intercultural regularity was that the level of concern about the world's environmental issues was higher for both genders than about one's own country. Exceptions can be found for specific pressing national problems. It is considered that unfamiliarity and lack of specific knowledge of global issues might contribute to higher anxiety and concerns over them.

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Effects of *Yoga Nidra* on Physical and Psychological Health

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Abstract

The present study examines the effects of *yoga nidra* on the physical and psychological health of middle-aged individuals. Y*oga nidra* is a powerful relaxation and meditation technique derived from traditional yoga. A group of 100 male participants aged 35-45 years from Varanasi City were recruited for this study. They were examined with physical and psychological health measures, and they were then introduced to a training program for practicing *yoga nidra*. The training program was scheduled for 12 weeks, 5 days a week. The training program was introduced to the participants over approximately 60 minutes in the morning for three months. The process of *yoga nidra* was taught by a yoga expert. The participants were divided into two groups: experimental and control. Both groups were given pre- and post-tests. Results indicated positive effects of *yoga nidra* on the physical and psychological health of middle-aged participants as a result of this three-month-long training program.

Keywords: Yoga nidra, middle aged people, physical and psychological health

Effects of *Yoga Nidra* on Physical and Psychological Health

For a long time, the medical model has dominated both mental and physical health, which focuses on reducing and eliminating the symptoms of an illness. However, there has been an extensive debate regarding the definition of 'health' itself. The World Health Organization has defined health as, "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity" (World Health Organisation, 2005). Contrary to the medical model, a new view of health has been developed over the last years: positive psychology. Positive psychology is the study of happiness, optimism, subjective wellbeing, and personal growth; it focuses on making normal life more fulfilling rather than merely treating mental illness (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). This new view complements the traditional areas of psychology, suggesting the healing of negative aspects (e.g., depression, stress, anxiety), as well as promoting the positive aspects (e.g., happiness, well-being, optimism) of human life.

The goal of positive psychology is not only to promote well-being across time, but to ultimately create a healthy society where individuals live their life peacefully and happily. In this view, yoga provides the key to physical, psychological, social, and spiritual development (Srivastava, 1999; Tripathi, 2016). This practice includes all methods of higher evolution in humanity, such as physical postures, ethical disciplines, breath control, sensory methods, affirmations and visualizations, and prayer and complex meditative disciplines (Frawley, 2008). Yoga is widely used in India and abroad as a technique of relieving stress and anxiety, and also for improving physical and psychological health and well-being (Srivastava, 1999; Tripathi, 2016). It is considered a holistic tool for self-improvement and self-healing, as well as a way to establish harmony among various aspects of life (Patel, 1993; Michie & Sandhu, 1994). It is a process by which the human mind is transformed to become more natural and weaned from the unnatural conditions of life (e.g., stress, anxiety, depression). These unnatural conditions are the product of an individual's negative attitudes toward life while life is always beautiful. Yoga integrates the mind and body by focusing on balance, posture, deep breathing, stretching, and relaxation (Rizzolo, 2008; Tripathi, 2016). As a result, the body and the mind are in a state of constant interaction. Therefore, the science of yoga does not dictate where the body ends and the mind begins, but rather views both as a single, integrated entity.

Yoga is a practical aid, not a religion, not magic; it is an ancient art based on harmonizing the development of the body, mind, and spirit. Originally developed in India over 5,000 years ago (Patel, 1993; Saraswati, 2006; Smith, Hancock, Blake-Mortimer, & Eckert, 2006), the system of classical yoga was compiled by Patanjali in *Yoga Sutra,* who considered yoga the complete control of the operations of the mind (Frawley, 2008). The word "yoga" itself is derived from the Sanskrit root *'YUJ,'* meaning 'to join,' 'to yoke,' or 'to unite.' It refers to the union of human beings and universal energy (Taylor, 2003). It teaches the means by which one can learn to communicate with the absolute or with universal energy (Patel, 1993). Yoga is one of the few spiritual traditions that has maintained an unbroken

development throughout history. It deals with all aspects of nature, from body to soul, and with all possible healing methods, from food to meditation (Frawley, 2008). There are many different paths and styles of yoga, such as *Gyan Yoga, Bhakti Yoga*, *Karma Yoga, Kriya Yoga,* and *Hatha Yoga,* that can be used depending on different individuals' inclinations and different aspects of nature. These different paths for developing the mind are based on the fact that the mind has three aspects: knowing (intellect), feeling (emotion), and willing (action). However, this does not mean that these aspects are exclusive of each other. There is no insistence that all individuals must follow one path or another, and that is why yoga encourages followers to follow the path that appeals most to their heart.

Yoga nidra is one of the most widely used yogic practices, covering the entire range of asana and pranayama as well as many forms of meditation. *Yoga nidra* refers to 'psychic sleep,' or sleep with full awareness. Interestingly, while doing the practice of *yoga nidra*, the body sleeps but the mind remains awake, and that is why it can be described as a resting or sleeping practice that cultivates inner awareness. *Yoga nidra* has its origin in the ancient Tantric practices of *nyasa,* in which a mantra is repeated mentally with concentration at specific parts of the body (Saraswati, 1984). Swami Satyananda Saraswati adapted and presented the practice of *yoga nidra* in a systematic and scientific way in the 1960's (Bhushan & Sinha, 2001). *Yoga nidra* has preventive and curative value as far as mental health is concerned: it can be used as a therapeutic technique to treat psychological disorders like depression, anxiety, insomnia, and drug abuse, as well as physical diseases like asthma, hypertension, and coronary heart disease (Saraswati, 1984).

The profound experience of muscular, mental, and emotional relaxation attainable in *yoga nidra* enables a balance of psychic and vital energies within the psychic channels (*nadis*) of the energy framework underlying the physical body. Free flow of these energies forms the basis of optimal physical and mental health. The y*oga nidra* state appears to reflect an integrated response by the hypothalamus, resulting in decreased sympathetic nervous activity and increased parasympathetic function (Saraswati, 2006). This 'relaxation response' can be thought of as the inverse counterpart of the so-called 'fight or flight' response (Saraswati, 2006). The level of relaxation attained in *yoga nidra* serves to lessen the harmful effects of this 'fight or flight' response. It has been clarified that *yoga nidra* could be practiced in *savasana* (the corpse pose; in which all the parts of body becomes immobile and relaxed) without the prior practice of any other *asana*. For relaxation of the body and the mind, the prior practice of *suryanamaskar* (salutation to the sun*)*, some *asanas* (steady and comfortable body posture), *pranayama* (breathing exercise)*, Om chanting* (vibrations of the Om; it is a cosmic sound which drives away all worldly thoughts and removes distraction), and *meditation* were recommended (Panda, 2002).

Thus, *yoga nidra* works for both the mind and body, striving to cultivate balance and control in one's life. *Yoga nidra* possesses the unique ability to calm the nerves as they function as the medium between the physiological body and the psychological body. Yogic science believes that the regular practice of *asana* and *pranayama* strengthens the nervous system and helps people to positively cope with stressful situations. Yoga is highly recommended for people in stressful working environments for maintaining their healthy life styles (Johnson & Johnson, 1984; Shenbagavalli & Divya, 2010). Practicing *yoga nidra* has

the holistic impact of relaxing the body and calming the mind (Saraswati, 1984, 2006). Thus, the present study examined the effect of y*oga nidra on* the physical and psychological health of middle age people. In view of these facts, it was expected that y*oga nidra* would have beneficial effect on the physical and psychological health of middle-aged people.

Method

Sample

Initially, 150 middle-aged males were approached for the study. However, the following exclusion criteria were considered before the administration of the pre-test: (i) history of active sports training; (ii) previous exposure of yoga training; (iii) history of major medical illness in the past (e. g., tuberculosis, bronchial asthma, spinal problems); and (iv) history of major surgery in the recent past. Therefore, only 135 participants were contacted for the training program and post-test on the basis of their health card report. Through pre-testing, 17 participants were actually diagnosed as diabetics and therefore excluded. For the training program and post-test, 117 participants were selected, but the study ultimately included 116 participants (randomly selected) in order to divide the participants into control and experimental groups with an equal number of participants in each. During the actual training program, seven participants dropped out. At the time of post-test, only 100 participants were available. With respect to rest of the participants, seven of them did not attend the training session regularly, and two participants were unable to come for the post-test due to family problems.

Thus, the present study analyzed 100 male participants aged 35-45 years. They were selected from various professional institutions of Varanasi (a city of north India) by getting their consent to participate in this study. They were serving white collar jobs. In order to examine the effect of *Yoga nidra* on their physical and psychological health, participants were divided into two groups: experimental (*n* = 50) and control (*n* = 50). The training program was introduced to the experimental group only. The physical and psychological health measures were used to examine the participants by using a pre- and post-test design. Both pre- and post-tests were done in the morning session (approximate time: 7:30-8:30 AM) during the months of April, May, and June. The post-test was conducted on the consequent day to the training program.

Measures

In this study, physical health was measured in terms of optimal blood pressure, heart rate, vital capacity, and breath holding capacity. Psychological health was measured in terms of reduced level of anxiety and positive self-concept. These variables were operationally defined in the following manner:

Physical health measures

Blood pressure is the measurement of the force applied to the walls of the arteries as the heart pumps through the body. The pressure is determined by the force of blood pumped, as well as the size and flexibility of the arteries. There are two types: *systolic* (normal range: 86-90) and *diastolic* (normal range: 125-130)*.*

Heart rate is the number of heartbeats per unit of time, usually expressed as beats per minute (normal range: 75-80).

Vital-capacity is the maximum value of air that can be expelled from the lungs following a maximum inspiration (normal range: above 3000).

Breath holding capacity refers to the time that a person can hold his/her breath without inhalation (normal range: 30+) or exhalation (normal range: 20+).

The participants' blood pressure and vital capacity were measured by using a Sphygmomanometer and Spirometer, respectively. The resting heart rate and breath holding capacity of the participants were examined by manual counting with the help of a stopwatch. All of the measurements were used by an expert to examine the participants.

Psychological health measures

Anxiety is a vague fear associated with the emotions of terror, alarm, fright, panic, and dread. It has also been characterized by a feeling of uncertainty and helplessness in an adverse situation. An **Anxiety Scale** was designed to elicit self-ratings on items descriptive of anxiety reactions to the various areas as health, ambition, family anxieties, friendship and love, and social relations. It consisted of 100 items with 'Yes' and 'No' type responses, and the score range was 0 to 100. The reliability of the test was found to be 0.85 and inter-item correlation was ranged between 0.80 to 0.90. Higher scores were indicative of high levels of anxiety, and lower scores indicated a low level of anxiety.

Self-concept refers to an individual's way of looking at oneself that signifies one's way of thinking, feeling, and behaving. Each person's self-concept is different since everyone has some traits which distinguish themselves from others. In the present study, self-concept was measured in terms of self-awareness and self-evaluation (self-esteem). A **Self–Concept Rating Scale** was developed to examine participants' self-concept in terms of self-awareness and self-evaluation. It contained 60 traits based items on various dimensions such as: physical, power, ability, social, and psychological self-concept. Item examples are: "How much you are attractive?"; "How much are you creative?"; "How much are you dynamic?". These items were evaluated on 3-point rating scales (3=high/very much, 2=average, and 1=low/little bit). The score range was 60 to 180, and higher scores indicated positive self-concept, whereas lower scores indicated negative self-concept. Cronbach's alpha was 0.83.

Training Program

The training program was scheduled for 12 weeks, 5 days a week, in a conference room at a college. Yogic practices were introduced to the participants over approximately 1 hour in the morning. All of the participants were encouraged to attend the session regularly.

Participants were asked to bring yoga mats and pillows to feel comfortable while lying down. For the participants who did not bring their own accessories, they were provided by the investigator. The yogic practices were taught by experts. The participants were taught the following preparatory steps to *yoga nidra*:

   Surya namaskara: *Surya namaskara* is a series of twelve postures, each of which corresponds to one of the twelve signs of the zodiac. While practicing each of the twelve postures, a *mantra* is uttered verbally or mentally. The *mantra*s are meant to salute the sun. Non-Hindus, agnostics, or atheists may dispense with these *mantras* if they like (Panda, 2002)*.* The participants followed the twelve postures and uttered mantras.

   Asana: *Asana* (steady and comfortable body posture) is mainly meant to help in reducing *rajas,* or the quality of turbulence that disturbs the mind. It consists of various static postures and physical movements designed to release tension, improve flexibility, maximize the flow of energy, and remove friction. *Asanas* bring balance and harmony to the physical body, particularly the musculoskeletal system that is the support of the body. It works to improve circulation to disease-affected areas in order to release toxins and improve the healing and growth of tissues. The participants performed various *asanas* for relaxation.

   Pranayama: P*ranayama* (breathing exercise) is breath control that focuses on massaging the internal organs through the actions of inhalation and exhalation. This massaging action improves circulation to the organs and dispels toxins, bringing the *doshas* (energies) to the digestive tract for elimination. These *doshas* that govern physiological and psychological functions of the body are: *Vata* (composed of space and water), *Pitta* (composed of water and fire), and *Kalph* (composed of water and earth). It sets up a deep and powerful organic rhythm to sustain not only health and strength but calmness of mind. *Pranayama* is excellent to counter depression, release grief, reduce tension, and enhance positive feelings. The participants did *Pranayama* for maintaining calmness of mind.

   Om Chanting: *Om chanting* is the most important of all mantras. All mantras begin and often also end with *Om* in order to drive away all worldly thoughts and distractions. The *Pancha Koshas* (five layers of personality) vibrate rhythmically when *Om* is chanted. *Pancha Kosha* is the concept in yogic philosophy in relation to the five layers, or sheaths, around the human soul. The term comes from the Sanskrit *pancha,* meaning "five," and *kosha,* meaning "sheath." *Pancha Kosha* consists of: (i) *Annamay Kosh* (food Sheath; outermost of the Pancha koshas), (ii) *Pranmay Kosh* (vital air sheath or the life force), (iii) *Manomay Kosh* (mind as distinctly different from intelligence - Sheath), (iv) *Vigyanmay Kosh* (Intellect Sheath), and (v) *Aanandmay Kosh* (bliss sheath or ceaseless joy not connected with body or mind; innermost of the *Pancha koshas).* Therefore*,* chanting of *Om* infuses new vigor in the body.

   Meditation: Meditation is the essential and culminating practice of the greater system of yoga. It refers to the capacity to sustain attention without distraction, which enables the individual to mirror reality and objectively perceive (neutral interpretation of the situation rather than biased) the truth of things. Meditation, in the highest sense, is the natural state of awareness, not a technique. It is an important therapy for physical and psychological health.

These preparatory steps are important to practice prior to *yoga nidra* (Panda, 2002)*.* A constant communication is taking place between the instructor and the participants. The room should be neither hot nor cold, and there should be no draft directed toward the body. The basic steps in the sequence of the *yoga nidra* techniques are as follows (Saraswati, 2006); these steps were practiced by the participants during training program (details are given in Appendix A):

Preparation (*Prastuti*): Preparation is the process of getting ready for *yoga nidra*. *Yoga nidra* is performed in *Savasana* (a state of relaxation) which minimizes touch and visual sensations by eliminating contact between the limbs of the body and simply closing the eyes. When all sensory impressions are forcibly excluded, the mind becomes restless and disturbed. Therefore, the mind is directed to think of external sounds and to move from one sound to another sound with the attitude of a witness. Within a few minutes, the mind loses interest in the external world and automatically becomes quiet, a period known as *antar-mauna.* This prepares the consciousness for practicing *yoga nidra.*

Relaxation (*Sithilikarana*): In the state of relaxation, an individual becomes aware of his own body and relaxes himself completely, slowly increasing the awareness of the physical body right from the top of the head to the tips of the toes by chanting *Om.* A minimum period of five minutes is recommended for this step of *yoga nidra.*

Resolve (*Sankalpa*): At this stage, one should make a resolve according to one's own needs and inclinations. The wording of the resolve should be short, clear, and positive, as well as in simple language (e.g., "I will be a good human being"), otherwise it will not penetrate the subconscious mind. Once the resolve has been chosen, it must not be changed. It is mentally repeated three times with awareness, feeling, and emphasis. The result depends on the sincerity and deep-felt need to attain the goal of the resolve. A resolve *(sankalp)* was taken by each participant, though it might have varied from one participant to another, as it was verbalized mentally.

Rapid shifting of consciousness (*cetana-sancarana*): During this moment, three requirements need to be fulfilled: (a) remain aware, (b) listen to the inner voice (i.e., what was processed within the mind of each participant during that moment), and (3) move the mind very rapidly according to the instructions. The rotation of consciousness proceeds in a definite sequence, beginning with the right thumb and ending with the little toe of the right foot, then the circuit from the left thumb to the little toe of the left foot. Subsequent circuits proceed from the heels to the back of the head, and from the head and individual facial features to the legs.

Awareness of the breath (*nadi-prsodhana*): Awareness of the breath is the physical relaxation which is continued and completed by drawing attention to the breath. Relaxation is attained by simultaneously counting the breaths. Awareness of the breath not only promotes relaxation and concentration, but also awakens higher energies and directs them to every cell of the body.

Awareness of feelings and sensation *(Saviloma-ganana manasika)*: In this stage, relaxation comes through the awareness of feelings and sensation. Usually this is practiced with pairs of opposite feelings, such as heat and cold, pain and pleasure. The pairing of feelings in *yoga nidra* harmonizes the opposite hemispheres of the brain and helps in

balancing our basic drives and controlling functions that are normally unconscious because it works as a means of catharsis to relieve the memories of profound feelings.

Moving visualization of scenarios (*kalpanika caladdrsyadarsana*): The last stage of *yoga nidra* induces mental relaxation. The individual visualizes images (e.g., landscapes, oceans, flowers) described by the instructor. The practice of visualization develops self-awareness and relaxes the mind by relieving painful memories. In advanced stages, visualization develops into *dhyana,* or pure mediation.

Finish (*samapti*): The visualization practice is usually finished with an image that evokes profound feelings of peace and calmness. This makes the unconscious mind more receptive to positive thoughts and suggestions. Therefore, the practice of *yoga nidra* ends with a resolve (e.g., "I will be a good human being"). It is very important that the resolve be stated clearly and positively.

The practice of *yoga nidra* is concluded by gradually bringing the individual from the condition of psychic sleep to the waking state.

In this regard, the training program was started by following the above steps with an intention, or *sankalpa,* to set the tone for the practice. The participants moved into the physical body in a rotation of consciousness, allowing each part of the body to soften and surrender for *yoga nidra* (from the condition of psychic sleep to the waking state). With regular practice of *yoga nidra*, each participant acquired the ability to traverse through the *Koshas* (sheaths or layers) and better understand their true self that helps them to live their life positively.

Results

The data was analyzed by using descriptive statistics, as well as an analysis of variance (ANOVA) and analysis of co-variance (ANCOVA) to assess the significant mean differences between control and experimental groups (with the pre-test as a covariate). The level of significance was set at 0.01 (see Tables 1 and 2).

Blood Pressure (Systolic)

A significant difference was found for post-test systolic blood pressure between the control and experimental groups, $F(1, 98) = 109.27$, $p < 0.001$. However, no significant difference was found between the pre-test measures for the control and experimental groups. With respect to Adjusted Post Test Means (APTM) of the control ($M = 144.43$, $SD = 4.85$) and experimental ($M = 135.23$, $SD = 4.12$) groups, a significant difference was quite evident, $F(1, 97) = 102.06$, $p < 0.001$ (see Table 1).

Table 1

Comparison of Experimental and Control Group in Pre-, Post- and Adjusted Post-test for Different Measures.

		Control *n = 50* *M (SD)*	Experimental *n = 50* *M (SD)*	F value
Blood Pressure (systolic)	Pre-test	145.58 (4.82)	143.92 (4.67)	3.05
	Post-test	144.54 (4.85)	135.12 (4.12)	109.26*
	Adjusted Post-test	144.43 (4.85)	135.23 (4.12)	102.05*
Blood Pressure (diastolic)	Pre-test	91.68 (3.51)	92.16 (3.46)	0.474
	Post-test	91.28 (3.81)	85.88 (2.14)	76.216*
	Adjusted Post-test	91.26 (3.80)	85.90 (2.143)	74.609*
Vital Capacity	Pre-test	2170 (283.74)	2772 (288.58)	1.17
	Post-test	2754 (265.89)	3602 (283.58)	238.27*
	Adjusted Post-test	2765.37 (265.73)	3590.62 (282.42)	258.51*
Resting Heart Rate	Pre-test	88.04 (3.392)	87.12 (2.600)	2.31
	Post-test	87.74 (2.50)	77.72 (1.82)	521.47*
	Adjusted Post-test	87.73 (2.50)	77.73 (1.82)	502.69*
Breath Holding Capacity (Positive)	Pre-test	28.54 (2.76)	28.50 (2.76)	0.29
	Post-test	29.50 (2.77)	39.48 (2.58)	345.16*
	Adjusted Post-test	29.54 (2.77)	39.43 (2.58)	372.99*

* $p < .01$

Blood Pressure (Diastolic)

A significant difference was found for post-test diastolic blood pressure between the control and experimental groups, $F(1, 98) = 76.216$, $p < 0.001$. Again, no significant difference was found between the pre-test measures for the control and experimental groups. With respect to Adjusted Post Test Means (APTM) of the control ($M = 91.26$, $SD = 3.80$) and experimental ($M = 85.90$, $SD = 2.14$) groups, a significant difference was found, $F(1, 97) = 74.61$, $p < 0.001$ (see Table 1).

Vital Capacity

A significant difference was found for post-test vital capacity between the control and experimental groups, $F(1, 98) = 238.28$, $p < 0.001$. No significant difference was found between the pre-test measures for the control and experimental groups. A significant difference was evident with respect to the Adjusted Post Test Means (APTM) of the control ($M = 2765.37$, $SD = 265.73$) and experimental ($M = 3590.62$, $SD = 282.42$) groups, $F(1, 97) = 258.51$, $p < 0.001$ (see Table 1).

Resting Heart Rate

There was a significant difference in post-test resting heart rate between the control and experimental groups, $F(1, 98) = 521.47$, $p < 0.001$. There was no significant difference between the pre-test mean scores of the control and experimental groups. With respect to the Adjusted Post Test Means (APTM) of control ($M = 87.73$, $SD = 2.50$) and experimental ($M = 77.73$, $SD = 1.82$) groups, a significant difference was quite evident, $F(1, 97) = 502.693$, $p < 0.001$ (see Table 1).

Breath holding (positive)

There was a significant difference in post-test breath holding (positive) between the control and experimental groups, $F(1, 98) = 345.16$, $p < 0.001$. There was no significant difference between the pre-test mean scores of the pre-test for the control and experimental groups. With respect to the Adjusted Post Test Means (APTM) of the control ($M = 29.55$, $SD = 2.77$) and experimental ($M = 39.43$, $SD = 2.58$) groups, a significant difference was reported, $F(1, 97) = 373.00$, $p < 0.001$ (see Table 1).

Breath Holding (Negative)

There was a significant difference in post-test breath holding (negative) between the control and experimental groups, $F(1, 98) = 133.18$, $p < 0.001$. However, there was no significant difference between the pre-test mean scores for the control and experimental groups. A significant difference was found with respect to the Adjusted Post Test Means (APTM) of the control ($M = 19.17$, $SD = 1.49$) and experimental ($M = 22.85$, $SD = 1.73$) groups, $F(1, 97) = 142.76$, $p < 0.001$ (see Table 2).

Table 2

Comparison of Experimental and Control Group in Pre-, Post- and Adjusted Post-test for Different Measures.

		Control n = 50 M (SD)	Experimental n = 50 M (SD)	F value
Breath Holding Capacity (Negative)	Pre-test	18.90 (1.78)	19.00 (1.82)	0.30
	Post-test	19.14 (1.49)	22.88 (1.73)	133.18*
	Adjusted Post-test	19.17 (1.49)	22.85 (1.73)	142.76*
Anxiety	Pre-test	51.54 (9.53)	44.54 (16.91)	1.97
	Post-test	55.40 (13.00)	16.22 (6.83)	185.77*
	Adjusted Post-test	44.87 (8.86)	15.88 (6.23)	199.17*
Self-Concept	Pre-test	101.94 (11.80)	100.20 (11.79)	0.47
	Post-test	107.48 (11.62)	134.18 (14.87)	68.56*
	Adjusted Post-test	107.52 (11.62)	134.13 (14.87)	67.17*

* p < .01

Anxiety

A significant difference was found in post-test anxiety between the control and experimental groups, $F(1, 98) = 185.77$, $p < 0.001$. There was no significant difference between the pre-test mean scores for the control and experimental groups. With respect to the Adjusted Post Test Means (APTM) for the control ($M = 44.87$, $SD = 8.86$) and experimental ($M = 15.88$, $SD = 6.23$) groups, a significant difference was found, $F(1, 97) = 199.17$, $p < 0.001$ (see Table 2).

Self-Concept

There was a significant difference in post-test self-concept between the control and experimental groups, $F(1, 98) = 68.56$, $p < 0.001$. There was no significant difference between the pre-test mean scores for the control and experimental groups. With respect to

the Adjusted Post Test Means (APTM) for the control (*M* = 107.52, *SD* = 11.62) and experimental (*M* = 134.13, SD = 14.87) groups, a significant difference was quite evident, *F*(1, 97) = 67.17, *p* < 0.001 (see Table 2).

Discussion

The findings of the study suggest that y*oga nidra* has a positive effect on physical health measures (blood pressure, heart rate, vital capacity, and breath holding capacity) and psychological health measures (anxiety and self-concept). Results revealed that regular practice of *yoga nidra* normalized the resting heart rate and blood pressure of the middle-aged people involved in this study. Enhancement in vital capacity and breath-holding capacity was also reported in the present study. Results also indicated that yogic practices (*yoga nidra*) had a facilitating role in reducing anxiety levels and enhancing positive self-concept of the participants.

Findings indicate a significant improvement in normalizing blood pressure and heart rate through the training program. Practicing *yoga nidra* reduced anxiety and increased relaxation, which may have a beneficial effect on blood pressure and heart rates. In the present study, it is possible that the effect of *yoga nidra* may be evident most in those participants who had high blood pressure during the pre-test and were vulnerable to hypertension. Findings similar to those of the present study have been reported in other studies that analyzed healthier adults (Bhargava, Gogate, & Mascarenhas, 1988; Arambula et al., 2001; Pawlow & Jones, 2002; Shenbagavalli & Divya, 2010). A significant improvement in vital capacity and breath holding capacity was reported. Practicing *yoga nidra* especially *pranayama* improves respiratory function by increasing vital capacity and breath holding capacity. Studies (Birkel & Edgren, 2000; Czamara, 2003; Cysarz & Bussing, 2005; Shenbagavalli & Divya, 2010) reported that *pranayama* caused general health improvement through the enhancement of lung functions and the improvement of respiratory capacity.

The findings of the present study revealed that participants' anxiety levels significantly decreased due to exposure to the training program. Practicing *yoga nidra* promotes physical and mental relaxations, improves circulation, and reduces stress and anxiety. Researchers (Chinmayananda, 1984; Nagendra & Nagarathna, 1997) suggested that the practice of yoga interspersed with relaxation while supine, so as to have a combination of "activating" and "pacifying" practices, may help reach mental equilibrium. Other studies have also reported that yoga provides a flexible approach to a wide variety of physical and psychological problems with surprisingly favorable results in the relief of anxiety, stress, fatigue, and irritability (Miller, Fletcher, & Kabat-Zinn, 1995; Sakai, 1997; Khasky & Smith, 1999; Takeichi & Sato, 2000; Stetter & Kupper, 2002; Shenbagavalli & Divya, 2010). This study also suggests that yogic practices had a facilitating role in enhancing positive self-concept. *Om* chanting contributes to creating a positive stimulation and vibration on the nerve plexus and chakras, which may encourage positive thinking (Adhikari, 2008). Findings of the present study are also supported by another study (Bhogal, Gore, Oak, Kulkarni, & Bera, 2004).

Other studies have also reported beneficial effects of yoga training on physical and mental health (Joshi, Joshi, & Gokhale, 1992; Sakai, 1997; Malathi & Damodaran, 1999; Arambula, Peper, Kawakami, & Gibney, 2001; Malhotra, Singh, Tandon, Madhu, Prasad, & Sharma, 2002; Stetter & Kupper, 2002; Rizzolo, 2008).

It can be concluded that the training program was significantly effective for promoting desirable changes with respect to physical health measures (i.e., blood pressure, heart rate, vital capacity, and breath holding capacity) and psychological health measures (i.e., anxiety and self-concept). Thus, y*oga nidra* is recognized as a beneficial art and means of relaxation by improving physical and psychological health. This ultimately helps to have a counterfoil to existing stress, pressure, or tension and to promote positive experiences for a healthy life. The implication of this study is that *yoga nidra* can be promoted as a cost effective and easily accessible way of preventing and treating some symptoms of physical and mental illness, ultimately enhancing physical and mental health.

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Appendix A

Steps of Yoga Nidra	
Preparation	Shavasana, general instructions, admonitions not to move or go to sleep
Relaxation	Om or breathing
Resolve	Make your own resolve
Rapid shifting of consciousness	Right side, left side, back, front, major part, front and back, right side reverse, left side reverse, whole back, whole front, inner parts.
Awareness of the breath	Navel, chest, throat and nostril, Throat, navel; mental alternate nostril; eyebrow centre
Awareness of feelings and sensations	Heaviness/lightness, cold/heat, pain/pleasure
Moving visualization of scenarios	Park/temple; mountain; floating body; well/ocean; eyebrow centre/Om/golden egg; well/golden egg; inner space (optional) Position and form of psychic centres or chakras, rotation through them Circles of Om centred on eyebrow centre
Resolve	Repeat resolve
Finish	Breathing, body and room awareness

Polish-French Bilingualism and Bicultural Identity: Cross-Cultural Studies on Immigrants in France and Belgium, and French Language Students in Poland

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Abstract

In the present study, the authors applied the Cultural Values and Script Questionnaire, together with language measures (bidirectional translation, listening comprehension tasks), to explore the relationship between Polish-French bilinguality and bicultural identity among Polish migrants in France and Belgium and students learning French at a Polish University. We hypothesized that the Francophone acculturative context will lead to (i) integrated bicultural identity, as well as (ii) a balanced bilingual profile. Thirdly, we assumed there is a link between an individual's bicultural identity and his or her bilinguality. The data partially confirm the two first hypotheses. An unexpected contrast effect revealed that students in Poland identify more strongly with French cultural values than with Polish values.

Keywords: bicultural identity, language, values, Polish, French, acculturation

Polish-French Bilingualism and Bicultural Identity: Cross-Cultural Studies on Immigrants in France and Belgium, and French Language Students in Poland

Cross-cultural research shows that two components of culture, language and values, are related, and that the ability to use the language of the country of settlement and formation of a bicultural identity are the two main factors linked to a migrant's successful adaptation to a new cultural environment (Chen, Benet-Martínez, & Harris Bond, 2008; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013; Sam & Berry, 2006).

In this research project, the authors explore migrants' cultural identification and bilingual skills in two acculturative contexts: monolingual France (Lyon, the Rhone-Alpe Region) and the bilingual Brussels-Capital Region (Belgium). Students of French language and culture in Poland served as the comparison group. Based on this comparison across three countries, the authors are asking whether language proficiency is related to cultural identity formation. For the present study, cultural identity is conceived of as the distance between one's endorsement of cultural values and his/her perception of their importance in each of the two cultures (Boski, 2006).

Languages as Carriers of Culture

Wierzbicka (1997) argues that language imposes cultural constraints on its users. In other words, the acquisition[1] of any language is combined with the adoption of specific ways of thinking, styles and norms of behavior, and manners of expressing feelings. Consequently, the natural acquisition of a second language – like that of the first (native language) – involves one's inclusion into the second culture, rather than simply the assimilation of a linguistic code. Using any language implies "becoming" a member of a particular cultural group and participation in a variety of social interactions. Often, one's own identity is enriched and redefined through this process. The use of a language[2] $(L_1, L_2 ... L_n.)$ in daily interpersonal interactions is closely related to identity at the personal, as well as cultural, and ethnic level (Hamers & Blanc, 2000). From the acculturative standpoint, communicative skills serve as an indicator of successful adaptation and adjustment (Hamers & Blanc, 2000). Since language and other aspects of culture (lifestyle, attitudes, beliefs, customs, values) are intertwined phenomena, the subsequent acquisition of languages[2] $(L_1, L_2 ... L_n.)$ during migration should have corresponding behavioral consequences for the individual. This may concern lifestyle changes (including daily

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[1] Linguists distinguish between "language learning" and "language acquisition"; the first process is teacher-led and classroom-based whilst the second denotes spontaneous child language development (Laskowski, 2013; Laskowski, Czelakowska, & Wiraszka, 2015; Wróblewska-Pawlak, 2014).

[2] L_1 denotes the mother tongue or first language; L_2 denotes the second language learned after the first.

practices and behaviors), self-representation, and self-construals (Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

In the present study, the authors speculate that the French language carries values characteristic of the French culture and the Polish language, likewise. In the language learning process, a migrant acquires new norms of behavior, ways of being, and a system of meanings. A previous study by Boski and Iben Youseff (2012) on bilingual Arabic-French Tunisians has illustrated that certain cultural concepts or values can only be expressed in the language to which they correspond. Otherwise, the concepts are "lost in translation" (Wierzbicka, 1997).

Language Grammar and Cultural Values

Previous studies show that two cultural elements, language and values, are related. Study results indicate that cultures with "pronoun drop languages" (e.g. Polish, Spanish) tend to be less individualistic than cultures with "non-pronoun drop languages" (e.g. English, French; Kashima & Kashima, 1998). A link has been shown between the use of certain grammatical forms in a language, i.e. the first person singular pronoun "I," and individualism on the individualism-collectivism cultural dimension (Uz, 2014; Nisbett & Miyamoto, 2005). Wierzbicka (1999) notes the status personal pronouns are given in a language through capitalization or lack of it. In written Polish (a pronoun-drop language), if used at all, the word "you" (*Ty–singular/Wy–plural*) and its possessives are capitalized, indicating respect towards the addressee, and implying a more collectivistic perspective. In English, the only pronoun which is always capitalized is the first person singular "I," indicating the importance of the self, which suggests an individualistic perspective.

A parallel line of research is ongoing in political psychology, demonstrating a link between part-of-speech use and worldview or ideology endorsed by the speaker (Cichocka, Bilewicz, Jost, Marrouch, & Witkowska, 2016). Here, a correlation has been shown between socio-political conservatism and (i) preference for nouns in the Polish language; (ii) preference for nominal sentences in Arabic (sentences composed of nouns, or a noun and an adjective, in which the verb is implied); (iii) higher proportion of nouns in speeches of Republican presidents compared to Democratic presidents (US English). According to the authors, "Nouns convey greater permanence, stability of subjects and objects, as well as categorical perceptions of social actors and the world at large. As such, they are likely to address conservatives' greater needs for order, certainty and predictability."

Cultural Frame-Switching

The mono-cultural/linguistic framework may be extended to bi-lingual/cultural analysis. Here, the two languages being consecutively used may influence the behavior of a bilingual person, as an example of cultural frame switching. This mechanism is useful in daily life; it helps the bicultural person fulfill his or her multiple social roles and negotiate the hyphenated identity, e.g. Polish-French, or Mexican-American (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002; Benet-Martínez et al., 2006).

The exposure of a bilingual and bicultural person to an element of a specific culture should elicit a behavioral response appropriate for that culture (Benet-Martínez, Lee, & Leu, 2006; Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002; Chen et al., 2008; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). To test this, Benet-Martínez et al. (2002) developed the Bicultural Identity Integration (BII) scale. A bilingual and bicultural individual whose identity is well integrated (high BII score) is able to switch his/her cognitive functioning appropriately, in accordance with the cultural stimulus that is presented, giving assimilative responses. Nevertheless, this is not always the case. Only well-adapted bicultural and bilingual individuals seem to be able to switch their cognitive functioning harmoniously and congruently from culture A to culture B or vice versa, depending on which culture's symbols are presented (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005).

Some study participants consistently present paradoxical (contrasting) responses. It has been shown that their scores are on the low end of the BII scale, indicating a bicultural identity that is not integrated. This contrasting cultural frame switching behavior has been identified as an example of the *reverse priming* or *contrast effect*. We will return to this issue in the discussion section. For now, it is important to remember that the social context has been implicated in the occurrence of this phenomenon (Cheng, Lee, & Benet-Martínez, 2006).

Cheng, Lee, and Benet-Martínez (2006) tested the reactions of Asian-Americans to being exposed to one of four English language "word mazes," composed of "positive Asian words," "negative Asian words," "positive American words," and "negative American words." The reaction being tested was the participants' performance on the "school of fish inferential task" (Hong, Morris, Chiu, Benet-Martínez, 2000). In this task, respondents rate the degree to which in their opinion a single fish is acting independently or is influenced by the rest of the group (school of fish). Making more external attributions is characteristic of the Asian cultural frame of mind, in contrast to the American frame of mind (less external attributions).

The *reverse priming* effect was visible in the low BII individuals' Asian cultural frame of mind when exposed to positive American words and the American cultural frame of mind when exposed to positive Asian words. Meanwhile, high BII individuals adopted the Asian cultural frame of mind when exposed to negative American words and the American cultural frame of mind when exposed to negative Asian words.

Current Research

Integration Policies in France and Belgium: Contrasting Social Contexts

The two Francophone countries, Belgium and France, have implemented different models of integration. France, with its model of great universalist ideologies (*Fr.* "*creuset culturelle*" – melting pot) follows "*assimilationist citizenship requirements.*" Belgium has included multiculturalism in its constitution, and regional communities are responsible for local integration policies (implementation of social programs, work, school and housing). This "*pluricultural non-participative insertion model*" attributes to immigrants' social rights, at the same time limiting their political participation (Sabatier & Boutry, 2006).

Thus, a country's policy towards migrants may influence their decision to settle there. Since the accession of Poland to the EU in 2003 and the Schengen Zone in 2007, a significant number of Poles decided to move abroad (Goździak & Pawlak, 2016; Boski, 2013). For the year 2007, the Polish National Statistics Bureau (GUS) estimated the number of Poles who had temporarily emigrated (for more than 3 months) at 2.3 million (GUS, 2016). According to Laskowski (2013), between 700 and 800 thousand Poles lived in France in 2008, compared to 100 thousand in Belgium. In 2011, the French National Statistics Bureau (INSEE) estimated the number of Poles in France at 93,000, while in 2012 the number given by Eurostat was 350,000. Therefore, the number of Poles in France is only approximate. Apart from that, we observe a lot of cross-border temporary migration.

Hypotheses

The aim of the present study was to compare the relationship between identity – conceived of as the similarity between one's endorsement of cultural values and his/her perception of the values' importance in two cultures (Boski, 2006) – and bilingual proficiency among four categories of language users in four acculturative contexts: (1) The first generation (**G-1**) of Polish migrants living in Lyon, France; (2) secondary school students in the Polish section of *Cité Scolaire Internationale de Lyon* (**LYN**); (3) secondary school students of the Polish School in Brussels, Belgium, (**BRU**); (4) students of French language at a Polish university (**UWr**). We hypothesized that the group of secondary school students in Belgium (BRU) will identify more strongly with the set of values that they had earlier identified as shared Polish and French, compared to the migrants in France, or the students in Poland (**Hypothesis 1**).

The other question we posed was whether the acculturative context (respectively: living, and/or studying, in France or Belgium; studying the French language and culture in Poland) has an impact on cultural identity, as defined earlier, and if so, how is that linked to performance on listening comprehension and translation tasks in the two languages.

We predicted that the Poles in the Francophone countries (France and Belgium) would have more balanced bilingual scores than the students in Poland (**Hypothesis 2**). In other words, the difference between the respondents' Polish vs. French language scores in listening comprehension and bidirectional translation will not be statistically significant.

Lastly, we presume that there is a positive correlation between one's cultural identity index (PL Identity, FR Identity) and the respective language proficiency scores (Polish, French) (**Hypothesis 3)**.

Methods

Participants

Our sample (N = 232; 174 women; four of the study participants did not reveal their gender) consisted of four groups presented below. We computed the percentage of

lifetime contact with each language by dividing each participant's declared length of direct and continuous exposure to the language by his/her age (Table 1).

Table 1
Acculturative Category by Gender, Age and Percent of Lifetime Contact with each Language

	N (women)	Age range	M_{age}	Polish %	French %
G-1	50 (42)	20-65	35.5	97	41
LYN	40 (30)	13-25	17.3	99	73
BRU	62 (29)	14-19	16.2	100	77
UWr	79 (73)	17-26	21.0	97	24
Overall	232 (174)	14-65			

Note: G-1: First generation of migrants in Lyon; LYN: International high school students of Lyon; BRU: Polish high school students in Brussels; UWr: University students of French language and culture from Poland.

Materials and Procedure

The tools we used were (1) a Polish-French version of Boski's (2006, 2008, 2009) Cultural Values and Scripts Questionnaire (CVSQ), and (2) the Polish-French Bilingual Proficiency Questionnaire which is composed of two parts: (i) listening comprehension and (ii) bidirectional translation.

The shortened and bilingual version of the CVSQ created for this study contains 39 items selected from the original 66-item pool (Boski, 2009, p. 409), and is adapted for administration to two generations of participants. The Polish version, which was adapted first, was translated by a bilingual and bicultural person into French. The two versions were then back translated by a French language teacher residing in Poland, fully bilingual in both languages. The final stage of verification was carried out by two Polish-French bilinguals residing in France. During the study procedure, participants selected which version of the CVSQ they wish to take: French or Polish, but this had no bearing on the results.

All survey items in the CVSQ refer to specific and context-dependent cultural values (e.g. *Humanism*). The tool measures cultural identification with values represented by 39 short statements, in two steps: (1) Locative – Assignment of a value to a culture/cultures (*Is the following value SHARED, POLISH, FRENCH, or NEITHER? "Highly valuing close, long-term friendships and caring for them."*), and (2) Evaluative – Personal endorsement of the specific value (*Indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statement: "I highly value close long-term friendships and care for them"*).

The study participants were asked to sort the 39 value items into one of four categories in a 2x2 matrix (Table 2): SHARED, POLISH, FRENCH, NEITHER. For example, if the respondent categorized an item ("*valuing close, long-term friendships*") as FRENCH, then SHARED=0, POLISH=0, FRENCH=1, NEITHER=0.

Table 2

Cultural Values and Scripts Questionnaire: Value Sorting Matrix

	FR Culture	
PL Culture	Yes	No
Yes	**Shared Set** (PL,FR)	**Distinctly Polish Set** (PL,−FR)
No	**Distinctly French** (FR,−PL)	**Neither Set** (−FR,−PL)

Note. This matrix may be used for a pair of any selected two cultures (A, B), to assign a set of cultural values or cultural practices to four logical cultural categories: Culture A (A, −B); Culture B (−A, B); Shared by both cultures (A, B); Neither culture (−A, −B).

Next, we asked participants how much they personally endorsed the cultural values (e.g. "*I highly value close, long-term friendships"*) that they sorted in the previous step. Depending on the level of personal identification with each item, participants gave answers on a Likert scale from −2 to 2: *Strongly disagree, Disagree, I don't know, Agree, Strongly agree*.

Finally, we multiplied the score from the sorting matrix (FR=1) by the corresponding Likert scale response. Since the respondent had assigned the item "*friendship*" to the French culture, and strongly endorses "*friendship*" as his/her personal value (2 Likert points), the respondent's French identity score for this item only will be +2.

To obtain the participant's total French identity score, we added up all the products of items that were categorized as distinctly French and their corresponding personal endorsements. For each of the remaining components (SHARED, PL, NEITHER) we proceeded in the same manner.

Polish-French Bilingual Proficiency Questionnaire

In part one, there were two conversations chosen for the listening comprehension task: one in French, and another in Polish (Burkat, Jasińska, Szymkiewicz, & Małolepsza, 2008). The study participants listened twice to the recordings and responded to eight True/False questions. They scored 1 point for each correct answer.

The French recording was a conversation between a couple arguing in the car (sample French item: The woman wants Paul to turn right/*La femme veut que Paul tourne à droit*). The Polish recording was of a police officer questioning a witness of a car

accident (sample Polish item: The man was walking in the park at the time of the event/*Mężczyzna spacerował po parku w chwili zdarzenia*).

The second part consisted of translation: (i) from French to Polish, and (ii) from Polish to French. The short texts were retrieved from the textbook *AlterEgo 4* (Dollez & Pons, 2014). The French text (84 words) was a personal statement by a political party activist who is engaged in promoting an ecology-friendly lifestyle. The Polish text (75 words) was a brief letter of a graduate student, who interns at a television station, to a friend.

Translations were evaluated based on their quality; points were subtracted for mistakes made in the translation (e.g., omissions, repetitions, mistakes in: spelling, grammar, syntax). Faultless translation received the score of 100%. The correlations between results obtained through the listening and the translation method of bilingual assessment were positive and moderately low ($r = .19$).

Procedure

Participation in the study was voluntary and anonymous; confidentiality was provided to encourage honest responding. Participants were recruited through French-Polish associations which serve as migrants' institutional support, Polish Catholic Mission, and Polish Consulate. The questionnaires were administered and completed in a quiet classroom. Participants also reported demographic data including: age, gender, nationality, duration of language contact, and educational level. Instruction was given at the beginning of the session.

Results

Cultural Identity

To test our **first hypothesis** concerning the impact of acculturative context on identity, a mixed model of analysis (MANOVA) was carried out. The first analysis was carried out in a 4x4 format: (Cultural Identity indices: Integrated vs. Distinctly Polish vs. Distinctly French vs. Neither PL nor FR, as repeated measures) by (Groups: G-1 vs. LYN vs. BRU vs. UWr). The dependent variables were four cultural identity indices: Integrated vs. Distinctly Polish vs. Distinctly Francophone vs. Neither PL nor FR.

A significant interaction effect between cultural identity and respondent group was found, $F(9, 678) = 4.91$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = 0.06$. A simple effect can be seen by looking at the mean integrated Polish-French identity score across the four groups of respondents. The mean is the highest in the sampled group of "BRU secondary school students." However, this difference is statistically significant only when comparing BRU with G-1 (first generation) and UWr, but not with LYN. Also, it is important to keep in mind that while respondents from G-1 are significantly older, we did not control for age. Nevertheless, these results partially confirm our **first hypothesis**.

Table 3

Mean Identity and Language Results Across Groups of Respondents

	G-1		LYN		BRU		UWr	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Integrated PL*FR Identity	4.48	7.03	7.82	8.69	10.35	8.48	7.46	7.57
PL Identity	3.20	5.64	6.56	7.21	6.75	6.98	0.97	4.67
FR Identity	2.14	4.80	2.82	4.66	3.17	4.87	3.20	6.51
Neither Identity	2.10	6.56	1.10	4.77	1.17	4.03	0.32	3.33
PL Comprehension	5.78	1.48	5.40	1.54	5.39	1.41	5.89	1.22
FR Comprehension	4.86	1.77	5.32	1.16	4.88	1.23	3.72	1.32
PL>FR Translation %	89.90	8.38	83.04	13.10	64.00	21.50	76.86	15.57
FR>PL Translation %	90.76	6.47	95.12	4.77	39.03	19.20	85.43	7.14

Listening comprehension

To test our **second hypothesis** concerning the impact of the acculturative context on listening comprehension, we ran a two-factor analysis of variance (multivariate repeated measures – MANOVA). The study was designed in a 2x4 format: (Listening comprehension: French x Polish, as repeated factors) by (Groups: G-1 x LYN x BRU x UWr). The interaction effect between two variables, language (listening comp.) and acculturative category (group), was significant, $F(3, 227) = 15.31$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = 0.17$.

In all of the groups, Polish listening comprehension scores were higher compared to French, but only among our sample of LYN students was this difference minimal and not statistically significant. This pattern of results suggests balanced comprehension skills among the LYN students and partially confirms our **second hypothesis**.

To test the **second hypothesis** in terms of translation skills, we ran a two-factor analysis of variance (multivariate repeated measures – MANOVA). The analysis was designed in a 2 x 4 format: Translation (PL>FR x FR>PL, as repeated measures) by Groups (G-1 x LYN x BRU x UWr).

In the three groups of students (LYN, BRU, UWr), translation scores (PL>FR vs. FR>PL) were unequal. Only in the case of individuals from the first generation of migrants (G-1), the difference in translation scores (FR>PL vs. PL>FR) was small and not statistically significant. This suggests balanced bilingual translation skills among the first generation of migrating individuals and also partially confirms our **second hypothesis**.

Cultural Identity According to Language Skills

To answer the research question concerning the cultural identity and language proficiency interrelation, we conducted Pearson's correlation analysis (see Table 4). These data do not confirm the **third hypothesis** concerning the correlation between individual identity indices (Polish, French) and the respective language skills.

Table 4

Cultural Identity and Language Proficiency Correlations

	Listening		Translation	
	PL	FR	PL>FR	FR>PL
Integrated PL* FR Identity	−.17*	−.04	−.06	−.18**
PL Identity	−.07	.13	−.01	−.16**
FR Identity	.13	−.05	.10	−.03
Neither Identity	.03	.00	.13	.02

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

Discussion

The aim of the present study was to compare the relation between cultural identity and language skills among four categories of language users in four acculturative contexts, to the extent that it is even possible given such small samples chosen by the convenience sampling method. Our quantitative research first followed the qualitative work of Matczak (2008) in the field of language education and addressed bilingual proficiency (Polish and French) and biculturalism of Poles living in Lyon, France (first generation migrants and secondary school students). We then tested Poles living in Brussels, Belgium (secondary school students) and university students of French language and culture in Wrocław, Poland.

The study explored specific language skills operationalized as: (1) language comprehension, and (2) bidirectional translation. The conducted analyses reveal differences in the bilingual profiles, as well as in identity among our samples from the compared groups of migrants and French language students living in Poland.

The highest ratings of simultaneous proficiency in French and Polish were observed in the two groups in Lyon, France. These results partially confirm the **second hypothesis** concerning migrants' balanced bilingual profile. The secondary school students scored equally well on listening comprehension of Polish and French languages, while the first generation of migrants had the best and most balanced translation scores of all groups. Our sample of BRU students were the youngest respondents and scored the lowest on the

translation task. This may suggest that translation skills improve with age and with life experience in the bicultural environment. Thus, the results imply that, in a long-term perspective, being a migrant is a favorable condition for the learning of a second language.

The data we obtained confirmed our **first hypothesis**. Secondary students from Brussels had the highest mean integrated identity (French and Polish). On the other hand, as said above, their translation scores were unexpectedly low, especially from French to Polish. In a multicultural setting, young bilingual people may naturally successfully function as blended Polish-French individuals without giving it much thought. However, translation requires one to see the two languages and cultures as separate and to know how to bridge the differences between them.

The results we have obtained from our sample of Polish students of French language and culture at UWr were also unexpected because the students living in Poland identified more with the French cultural values than they identified with the Polish cultural values. Furthermore, unlike any other, this group had an exceptionally low mean Polish identity score (Table 3). This may be an example of what Cheng and colleagues (2006) have called the *reverse priming effect* or the *contrast effect*, which we have already discussed in the section on cultural frame-switching within the introduction.

Osińska (2007) also obtained a similar reverse-priming effect by using a shortened version of the CVSQ (20 questions) among Polish-American students at the ASW - American School of Warsaw (Boski, 2009). In the Polish language/cultural symbol priming condition, ASW students scored significantly lower on Polish value endorsement, as opposed to American value endorsement. In the American priming condition, identification with distinctly Polish and distinctly American values was equal.

In the past, contrasting results of the CVSQ have been interpreted as possibly resulting from respondents' feelings of inferiority towards the Polish culture, or their depreciation of it (Boski, 2009). Cheng and colleagues (2006) also suggest that biculturals may internalize one culture's negative stereotypes towards the other, or towards itself.

Lastly, we hypothesized that there is a positive correlation between cultural identity (PL Identity index, FR Identity index) and proficiency in the respective language (Polish, French). This hypothesis was not confirmed. On the other hand, there was a negative correlation between all four language tasks and the Integrated PL*FR Identity index. It was significant only for Polish listening comprehension and translation to Polish from French.

Limitations and Future Research

A bigger sample size would be needed to clearly demonstrate differences among groups referred to in this paper. Respondents in all of the groups needed to meet strict criteria (age- and language-wise), so convenience sampling was the only available sampling option. At the same time, we understand that this limits our ability to generalize. Thus, the labels describing our groups (G-1, LYN, BRU and UWr) are intended only to differentiate between them, rather than imply the generalizability of our results.

Using the same tools, Kmiotek and Boski (2017) have found no direct link between bilingual proficiency and bicultural identity (defined as cultural value endorsement) after

examining three of the four groups listed above. In the present study, we have added a new group (BRU) and decided to take a different approach, focusing rather on the differences between these four groups.

While a bilingual person may possess natural translation skills (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1991), this specific competence is the subject of translation studies, not bilinguality studies.

A translator needs to be bilingual to the extent required by his/her profession, but a bilingual teenager is not necessarily a good translator, particularly when the language is not spoken, but written. Therefore, translation skills are not necessarily a reliable measure of bilinguality. Future studies should apply other measures for assessing other linguistic skills not explored here (reading, speaking), as well as other methods of measuring identity (i.e., the harmonious vs. conflictual bilingual identity integration distinction; Benet-Martínez et al., 2002).

More research is needed to identify the cognitive and affective factors necessary for the contrast effect to take place. For this, the concept of identity may need to be redefined, taking into account not only personal identification with the ethnic/national group(s), but also whether the group(s) is accepting of the member (e.g., I am/not: Polish as viewed by other Poles, French as viewed by other French people, Polish as viewed by French people, French as viewed by Poles). Here, we focus on French-Polish bilingualism, but the possibilities to study other language pairs are still open.

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Book: Venture into a New Realm of Cross-Cultural Psychology

Meditation, Mantric Poetry, and Well-being: A Qualitative, Cross-Cultural, Cross-Disciplinary Exploration with American Secondary and Japanese Post-Secondary Adolescents

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Abstract

Higher well-being correlates positively with multiple psychological and social outcomes, including workplace success and better academic outcomes for students. Poetry and meditation, independently, have been demonstrated in prior studies to increase well-being in a variety of contexts, including physical and mental health challenges. To our knowledge, this is the only published cross-cultural study that merged contemplative practices and poetry within the well-being paradigm, particularly among general, non-clinical adolescent populations. The purpose of this exploratory study was to examine the use of meditation and mantric poetry in a cross-cultural, educational context. The materials included *The Jewels of Happiness: Inspiration and Wisdom to Guide your Life-Journey* paperback and audiobook—a collection of poetry and prose to enhance positive emotions. A content analysis was conducted with post-secondary student essays and secondary students' comments, subsequent to an experience of meditation and mantric poetry in their respective academic settings. Post-secondary students (n = 34) were enrolled in an English as a Second Language (ESL) course in Japan, and secondary students (n = 30) were enrolled in an English Language Arts (ELA) class in the United States. The most commonly occurring themes that emerged across the two cohorts were *inner peace, happiness, life-changing experience,* and *overcoming a challenge.*

Keywords: Meditation, contemplative sciences, poetry therapy, well-being, adolescents, language acquisition, Sri Chinmoy

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Meditation, Mantric Poetry, and Well-being: A Qualitative, Cross-Cultural, Cross-Disciplinary Exploration with American Secondary and Japanese Post-Secondary Adolescents

Happy societies are healthier and contribute to higher social capital, something to which most nations aspire (Diener & Tay, 2013). Well-being, which represents an individual's level of happiness (Diener, 2009), correlates positively with multiple social, psychological and physiological outcomes, including prosocial behavior, better social relationships, increased workplace success (Diener & Tay, 2013), and improved academic outcomes (Heffner & Antaramian, 2016). Higher well-being correlates also to improved physiological and immunological responses (Diener & Chan, 2011). Multiple approaches, including subjective well-being (SWB) exercises (Diener & Tay, 2013), positive psychology interventions (Seligman, 2002; Shoshani & Sloan, 2012), and, more recently, meditation and other contemplative practices such as Hatha Yoga and Tai Chi (Schonert-Reichl & Roeser, 2016) have been employed to increase general well-being among both adults and youth. Contemplative pedagogical practices can support education for both school-aged (MLERN, 2012) and post-secondary students (Zajonc, 2013).

As the field of well-being continues to expand, more novel and cross-disciplinary approaches to understanding and increasing well-being are emerging in the literature. Poetry, for example, associated normally with the literary or dramatic arts or within an anthropological context, can be used also as a way to improve mental health and well-being. Poetry therapy is emerging as a viable approach within the well-being paradigm (e.g., Brillantes-Evangelista, 2013; Croom, 2015; Mohammadian et al., 2011), yet few studies have been conducted among general, non-clinical adolescent populations. The careful choice of words naturally found in poetry has a meditative effect for the reader or listener (Brillantes-Evangelista, 2013); even fewer studies fused poetry, meditation, and well-being. Taken together, the purpose of this exploratory study was to examine the use of heart-centered meditation and mantric poetry in an academic, cross-cultural context.

Poetry Therapy and Well-Being

Poetry therapy, defined as the use of language, symbol, or story, in either a therapeutic or educational setting, has broad applications but is used often for mental health and psychological therapy (Mazza, 2017). In poetry therapy, the focus is on personal meaning and experience rather than a prescribed correct interpretation (Mazza, 2017). Mazza's three-part *RES Poetry Therapy Model* consists of the receptive/prescriptive component (R),

where individuals are introduced to existing literature; the expressive/creative component (E), where individuals write creatively something of their own; and the symbolic/ceremonial component (S), involving rituals or celebrations (Mazza, 2017, p. 17). He noted also that the use of chanted word, or repetition, has been used across cultures as a way to bring about some type of change—individual, environmental or societal. In one study, Japanese-style haiku poems were used as meditation therapy for a mental health professional's own self-healing (Sky Hiltunen, 2005).

A few recent studies reported the effectiveness of poetry therapy among adolescents. For example, Mohammadian et al. (2011) found that poetry therapy significantly reduced depression, anxiety, and stress among female undergraduate students in Iran. Brillantes-Evangelista (2013) demonstrated that adolescents in the Philippines who encountered abuse benefited from poetry therapy—specifically, decreased depression and post-traumatic stress disorder. Additionally, the poetry therapy increased participants' positive emotions. In a U.S.-based study, Furman (2005) found that poetry therapy effectively helped teach empathy to social work students.

Reading Aloud, Poetry, and Meditation for Second Language Acquisition

Reading aloud (RA) improves language learning in the target language. RA techniques include unison reading and synchronized reading to enhance second language (L2) reading skills (Kato, 2012). Reading aloud is effective in language acquisition for Japanese English as a Foreign Language (EFL) learners (Kato & Tanaka, 2015).

Used carefully and skillfully, RA improves reading, pronunciation, and writing for EFL and English as a Second Language (ESL) learners (Gibson, 2008) and listening ability in the target language (Kato & Tanaka, 2015). Taken together, there is a deep connection between speech perception and speech production (Casserly & Pisoni, 2010; Cogan et al., 2014; Gandour et al., 2007).

Second Language Acquisition (SLA) requires a positive outlook in order for the learning to be successful. Researchers and practitioners sympathetic toward the idea of well-being in SLA classrooms have embarked on a variety of studies based within the positive psychology/well-being framework (MacIntyre, Gregersen, & Mercer, 2016). Higher well-being, applicable to both instructor and learner, has been studied in SLA classrooms (MacIntyre et al., 2016).

A few SLA studies involved poetry or meditation, but rarely together. It is perhaps the careful choice of words inherent to the art of poetry that brings about poetry's meditative effect (Brillantes-Evangelista, 2013). Haiku poetry therapy was used among Japanese university students who wrote a "happiness haiku" subsequent to communicating in the target language (English) with student peers (Helgesen, 2016). The activity not only helped students reflect on positive action ideas, but also enhanced their learning of English language skills. In another example, visualization exercises reduced stress among SLA learners (Fresacher, 2016). Students first described in writing their "safe place" (e.g., ocean), then used the "safe place" script to enter into a 3-minute visualization, accompanied by relaxing music. Stress is inevitable when students interact in the target (foreign/second)

language, and decreased stress enhances the language learning process (Fresacher, 2016).

Contemplative Pedagogical Practices

Contemplative pedagogical practices are being used increasingly to support and improve learning in K-12 (MLERN, 2012) and higher education settings (Zajonc, 2013). Contemplative pedagogy encompasses methods for developing student attention, emotional balance, creativity, and academic course content (Zajonc, 2013). The roots of Contemplative Education in the US, for example, can be traced back to the mid-1800s but is currently reemerging in the field of education (Morgan, 2015). Because of their roots in ancient and religious practices, one concern regarding contemplative practices such as meditation and mindfulness is ensuring the secular aspect of these disciplines (Jennings, 2016); another is the need for larger, more systematic interventional studies conducted among public school-aged children and adolescents (Chadwick & Gelbar, 2016). Nevertheless, the positive outcomes reported recently in the literature demonstrate the viability of Contemplative Pedagogical practices, from school-aged students continuing to the post-secondary level (see Chadwick & Gelbar, 2016; MLERN, 2012; Morgan, 2015; Waters, Barsky, Ridd, & Allen, 2014; Zajonc, 2013).

Meditation for Well-being

Contemplative sciences, which include ancient disciplines such as Hatha Yoga, Tai Chi, and meditation, have been studied as a means for increasing well-being among youth and adolescents (MLERN, 2012; Roeser & Zelazo, 2012). Meditation has been tested for more than 30 years as a way to alleviate stress, as well as psychological and physical diagnoses. Only recently has the practice of meditation been incorporated into the well-being paradigm.

A broad definition of meditation frequently used in the academic literature is that meditation is a family of techniques that help to quiet the mind and focus the attention (Shapiro, 1984). Many types of meditation interventions have been tested with adolescents, including mindfulness meditation, Loving-Kindness Meditation, Transcendental Meditation, Vipasana meditation, and Centering Prayer meditation (see Waters et al., 2014). In this study, heart-centered meditation exercises (Sri Chinmoy, 2010; 2013) were instructed to both student cohorts.

Methods

Current Study

The current study brings together: the frameworks of the practice of meditation and other contemplative practices for well-being among adolescents (MLERN, 2012; Roeser & Zelazo, 2012; Schonert-Reichl & Roeser, 2016); the historical use of repetition, or chanted word, in the context of poetry to affect a personal change (Mazza, 2017); and the receptive (listening) and expressive (writing) component of Mazza's (2017) *Poetry Therapy* model. The aim of

this retrospective, qualitative, cross-disciplinary, cross-cultural analysis was to identify common themes related to well-being and academics expressed by two convenience samples of adolescent students who experienced heart-centered meditation and mantric poetry. A content analysis was conducted (n=64) on course essays submitted by Japanese post-secondary students (Cohort #1) and study interviews conducted with American secondary students (Cohort #2). Subjects experienced the meditative effect of poetry (Brillantes-Evangelista, 2013) and the repetition or chanted words of poetry to effect a personal change (Mazza, 2017).
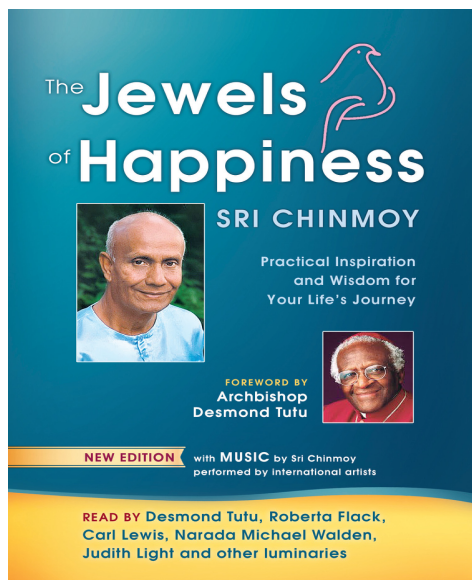
"In the outer life you cannot have peace unless and until you have first established peace in your inner life. Early in the morning, if you treasure a few divine thoughts before leaving your home, then these thoughts will enter into your outer life as energizing, fulfilling realities."
−Sri Chinmoy

Figure 1. The Jewels of Happiness Audiobook and Example

Populations

Two separate cohorts made up the study samples. Cohort #1 consisted of 34 older adolescents (18-19 years old) enrolled in a required English as a Foreign Language (EFL) course held in a post-secondary institution in Metropolitan Tokyo, Japan. The institution serves predominantly middle-income students that enter the school with top-tier national scores. The course was a theme-based EFL course held over 13 weeks. Sessions lasted approximately 90 minutes, and the course content focused on four positive themes—inner peace, joy, enthusiasm, and self-transcendence—or achieving beyond your goals (Figure 1). During the weekly sessions, visualizations (see Sri Chinmoy, 2013) were used with the English Language Learners (ELL) to help reduce the stress inherent in expressing oneself in a target language (Fresacher, 2016) (see Table 1).

Cohort #2 consisted of 30 middle adolescents (11-15 years old) enrolled in a required English Language Arts class held over 19 weeks in a secondary school in Metropolitan Miami, USA. The school serves predominantly low-income students, many of whom scored below the national average in the previous year's standard testing. The cohort was enrolled simultaneously in a 10-session research study focused on the themes of peace and gratitude (Figure 2). Visualizations (see Sri Chinmoy, 2010) were used with Cohort #2 to increase their general well-being (Heffner & Antaramian, 2016). Cohort #1 and #2 descriptions are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1

Study Cohort Description

	Cohort #1	Cohort #2
Geographic Location	Tokyo, City Centre	Metropolitan Miami, Inner-City
Population	Post-secondary School Adolescents: Middle-Income Top-Tier Scores	Secondary School Adolescents: Lower-Income Below Average Scores
Course	Themed-based EFL (4 Themes) Weekly, 90 minutes 13 Weeks	English Language Arts (Multiple Themes) 3X per Week, 90 minutes 19 Weeks
Exposure	6 Lessons, non-Research 15 Minutes/Lesson 90 Minutes Total Meditations: 2 Minutes/Lesson Length: 4 Weeks	5 Sessions, Research Study 17 Minutes/Session 85 Minutes Total Meditations: 5 Minutes/Session Length: 2 Weeks
Tools	*The Jewels of Happiness* Audio Book Audio Recordings Repetition: Mantric Poetry Essays	*The Jewels of Happiness* Paperback Book Readings by Researcher Repetition: Mantric Poetry Aphoristic Poetry Cards
Source for Analysis	Course Essays Long Essays	Interviews with Researcher Open-ended, 5-10 minutes
Methodology	Content Analysis Major Themes Extracted	Content Analysis Major Themes Extracted
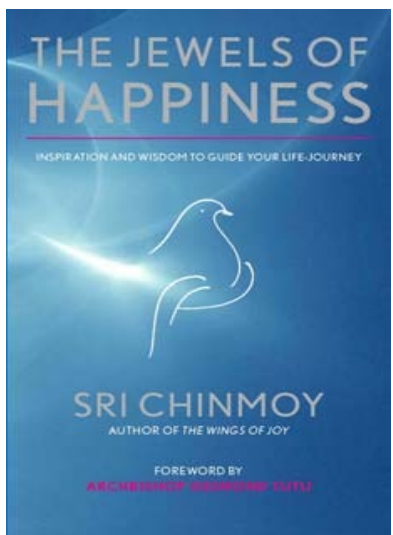
Unhorizoned is our inner peace.
Like the boundless sky,
It encompasses all.
−Sri Chinmoy
Mantric poems from the chapter "Peace", The Jewels of Happiness book

Figure 2. The Jewels of Happiness Paperback Book and Example

Data Sources

Data were extracted from two sources. Data for Cohort #1 consisted of course essays of 34 older adolescents enrolled in a required EFL course in Tokyo, Japan during the 2014-2015 academic year. There was no research component to this EFL course. Data for Cohort #2 consisted of transcribed notes of short interviews (5-10 minutes) conducted with 30 middle adolescents living in the U.S. The U.S. students were enrolled simultaneously in a required English Language Arts class and a research study, also during the 2014-2015 school year. In their respective locations, both cohorts experienced meditation, aloud readings, and mantric poetry.

Cohort #1. Cohort #1 experienced the poetry and meditation lessons for six lessons, averaging 15 minutes per lesson. The total time was approximately 90 minutes over the course of four weeks. Each session began and ended with a guided one-minute meditation. For 15 minutes of the six lessons, students listened to the audio version of *The Jewels of Happiness: Inspiration and Wisdom to Guide your Life-Journey* (Sri Chinmoy, 2013) depicted in Figure 1. Students listened to aloud poetry and prose during the sessions and repeated poems as well. Due to comprehension barriers inherent with ELL learners, students were expected also to listen to the audio recordings on their own time. After the sixth week, students composed essays from the chapters of *Peace* and *Joy*. The written essays were submitted to fulfill course requirements. The prompt (in English) given to Cohort #1 (Japan) for composing the written essay was, "What did you learn most from this class?"

Cohort #2. As a result of their enrollment in a research study conducted in their required Language Arts class, the subjects of Cohort #2 experienced poetry and meditation, as well, for approximately 17 minutes per session. During the first five sessions, which were conducted over a two-week period, poetry and prose were read aloud from the paperback book *The Jewels of Happiness: Inspiration and Wisdom to Guide your Life-Journey* (Sri Chinmoy, 2010; see Figure 2). The selections, which were read out by the lead researcher,

centered on the topics of "Quieting the Mind" and "Peace." Students repeated the poetry in class, were given copies of the poems, and were encouraged to practice the techniques at home. It is estimated that Cohort #2 engaged in the sessions for a total of 85 minutes. Mini-interviews were conducted with the students, and notes were taken. Students of Cohort #2 (USA) were asked, "Tell me about your experiences so far. Did you feel these techniques were helpful, and if so, how did these techniques help you?"

Data Analysis

A content analysis was executed for written course essays (approximately half-page) of 34 older adolescents enrolled in a post-secondary EFL course in Japan and transcribed short interviews (5-10 minutes) conducted with 30 middle adolescents in a U.S. school, simultaneously participating in a well-being intervention study. Both groups experienced meditation, aloud readings, mantric poetry, and were enrolled in their respective, required academic course. The content analysis was conducted as a four-step process. The analysis for this study was limited to tabulating themes related to well-being, happiness and academics.

Step #1: Major themes were extracted from the individual sentences of the source documents and then coded for each cohort, separately. Themes unrelated to general categories—well-being, happiness, academics and foreign language acquisition—were omitted. For the first pass, the author whose primary language is Japanese extracted major themes from the course essays of the Japanese students (Cohort #1), and the author whose primary language is English extracted major themes from transcribed mini-interviews of the U.S. students (Cohort #2).

Step #2: Authors exchanged source documents. Both the source documents and the theme categorization files were exchanged. The content was reviewed and revised; where necessary, the original categorizations were modified.

Step #3: Themes were entered into an electronic spreadsheet and categorized by major headings. Themes with two or more counts remained. Themes occurring only once were removed at this step.

Step #4: Themes were collapsed across cohorts into categories, and then ranked in order of frequency. Counts were tabulated. Sample student text appears in Table 2. The most frequently occurring themes are summarized in Table 3.

Results

Example text from both cohorts are exhibited in Table 2. From the first round, 25 themes were extracted from Cohort #1 text, and 13 themes were extracted from Cohort #2 text. For the purposes of this paper, only themes related to well-being, happiness, and academics were examined. Examples of themes that remained include: "It's power and strength to overcome obstacles" and "I learned the most the importance of happiness"; examples of excluded themes are: "memorable," "refreshing," and "inspired by the [audiobook] readers."

Table 2

Example Text of Common Themes by Study Subject

Subject #	Cohort #1 and Cohort #2 (Excerpts)	Themes (by Cohort)	Themes (Combined)
JP #3	"This class was different from other normal classes. I could learn not only how to speak English but also about life, future, mind being, and so on."	-SLA improvement -Life	-Academic improvement -Life
JP #8	"Now I can speak better than I could in the past."	-SLA improvement	-Academic improvement
JP #17	"First, I learned I can get joy and happiness not by outer circumstances but by inner being. Whatever outer circumstances are, I can be happy and get joy. And when I'm happy, I have peace."	-Happiness -Joy -Inner peace	-Happiness -Inner peace
JP #27	"I got a lot of joy and I think it changed my life."	-Joy -Life Change	-Happiness -Life Change
JP #14	"I think something grew or change in my heart."	-Life Change	-Life Change
JP #13	"… through the group work, I became less ashamed in the speech"	-Overcame Shyness	-Overcame a challenge
JP #14	"So at first, I couldn't speak well. I looked at the memo every time. But I came to look up and make eye contacts"	-Overcame Shyness -SLA improvement	-Overcame a challenge -Academic improvement
USA #5	"These sessions changed my life! … I realize … all that's important is focus … inside me."	-Life Change -Centeredness	-Life Change -Centeredness
USA #19	"Helped me not to react to things around here."	-Self-regulation	-Self-regulation
USA #13	"I feel happier since I'm a part of this."	-Happiness	-Happiness
USA #30	"I learned how to forget the thoughts about what happened before … before I moved … something bad happened	-Overcame a life experience	-Overcame a challenge

After the second round, the 25 themes of Cohort #1 were collapsed into 17, and the 13 themes of Cohort #2 were collapsed into 10. For example, the themes "learning about myself" and "enlarging self" were collapsed into one theme: "self"; the themes "happiness" and "joy" were merged into "happiness."

At the end of third round, the five most frequently occurring themes that remained for Cohort #1 were: "peace," "happiness," "life change," "SLA improvement," and "overcame shyness." The five most frequently occurring themes that remained for Cohort #2 were: "peace," "happiness," "centeredness," "self-regulation," and "overcame a life experience." Themes were unified such that "SLA improvement," applicable for Cohort #1 only, was recoded to "academic improvement." Likewise, "overcame shyness" was recoded to "overcame a challenge" (see Table 3).

The content analysis summary is depicted in Table 3. The data from Cohort #1, extracted from adolescents enrolled in a Japanese post-secondary school, is summarized in the first column. The most frequently occurring themes that emerged were that subjects reported experiencing the following: enhanced sense of inner (personal) peace and happiness, something changed in their life, improved academic performance, and overcame shyness. The data from Cohort #2, extracted from adolescents enrolled in an American secondary school, is depicted in the second column (Table 3). The most frequently occurring themes were: increased inner peace, increased sense of happiness, more centeredness, increased ability to self-regulate, and overcame an adverse life experience.

Table 3

Most Frequently Occurring Themes, by Study Cohort and Combined

	Cohort #1 (N = 34)	Cohort #2 (N = 30)	Combined (N = 64)
Age in Years (Range)	18 – 19	11 – 15	11 – 19
Emerging Themes (Most Common)	1) Inner Peace 2) Happiness 3) Life Change 4) Academic Improvement 5) Overcame Shyness	1) Inner Peace 2) Happiness 3) Centeredness 4) Self-Regulation 5) Overcame a Life Experience	1) Inner Peace 2) Happiness 3) Life Change 4) Overcame a Challenge

Discussion and Conclusion

In this paper, we summarize a qualitative, cross-cultural, cross-disciplinary exploratory study of retrospective data collected from two cohorts—Japanese post-secondary students enrolled in an English Language course and U.S. secondary students enrolled in an English Language Arts course. Previous studies reported on the positive effects and benefits of poetry (poetry therapy), and meditation (contemplative practices), independently; in this study, the two paradigms were fused together, and students' comments were evaluated through content analysis. To our knowledge, this is the first such study specifically examining heart-centered meditation and mantric poetry.

The commonality between the two cohorts include poetry and meditation sessions based on the book *The Jewels of Happiness: Inspiration and Wisdom to Guide Your Life-Journey* (Sri Chinmoy, 2010; 2013), and both cohorts were enrolled in a required course for their respective academic levels. Students experienced both the receptive component of the poetry therapy, where they listened to existing poetry and prose, and the expressive/creative component of Mazza's poetry therapy model, where they expressed themselves—either on paper or orally. Both cohorts were instructed on meditation exercises outlined in Sri Chinmoy (2010; 2013). The differences between the two cohorts include: cultural orientation, age range, socio-economic status and English language fluency. Despite the differences between the student cohorts, taken together there was commonality among the two groups regarding the reports of their experiences of the meditation and mantric poetry sessions.

Several themes related to well-being emerged. In previous studies, it was reported that the use of poetry alleviated depression, other mental health diagnoses, and increased positive emotions (Brillantes-Evangelista, 2013). Poetry also had a positive effect for future mental health professionals (Furman, 2005). In the current qualitative study, the most commonly occurring themes across the two cohorts include a sense of increased inner peace, overall happiness, the perception of a life-changing experience, and the ability to overcome one or more challenges.

Both cohorts expressed positive school-related experiences. Not unlike previously reported studies (see Kato, 2012; Kato & Tanaka, 2015), the EFL cohort (Japan) reported improved English skills. The EFL cohort perceived that they were less shy as a result of their experience, which helped their English language skills. Stress is inevitable for students interacting in a foreign, target language, noted in Fresacher (2016), and so methods and techniques that alleviate stress contribute also to enhanced foreign language learning. The U.S. cohort reported an increased ability to self-regulate, which in turn helped them academically. Self-regulation, or the ability to remain focused and on track, is something that students at all levels may struggle with, and it impacts academic learning. From seemingly diverse populations of individuals of differing life circumstances, unifying experiences were reported.

Both strengths and weaknesses can be found in the present study. The strengths of this study lie in its uniqueness and its cross-disciplinary approach. This is the first known cross-cultural study that merged poetry and meditation in academic settings within the well-

being paradigm—particularly among general, non-clinical adolescent populations. The study is limited in methodology, as this was a secondary analysis of previously existing documents. The study is limited also by its rigorousness and sample size. Nevertheless, the field of contemplative pedagogy in school-aged children (MLERN, 2012) and in higher education (Morgan, 2015; Zajonc, 2013) is gaining attention as "[n]early every area of higher and professional education from poetry to biology… from medicine to law is now being taught with contemplative exercises" (Zajonc, 2013, p. 84), and it is well-worth further study within a secular (Jennings, 2016), cross-cultural context.

The findings suggest a need to evaluate the cross-cultural pedagogical effects of contemplative education and contemplative practices, which took the form of heart-centered meditation and the repetition of mantric poetry in this study. Rigorously designed, empirical cross-cultural research would systematically test this approach of improving well-being and academics, simultaneously with poetry and meditation. As an example, a larger, prospective, mixed-methods study would further illuminate the viability of such a program, or intervention, for adolescents from the middle years to post-secondary school. Finally, the findings suggest also that poetry and meditation, both rooted in ancient, cultural, and religious traditions, may hold promise for addressing modern-day issues and challenges faced by students at all levels.

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Ethnic Identity and Ethnic Organizations: The Role of Self-Construal in the Psychological Well-Being of Migrants

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Abstract

This study attempted to highlight the role of ethnic organizations in maintaining the ethnic identity and self-construals of migrants and see whether such perpetuations were psychologically healthy or not in a contrasting culture. Two groups of migrants of Asian-Indian origin in the USA participated in the study, one group belonging to their respective ethnic organizations and the other group not belonging to any ethnic organization. Results indicated stronger ethnic identity and interdependent self-construal in members of ethnic organizations as compared to non-members. Self-construals were found to be significant moderators in the relationships between ethnic identity and well-being in members of ethnic organizations but not in non-members. Better well-being was seen in people who were engaged in their respective ethnic organizations and thereby still maintaining their home prototypical self-construal with strong ethnic identity. Non-members showed a match of self-construal to the host culture (independent) as well as weaker ethnic identity and poorer well-being, while the member group showed higher intergroup anxiety. Results were discussed in light of the debates on cultural diversity and role of ethnic organizations and social identity.

Keywords: migration, ethnic identity, self-construal, wellbeing, ethnic organization, Asian Indians, Mizo

Ethnic Identity and Ethnic Organizations: The Role of Self-Construal in the Psychological Well-Being of Migrants

Ethnic identity and self-construal are two psychological constructs that have often been linked with intercultural adjustment and psychological well-being. Coming from the social identity theory of Tajfel and Turner (1986), ethnic identity has been conceptualized (Phinney & Ong, 2007) as an aspect of social identity that is a part of an individual's self-concept, derived from a knowledge of one's membership in a social group or groups, together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership (Tajfel, 1981). Further conceptualizations of ethnic identity, incorporating the developmental theory of Erikson (1968) that expanded into Marcia's (1980) identity development theory, imply that strong or committed ethnic identity would be positively correlated with psychological well-being (Atkinson, Morton, & Sue, 1993; Cross, 1991; Helms, 1990; Phinney & Ganeva, 2016; Umaña-Taylor, Yazedjian, & Bámaca-Gómez, 2004). Indeed, a host of studies have found the importance of positive ethnic identity for mental health (e.g., Mossakowski, 2003; Rayle & Myers, 2004; Torres, Yznaga, & Moore, 2011; Smith & Silva, 2011), psychological well-being (e.g., Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Jaakkola, & Reuter, 2006; Phinney & Ganeva, 2016), psychosocial competence, and successful adaptation for migrant populations in various countries (e.g., Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Costigan, Koryzma, Hua, & Chance, 2010; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001), and even as a buffer against prejudice and discrimination (e.g., Cross, 1991; Operario & Fiske, 2001; Phinney, 1996; Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998; Verkuyten & Nekuee, 1999).

Ethnic Identity and Ethnic Organizations

Adaptation to one's new environment is a major concern of any migrant or migrant-receiving institution or nation. Take the USA as a case in point that has often been called a nation of immigrants (National Museum of American History, n.d.). There has been a large amount of migration from India to the USA in the last few decades, mainly pulled by employment and educational opportunities. According to the United States Census of 2010, the Asian Indian population in the United States grew from almost 1,678,765 in 2000 (0.6% of U.S. population) to 2,843,391 in 2010 (0.9% of U.S. population), a growth rate of 68%, which is one of the fastest growing ethnic groups in the United States (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). That India is a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic society is reflected in the several ethnic organizations based on ethno-linguistic affiliations that have cropped up amongst Asian-Indian migrants in the United States. For every major ethnic group in India, there is a parallel organization in the USA.

Qualitative data from interviews and focus groups with leaders and members of these organizations, along with a study of their by-laws and constitutions (Fente, 2015),

indicated that these associations were organized mainly for: celebrating the cultural values and traditions of origin; networking among ethnic members; organizing cultural events during the major Indian festivals and other holidays; holding annual meetings and social gatherings where its members often discuss issues relating to identity, cultural transmission, children's education, coping with cultural differences and attitudes, and generally supporting one another. Thus, be it due to the research findings or personal experiences amongst the older generation of the migrant population, strengthening and promoting ethnic identity was the core and written agenda of these ethnic organizations. Additionally, given the research results of a positive relationship between ethnic identity and well-being, it would then be expected that members of such ethnic organizations would have stronger ethnic identity and therefore better psychological well-being than non-members, one hypothesis that this study would like to examine. This occurs amidst the prevailing informal but serious debates on multiculturalism versus assimilation, or extremism and separatism for that matter, and the role that ethnic organizations might play.

Migration, Cultural Fit and Biculturalism

The existence of these ethnic organizations of Indian origin further echoes the collectivistic nature of ethnic groups of India, befitting the collectivistic cultural pattern in India (Hofstede, 1980; Guess, 2004; Fente & Singh 2008; Sinha, 1999; Chadda & Deb, 2013). However, these organizations from the collectivistic culture of India could be unsuitable in an individualistic culture like the United States (Hofstede, 1980; Kapoor, Hughes, Baldwin, & Blue, 2003), considering the argument of the cultural-fit hypothesis (Ward & Chang, 1997) that suggests that adjustment in a new culture is facilitated when the migrant's personality is similar to the prototypical personalities in the host culture.

Self-construal is an aspect of self-concept that refers to an individual's sense of self in relation to others; either independence (e.g., viewing oneself as separate and distinct from others) or interdependence (e.g., viewing oneself as interconnected with other in-group members) is emphasized depending on the demands of one's social environment. Thus, although both self-construals may be used, members of individualistic cultures (e.g., USA) tend to emphasize the independent self-construal, while members of collectivistic cultures (e.g., India) emphasize the interdependent self-construal (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Many researchers have developed the construct and measurements of self-construal in understanding the self within the context of culture (Cousins, 1999; Kuhnen, Hannover, & Schubert, 2001; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Levine et al., 2003; Nisbett, Peng, Choi, & Norenzayan, 2001; Singelis, 1994; Singelis, Bond, Sharkey, & Lai, 1999). Further, from the perspective of intersubjective perception, self-construal is likely to be a reflection of the normative aspects of culture rather than one's own evaluative internal preferences; when people enter into a nonnative culture, they behave in ways that match the situational requirements for personal fitness rather than actually changing the self. However, an adequate self-report measurement for such a construct is yet awaited

(Bierbrauer, Heyer, & Wolfradt, 1994; Chiu, Gelfand, Yamagishi, & Wan, 2010; Zou et al., 2009).

Be it as it may, it can then be assumed from a cultural-fit perspective that Asian-Indians migrating to the US would adjust better if they emphasized their independent self-construal rather than their interdependent self-construal (Cross, 1995; Oguri & Gudykunst, 2002; Yamaguchi & Wiseman, 2003). However, this cultural-fit hypothesis has received mixed support. For example, in the two individualistic Western cultures of Canada and the USA, some researchers (e.g., Yang, Noels, & Saumure, 2006) found a positive relationship between independent self-construal and socio-cultural adjustment among international students (Canada), whereas others (e.g., Cross, 1995) did not find relationships between sojourners' independent self-construal and their satisfaction with their relationships with host nationals (Americans). Nezlek, Schaafsma, Safron, and Krejtz (2012) also found that, regardless of whether individuals' self-construals matched with prevailing construals in the host society, interdependent self-construals were positively related to the quality of intra- and interethnic contact.

Further, literature pertaining to biculturalism and its impact on intercultural adaptation has been empirically inconclusive with mixed results for and against it. The recent meta-analysis (Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013) of 83 studies in acculturation and intercultural adaptation indicated a strong, positive relationship between biculturalism and psychological and sociocultural adaptation. Thus, there appears to be more support for the assumption that integration (Berry, 2001) or integrated ethnic identity (Phinney et al., 2001) would be more conducive than hindering to a migrant's psychological well-being (Berry et al., 2006).

It was therefore hypothesized that self-construal would have a moderating role in the relationships between ethnic identity and psychological well-being, but only in members of ethnic organizations. Non-members were expected to show: a match of self-construal to the host culture (i.e., independent self-construal), weaker ethnic identity, and poorer psychological well-being. However, intergroup anxiety was still expected to be higher in migrant members of ethnic organizations, in line with the argument that individuals who are highly interdependent are likely to be acutely attuned to social cues (as interdependents would be expected to be) that may make them more prone to the experiences of social anxiety. People high on ethnic identity are likely to be more sensitive even to subtle prejudice, as immigrants are generally perceived as incompetent and untrustworthy (Cakal, Gausel, & Turner, 2011; Lee & Fiske, 2006; Operario & Fiske, 2001; Okazaki, 1997; Stephan & Stephan, 1985).

The study therefore aimed to elucidate: i) the self-construals (independent and interdependent) of migrants from collectivistic culture of India in individualistic USA in general; ii) the self-construals, ethnic identity, mental well-being, and intergroup anxiety of members of ethnic organizations as compared to non-members; iii) the relationships between the variables in members and non-members of ethnic organizations; iv) the predictability of ethnic organization membership on ethnic identity and self-construals; and v) the moderating role of self-construals in the relationship between ethnic identity and well-being in members and non-members of ethnic organizations.

Method

Sample

Two groups of participants, members and non-members of ethnic organizations in the USA, were selected for the study. The member-group was comprised of 215 participants belonging to ethnic organizations. Of these 215, 127 were Mizo (an ethnic group hailing from the North-east region of India and Indo-Myanmar border) members of the Mizo Society of America, and the 88 others came from a mix of 38 other ethnic organizations serving the Indian ethnicity in the USA including those listed below[1]. The Non-member group was comprised of 110 participants (10 Mizo, 100 other Asian-Indians) who were not members of any ethnic organizations.

For recruitment of the member group, known Asian-Indian ethnic organizations were first listed and grouped according to different Indian ethnicities. From each ethnic group, two organizations were selected, with consent from the executive members of the organizations if possible, to represent the different ethnic groups of India. Members of each organization were then emailed the links to the survey questionnaire for their individual consent and participation. Further, participants were recruited through friends, families, and university students who happened to be members of Asian Indian ethnic organizations. This yielded: 88 Asian-Indians (52 males and 36 females) aged 18 to 76 years (M age = 42.18 years) from a total of 38 Asian-Indian ethnic organizations spread across 18 states, and 127 Mizo participants (78 males and 49 females) aged 19 to 82 years (M age = 41.68 years) who were members of the Mizo Society of America (across 19 states). These participants originally hailed from India (58.3%) and Myanmar border (40.2%) and had been living in the United States for at least a year.

For recruitment of the non-member group, the researcher reached out to Asian-Indian friends and acquaintances from various universities and states across the US. The sample was allowed to snowball further to the friends and families of the participants, as long as they fit the criteria of being adult Asian-Indians or Mizo who had been living in the United States for at least one year, were not members of any ethnic organizations, and whose family's country of origin was India or the Indo-Myanmar border. This yielded 100

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[1] Active organizations in the US that served Asian-Indian ethnicity of the participants include: Cultural Association of Bengal, Association of Kannada Kootas of America (AKKA), Telugu Association of North America (TANA), Orissa Society of the Americas, Brihan Maharashtra Mandals of North America (BMM), Federation of Tamil Sangams of North America (FETNA), Boston Thamil Association, Tamil Sangam of Greater Washington Inc, New Jersey Tamil Sangam, Tamil Sangam of Carolina, Gujarati Samaj of New York, Federation of Kerala Associations of North America (FOKANA), Punjabi American Heritage Society, Punjabi-American Cultural Association, Bengali Association of Greater Rochester, Telugu Association of South Florida, Indian Association of Davis, Indian Graduate Student Association at Carnegie Mellon University, Kashmir Overseas Association, Kashmir Education Initiative, Bengali Association of Dallas Fort Worth, Indian Cultural Association of Central Jersey, Sanskriti - DC, Maharashtra Mandal Chicago, Indian Students Association of Tallahassee (INSAT), Garden State Cultural Association, North American Manipur Association, Assam Association of North America, Friends of Assam and Seven Sisters, Mizo Society of America.

Asian-Indians and 10 Mizo (65 males and 45 females) who were not members of any Indian ethnic or Mizo organizations, aged between 18 to 51 years (*M* age = 28 years) and represented 30 American states.

Measures

After giving consent, most participants individually answered the survey questionnaire in *Qualtrics* through links that were sent to them by email. A few others (8 members and 7 non-members) answered a pen-and-paper version of the survey questionnaire. The survey questionnaire set included a background demographic data sheet and scales measuring ethnic identity, intergroup anxiety, mental well-being, and self-construals.

The demographic data indicated that all Mizo were Christians (48.5% of the total sample), and the rest were either Hindus (40.5%) or others (9.7%) such as Muslim, Jain, Jewish, Sikh, and Zoroastrian. All participants were educated to at least 'some high school' level with the majority being postgraduates (43.9%) and college graduates (24.9%). Additionally, 58.1% were married, whereas 32.9% were single and 2% divorced; 62.5% were employed, 8% were unemployed, and 24% were students. Most (84.8 %) lived with their blood relatives and friends of same ethnicity, 11% lived alone, and 9.6% lived with friends of different ethnicity. The majority (57%) of the participants had been living in the US for more than 10 years, and, except for 6 persons residing in the US for 1 year, all participants had lived in the US for more than 2 years. Aside from the small sample (51 out of 325 participants) of Mizo from the Indo-Myanmar border, all other participants originally hailed from India.

To measure ethnic identity, the *Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure - Revised* (MEIM-R; Phinney & Ong, 2007) was used. The MEIM-R was designed to assess two components of ethnic identity: exploration (three items) and commitment (three items). Items were rated on a five-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree)* to 5 (*strongly agree)*, with 3 as a neutral position so that high scores indicated strong ethnic identity. The scores for the Ethnic Identity total scale and Exploration and Commitment subscales were calculated as the mean of items in each subscale, or of the scale as a whole. Cronbach's alpha was .85 for the Exploration subscale, .89 for the Commitment subscale, and .90 for the full Ethnic Identity total scale in this study.

The *Warwick-Edinburgh Mental Well-being Scale* (WEMWBS; Tennant, Fishwick, Platt, Joseph, & Stewart-Brown, 2006) was used to measure mental well-being. The WEMWBS comprises 14 items that relate to an individual's state of mental well-being (thoughts and feelings). Responses were made on a 5-point scale ranging from "*none of the time*" to "*all of the time.*" Each item was worded positively, and together they covered most attributes of mental well-being including both hedonic and eudaimonic perspectives. Cronbach's alpha for the scale was .92.

Intergroup anxiety was measured by 10 items (*Intergroup Anxiety Scale;* Stephan & Stephan, 1985). For each item, the following question was asked: "If you were the only member of your ethnic group and you were interacting with people from a different racial or ethnic group (e.g., talking with them, working on a project with them), how would you feel

compared to occasions when you were interacting with people from your own ethnic group?" The items employed 7-point scales to determine if they would feel more or less *certain, awkward, self-conscious, happy, accepted, confident, irritated, impatient, defensive, suspicious,* and *careful* when interacting with outgroup members. The positively worded items were reverse scored. Cronbach's alpha for the scale was .90 in this study.

To measure independent and interdependent self-construals, part of the *Self-Construal Scale* (*SCS*; Singelis, 1994) was used. The Self-Construal Scale is a 24-item scale designed to measure levels of Independence and Interdependence in self-construal. It consists of 12 items reflecting independence and 12 items reflecting interdependence. Each item is rated on a 7-point scale, with answers ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). The scores are calculated separately for each of the two dimensions. An additional 3 items in each subscale was incorporated as suggested by the author, making it a 30-item scale. Based on previous research that examined the structure of SCS (Singelis, 1994; Miramontes, 2011), four items from each of the two subscales with the highest factor loadings were selected from the full SCS for use in this study. Cronbach's alpha was .79 for Independent SC and .75 for Interdependent SC.

Results

Besides looking at differences according to ethnic organization membership, several hierarchical multiple regression models were tested to highlight the role of ethnic identity and self-concept in the subjective well-being of Asian-Indians and the Mizo ethnic group as a function of their affiliation to their respective ethnic organizations in the US. Intergroup anxiety was taken up as a correlational variable that might throw light on the circumstances that trigger people to commit to groups.

The preliminary analyses indicated no significant gender effect except in Interdependent Self-construal, $t(323) = 3.12$, $p = .002$, where men ($M = 20.27$, $SD = 4.01$) were found to construe their selves as significantly more interdependent than women ($M = 18.79$, $SD = 4.45$). Nonetheless, as gender was not a major differentiating factor for all the other variables and considering the limited sample size, male and female participants were pooled within each of the groups (Organization Members and Non-members) for further analyses.

Table 1

t values, Means, SDs and Relationships Between Ethnic Identity, Self-Construals, Anxiety and Well-Being in Members (n=215) and Non-Members (n=110) of Ethnic Organizations

Scales	*t*	Members		Non-members		Correlation coefficients (Pearson's *r*)						
		M	*SD*	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Ethnic Identity Exploration	5.05**	11.91	2.19	10.52	2.65	1.00	.64**	.91**	.08	.13	-.03	.14*
2. Ethnic Identity Commitment	10.11**	12.93	2.16	10.16	2.63	.53**	1.00	.90**	.07	.19**	-.04	.09
3. Ethnic Identity Total	8.49**	24.84	3.94	20.68	4.61	.88**	.87**	1.00	.09	.18**	-.04	.13
4. Independent Self Construal	- 3.91**	22.35	3.69	23.94	2.93	.19*	.09	.17	1.00	.25**	-.26**	.29**
5. Interdependent Self Construal	2.55**	20.12.	4.14	18.85	4.36	.10	.23*	.18	.25**	1.00	.06	.20**
6. Intergroup Anxiety	2.29*	26.65	10.44	23.96	8.98	-.04	-.00	-.02	-.16	.19*	1.00	-.23**
7. Well Being	3.67**	54.09	6.74	50.76	9.45	.00	.15	.09	.29**	.22*	-.13	1.00

*p < .05. **p < .01. *Note.* Coefficients above the diagonal pertain to Members; coefficients below the diagonal pertain to Non-members.

Maintenance of Ethnic Identity and Self-Construals by Ethnic Organizations

Independent sample *t* tests between groups (Members of ethnic organizations versus Non-members) indicated significant differences (see Table 1). As expected, members of ethnic organizations showed: more ethnic identity exploration, $t(323) = 5.05$, $p = <.001$ (Members $M = 11.91$, $SD = 2.19$, Non-members $M = 10.52$, $SD = 2.65$); more ethnic identity commitment, $t(323) = 10.11$, $p = <.001$ (Members $M = 12.93$, $SD = 2.16$, Non-members $M = 10.16$, $SD = 2.63$); stronger ethnic identity total, $t(323) = 8.49$, $p = <.001$ (Members $M = 24.84$, $SD = 3.94$; Non-members $M = 20.68$, $SD = 4.61$); more interdependent self-construal, $t(323) = 2.55$, $p = .011$ (Members $M = 20.12$, $SD = 4.14$, Non-members $M = 18.85$, $SD = 4.36$); and better well-being, $t(323) = 3.67$, $p = <.001$ (Members $M = 54.09$, $SD = 6.74$, Non-members $M = 50.76$, $SD = 9.45$); but higher intergroup anxiety, $t(323) = 2.29$, $p = .022$ (Members $M = 26.65$, $SD = 10.44$, Non-members $M = 23.96$, $SD = 8.98$) than Non-members. On the other hand, Non-members were found to have stronger independent self-construal, $t(323) = -3.91$, $p = <.001$ ($M = 23.94$, $SD = 2.93$) than Members ($M = 22.35$, $SD = 3.69$).

Relationships Between Ethnic Identity, Self-Construals, Mental Well-Being and Intergroup Anxiety

To study the contributions of ethnic identity in well-being among members and non-members of ethnic organizations, and to determine the moderating role of self-construals in the relationship between ethnic identity and well-being, several hierarchical multiple regression models were tested for Members and Non-members separately. First, the linearity of the relationships between the major predictor variables (ethnic identity exploration, ethnic identity commitment and ethnic identity total), potential moderators (independent and interdependent self-construals) and the criterion variable (mental well-being) were analyzed separately for Members and Non-members which are presented together in Table 1.

In both the Member and Non-member groups, Ethnic Identity subscales and full scale were significantly positively correlated with one another ($r = .52$ to $.91$, $p < .01$). Ethnic Identity Exploration was significantly positively correlated with Well-being ($r =.14$, $p < .05$) in the Member group, whereas it was significantly positively correlated with Independent Self-construal ($r =.19$, $p < .05$) in the Non-member group. Ethnic Identity Commitment was significantly positively correlated with Interdependent Self-construal in both Member and Non-member groups ($r =.19$, $p < .01$ and $.23$, $p < .05$). Ethnic Identity total was significantly positively correlated with Interdependent Self-construal in the Member group ($r = .18$, $p < .01$). Independent Self-construal was significantly positively correlated with Interdependent Self-construal ($r = .25$ and $.25$, $p < .01$) and Well-being ($r = .29$ and $.29$, $p < .01$) in both the groups and was significantly negatively correlated with Intergroup Anxiety ($r = -.26$, $p < .01$) in the Member group. Interdependent Self-construal was significantly positively correlated with Intergroup Anxiety in the Non-member group ($r = .19$, $p < .05$) and also with Well-being in both the groups ($r = .22$ and $.20$, $p < .01$).

Intergroup Anxiety was significantly negatively correlated with Well-being only in the Member group ($r = -.23$, $p < .01$). All other correlations were not statistically significant.

Moderating Role of Self-Construal Between Ethnic Identity and Mental Well-Being In Members Versus Non-Members of Ethnic Organizations

The first hierarchical regression model was analyzed for the **Member group**. Mental Well-being was selected as the criterion variable. In Step 1, Age was entered as the control variable because it was found in the preliminary analyses that, among the demographic variables recorded, only the age factor had a significant effect ($\beta = .253$, $p < .001$); this was needed to be separated or controlled in order to examine the moderating role of self-construals in the relationship between ethnic identity and well-being irrespective of age. Scores on measures of the main predictor (ethnic identity) and potential moderators (independent and interdependent self-construals) were centered and included in Step 2. The subscales of ethnic identity, exploration, and commitment were not taken separately as predictors due to their multicollinearity with the total ethnic identity scale score, and also because of the interest in the strength of ethnic identity *per se* and not the subscales separately. The interaction terms between the predictor and moderators were created from the centered scores and entered in Step 3. The results in Table 2 revealed that, controlling for age (which explained 4.7% of the variance in mental well-being), ethnic identity and self-construals explained 11.5% of the variance. The addition of the third block (interaction terms between ethnic identity and self-construals) in Step 3 added a significant 4.9% to the variance accounted for ($p < .05$), bringing the total proportion of explained variance in mental well-being to 21% for the Member group. Significant main effects of age ($\beta = .253$, $p = <.001$) and independent self-construal ($\beta = .208$, $p = .004$) indicated that well-being increased with an increase in independent self-construal and age among the Member group.

In Step 3, the interaction effects of 'Ethnic Identity x Independent Self-construal' and 'Ethnic Identity x Interdependent Self-construal' on Well-being were found to be significant. The pattern of the interactions (depicted in Figure 1 and Figure 2) indicates that Well-being of the Member group is affected by Ethnic Identity depending on the members' level of Independent and Interdependent Self-construal. The stronger the ethnic identity, the better the well-being at only a high level of independent ($b = .413$, 95% CI [.032, .793], $t = 2.135$, $p = .034$) and interdependent ($b = .465$, 95% CI [.149, .779], $t = 2.910$, $p = .004$) self-construals, not at the mean or low levels of self-construal. Thus, the relationship between ethnic identity and well-being only really emerges in organization members with high levels of both self-construals. It may be noted that the constructs of ethnic identity and mental well-being were not necessarily significantly related in the member group.

Table 2

Linear Model of Predictors of Ethnic Organization Member's Well-Being (N =215)

Predictors		β	R^2	ΔR^2
Step1	49.155		.052	.052**
Constant				
Age		.228**		
Step 2			.161	.110**
Constant	48.898			
Ethnic identity		.046		
Independent self-construal		.274**		
Interdepent self-construal		.114		
Step 3			.209	.048**
Constant	48.467			
Ethnic identity x IndpSC		.144*		
Ethnic identity x InterSC		.172**		

*p < .05; **p < .01

Table 3

Hierarchical Regression Analysis predicting Non-member Group's Well-being (N = 110)

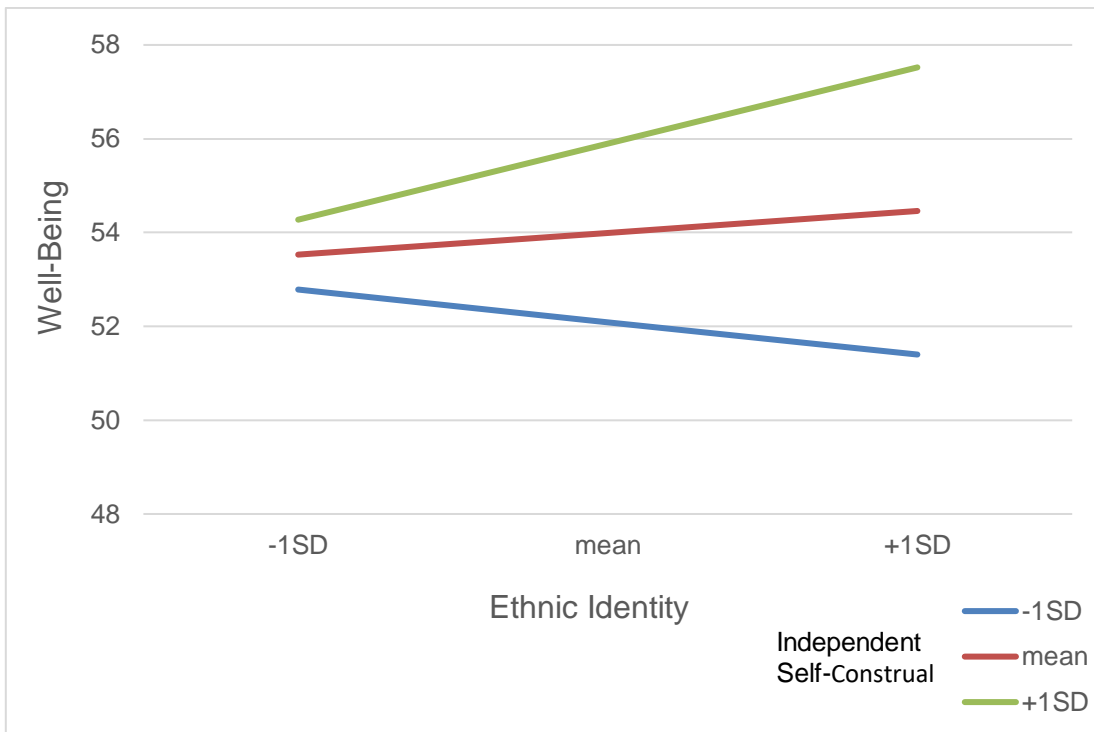| Predictors		β	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1			.074	.074**
Constant	42.492			
Age		.271**		
Step 2			.175	.101**
Constant	41.957			
EITT		.091		
IndpSC		.233**		
InterSC		.118		
Step 3			.175	.000
Constant	41.924			
EITT x IndpSC		.003		
EITT x InterSC		-.001		

*p < .05; **p < .01

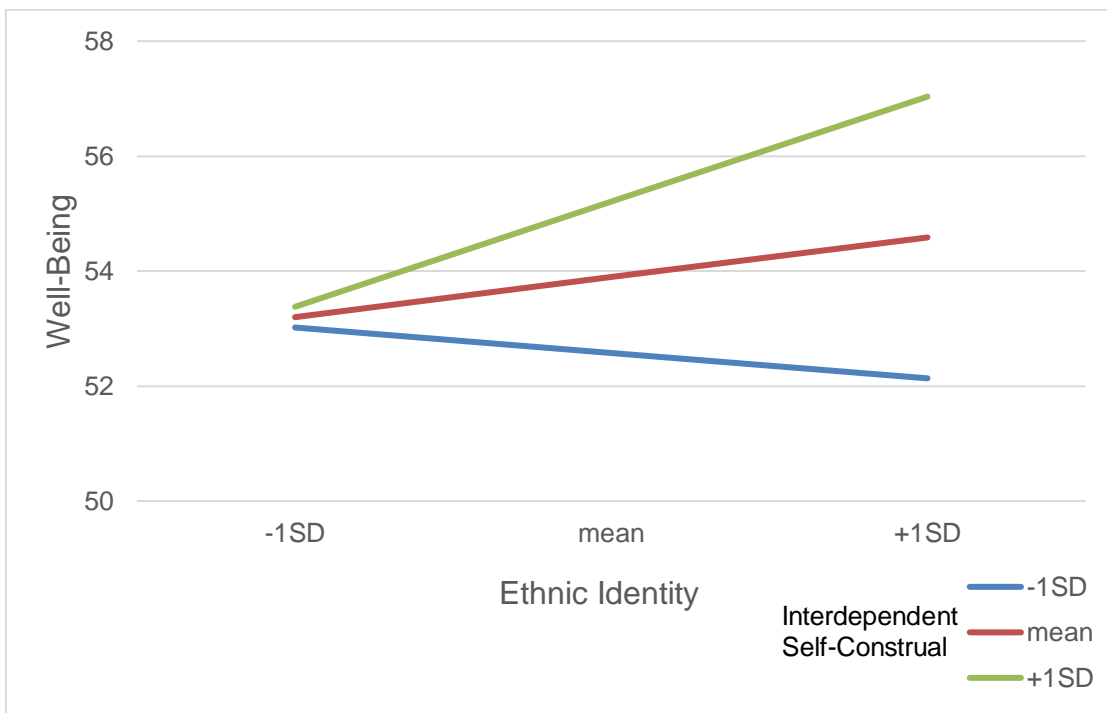*Figure 1*. Moderation by independent self-construal in member group

Figure 2. Moderation by interdependent self-construal in member group

Moderating Role of Self-Construals Between Ethnic Identity and Well-Being In Non-Member Group

Similar analysis as was done for the Member group was carried out for the **Non-member group**. Results of the hierarchical regression analysis are given in Table 3. The results revealed that controlling for age (which explained 7.4% of the variance), ethnic identity and self-construal explained 10.1% of the variance. The addition of the third block (interaction terms between ethnic identity and self-construal) in Step 3 added no increase to the variance accounted for ($p < .05$), making the total proportion of explained variance in mental well-being 17.5 % for the Non-member group, as compared to 21% for the member group. Significant main effects of age ($\beta = .282$, $p = .004$) and independent self-construal ($\beta = .235$, $p = .050$) indicated that well-being increases with an increase in independent self-construal and age among the Non-member group, too. However, unlike the Member group, the interaction effects of 'Ethnic Identity x Independent Self-construal' and 'Ethnic Identity x Interdependent Self-construal' on Well-being were found to be not significant in the Non-member group.

It may be noted that the Member group was comprised of members of ethnic organizations that can be distinguished into two large groups in meaningful ways: the Mizo, making up 59.07% of the Member group, and other Asian-Indians making up the remaining 40.93%. The Mizo members hailed from an ethnically distinct group of people from Mizoram in the North Eastern region of India and around the Indo-Myanmar border. The rest of the Member group was made up of migrants from other parts of India, generally sharing a typical Indian culture. Separate data analyses for these two groups may render clarity in the findings and increase power in an interpretation of the findings.

The results of the hierarchical regression analyses for other **Asian Indian Members** (N = 88) are given in Table 4. The results revealed that, controlling for age (which explained 7.3% of the variance), ethnic identity and self-construal explained 15% of the variance. The addition of the third block (interaction terms between ethnic identity and self-construal) in Step 3 added a significant 7.9% to the variance accounted for ($p < .05$), bringing the total proportion of explained variance in mental Well-being to 30.2%, a substantial increase as compared to the pooled data. Significant main effects of age ($\beta = .243$, $p = .014$) and independent self-construal ($\beta = .212$, $p = .041$) indicated that Well-being increases with an increase in independent self-construal and age among the Asian-Indian Member group. In Step 3, only Independent Self-construal was observed to be a moderating variable between Ethnic Identity and Well-being, unlike the pooled data. The pattern of the interaction is depicted in Figure 3, which reveals that Well-being of the Asian-Indian Member group was affected by Ethnic Identity depending on their level of Independent Self-construal only. At a high level of independent self-construal, there is a positive relationship between ethnic identity and Well-being ($b = .674$, 95% CI [.148, 1.199], $t = 2.548$, $p = .013$) but not at low or medium levels.

Separate similar analyses for the **Mizo Member** group (results given Table 5) revealed that, controlling for age (which explained 3.2 % of the variance), ethnic identity and self-construal explained 8% of the variance. The addition of the third block (interaction

Table 4

Hierarchical Regression Analysis predicting Asian Indian Member's Well-being (N=88)

Predictors		β	R^2	ΔR^2
Step1			.073	.073*
Constant	50.543			
Age		.270*		
Step 2			.223	.150**
Constant	50.773			
EITT		.125		
IndpSC		.295**		
InterSC		.132		
Step 3			.302	.079*
Constant	50.240			
EITT x IndpSC		.277**		
EITT x InterSC		.102		

*p < .05; **p < .01

Table 5

Hierarchical Regression Analysis predicting Mizo Member's Well-being (N=127)

Predictors		β	R^2	ΔR^2
			.032	.032*
Step1	48.688			
Constant		.179*		
Age				
Step 2			.112	.080*
Constant	47.817			
EITT		.011		
IndpSC		.218**		
InterSC		.127		
Step 3			.168	.056*
Constant	47.159			
EITT x IndpSC		.063		
EITT x InterSC		.263**		

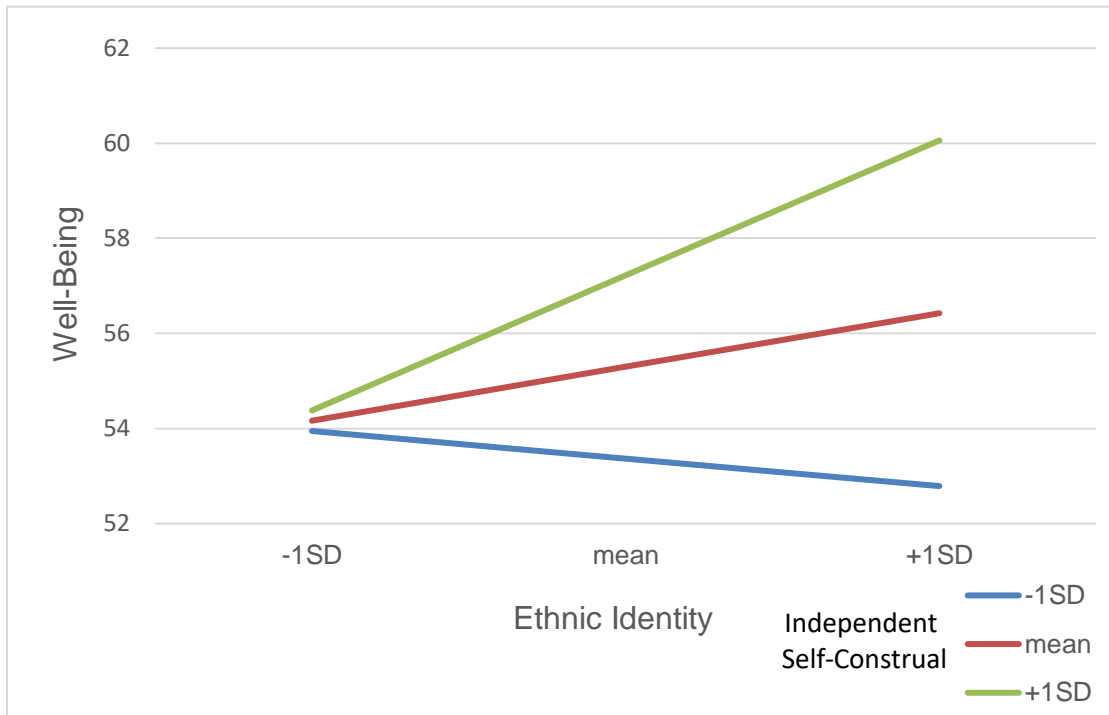**p < .05; **p < .01*

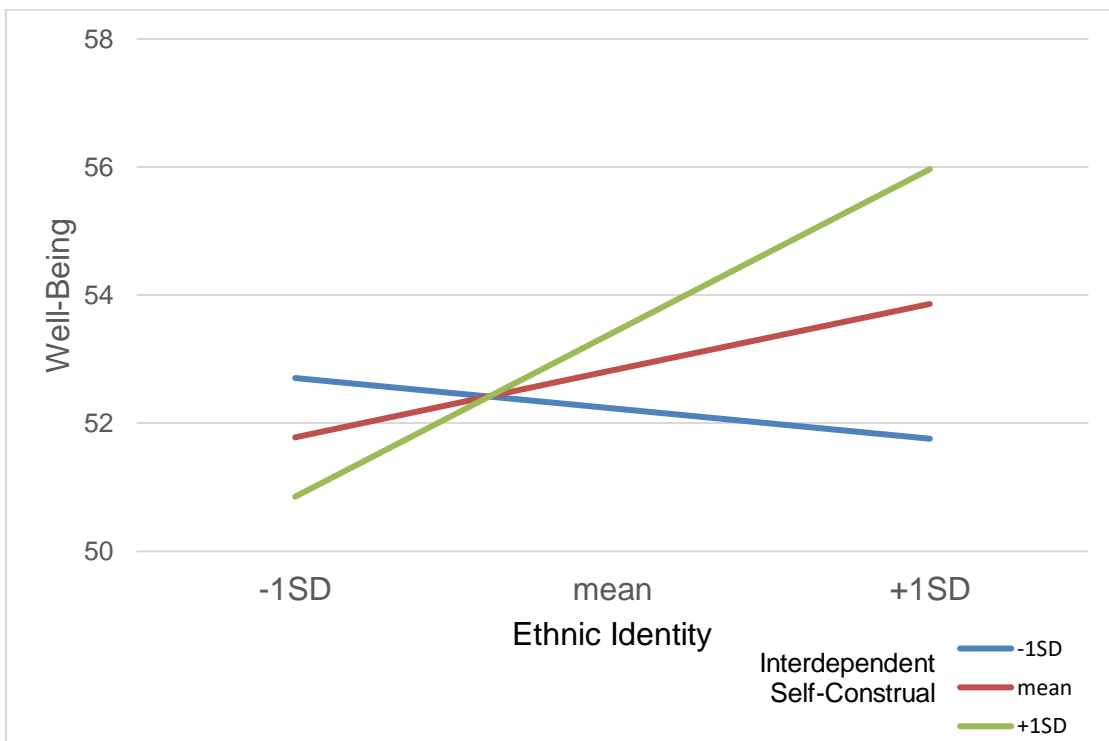*Figure 3*. Moderation by independent self-construal in Asian Indian member group

Figure 4. Moderation by interdependent self-construal in Mizo member group

terms between ethnic identity and self-construal) in Step 3 added a significant 5.6% to the variance accounted for ($p < .05$), bringing the total proportion of explained variance in mental well-being to 17% for this group, a slight decrease as compared to the pooled data. Significant main effects of age ($\beta = .253$, $p < .001$) only indicated that well-being increases with an increase in age among the Mizo Member group. In Step 3, only Interdependent Self-construal was found to be a moderator in the relationship between Ethnic Identity and Well-being. The pattern of the interaction is depicted in Figure 4, which revealed that Well-being of the Mizo Member group was affected by Ethnic Identity depending on their level of Interdependent Self-construal only. At a high level of interdependent self-construal, there is a positive relationship between ethnic identity and well-being ($b = .567$, 95% CI [.130, 1.003], $t = 2.570$, $p = .011$), but not at low or medium levels of interdependent self-construal.

Discussion

The theoretical foundations pertaining to ethnic identity (Mossakowski, 2003; Nesdale, Rooney, & Smith, 1997; Phinney, 1992; Santos & Umana-Taylor, 2015; Verkuyten, 2014), self-construal (Hyun, 2001; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Singelis, 1994; Yamada & Singelis, 1999), and psychological well-being and adjustment (Costigan et al., 2010; Diener, Suh, Lucas, & Smith, 1999; Williams, 2001; Major, Quinton, & McCoy, 2002) lend support for various assumptions regarding the adjustment and adaptation of migrants to a new cultural milieu. This study aimed to highlight the role of ethnic organizations in maintaining the ethnic identity and self-construal of migrants and see whether such perpetuations were psychologically healthy or not in a culture that contrasts one's own heritage. Two groups of migrants of Asian-Indian origin in the USA, one group belonging to their respective ethnic organizations and the other group not belonging to any ethnic organization, participated in the study. The member-group was comprised of two sub-groups: the Mizo ethnic group hailing from the North-eastern region of India and Indo-Myanmar border, who were members of the Mizo Society of America; and migrants from the rest of India belonging to their respective ethnic organizations of Indian origin (such as the Tamil sangams, Bengali cultural associations, etc.).

A significant gender (male - female) effect in interdependent self-construal indicated that men construe their selves as significantly more interdependent than women. Earlier studies in India indicated no gender differences in interdependent self-construal (Ghosh, 2008), whereas among the Mizo in India females showed stronger interdependence than males (Ralte, 2017). Although literature suggests that women generally score higher than men on scales assessing emotional relatedness of the self with significant others (interdependence), the finding of this study suggests that gender differences across cultures in interdependence may not be as ubiquitous as initially thought (Kashima et al., 1995), especially with regard to the migrant population.

A significant independent effect of age in this study indicated that mental well-being of the migrants increases with an increase in age. Although not many studies have looked

at the impact of migration on the well-being of individual migrants disaggregated by age (Birchall, 2016), some studies do support the finding; for example, studies where older migrants showed better mental health than younger migrants (Li et al., 2014), where significant subjective well-being gap between migrants and non-migrants diminished with increasing age (Sand & Gruber, 2016), and where older immigrant males were found to be less likely to report emotional problems than younger immigrant males (Robert & Gilkinson, 2012).

A significant main effect of independent self-construal on well-being indicated that mental well-being increases with an increase in independent self-construal irrespective of groups, generally conforming to the assumptions from a cultural-fit perspective that Asian-Indians migrating to the US would adjust better if they emphasize their independent self-construal rather than their interdependent self-construal (Cross, 1995; Oguri & Gudykunst, 2002; Yamaguchi & Wiseman, 2003; Yang, Noels, & Saumure, 2006).

Given these findings of a cultural fitting of self-construal as called for by the individualistic pattern of the host culture, which appears to be conducive to mental well-being, and, given that ethnic identity was not significantly positively correlated with well-being in this population, the question arose as to how ethnic organizations that may help perpetuate immigrants' self-construal would impact mental well-being and adjustment amidst concerns relating to multiculturalism and cultural diversity (e.g., Citrin, Sears, Muste, & Wong, 2001; Correll, Park, & Smith, 2008; Ginges & Cairns, 2000; Morrison, Plaut, & Ybarra, 2010; Plaut, Thomas, & Goren, 2009; Todd, Galinsky, & Bodenhausen, 2012; Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2014). This also questions the role of ethnic organizations within the trepidations leading to separation and threat to national identity on the one hand or integration and diversity on the other (D'Souza, 1991; Ethier & Deaux, 1994; Sidanius, van Laar, Levin, & Sinclair, 2004; Sidanius, Levin, van Laar, & Sears, 2010).

These concerns were addressed in this study, as results indicated that a substantial proportion of variance in ethnic identity and self-construal could be explained by membership in ethnic organizations. Comparisons also revealed that members of ethnic organizations as compared to non-members showed stronger ethnic identity, better mental well-being, and more interdependent self-construal; non-members showed a stronger match of self-construal to the host culture (i.e. independent self-construal) but weaker ethnic identity and poorer mental well-being. Intergroup anxiety was higher in migrant members of ethnic organizations. This is in line with the rationale that individuals who are highly interdependent are likely to be acutely attuned to social cues (as interdependents would be expected to be) that may make them more prone to the experiences of social anxiety. People high on ethnic identity are also likely to be more sensitive even to subtle prejudice, as immigrants are generally perceived as incompetent and untrustworthy (Cakal et al., 2011; Lee & Fiske, 2006; Operario & Fiske, 2001; Okazaki, 1997; Stephan & Stephan, 1985). However, the fact that members of ethnic organizations had better well-being seems to have attenuated the negative effect of intergroup anxiety, but it could be that it was this anxiety that triggered them to be active in their respective ethnic groups in the first place.

The findings of this study were further clarified by looking at the moderating role of self-construal between ethnic identity and mental well-being given that ethnic identity was not necessarily positively correlated with well-being in the migrant population under study. Independent and interdependent self-construals were found to be significant moderators in the relationships between ethnic identity and well-being in members of ethnic organizations but not in non-members; well-being of the member group was affected by ethnic identity depending on the level of independent and interdependent self-construal. The stronger the ethnic identity, the better the well-being at only high level of independent and interdependent self-construals but not at the Mean or low levels of self-construals. Thus, the relationship between ethnic identity and well-being only really emerges in organization members with high levels of both self-construals.

It may be noted that the member group was composed of members of ethnic organizations that could be disaggregated into two meaningful ethnic groups of India: the Mizo tribe from Northeastern India and Indo-Myanmar border, and other Asian Indians hailing from other parts of India. Separate moderation analyses indicated that only interdependent self-construal was a moderating variable for the Mizo, whereas it was only independent self-construal for other Indians. The pattern of the interaction revealed that well-being of the Asian-Indian member group was positively related to ethnic identity at a high level of independent self-construal only, whereas only at a high level of interdependent self-construal was the well-being of the Mizo member group positively affected by ethnic identity.

In summary, it may be said that strong ethnic identity coupled with clear self-concept, of whatever kind, is good for members of ethnic organizations. For Asian-Indians, the interaction was in independent self-construal, whereas for the Mizo the interaction was in interdependence. Better well-being was seen in people who were engaged in their respective ethnic organizations, and thereby still maintaining their home prototypical self-construal with strong ethnic identity, supporting the role of ethnic organizations in contributing to biculturalism, integration, or integrated ethnic identity (Phinney et al., 2001), which was found to be most adaptive for migrants (Berry et al., 2006; Yamada & Singelis, 1999).

To better understand the adaptability of migrants in a new cultural milieu, the cultural pattern from where the migrants migrated, the changes in cultural behavior from the standpoint of intersubjective perception, and the measurement of such a construct may be some important factors to be considered in future research. It would also be desirable to glean out whether a strong ethnic identity in members of ethnic organizations coupled with poor self-concept would predict maladjustments given the negative slope of the interaction results, though statistically non-significant in this study. Nations may also like to monitor and acknowledge the perpetuation of cultural heritage through ethnic organizations, but at the same time encourage inculcation of a clear self-concept that likely buffers even perception of discrimination and threat in migrants (e.g., Cross, 1991; Operario & Fiske, 2001; Phinney, 1996; Torres, Yznaga, & Moore, 2011; Verkuyten & Nekuee, 1999).

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The Implications of Social Skills on the Formation of Relationships Between Indonesian Muslims and Japanese

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Abstract

This study aims to investigate social skills adopted by Japanese people in Indonesia relevant to developing satisfactory interpersonal relationships with Indonesian Muslims. Twenty-seven Japanese people living in Indonesia were questioned on coping strategies used to overcome interpersonal difficulties (Nakano & Tanaka, 2016, July) and behaviors used to form satisfactory relationships. The results indicated that the subjects used two coping strategies: (1) *cognitive*, which involves understanding and tolerating cultural and religious characteristics or differences; and (2) *behavioral*, which involves accommodating one's behavior to characteristics and differences, observation, and mimicry. It was also revealed that three specific skills are needed: a) Religious consideration, b) Frank self-expression, and c) Well-mannered behaviors and common sense. The narratives of informants showed that these skills are used to resolve the stress and problems in interpersonal relationships with Indonesian Muslims and to have comfortable relationships. This study was able to identify specific social skills that proved effective in maintaining interpersonal relationships with Indonesian Muslims. In future research, it is necessary to examine these behaviors among native Indonesian Muslims and to enhance the credibility of the skill list.

Keywords: social skills, coping strategies, Indonesian Muslims, Japanese people in Indonesia

The Implications of Social Skills on the Formation of Relationships Between Indonesian Muslims and Japanese

Recently, the number of Japanese people in Indonesia has been steadily increasing, being roughly 18,463 in 2015 (Embassy of Japan in Indonesia, 2016). More than 90% of the Indonesian population is Muslim. The religious needs of Muslims and their behavioral patterns, which differ from those of the Japanese, affect the way they adjust culturally. For instance, drinking alcohol and eating pork are forbidden, and worshipping five times a day is common. Furthermore, they observe the month of Ramadan, avoid close conversations with members of the opposite sex unless they are family members, and cover certain parts of the body in front of non-family members of the opposite sex (Tanaka, 2012). Due to these differences in cultural and religious norms, Japanese people experience some interpersonal behavioral difficulties when interacting with Indonesian Muslims (Nakano & Tanaka, 2016, July). Relationships among Indonesian Muslims and Japanese sometimes do not progress due to interpersonal cultural difficulties (Nakano & Tanaka, 2017). As Furnham & Bochner (1982) suggested, adequate social skills and coping strategies could reduce interpersonal cultural difficulties. Therefore, there is a need to explore and develop a variety of effective social skills that Japanese people could apply in different societies throughout the world.

However, the coping strategies and cross-cultural social skills that they use to overcome difficulties and build relationships with Indonesian Muslims are not clear. Hence, this study aims to investigate the social skills adopted by Japanese people in Indonesia relevant to developing satisfactory interpersonal relationships with Indonesian Muslims. In order to achieve this goal, 27 Japanese living in Indonesia were questioned about the coping strategies they employ to overcome interpersonal challenges, and behaviors that they use to form satisfactory relationships. The present study would contribute to the development of valuable insights on how Japanese individuals can better understand and build intercultural relationships with Indonesian Muslims. In addition, it is argued that a learning process such as acquiring intercultural social skills and understanding cultural standards and proper behavior are essential for cross-cultural adaptation (Yaping, 2003). If effective social skills are revealed, we will able to carry out a social skill learning session using role-play aimed at Japanese in the future.

Methods

Participants

The informants were 27 Japanese people living in Indonesia (6 men, 21 women). They had resided in the country for a period of between 1 month to 16 years. The average age

of the informants was 32.03 years (SD=11.25). Their Indonesian language skills ranged from beginner to advanced. Participant characteristics are shown in Table 1.

Table 1
Characteristics of the Informants

Informant	Age	Gender	Occupation	Level of Indonesian	Years of stay in Indonesia
A	50s	Female	Housewife	Advanced	1 year
B	20s	Male	Student	Beginner	6 months
C	20s	Female	Student	Intermediate	7 months
D	20s	Female	Student	Intermediate	7 years
E	30s	Female	Worker	Intermediate	7 months
F	40s	Female	Worker	Advanced	10 years
G	30s	Female	Worker	Advanced	8 years
H	50s	Female	Housewife	Intermediate	2 years
I	20s	Female	Student	Beginner	6 months
J	20s	Male	Worker	Beginner	1 month
K	20s	Female	Student	Beginner	2 months
L	30s	Male	Worker	Beginner	2 months
M	20s	Male	Student	Intermediate	7 months
N	40s	Female	Housewife	Advanced	10 years
O	70s	Male	Worker	Advanced	4 years
P	30s	Female	Worker	Advanced	5 years
Q	40s	Female	Housewife	Advanced	8 years
R	30s	Female	Housewife	Beginner	1 year
S	30s	Male	Housewife	Advanced	5 years
T	20s	Female	Worker	Beginner	4 months
U	30s	Female	Worker	Advanced	8 years
V	20s	Female	Worker	Intermediate	3 years
W	30s	Female	Worker	Advanced	5 years
X	20s	Female	Worker	Advanced	5 years
Y	20s	Female	Worker	Advanced	5 years
Z	20s	Male	Student	Beginner	1 month
AA	40s	Female	Worker	Intermediate	6 months

Procedures

The study was performed in West Java, Indonesia, in September 2016. Semi-structured interviews were conducted, each lasting from one to two hours. Informants were first asked questions about their demographic characteristics. Following this, each was asked to describe their experience in Indonesia, especially pertaining to interpersonal behavioral difficulties (e.g., "How would you describe your relationships with the Indonesian Muslim people around you?"; "Are you dissatisfied with Indonesian culture or the behaviors of Indonesian Muslim people?"). After these questions, they were asked about coping strategies to overcome their difficulties and interpersonal social skills to construct relationships with Indonesian Muslims (e.g., "Are there skills to making relationships with Indonesian Muslims?", "How do you cope with their intercultural difficulties?", or "After conducting those skills and coping strategies, what happened to the relationship?").

We had reported on their interpersonal difficulties at another conference (Nakano & Tanaka, 2016, July). In this paper, we report data on social skills and coping strategies as cross-cultural social competencies in Indonesia. Informants extensively discussed concerns related to life in Indonesia. Interviews were recorded with a voice recorder with the informant's consent and later transcribed for analysis. Informants were told of the study's purpose and assured that their privacy would be kept confidential. We obtained consent from all informants before the interviews.

Analysis

To identify cross-cultural social skills in interpersonal behavior, we analyzed informant comments using the KJ method (Kawakita, 1967). This is a bottom-up method employed to form new concepts from the data gathered. Informant comments were sorted according to units of meaning. First, we extracted segments of the transcribed narratives corresponding to points in the interviews, during which informants discussed their skills and coping strategies to form relationships with Indonesian Muslims. We judged whether they overcame interpersonal difficulties by using skills and, as a result, whether relationship formation had progressed or not. We excluded from the analysis the coping strategies which dealt with things that negatively affected relationship formation, or what the informants felt failed (e.g., Answering *"I don't believe in God"* because I don't want to talk about religion or engage in relations so as to reduce stress). Second, all information was written on individual cards. The cards were shuffled, spread out, and those containing similar content were grouped together. Following this, a title was given to each group and placed on the group of cards. This process of grouping was repeated to further divide primary categories into secondary ones.

Results and Discussion

In total, 355 segments were obtained from the analysis of comments of Japanese people living in Indonesia. The number of comments averaged 13.1 (*SD* = 2.64) per informant. The results indicated that the subjects used two kinds of social skills: (1) *cognitive*, whereby they attempt to understand and tolerate cultural and religious norms, characteristics, and differences; and (2) *behavioral*, whereby they adapt to these characteristics and differences through observation and mimicry. After the analysis, these cross-cultural social skills were classified into three categories: *Religious consideration, frank self-expressions,* and *Well-mannered behaviors and common sense.* These are further detailed in Figure 1.

【Religious norms 】(160)

I. Consideration of religious practices (94)

a) Refraining from using the left hand (17)
b) Confirming religious needs because degree of faith is different for different people(15)
c) Act according to religious needs (12)
d) Avoiding meeting during prayer time (11)
e) Checking the ingredients of food when giving souvenirs (9)
f) Waiting silently when Muslims are praying (9)
g) Asking Muslims if they are okay with you drinking alcohol (8)
h) Not taking pictures when relaxed at home without a scarf (7)
i) Wearing clothes with less exposure when meeting up (6)

II. Discussion about religion (37)

j) Not saying that you are an atheist when asked if you practice a religion (17)
k) Explain your religion (8)
l) Avoiding religious topics as much as possible (6)
m) If urged to convert to Islam, interpret this gesture as that the other person is wishing for your happiness and be grateful (3)
n) If urged to convert to Islam, say that you want to think about it (3)

III. Interactions when using religious values (29)

o) Interpreting the word "Insha' Allah" as fifty-fifty (11)
p) Confirming a person's real intention when told "Insha' Allah" (8)
q) Being grateful if encouraged based on religious values when consulting about everyday worries (7)
r) Not using the word "God" lightly (3)

【Frank self-expression 】(141)

IV. Being assertive (56)

a) Do not become angry or emotional (12)
b) Do not become angry in public (11)
c) Express your feelings and opinions, without expecting them to be obvious (9)
d) Express your feelings clearly when making a refusal (8)
e) Do not take the words of the other person too seriously (8)
f) If you encounter problems, apologize while making an excuse (5)
g) Speaking in a loud voice (3)

V. Close relationships (49)

h) Answering cheerfully if spoken to (9)
i) Using physical contact in order to express familiarity (8)
j) Gladly accept invitations and invite back (6)
k) Introducing one's own friends and acquaintances (5)
l) Spend time together (4)

VII. Open attitude (10)

r) Don't expect other people to know Japanese cultural values (10)

VI. Individual private space (26)

m) Accepting easy tasks, refusing when asked for favors without reservations (8)
n) Understand that one was asked lightly when asked for favors (5)
o) Answering personal questions broadly and loosely (5)
p) Understand that being stared at does not mean anything in particular (3)
q) Greet others and let them stare at you (2)

【Behaviors related to manners or common sense 】(67)

VIII. Order of observance(43)

a) Expecting other people to be late (12)
b) Set the time of a meeting to be a bit earlier (5)
c) Confirm meeting times repeatedly and convey the importance of promises (5)
d) Do not live by Japanese standards and do not make plans too early (5)
e) Do not invite someone until the day of the plan draws near (5)
f) Understand that promises and plans can be changed repeatedly (4)

IX. Social conventions (15)

g) Understand that uninvited friends of friends may show up (10)
h) Act welcoming even if uninvited friends of friends show up (7)
i) Take the economic status of involved parties into account when choosing restaurants (6)
j) Express when you want to leave without hesitation(6)

X. Greetings (5)

k) Act like the other person (5)

XI. Relationship with members of the opposite sex(4)

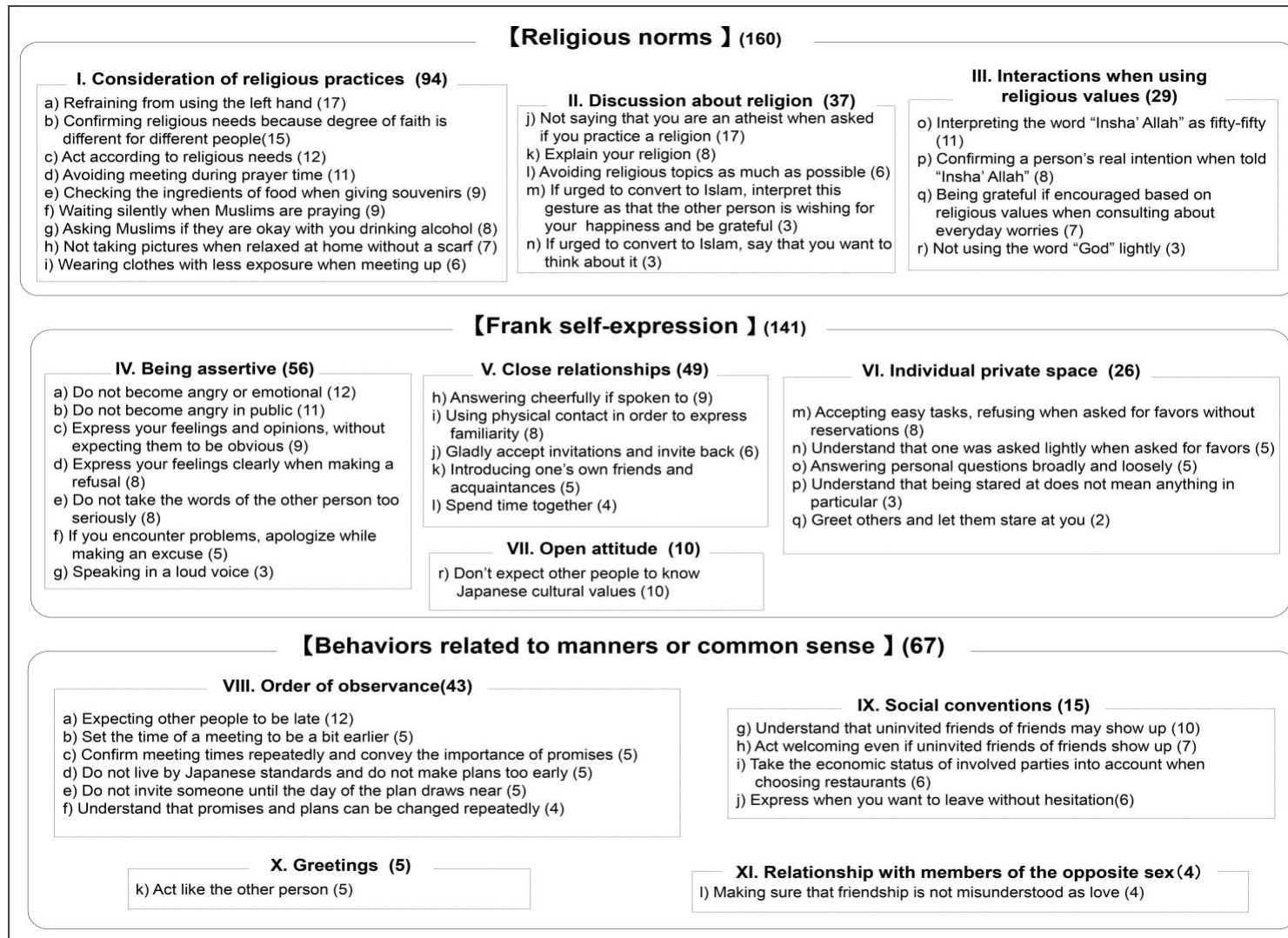l) Making sure that friendship is not misunderstood as love (4)

Figure 1. Cross-cultural social skills used in Indonesia to form relationships with Indonesian Muslims.

The first category was *religious consideration,* which consists of three sub-categories: *consideration of religious practices, discussions of religion, and interacting using religious values*. This category is a skill that corresponds to differences in Indonesian Muslim religious norms. We will explain the sub-categories below. In addition, the examples of informant narrative are shown in Table 2.

The first sub-category of *I) consideration of religious practices* is a skill pertaining to being aware of Indonesian Muslims religious customs. Muslims have specific religious norms based on Islam; for example, eating halal food, worshipping five times a day, and observing the month of Ramadan (Shimada, 1997). The Japanese informants said it was necessary to consider these aspects in order not to hinder religious practices during exchanges with Indonesian Muslims. Hence, they used consideration of religious practice as an interpersonal skill to form comfortable relationships, especially in terms of: confirming religious needs because the degree of faith varies for different people, acting according to religious needs, checking ingredients of food when bringing souvenirs from Japan, and asking whether Muslims are okay if they drink alcohol.

In addition, there were concerns about worship, avoiding the time for prayers when meeting, and waiting silently while Muslims pray. According to Nakano and Tanaka (in press), Japanese who interact with Muslims for the first time feel confused that, while Muslims are praying, they do not know how to behave. In this research, the appropriate behavior during waiting for praying is shown by the Japanese who have many interactions with Muslims.

Regarding exposure of the body, according to Islam, certain parts of the body must be covered in front of non-family members of the opposite sex (Tanaka, 2012). Informants described skills such as not taking pictures, being relaxed at home without a scarf, and wearing clothes with less exposure when meeting others.

Some informants said they try to refrain from using the left hand when they give something to Indonesian Muslims or when they shake hands with them. In Islam, it is said that the left hand is unclean, so Japanese people have been mindful to this. As examples, detailed narratives are shown below (Table 2).

The second sub-category of *II) discussions of religion* pertains to responses on religious topics. According to Matsushima, Kawashima, and Nishiwaki (2016), Japanese people tend to not recognize that they believe in any particular religion. Matsushima reported that 50% of Japanese people said they did not believe in religion when asked if they had religious beliefs. On the other hand, all Indonesian people are religious (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2013). It is probable that Indonesians are more strongly religious than Japanese people. Indonesian people find the response "I have no religion" strange and might sometimes lose trust in others due to this (Nakano & Tanaka, 2016, July). Therefore, they avoid providing such an answer. Regarding skills in this category, informants mentioned not saying that one is atheistic, explaining about one's own religion, and avoiding religious topics as much as possible. If urged to convert to Islam, interpret this as if a Muslim is wishing for one's happiness and be grateful, saying, *"I want to think about it."* Using these methods, informants avoided arguments or ending conversations with Indonesian Muslims. The informants felt that these responses were necessary for

calm and comfortable time with Muslims.

Table 2

Informant Comments on Coping Strategies on the "Consideration of Religious Practices"

I. Consideration of Religious Practices (94)

a) Refraining from using the left hand (17)

Informant Q: "I think it is a basic behavior here. I don't use my left hand when I give something to Indonesian Muslims. If I am carrying a bag with my right hand, I give it using my right hand and say *"I'm sorry, I used my left hand."* I learned this from Indonesian Muslim people. "

b) Confirming religious needs because the degree of faith differs for people (15)

Informant B: "Though I believed that all Muslims are the same, the degree of the faith is different person to person. Some Muslims don't drink, some do. One day, I asked "Why do you drink liquor even though you're a Muslim?". The relationship soured. You can easily get along with them if you confirm their religious needs beforehand."

c) Act according to religious needs (12)

Informant R: "It is easy for me approach them. I don't have restrictions like them. We can get along, unless I do a rude thing and insult them. It's easy."

d) Avoiding meeting during prayer time (11)

Informant C: "You should avoid meeting someone who is Muslim during prayer time. There are many mosques and prayer spaces in Indonesia, therefore you don't need to worry about this. But if we meet after prayer time it's better for everyone."

e) Checking the ingredients of food when giving souvenirs (9)

Informant A: "Please check whether food, sweets and drinks have alcohol or pork in them. If souvenirs from Japan are not halal, they can't eat them."

f) Waiting silently while Muslims pray (9)

Informant Z: "While praying, they focus very deeply on God. Therefore, we should be quiet and wait patiently and silently. There are a lot of mosques throughout Indonesia, but if there isn't one nearby, they must pray in my room. During this time, I don't mind them praying, but I don't speak to them, and I turn the TV and music off."

g) Asking Muslims if they are okay with you drinking alcohol (8)

Informant R: "There are many degrees here to which each Muslim is religious, Therefore, we better confirm this with each person. For example, by asking, *"Is there any* food you cannot eat?" or when we want to drink, asking "May I drink alcohol *here?"* We can answer very casually, not seriously. "

h) Not taking pictures when relaxed at home without a scarf (7)

Informant K: "Female Muslims usually wear the headscarf, but remove it while relaxing at home with members of the same sex. Don't take pictures at that time, even though you might enjoy it. You must especially not show this picture to someone of the opposite sex, and must not upload it onto Facebook."

i) Wearing clothes with less exposure when meeting up (6)

Informant A: "Because I'm not Muslim, I don't need to act according to them. But I don't make them disappointed and uncomfortable wearing clothes which expose skin. Consideration is necessary in friendship."

Notes: number of segments of comments I: names of sub-categories a)–i): names of small categories corresponding to those provided in Figure 1.

Table 3

Informant Comments on Coping Strategies Concerning "Discussions of Religion"

II. Discussions of religion (37)
a. Not saying that you are an atheist when asked if you practice a religion (17)
Informant E: "If they ask you *"What is your religion?"*, don't say *"I have no religion."* If you answer so, they will think you strange. If discussing your religion, it may be better to say, *"I am Buddhist."* It is an easy coping strategy to build relationships."
b. Explain your religion (8)
Informant M: "I was often asked *"What is your religion?"* I answered *"Buddhist."* They asked "What kind of religion is Buddhism? Does the God of Buddhism give it *to you?"* At first, I couldn't explain this, so conversations ended and I thought it prevented relationships."
c. Avoiding religious topics (6)
Informant R: "It is difficult for us Japanese to explain religion. I found it better to avoid religious topics as much as possible. Because if I can't explain myself, I may not be trusted."
d. If urged to convert to Islam, interpret this gesture as that the other person is wishing for your happiness and be grateful (3)
Informant G: "You sometimes may be recommended to convert to Islam, when you make friends. For me, in the beginning, I thought *"I would stop associating with that person"*, however, I understood that the reason that person said that was because he wants me to be happy. I can respond kindly if I interpret it like that.
e. If urged to convert to Islam, say that you want to think about it (3)
Informant A: "I am often urged to convert to Islam, I didn't know how I should answer. But I found the best answer: "thank you for your information *"I need time to think* about my religion. Because I've never thought about religion, I need to think on this alone""".

Notes: ( ): number of segments of comments II: names of sub-categories j)–n): names of small categories corresponding to those provided in Figure 1.

The third sub-category of *interactions when using religious values* is a coping technique. According to the informants, Muslim people often use the word "Insha Allah." The meaning of this Arabic word is "if Allah wills." Concerning this word, informants interpreted "Insha' Allah" as "fifty-fifty," confirming a person's real intention when told "Insha' Allah." Informants also recommended some behaviors: being grateful if encouraged based on religious values when consulting about everyday worries, and not using the word "God" lightly (details in Table 4).

Except in avoiding using the left hand, the skills regarding religious values and behavior are similar to the social skills that Japanese people in Turkey employ to build relationships with Turkish Muslims (Nakano & Tanaka, 2016, October). The results of this study found more detailed categories than those of Nakano and Tanaka, which investigated the social skills of Japanese people in Turkey. From the results of both Nakano and Tanaka (2016, October) and this study, we could point out the skills and considerations needed to avoid

Table 4

Informant comments on coping strategies concerning "Interactions when using religious values"

III. Interactions when using religious values (29)

a) Interpreting the word "Insha' Allah" as fifty-fifty (11)

Informant J: "Indonesian Muslims often say "Insha' Allah." For example, if I ask someone for something or make a promise, he replies "OK, Insha'Allah." The meaning of this differs depending on the person. It does not mean "yes I do" 100% of the time, so you cannot interpret it as "We promise." You had better interpret it as, "I hope so, I'll do my best," or "Yes" only half the time or less.

b) Confirming a person's real intention when told "Insha' Allah" (8)

Informant H: "The meaning of the word *"Insha Allah"* is not *"Absolutely."* So I think we should ask what people mean, like *"Will you really do it?"* If I misunderstand, I may be irritated or disappointed, wondering *"Why didn't you do it? You promised, didn't you?!"* It's one of the skill for making good relationships, I think."

c) Being grateful if encouraged based on religious values when consulting about everyday worries (7)

Informant L: "I had trouble getting along with people at work, so I sought advice. I was told *"Don't worry,* Allah *will help you, he will resolve your problem. You can't do anything, just wait for his* help.*"* I was surprised and I couldn't say anymore, I answered: *"Tha…thank you."* If someone Japanese encounters the same situation, please say thank you. The reason why they give this advice is for kindness' sake. Now I understand and can reply *"That may be right"*, I'll trust God and relax; it's one of the best ways to resolve problems."

d) Not using the word "God" lightly (3)

Informant J: "Please pay attention, don't use the words *"God"* lightly. When I ate dinner with Indonesian friends, I told them *"There are seven Gods in a grain of rice."* then they were very surprised and said repeatedly *"Why? There is only one God."* I was in trouble."

Notes: ( ): number of segments of comments; III: names of sub-categories; o) –r): names of small categories corresponding to those provided in Figure 1.

The second largest category was *frank self-expression*, which comprises four sub-categories: *being assertive, close relationships, individual private space,* and *open attitude*. Japanese people use frank expressions in order to make friends with Indonesian people, as the latter prefer to communicate in an honest, direct way. We will explain the sub-categories below in detail.

The Fourth sub-category *Being assertive* relates to communication style. Specifically, it refers to expressing one's feeling and opinions without expecting them to be obvious, expressing one's feelings clearly when refusing, not taking the words of another person too seriously, not becoming angry or emotional, not getting angry in public, making some excuse if one encounters problems and apologizing, and speaking with a loud voice. Communication skills such as avoiding ambiguous expressions and stating something gently are also techniques learned by Japanese hosts who interact with international

Table 5

Informant comments on coping strategies concerning "Being assertive"

IV. Being assertive (56)

a) Do not become angry or emotional (12)
Informant Y: "Although you should express your feelings clearly, they get depressed easily. Therefore, I speak easily without becoming emotional when I give advice."

b) Do not become angry in public (11)
Informant M: "I think Indonesian people don't like public displays of anger. If you want to say something negative, comments are best made face to face, one on one. Then you can stay friends."

c) Express your feelings and opinions, without expecting them to be obvious (9)
Informant L: "If you keep using the Japanese style of communication, you won't establish a healthy relationship with them. If you want to refuse something, you should express yourself clearly. Even if you refuse firmly, Indonesian don't care. If you communicate indirectly in the Japanese style, you will be misunderstood."

d) Express your feelings clearly when refusing (8)
Informant C: "We must say what we feel clearly if we want to refuse something. Don't worry, if you speak plainly they won't mind."

e) Do not interpret the words of another too seriously (8)
Informant P: "Japanese people are too serious, they remain so even when hearing obvious jokes. But I found out that Indonesian don't speak as seriously as Japanese. For example, someone told me *"Could you bring me a Japanese book?"* and a week later, I brought one. But he didn't remember asking for one. Don't blame them. I should change, and not interpret the words of another too seriously."

f) If you encounter problems, apologize while making an excuse (5)
Informant O: "You need to make excuses when you refuse. If you don't make excuses, you might be thought to dislike someone."

g) Speaking in a loud voice (3)
Informant U: "They speak and laugh with a loud voice. If I speak with small voice, I might seem a boring person. I recommend you speak loudly."

Notes: ( ): number of segments of comments; Ⅳ: names of sub-categories; a) –g): names of small categories corresponding to those provided in Figure 1.

students studying in Japan (Tanaka & Fujiwara, 1991). According to Tanaka and Fujiwara, a cultural characteristic of Japanese communication is using indirect expression. This cultural "distance" can lead to misunderstandings or cause people to become uncomfortable with each other (Nakano, Okunishi, & Tanaka, 2015). Therefore, people need to acquire social skills regarding communication with Indonesian people. In addition, the informants said they try to not get angry or emotional in public. They explained that if they get angry, Indonesian people are depressed more than necessary. Accordingly, it is suggested that healthy relationships need good communication without misunderstanding.

The fifth sub-category *Close relationships* relates to how to develop and maintain good relationships with Indonesian people. Nakano and Tanaka (2016, July) researched cross-cultural

Table 6

Informant Comments on Coping Strategies Concerning "Close Relationships"

V. Close relationships (49)
a) Answering cheerfully if spoken to (9) Informant J: Indonesian people often told me even the first meeting. The first time I thought *"What is their* purpose*? Something's fishy."* But my mind is changed, it is a good chance to make friends. So I think it's better to answer brightly if spoken to."
b) Using physical contact in order to express familiarity (8) Informant Y: "They're very friendly and very close, even when meeting for the first time. But in Indonesia, it is better to use physical contact in order to express familiarity. I am used to it now. For example, when greeting, I say hello by touching her shoulder."
c) Gladly accept invitations and invite back (6) Informant Z: "If you are invited by someone, you had better invite them the next time. This expresses a positive feeling, as if you were saying, "I want to develop a relationship with you.""
d) Introducing one's own friends and acquaintances (5) Informant S: "Here, if you get along with one person you get along well with that person's friends and acquaintances. It means my friend introduces his friend to me, his friend introduces his friend's friends etc. Then interpersonal relationships spread. You should introduce your friend to your new friend."
e) Spend time together (4) Informant U: "The best trick to making good relationships is to spend time together. Study, work, eat, watch TV and so on. Even if you don't understand Indonesian, please spend time together."

Notes: ( ): number of segments of comments; Ⅴ: names of sub-categories; h) –l): names of small categories corresponding to those provided in Figure 1.

interpersonal conflicts of Japanese people in Indonesia. They reported that Japanese people felt they became too close with Indonesian people. Adversely, international students in Japan felt Japanese people were too distant (Nakano et al., 2015; Tanaka & Fujihara, 1992). Therefore, Japanese people need to follow Indonesian customs of developing close relationships with them. Informants said Indonesians answered cheerfully if spoken to, used physical contact in order to express familiarity, gladly accepted invitations and invited others, also introduced their friends and acquaintances, and spent time together. They spent time with Indonesian hosts and regarded social acquaintances as important. Some informants described that they do not touch their body against Japanese people, but do with Indonesian friends who are the same gender, in order to express familiarity. When first coming to Indonesia, informants felt uncomfortable with the Indonesian way of getting closer to each other, but it seems that as they imitated Indonesian behavior they relaxed and their friends increased.

The sixth sub-category of *individual private space* refers to the coping strategy of protecting personal privacy and maintaining a distance that feels comfortable. Informants mentioned examples such as accepting easy tasks, refusing when asked for favors without reservations, understanding that one was asked lightly when asked for favors, answering

Table 7

Informant comments on coping strategies concerning "Individual private space"

VI. Individual private space (26)
a) Accepting easy tasks, refusing when asked for favors without reservation (8)
Informant J: "They are always asking me to be less serious, but we are serious and try to respond seriously, and I'm not comfortable with that. You don't have to do what you cannot do, and they won't be offended. This is key to keeping relationships."
b) Understand that one was asked casually when asked for favors (5)
Informant AA: "I was often asked favors by Indonesians, like *"Could you do something?"* but keep in mind, they asked casually. Don't think: *"He is rude."*"
c) Answering personal questions broadly and loosely (5)
Informant L: "We need a way to reply to very personal questions. For example, in response to the question, *"How much is your salary?"* we can laugh and say *"It is about average."*"
d) Understand that being stared at does not mean anything in particular (3)
Informant R: "I was stared at while getting on bus or walking. At first it was irritating. Then I told an Indonesian friend and he answered *"They don't have any particular meaning, just because they want to see you, they are only watching and thinking like, oh, she is Japanese."* After I heard that, my stress decreased."
e) Greet others and let them stare at you (2)
Informant C: "I was surprised that Indonesian people stare at me without hesitation. If someone stares at you, don't become angry, greet that person with a smile. They look at you simply because they are interested in you."

Notes: ( ): number of segments of comments; Ⅵ: names of sub-categories; m) – q): names of small categories corresponding to those provided in Figure 1.

personal questions broadly and loosely, understanding that being stared at does not mean anything in particular, and greeting people. Nakano and Tanaka (2016, July), who studied the interpersonal cross-cultural difficulties of Japanese people in Indonesia, reported that Japanese people perceived regular questions from Indonesians as private information. There is a difference regarding cultural sensitivity and the degree to which one should have an open mind. Therefore, Japanese people need skills to adjust to questions from and conversations with Indonesians; they mentioned that it is difficult for them to behave exactly like an Indonesian due to psychological hesitation. As a result, they cannot ask questions about privacy even if they know asking private questions may be a chance to become close friends. Rather, they felt that the skill to answer vaguely with humor was the best way. Additionally, Japanese people realized that when they ask something from others, it concerns something they cannot solve alone, thus the contents of each request are kept to a minimum. Indonesian people are not so. After understanding differences in how Indonesians deal with privacy, and knowing empirically that Indonesians will not be hurt even if they refuse, the Japanese people attempted to adapt to avoid stress and misunderstandings.

The seventh sub-category of *open attitude* is a cognitive skill that prevents cultural conflicts. For example, Japanese living in Indonesia do not expect locals to be familiar with

Table 8

Informant Comments on Coping Strategies Concerning "Open attitude"

VII. Open attitude (10)
a) Don't expect other people to know Japanese cultural values (10)
Informant N: "In my opinion, the most important thing to form relationships with Indonesians is having an open attitude about cultural differences. If they care about Japanese customs, they will become familiar with them. You cannot expect they would sympathize and guess what your feelings are."

Notes: ( ): number of segments of comments; Ⅶ: names of sub-categories; r): names of small categories corresponding to those provided in Figure 1.

Japanese cultural values. They felt it was key to peaceful relationships to tolerate cultural differences.

The third largest category was *Well-mannered behaviors and common sense*, which consists of four sub-categories: *order of observance, social conventions, greetings*, and *relationships with the opposite sex*. This is a skill to develop, adjusting for differences in social manners between Indonesia and Japan. We will explain the sub-categories in detail below.

The eighth sub-category *Order of observance* refers to skills to cope with Indonesian cultural characteristics, such as recognizing that Indonesians tend not to be punctual and change plans easily. Regarding these categories, Indonesian students in Japan also experienced cultural conflicts: they perceived Japanese people as too strict in being on time and keeping promises (Asano, 1996). The Japanese informants spoke about cognitive skills that entailed getting rid of a sense of Japanese culture concerning this. It is important to understand their characteristics based on their culture. For example, the informants described specific actions such as: expecting other people to be late, setting the time of a meeting to be a bit earlier, confirming rendezvous times repeatedly and conveying the importance of promises; giving up Japanese standards, not forming a plan too early, not inviting someone until the day of the plan draws near, and understanding that promises and plans can be changed easily. They mentioned that these behaviors are good compromises for interactions without frustration.

The ninth sub-category of *social conventions* encompasses skills for how to behave during social occasions. The informants described techniques for overcoming cultural differences between Japanese and Indonesians in relations. The informants indicated such behaviors as understanding that uninvited friends of friends may appear, and being welcoming when they do; taking the economic status of involved parties into account when choosing restaurants; and expressing when you want to leave without hesitation. According to Nakano and Tanaka (2016, July), Japanese people were surprised that uninvited friends of friends arrived when meeting Indonesian people. Japanese people will often reserve a restaurant, prepare some souvenirs in advance, and ask if they can bring their own friends.

Table 9
Informant comments on coping strategies concerning "Order of observance"

VIII) Order of observance (43)

a) Expecting other people to be late (12)
Informant Q: *"*You should expect that plans and promises might change. Hence, we must get rid of our cultural expectations. If they arrive late, do not become irritated; you should maintain a positive attitude.*"*

b) Set the time of a meeting to be a bit earlier (12)
Informant W: "If you promise to meet someone, you had better set a meeting time well in advance. You had better set the meeting time a little earlier, 10 minutes or more. They may come late."

c) Confirm meeting times repeatedly and convey the importance of promises (5)
Informant M: "In the case of a really important promise, you should confirm with them closer to the appointed day. If you tell them the importance of that promise, they understand and keep their promise."

d) Do not live by Japanese standards and do not make plans too early (5)
Informant R: "If you want to get along with them, first of all, you should throw away your cultural values. According to Japanese standards, when I make a promise, we will plan a few days ahead. We will invite someone at least one day beforehand. For big events, we will make an appointment one month in advance. But for them, it is too early. They may forget it and there is a possibility that other later promises will be given priority. For example, asking, "Shall we go somewhere next month?", they will answer "I don't know." They make a troubled face to express their bother. Conversely, I was often invited to something suddenly. We must get used to their ways."

e) Do not invite someone until the day of the plan draws near (5)
Informant D: "As much as possible, you should invite people close to deadlines. They seem to with this. Since I started doing this, it was easier to make friends."

f) Understand that promises and plans can be changed repeatedly (4)
Informant G: "Their schedule is easy to change. When Japanese people make a promise, we adjust our schedule accordingly. But they reschedule flexibly. So, if you have something else to do, you can negotiate to change dates. You had better keep in mind that their schedule may change or you will be upset.*"*

Notes: ( ): number of segments of comments; VIII: names of sub-categories; a) –f): names of small categories corresponding to those provided in Figure 1.

The sub-category of *relationships with members of the opposite sex* refers to how to behave when interacting with people of the opposite sex. The Islamic faith recommends avoiding close conversations and forming relationships with members of the opposite sex (unless they are family members) and covering certain parts of the body in front of such individuals (Tanaka, 2012). In Japanese society, it is common to remain in contact with their friends. In Indonesia, they tried to not have their friendships be misunderstood as romantic. Specifically, they tried to never be alone with the opposite sex, to not talk more than necessary, or smile. Examples of the narratives are shown below.

Table 10

Informant Comments on Coping Strategies Concerning "Order of observance"

IX. Social conventions (15)
a) Understand that uninvited friends of friends may appear (10)
Informant F: "We must understand that uninvited friends of friends may appear when we promise to meet Indonesian people, at dinner, shopping, and so on. If uninvited friends of friends appear, don't be surprised. "
b) Act welcoming even if uninvited friends of friends appear (7)
Informant I: "If you prepare some souvenir for your Indonesian friends, be aware an uninvited friend of your friends may come. But don't express any trouble. Be welcoming. It's important."
c) Take the economic status of involved parties into account when choosing restaurants (6)
Informant J: "One of the important skills for establishing a relationship is to let your friend choose restaurants since you might not be aware of their economic status. So, when I go out to eat, I ask my friend's opinion on which restaurant they want to go to. "
d) Express when you want to leave without hesitation (6)
Informant S: "If Japanese go to dinner, everyone will leave at once, right? Declaring - *"Well, let's go home soon."* However, in Indonesia the end time is not decided. Previously, I was confused. "I want to go home but cannot, because nobody *will go home."* Now I know no one minds. Please don't ask them before *"What time will we finish the day?"* I can leave anytime without hesitation. Just say: "I'm sorry, I will be leaving soon as I have something to do." It's Ok."

Notes: ( ): number of segments of comments; IX: names of sub-categories; g) –j): names of small categories corresponding to those provided in Figure 1.

Table 11

Informant Comments on Coping Strategies Concerning "Greetings"

X. Greetings (5)
a) Act like the other person (5)
Informant U: "You should follow another's customs when greeting them. I recommend following ways in which other people greet each other as your first step, because there are various ways of greeting, which depend on the person or religion. You usually do not hug people of the opposite sex, unless they are your family or relatives."

Notes: ( ): number of segments of comments; X: names of sub-categories; k): names of small categories corresponding to those provided in Figure 1.

Therefore, they felt it necessary to understand and accept Indonesian flexibility and welcome strangers without confusion.

The tenth sub-category of *greetings* refers to how to behave when greeting Indonesian people. Japanese people do not generally hug, kiss, or shake hands. Therefore, Japanese people become confused when Indonesians greet them (Nakano & Tanaka, 2016, July). Japanese need to acquire social skills for appropriately greeting Indonesians, especially in greeting Muslims of the opposite sex. Because the degree of

faith differs among individuals, it is not clear how to greet them. Therefore, informants stated the best approach was to follow another's behavior. The informants should try to act as Indonesians do. Example narratives are shown in Table 11.

Table 12

Informant Comments on Coping Strategies Concerning "Relationship With Members of the Opposite Sex"

XI. Relationship with members of the opposite sex (4)
a) Making sure that friendship is not misunderstood as love (4)
Informant D: "I recommend maintaining an appropriate distance from members of the opposite sex who aren't family. Even if you tell him he is just a friend, he may not be. For example, I do not smile at or touch people of the opposite sex more than needed. I may make someone think that I love them."

Notes: ( ): number of segments of comments; XI: names of sub-categories; l): names of small categories corresponding to those provided in Figure 1.

General Considerations

This study investigated social skills adopted by Japanese people in Indonesia relevant to developing satisfactory interpersonal relationships with Indonesian Muslims. Such skills do not merely imitate Indonesian behavior. If Japanese people behave similarly to Indonesians, they may feel less awkward, but more stressed or uncomfortable. There is a possibility of reducing motivations for forming relationships. This could be understood from following this informant's narrative:

> There is a saying that "when in Rome, do as the Romans" but, after all, I can't do exactly as they do. I can't completely eliminate Japanese cultural values. For example, they may be late, but I can't be as I would be uneasy. Therefore, it's easier for me to set a meeting time with a margin, to tell another an earlier time, and check several times conveying the importance. I think I won't keep relationships for long if I am too strict. (Informant P)

As you can see from this comment, the informant tried to form a healthy relationship by eliminating cultural difficulties and psychological stress in exchanges with Indonesian Muslims, using skills to promote relationship formation with them. These skills have to be clear to Indonesians and reasonable for Japanese. In this study, actions and cognitive behavior that Japanese who lived in Indonesia employed to overcome interpersonal difficulties and maintain relationships were studied. Additionally, behaviors and ways of thinking that helped to form relationships easily were identified. These findings could contribute to helping Japanese individuals living in Islamic societies to prevent misunderstandings and potential conflicts in order to form good relationships. This

research has revealed skills that are easy for the Japanese to use. Future work needs to find how these behaviors are evaluated by Indonesian Muslims to enhance the skills' credibility.

Conversely, several limitations of this research should be noted. First, because of a relatively small sample size, further research is needed to verify the findings. Second, the present results concern social skills experienced by Japanese people in the West Java province only. Regional differences were not taken into account. Finally, a challenge for future research is to investigate whether Indonesian Muslims regard these skills as effective. Consequently, we will able to develop more effective social skills that Japanese people could apply in interactions with Indonesian Muslims.

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Theorizing the Relationship Between Identity and Diversity Engagement: Openness Through Identity Mismatch

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Abstract

Psychological research suggests that engagement with diversity-relevant materials can have a positive impact on interracial relations. However, prior research also suggests that there may be individual differences in how effective exposure to critical diversity narratives would be in facilitating positive intergroup attitudes. The primary aim of this paper is to provide some empirically based theorizing about patterns of group identification and their relationship to effective diversity exposure. In this chapter, we discuss two examples of research that explore for whom engagement with critical diversity activities may facilitate increased perceptions of social inequality. We begin by conceptualizing four race-based identity profiles derived from orthogonal considerations of attachment and glorification. We discuss support for findings that suggest that scoring high on one dimension but not the other (mixed or mismatched identity profiles) constitutes the identity profiles most likely to facilitate openness to critical, potentially identity-threatening, diversity content.

Theorizing the Relationship Between Identity and Diversity Engagement: Openness Through Identity Mismatch

Psychological research suggests that engagement with ethnic studies and diversity-relevant curricula can have a positive impact on student learning and engagement. In the United States (US), much of this work is grounded in educational psychology and theorizes the impact of "culturally relevant pedagogy" on the academic outcomes for students of color (see Brown-Jeffy & Cooper, 2011 for review). As an example, Dee and Penner (2016) found significant gains in GPA and attendance rates for at-risk students of color who were enrolled in ethnic studies courses. Other examples of this work focus on the impact of required "diversity" courses on interracial and intergroup attitudes for all students, but particularly for White American students (e.g., racial understanding; prejudice reduction, Chang, 2002; Dovidio et al., 2004; attitudes toward diversity, Terenzini, Pascarella, Springer, Nora, & Palmer, 1996; awareness of privilege and racism, Cole, Case, Rio, & Curtin, 2011). In a meta-analysis of 27 studies, Denson (2009) concluded that diversity-themed courses have an impact on reducing racial bias. Denson concluded that diversity-related interventions were moderately effective in reducing racial bias for all students, but perhaps particularly beneficial to White students in regards to racial bias reduction.

The Denson meta-analysis reviewed prior work that included the impact of different courses, diversity workshops, and peer-facilitated interventions. She noted that the diversity-related interventions primarily utilized content-based knowledge as their approach to reducing college students' racial bias. Deemed an "enlightenment" approach, the basic idea is that exposing students to information about other groups can alter their perceptions of that group. The "enlightenment" could detail diverse cultural practices, historical events and encounters, and/or contemporary issues and the experiences of being a member of a marginalized or minority group. This approach is consistent with seminal work in multicultural counseling, which suggests that *knowledge*—an understanding and knowledge of worldviews of culturally different individuals and groups—is a key component of multicultural competence (Sue, 2001; Sue, Arredondo, & McDavis, 1992). There is support for the role of cultural knowledge in facilitating positive interpersonal interactions among future counselors, but there is also support for its important role in facilitating positive intergroup relations more broadly.

However, not all diversity exposure is created equal. Sue and colleagues also suggest that merely learning about different, exoticized, ethnic "others" is not enough to develop multicultural competences (Sue, 2001; Sue et al., 1992). Whether making efforts to diversify the classroom or make psychological science itself less "WEIRD" (western, educated, industrialized, rich, democratic; Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010), cultural psychologists emphasize two strategies for avoiding the pitfalls of othering or pathologizing diverse psychological experiences (Adams & Salter, 2007). The first step is to provide a *normalizing*, context-sensitive account of "other" patterns that mainstream psychological science regards

as abnormal. Exposure to information about the histories, cultural contexts, and their connections to contemporary cultural practices give students the initial tools to perform this step. The second step is to "turn the analytic lens" or *denaturalize* patterns that mainstream psychological science tends to portray as standard. This step aims to help psychologists (practitioners and students alike) to understand and examine cultural differences beyond slight deviation from some unnamed or unmarked American or dominant group norm, but as the product of cultural processes that impact everyone. This step helps to combat implicit attributions of power or superiority that are attached to being considered the norm (e.g., Bruckmüller & Abele, 2010; Hegarty & Pratto, 2001) or feelings that one is a part of a group that just does things the right way. A major goal of the second step is to make visible the cultural context of experience, not just for *exotic* patterns of people in "other cultures," but also for the *familiar* patterns observed in one's own backyard routinely underlying the otherwise invisible cultural norms from which one is operating (Adams & Salter, 2007).

Careful consideration of the impact of merely addressing diversity exposure has also been taken up by cultural psychologists concerned with the extent to which their cultural courses have positive or negative impacts on their students. In particular, cultural psychologists have been concerned that knowledge about cultural differences can facilitate cultural stereotyping and essentialism. For example, Buchtel (2014) used a longitudinal design to examine the effects of her cultural psychology course at the beginning of a semester and the end and compared the change over time to students in a control classroom. She was interested whether her course impacted their cultural awareness, cultural intelligence, moral relativism, essentialism, cultural entitativity, prejudice, and stereotype endorsement. On one hand, Buchtel hypothesized positive effects for students taking the cultural psychology course. Namely, she predicted an increase in cultural awareness and open-mindedness (i.e., decreased judgmental assessments of cultural differences). On the other hand, Buchtel thought that cultural psychology might also have negative effects because emphasizing cultural boundaries can be associated with essentialist thinking. So, she predicted that students might also increase in their essentialist thinking about cultures and in their reliance on group stereotypes. In general, she found that there were more positive effects for the cultural psychology course than there were negative, but she also noted that the cultural psychology course had a pernicious effect on "casual" readers of cultural psychology (i.e., the students who did not perform well). Buchtel (2014) found that students who received lower grades were more likely to endorse stereotypes of any kind, especially stereotypes that, in fact, were not related to cultural psychology research.

Butchel's (2014) research suggests that individual differences might matter for whom an intervention might have a positive influence. Though there is evidence for global positive effects, in this chapter we discuss some of our preliminary work that indicates there may be particular identities, captured in specific kinds of profiles, which are particularly "open" to the positive influence of exposure to a diversity intervention. Considerations of identity may be especially important since exposing dominant groups to critical aspects of intergroup relations may implicitly or explicitly implicate them in historical wrong-doing of marginalized or subjugated groups. From the standpoint of the nation, addressing historical wrong-doing

can be identity-threatening, particularly for highly identified group members (Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doojse, 1999; Morton & Sonnenburg, 2011; Kurtiş, Adams, & Yellow Bird, 2010); thus, history tends to glorify the nation and sanitize that negative history (Loewen, 1995; Trouillot, 1995). Reminders of past wrong-doing constitutes a threat to viewing one's group as moral or competent, and, for those identified with the group, there are motivations to avoid such damaging information (Baumeister & Hastings, 1997) or simply forget such events (Sahdra & Ross, 2007). However, from the perspective of the oppressed, knowledge of historical injustices constitute a key part of identity (Eyerman, 2004; Moreton-Robinson, 2003) and has liberatory potential (Martín-Baró, 1994). Knowledge of critical histories can impact perceptions of present social inequality and policy endorsement (e.g., Mukherjee, Salter, & Molina, 2015; Nelson, Adams, & Salter, 2013). For example, engagement with cultural materials that invoked more critical Black history themes (e.g., addressing historical barriers) were more effective at increasing perceptions of racism in the present than celebratory versions of Black history (Salter & Adams, 2016). Additional work utilizing photographic materials collected from an American Immigration History Museum found that the impact of engaging with photographs addressing historical injustices in America's immigration history (e.g., highlighting discrimination faced by Asian Americans) impacted perceptions of what it means to be truly American. Participants who engaged with critical (versus glorifying) images depicting US immigration had less narrow, assimilationist conceptions of American, which in turn, had an impact on perceptions of social inequality (Mukherjee & Salter, 2017). Taken together, the empirical evidence suggests that if and when critical forms of knowledge are integrated into diversity initiatives or interventions, those narratives may be met with resistance to the extent that the information is processed as identity-threatening.

Openness to Critical Histories through Racial Identity Profiles: A Case for Mismatch

In this chapter, we propose that there may be particular collective identity profiles that are "open" to the positive influence of exposure to a diversity intervention. Historically, the predominant approach to measuring collective forms of identity in a study was to treat identity as a unidimensional construct (i.e., what is your attachment to a particular social group?). Several scholars have identified limitations in a unidimensional approach (e.g., Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998; Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004; Roccas, Klar, & Liviatan, 2006; Leach et al., 2008). Take, for example, conflicting findings in the collective-guilt literature resulting from unidimensional explorations. Roccas and colleagues (2006) identified a paradox in which high group identification seems to simultaneously correspond to both increases and decreases in feelings of group-based guilt. Group-based guilt can be simply understood as the guilt an individual feels through association with persons who have committed immoral acts; this association can be felt due

to something as tenuous as shared group membership (Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, & Manstead, 1998).

In order to reconcile these conflicting findings, Roccas et al. (2006) proposed that group identification is more complex than one dimension simply capturing high versus low attachment. Through an integration of the relevant literature concerning group identification, Roccas, Sagiv, Schwartz, Halevy, and Eidelson (2008) identified a robust multidimensional model that described four primary modes of identification. These modes—commitment, importance, superiority, deference—were found to be relevant across a number of group identity categorizations, including national and organizational contexts. Importantly, the validated model of these modes supports a two-factor understanding of group identification: group attachment (representing the intercorrelations between commitment to the group and importance of the group to one's self) and positive evaluation of the group (representing the intercorrelations between finding one's group to be superior and showing deference to the group). These two factors[1], while given various monikers, have now consistently been demonstrated across a substantial body of literature (see Roccas et al., 2006 for a review). Hereafter, the terms "attachment" and "glorification" will be used.

Group attachment can more generally be understood as a person's level of identification with their group. High group attachment tends to correspond with high group-self overlap; this can include gaining self-esteem and positive emotions from the group, as well as defining one's self in terms of group membership (Roccas et al., 2006; Roccas et al., 2008). People who have high levels of group attachment tend to strongly agree with statements such as "I identify with other (name of group members)," "(name of group) is an important group to me," and "Being an (demonym of group) is an important part of how I see myself at this moment" (Doosje et al., 1998).

Not only do individuals define or see themselves as more or less attached to one's group, they may also garner positive feelings from belonging to that group to a greater or lesser extent. Group glorification is particularly affective in nature. It occurs when an individual views the in-group as superior to other groups. While this is not uncharacteristic of group identification in general, glorification involves a more specific elevation of in-group symbols, rules, norms, and values above those of other groups (Roccas et al., 2006). High group glorification also tends to correspond with beliefs involving the regulation of others' behavior, specifically in displays of respect for the in-group's symbols (Roccas et al., 2006).

While they are distinct modes of group identification, glorification and attachment have been shown to have a moderate positive relationship (Chiou, 2001; Karasawa, 2002; Li & Brewer, 2004; Roccas et al., 2006). These findings parallel our conceptual understanding of group identification, as both these modes should indicate how strongly and in what ways an individual identifies with their group. That is, one might expect that those high on dimensions of group attachment would be similarly high on dimensions of group glorification. In other

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[1]   Leach and colleagues (2008) propose a similar two-factor model that underlies identification: Self-definition and Self-investment. Self-definition appears to parallel attachment and captures individuals' perceptions of themselves as similar to an in-group prototype and their perception that their in-group has commonalities in experience. Self-investment (mirroring glorification) captures individuals' positive feelings about and bonding with their in-group.

words, if they are strongly attached to their group, then they should usually glorify it (Roccas et al., 2006). However, these two modes are orthogonal and remain distinct from each other. It is not necessary to glorify the group, even if attachment to the group is high, and it is not necessary to be particularly attached to the group, even if glorification of the group is high.

When considered in relationship with one another, these two modes of group identification—attachment and glorification—interact to create four distinct group identity profiles. Two of these profiles are consistent with unidimensional understandings of group identification in that they *match*: an individual could be high in both attachment and glorification, and an individual could be low in both attachment and glorification. However, the two other profile alternatives are of particular interest to us because they denote ambiguity in one's identification with their group; that is, there is *mismatch* in the two modes of identification (i.e., high in attachment but low in glorification, or high in glorification but low in attachment).

These modes of identification are particularly interesting because when an individual indicates strongly identifying on one dimension but not the other, it could indicate gradation or flexibility in that individual's relationship to that identity category. For instance, one might expect that someone who highly identifies with their group across both dimensions/modes— that is, is both highly attached to and highly glorifying of their group—would not be open to threatening information about the group because it would be unambiguously highly threatening to the self. On the other hand, someone who is ambivalently identified with their group (perhaps Buchtel's "casual readers," as noted above) may not see threatening information about a group to which they belong as challenging to the self, since they may already have conflicting feelings about the group for whom that information is threatening. Alternatively, an ambivalently identified group member could respond like a high identifier, not because they care about being in the group, but because without much thought or concern about group issues, they may just rely on group norms or other socially acceptable responses. Thus, this individual could be just as likely as a high-identifier to resort to standard/stereotypical responses to critical information (e.g., with denial, resistance, or even prejudice).

We were also interested in testing the theoretical extension of these national identity profiles to racial identity[2]. These modes of identification/identity profiles may have particular relevance to our research interests in diversity engagement because of the perceived entitativity—"the extent to which a group is perceived as being a coherent unit in which the members of the group are bonded together in some fashion" (Lickel, Hamilton, & Sherman, 2001, p. 131)—of racial groups. That is, race is deployed in the US as a clear marker between "us" and "them," between those in the in-group and those in the outgroup. We describe a set of studies below to articulate our exploration of these "matched" or "mixed"

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[2]   Here it is important to note that although we are conceptually following Roccas and colleagues' model, there are several prominent multidimensional racial identity models in the literature (see Sellers et al., 1998 for review). Many of the underlying concepts are similar to what we use (i.e., centrality; private regard), but to our knowledge have not focused on the racial identity profiles within the four quadrants that might be produced by orthogonal consideration of these underlying variables.

identity profiles in the context of race. We wanted to explore whether the aforementioned mixed or matched racial identity profiles could explain dominant group (in our context, White American) reactions to diversity-relevant cultural products created by members of a subordinated racial group (in our context, Black Americans).

Empirical Examples: Engagement with Diversity and Identity

In line with the cultural psychological principle of mutual constitution (i.e., the idea that psyche and culture "make each other up," Shweder, 1990; Markus & Kitayama, 1991), culturally relevant materials are not only imbued with the identity of the creator but can also have an impact on the perceiver. Importantly, perceivers are not just passive recipients of cultural messages. When cultural products offer critical histories (as opposed to mainstream offerings of glorifying narratives/folk tales), they can be met with acceptance or resistance.

In the first empirical example below, we discuss a set of studies in which we asked participants to engage with previously created Black History Month (BHM) posters. We wanted to explore the psychological process through which White participants were engaging with this critical, culturally relevant material. In the second empirical example, we extended the theoretical model of group identification to another racial/ethnic group in the United States, Hispanic Americans. This study is both related to and distinct from the first BHM study, as we discuss in more detail below.

Our empirical examples deployed methodology to test our extension of national identity and an orthogonal model of group identification. Thus, we propose terminology and descriptions for four identity profile manifestations theorized to impact whether our participants supported race-relevant policies after engaging with diversity-relevant information. These identity profiles are in part derived from prior literature (e.g., Roccas et al., 2008), but are also based on a series of studies conducted over the past several years (Rieck, Haugen, & Salter, 2015; Salazar, Haugen, Rieck, & Salter, 2016; Salter & Adams, 2016). If our theoretical extension of national identity to racial identity is indeed appropriate, then we should expect to see similar patterns of responses to the experimental methodology described below.

Four Proposed Racial Identification Profiles

Committed proponents (high attachment-high glorification)

Individuals with high attachment and high glorification (matched profile) are, theoretically, some of the most passionate members of any group. When confronted with members of an outgroup, these committed proponents will likely make generalizing, stereotypical, and/or derogatory statements to describe the outgroup. This profile may be parallel to nationalists who believe in the superiority of the group (e.g., Gellner, 2005). Committed proponents are most likely to find members of an outgroup threatening, and overt liking outgroup members by committed proponents is likely low. Extreme examples of committed proponents of White

racial identity may include members of the Ku Klux Klan or American citizens who self-appoint for violent Mexican border control.

Indifferent followers (low attachment-low glorification)

Individuals with low attachment and low glorification (matched profile) are theorized as some of the most disengaged members of a group. Because of this disengagement, there is likely to be little critical self-analysis in terms of one's own racial identity. Indifferent followers of a racial identity may make claims such as "I don't see race." Indifferent followers, theoretically, are also not likely to appreciate what they perceive to be as excessive racialization of a given event by members of a racial outgroup: "Why do *they* always have to make it about race?" When confronted with members of an outgroup, especially in situations of perceived threat, indifferent followers will likely behave in ways that conform to in-group norms. This is not because they necessarily want to conform to their in-group (or would even consider that that is what they are doing); rather, it is because they are most likely to uncritically follow the norms established by and for their in-group. Though they do not gain positive feelings from their in-group (and may even resist being identified as a member of the relevant in-group), they may often nevertheless behave in ways considered more characteristic of committed proponents (see above).

Insecure proponents (low attachment-high glorification)

Insecure proponents are the first example of a mixed profile: individuals who highly glorify their in-group yet do not express a particular attachment to it. These individuals hold their in-group membership in high esteem (high glorification), perhaps relative to other racial groups. However, insecure proponents do not internalize their racial identity in the same way as the other high glorifiers (committed proponents); they do not find their racial identity to be important to who they are as an individual. As such, insecure proponents are theorized, in certain circumstances, to be able to distance themselves from the group as they may not feel a strong need to defend their in-group when critically challenged (because it is not also challenging their sense of self). This may make insecure proponents more open to otherwise threatening messages from outgroup members.

Committed critics (high attachment-low glorification)

Committed critics are the second example of a mixed profile. These individuals are relatively more attached to their group (or perhaps recognize the importance of race in shaping their individual psyche), but this attachment does not garner particularly positive feelings for committed critics. They perceive their group membership as important, but they (theoretically) are able to acknowledge there may be some shortcomings to being a member of this group. Though being a member of their in-group does not give them particularly good feelings, committed critics typically share the values of the in-group and may unconsciously enact the normative behaviors of the in-group (because they have been socialized into these values). However, when provided with an opportunity to be critical of the in-group, committed

critics are theoretically more likely to take that opportunity because their lack of glorification of their in-group allows them to be less defensive: they are not targeting the source of positive affect but rather neutral or negative.

Summary

The four identity profiles described above—committed proponents, indifferent followers, insecure proponents, committed critics—represent an attempt to both integrate the current understanding of group identification and propose a theoretical advancement to include other types of identification beyond national—that is, racial (Figure 1). This presentation of these identity profiles is largely based both on the work of Roccas et al. (2006) and our own empirical observations, narratively described below (Rieck et al., 2015; Salazar et al., 2016; Salter & Adams, 2016). As this is a theoretical proposal, provided here is a high-level overview of our methods and findings. More detailed reports of the studies described below are forthcoming.
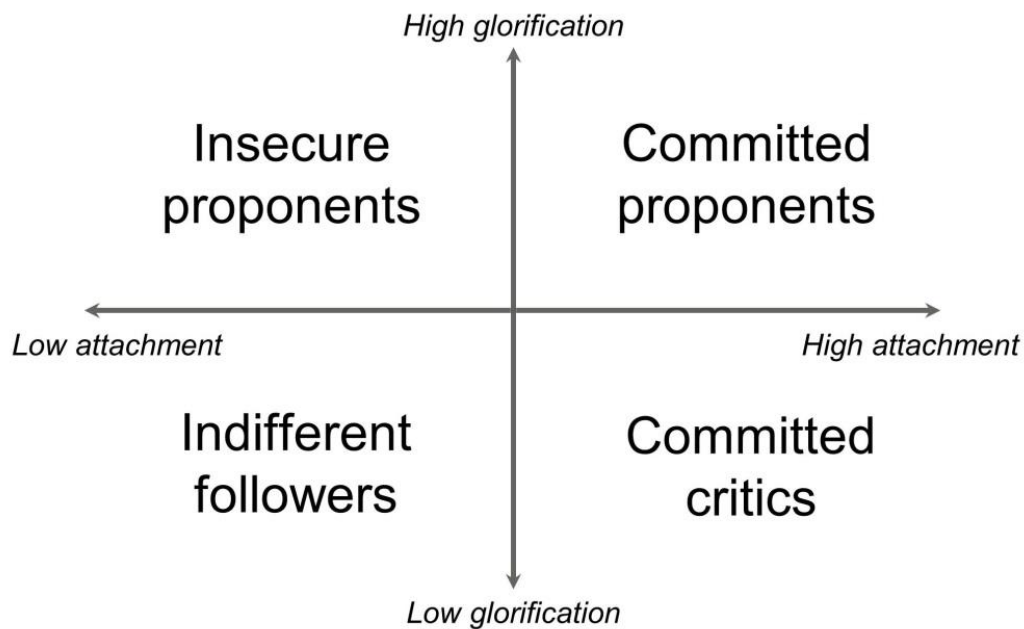

Figure 1. Proposed racial identification profiles

Empirical Example #1: Exposure to Black History Month Posters

Black History Month (BHM) is typically recognized during the month of February and can vary to the extent that it is primarily celebratory and achievement oriented versus racism relevant and historical barriers oriented (Salter & Adams, 2016). In their initial qualitative study, Salter and Adams (2016) found that predominately-White schools tended to have centralized BHM displays that emphasized celebrations of diversity and achievements while displays in predominately-Black schools tended to acknowledge historical barriers. One of

the implications of their study is that the cultural context contributes to the type of BHM representations that were produced and/or selected for that space. In follow-up studies, they also found that patterns of preference for celebratory BHM displays from predominately-White schools (over more critical representations from predominately-Black schools) were strongest among White American participants who strongly identified with being American or White. Furthermore, they found that exposure to critical representations facilitated perceptions of racism and support for anti-racism policies. However, when examining the relationship between critical BHM exposure and perceptions of racism, they did not account for identification. Taken together, one might suggest that critical BHM exposure can facilitate perceptions of social injustice, but that it may not be as effective for strongly identified White Americans (who indicated their distaste for critical representations from predominantly Black schools in their prior study).

Below we describe a study we conducted where we utilized BHM posters designed by prior participants to commemorate and celebrate the contributions and achievements of Black Americans. Utilizing the multidimensional conception of racial identification described above, we explore how exposure to BHM posters interacts with the participants' racial identification profile to influence perceptions of racism and endorsement of public policies aimed at alleviating racism.

The goal of this study was to explore how racial identity might interact with engagement with diversity-related materials—here, Black History Month posters—to influence perceptions of racism against Black people in the United States. To do this, we asked 136 undergraduates at a large, public university in the South to engage with BHM posters created by designers in a prior study (Rieck, Salter, & Haugen, 2016). Each participant viewed three posters previously created by a different set of designers; these designers varied both on racial background (Black or White) and how strongly they unidimensionally identified with that racial group (high vs. low). The designers had previously indicated their level of racial identification using a continuous measure depicting self-other overlap (adapted from Aron, Aron, & Smollan, 1992; Rieck et al., 2016). From this, designers were identified who were either one standard deviation above or below the mean level of identification. These designers' posters (categorized as "high" or "low") were then used as stimuli for the study described below.

Participants were randomly assigned to one of four viewing conditions: viewing posters by highly-identified White designers, highly-identified Black designers, lowly-identified White designers, and lowly-identified Black designers. Within each condition, participants viewed three different posters by three different designers. With each poster, participants were encouraged to engage with the poster. One way of achieving this was by measuring affect and reactions to the poster through scales presented on the same page as the poster itself. Participants were asked to indicate to what extent they feel a certain way in this moment, given several forms of affect (e.g., excited, upset, interested, irritable) and using a 5-point Likert scale (1=Very slightly or not at all). Participants were also asked several questions about their reaction to various qualities of the poster, e.g., "Overall, how attractive is this poster?" and "How aggressive or hostile is this poster?" These questions,

again, primarily served the purpose of encouraging repeated and extended engagement with each poster; analysis of responses to these items will not be presented here.

Participants also completed a measure of racial attachment and glorification, which was adapted from Luhtanen and Crocker's (1992) Collective Self Esteem Scale: "Identification" and "Private Regard." These subscales (each four items long) were identified, in our review of the literature, as those measures with the most adaptation potential as we theoretically extended these modes of group identification from national to racial identity. The "Identification" subscale closely maps onto our understanding of attachment, with items such as, "The racial/ethnic group I belong to is an important reflection of who I am" (participants respond using a 7-point Likert scale, 1="Not at all"). The "Private Regard," or here, glorification, subscale asked participants to respond (using the same scale) to items such as "I feel good about the racial/ethnic group I belong to."[3]

Our outcome measures of interest in this study were participants' perceptions of racism and race-relevant policies immediately after exposure to diversity-relevant material. After exposure to and engagement with the posters, participants reported how much they thought prejudice, discrimination or racism played a role in 5 hypothetical scenarios, such as "a group of three African American friends were waiting for a table at a restaurant. While they waited, two other groups of similar size arrived and were seated before them." Participants also rated their support for 10 race-relevant policy items, such as "As long as there are no rigid quotas, I support affirmative action."

Prior qualitative explorations of the Black History Month posters used as stimuli indicated that those created by highly-identified Black designers were the most critical, followed by lowly-identified White and Black designers, and those produced by highly-identified White designers were the least critical (Rieck et al., 2016). Thus, we expected differences in perceptions of racism and race-relevant policies to vary by racial identification of the designer as a category (black vs white) and level (highly vs lowly identified). For perceptions of racism, results indicated a marginal 3-way interaction between designer race, attachment, and glorification [$b = 0.55$, $SE = 0.32$, $t(132) = 1.69$, $p = .093$], see Figure 2. Interestingly, when engaging with posters created by White designers, responses to our racism perception questionnaire hovered below or around the mid-point of the scale. When engaging with BHM posters by Black designers, however, identity profile matters. Not surprisingly, committed proponents (high attachment-high glorification) were less likely than the other identity profiles to both perceive racism in those items and endorse race-relevant policies. Notably, participants with the other "matched" identity profile, indifferent followers (low attachment-low glorification), paralleled those committed proponents. Although these participants report no particular attachment to or positive feelings from their racial group, they reacted to the Black BHM posters in much the same way as those who strongly identify with their racial group on both modes of identification.

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[3]   Immediately prior to completing these measures, participants were asked to complete the following sentence: "In terms of racial/ethnic group, I prefer to identify with the label _____." Participants were then asked to briefly describe why they preferred this label. These items were ordered as such to make the participants' own racial identity salient and to ensure participants were thinking of the racial/ethnic identity with which they personally identified.
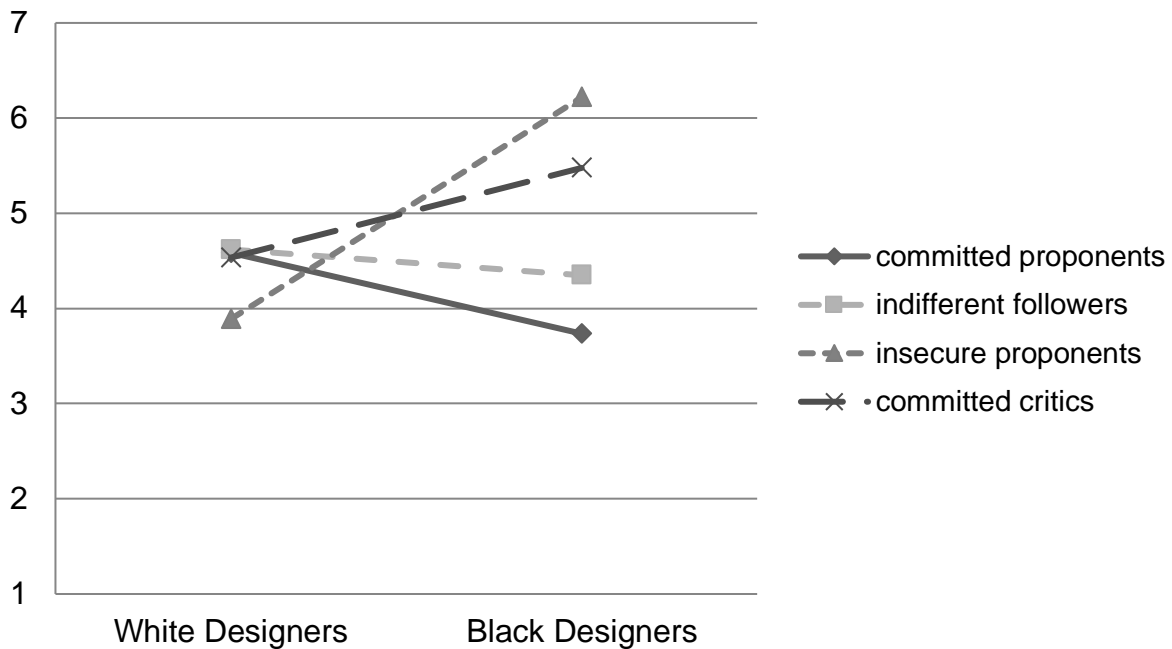
Figure 2. BHM Example: Perceptions of racism in hypothetical scenarios. Values range from 1 to 7.

In contrast, the results for the mixed or mismatched identity profiles looked much different. Again, participants with mixed profiles (blind followers; committed critics) were not very likely to perceive racism after viewing posters created by White designers. Similar to committed proponents and indifferent followers, their responses hovered around the midpoint of the scale. However, this pattern of responses changed dramatically for those participants who viewed posters created by Black designers. In these cases, participants with mismatched identity profiles were more likely to perceive racism in various events. In addition, similar results emerged when we examined the policy items (Rieck et al., 2016). A 4-way interaction indicated that participants with mixed identity profiles more strongly endorsed race-relevant policies in the Black designer conditions, but especially when the Black designer was lowly identified [b = -0.63, SE = 0.34, t(132) = -1.90, p = .097]. Thus, for those with mismatched profiles (or, in our understanding, more psychologically "open" patterns of racial identification), it seems that individual racial identity interacts with the racial identification of poster designers to influence perceptions of individual racism and endorsement of race-related policies. Notably, while prior research suggests that critical history should facilitate perceptions of racism to a greater extent than more sanitized versions (Nelson et al., 2013; Salter & Adams, 2016), it appears that our participants with mixed identity profiles were "open" to critical BHM posters. However, given that policy endorsement was most likely when the poster designer was Black, but lowly identified, perhaps they are only open to critical content as long as it is not too identity threatening.

Empirical Example #2: Creation of Hispanic Heritage Month Posters

As mentioned earlier, we were also interested in exploring the relationship between diversity-relevant engagement and identity profiles with another commemoration activity. Instead of exposure to pre-existing cultural products, we chose to have the participants create a cultural product for Hispanic Heritage Month (HHM). HHM – recognized in the US from September 15 to October 15 – celebrates the histories, cultures, and contributions of American immigrants from the "Hispanic" regions of Spain, Mexico, the Caribbean, Central America, and South America. With the migrant heritages and histories of African Americans and Hispanic Americans in the United States being vastly different from one another, it is perhaps not surprising that HHM also has a distinctly different historical background, feel, and presence from Black History Month. Thus, this study provided an ideal opportunity to manipulate many of our variables of interest, e.g., kind of group identification, target group and outcome, commemoration activity.

In this study, we asked 174 undergraduate participants who self-identified as non-Hispanic to either design a poster for HHM or design a creative, personally relevant poster. Our third condition asked participants, as a control, to create an HHM poster after completing all other study measures. In this case, we asked participants to rate their level of endorsement of strict immigration policies (e.g., "States should have the right to detain anyone without proper identification who is suspected of being in the U.S. illegally"). Higher levels thus indicate a more restrictive and less friendly view of immigration. In contrast to the racial identity measures utilized above, we collected information about participants' national attachment and glorification.

Similar to the BHM study discussed above, we were also interested in utilizing participants' identity profiles to explore our outcome of interest (namely, strict immigration policy endorsement). Even with a different commemorative event, different identity category (nation versus race), and a different engagement activity (creating versus viewing), results in this study paralleled the patterns of results in our first empirical example. Results indicated a significant 3-way interaction between poster condition, attachment, and glorification [b = 0.22, SE = 0.10, t(170) = 2.14, p = .034], see Figure 3 (data presented as bar graphs for ease of interpretation). Participants with matching identity profiles—the committed proponents and indifferent followers—reacted similarly to our engagement activity and did not vary in their strict immigration policy endorsement when they were creating an HHM poster before complete our measures, creating an HHM poster after completing our measures, or when creating a non-relevant poster in the "creative" condition. In other words, for these identity profiles, engaging in a diversity-relevant activity did not appear to impact their attitudes toward diversity-relevant policies.
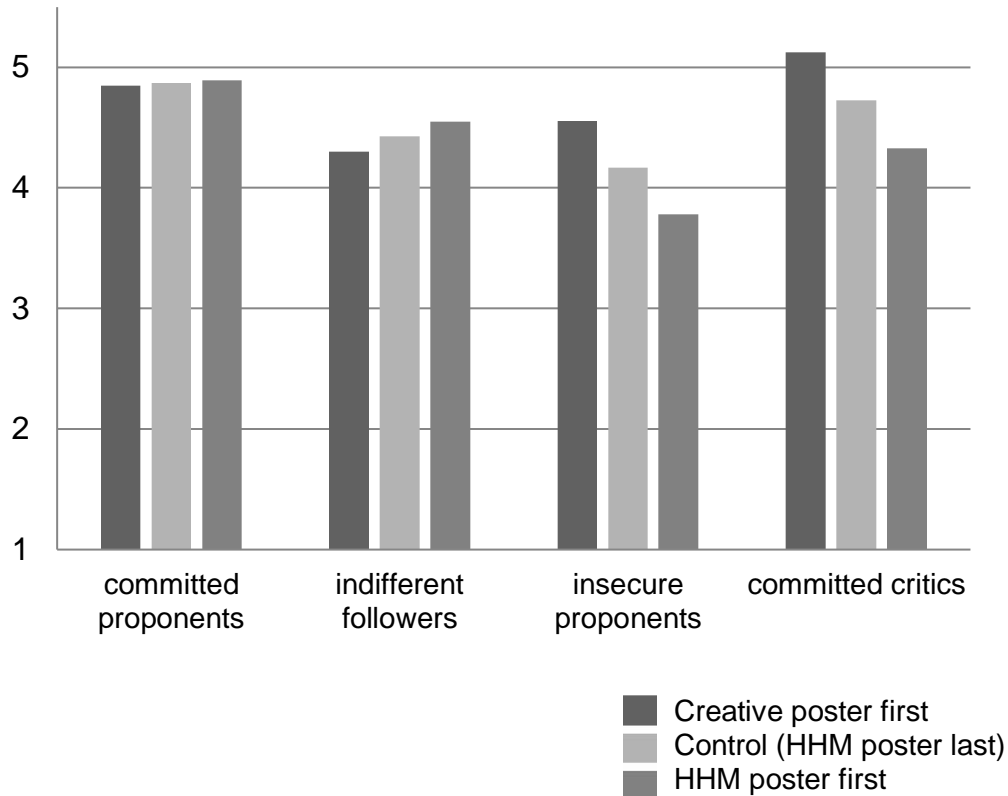
Figure 3. HHM Example: Strict immigration policy endorsement. Values range from 1 to 7.

However, those with mismatched identity profiles (indifferent followers; committed critics) showed a different pattern of responses: they were least likely to endorse strict immigration policies in the HHM poster condition compared to the other two conditions. Notably though, their levels of strict policy endorsement in the control condition were similar to the levels of strict policy endorsement observed in the HHM condition among the committed proponents and indifferent followers (who may be threatened by this activity). Here, it appears that our participants with mixed identity profiles were "open" to the influence of diversity exposure in response to engaging with the HHM commemoration activity; however, with the lack of a diversity cue, these participants responded very similarly to those individuals who are less open to culturally-sensitive information.

Concluding Thoughts

Studying cultural representations in the form of commemorative displays and posters has important implications for the study of culture and diversity. Similar to textbooks (e.g., Aldridge, 2006; Loewen, 1995), museums (e.g., Mukherjee et al., 2015), and other commemorative practices (e.g., Kurtis, Adams, & Yellowbird, 2010; Loewen, 1999),

commemorative posters bear the psychological traces of culturally shaped beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors (Salter & Adams, 2016). They are indicative of which ideas are selected for and reproduced and which ideas are selected out and ignored. Examining commemorative posters and displays is distinctive though because experts do not necessarily mediate the content in ways that are typical of state or nation-sanctioned textbooks, school curricula, museums, et cetera. Our preliminary work highlights the ways cultural products produced by laypersons can draw upon broader cultural scripts while simultaneously bearing the traces of individual identity concerns. Furthermore, we look at the consequences of exposure. Producers and consumers each have their own identity maintenance concerns, and by utilizing these cultural products we can examine the dynamic interplay between cultural production and consumption.

However, as educators and cultural psychologists, we are concerned with particular forms of cultural production and consumption: namely, those that can and do occur in our classrooms and with our students, many of whom may be engaging culturally critical or challenging material for the first time. We propose that the effectiveness of interventions aimed at increasing multicultural awareness and competence may depend, in part, upon the identity of the recipient. Individuals with both high attachment and high glorification (i.e., committed proponents) may be more susceptible to experiencing group-level threat when engaging with these types of tasks. Exposure to cultural products which highlight historical, and current, social inequality serve as reminders of historical wrongdoing on the part of the group, leading to subsequent defensiveness and increases in racial bias. While individuals low on both attachment and glorification (i.e., indifferent followers) were found to have similar responses as committed proponents, we suggest an alternative underlying mechanism. As these individuals are generally disinterested in their group identification, they may not be motivated to critically examine current or historical social structures and may thus default to responses perceived as normative or appropriate for their in-group.

However, individuals with mixed identity profiles (i.e., insecure proponents, committed critics) may be better able to reap the positive benefits of these types of activities. Ambivalently identified group members may be more open to information that could implicate their group in historical misdeeds, as they already hold conflicting attitudes towards their in-group. Thus, individuals with mixed profiles may be more willing or able to actively engage with cultural products which incorporate critical histories. This suggests a need for multiple and targeted intervention strategies when attempting to reduce racial bias and increase cultural competency. If individuals with matched profiles (particularly committed proponents) are more likely to experience group-level threat, interventions may backfire. Moreover, interventions may be enhanced with the inclusion of activities aimed at reducing the level of threat. For example, prior research suggests that allowing individuals to self-affirm core values may lead to a subsequent increase in perceptions of racism (Adams, Tormala, & O'Brien, 2006; Unzueta & Lowery, 2008). Thus, the inclusion of threat-reducing techniques and activities may allow for students who might otherwise be closed to messages of social inequality may be better able to engage with the information.

The interaction between identity and engagement with cultural products is an area ripe for further investigation. There is value in utilizing a multidimensional model of identification to explore the relationship between cultural production and consumption; yet, much still remains to be explored. Understanding how and why people, particularly dominant group members, respond to diversity-relevant information is vital to tackling the challenges to the status quo that these critical and important histories often pose.

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