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## Wiser World With Multiculturalism

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# Wiser World With Multiculturalism



**Editors:**

**Saba Safdar, Catherine Kwantes,  
Wolfgang Friedlmeier**

**Proceedings of the 24<sup>th</sup> International Congress of  
IACCP  
Guelph, Canada, July 1 to 5, 2018**

# Wiser World With Multiculturalism

**Saba Safdar**

**Catherine Kwantes**

**Wolfgang Friedlmeier**

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## Description

A peer-reviewed book based on presentations at the XXIV Congress of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology, 2018, Guelph, Canada.

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## Foreword

In 2018, the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology Congress was held in Guelph, Ontario, Canada (July 1-5). The congress venue was at the University of Guelph. The opening ceremony took place on July 1<sup>st</sup>, Canada Day, a national holiday celebrating 151 years since

Canada's first milestone in 1867 to become an independent country. Participants were entertained by Tich Maredza, a Zimbabwean-Canadian Band.

The Organizing & Scientific committee consisted of Prof. Karl Hennig, University of Guelph, Canada, Prof. Michaela Hynie, York University, Canada, Prof. Catherine Kwantes (Scientific Committee-Chair), University of Windsor, Canada, and Prof. Saba Safdar (Congress Chair), University of Guelph, Canada. The international advisory committee consisted of 18 members from nine countries.

There were over 500 participants from 51 countries. Specifically, the congress brought together international scholars who investigate the nexus of culture and psychology from diverse perspectives. Symposia, paper sessions, rapid papers posters, and discussion forums in all areas of culture and psychology were presented. The Congress Proceedings is a selection of some of the presentations, which have gone through a peer-review process.

The congress theme was *Multiculturalism in a Global Perspective: Benefits and Challenges*. The theme of the conference reflected Canada's history as the first country in the world to adopt multiculturalism as an official policy in 1971. Multiculturalism also reflects psycho-social principles, such as that when all ethnicities and cultures are encouraged to share their language and heritage and have opportunities to interact with each other on a level playing field, such contact usually leads to greater mutual understanding and acceptance. Creating barriers between groups and individuals reinforces ignorance and leads to mistrust and hostility. In other words, rejection breeds rejection; acceptance breeds acceptance.

Over 650 symposia, round table discussions, oral and poster presentations were given. These exemplified academic and applied works conducted around the world. While the scholarly presentations were outstanding, the conference also offered a number of opportunities for the exchange of ideas and information.

Keynote speakers were distinguished presenters from around the world who spoke on the theme of multiculturalism. They included: Prof. Jairo E. Borges-Andrade from the University of Brasilia, Brazil, who spoke on the need to have more universal and international frames of reference in research; Prof. Michael Harris Bond from Hong Kong Polytechnic University, Hong Kong, S.A.R., China who provided a personal reflection of a Canadian born scholar who has lived and worked in Asia for many years, focusing on enculturation to various societies as lenses that are used to make sense of the world; Prof. Judith Gibbons from Saint Louis University, USA who talked about what we can learn about multiculturalism

from Latin American psychology; Prof Ava D. Thompson from University of the Bahamas, Bahamas, who provided a Caribbean perspective on multiculturalism in education and training; and Prof. Nadezhda Lebedeva from the National Research University, Russia, who spoke on multiculturalism and intercultural relations in post-Soviet Russia.

Given that the conference was held in Canada at a special time in its history, an effort was made to include Indigenous speakers and panels. The Scientific Committee invited speakers from across Canada to bring an Indigenous voice to the conference. Prof. David Newhouse from Trent University, Canada, is Onondaga from the Six Nations of the Grand River community and Professor of Indigenous Studies was invited as a keynote speaker. In his address, he focused on modern indigeneity and the reconstruction of indigenous identities in communities around the world.

There were also two invited symposia with distinguished speakers. The first invited symposium focused on Indigenous education in Canada. The speakers were Prof. John Chenoweth from Nicola Valley Institute of Technology (NVIT), BC, Canada, who provided a Canadian perspective on Indigenous education, Prof. Verna Billy Minnabarriet, also of NVIT spoke of “An Eagle’s Gathering Place” – post secondary Indigenous education, and Shelley Oppenheim-Lacerte spoke of the power of Indigenous culture and teaching. The second invited symposium focused on multiculturalism with international perspectives. The speakers were Prof. John W. Berry from Queen’s University, Canada who spoke on the meaning of multiculturalism, Prof. Colleen Ward from Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand, who spoke on normative culturalism in sociopolitical context, and Prof. Nadezhda Lebedeva from National Research University Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russia, who spoke on multiculturalism post USSR.

In addition, Prof. Sandra Jovchelovitch of the London School of Economics and Political Science, UK, was the State of the Art Walt Lonner Lecture speaker. Her talk focused on human development around the world, and the role culture plays in contextual adversity across the globe.

The IACCP Early Career Award winner was Adriana Manago of the University of California, USA. Her talk provided a lens to understanding communication technologies as cultural tools. The Harry and Pola Triandis doctoral thesis award winner was Jae Chao of the University of Science and Technology, Hong Kong. Her talk explored how individuals’ diversity ideologies influence how they interpret the actions of those who cross cultures, as well as their own determinations of whether or not to cross cultures.

Post conference, participants received a short online questionnaire seeking their feedback and evaluation. The congress was rated as a success in terms of scholarly content, friendly atmosphere, accommodation, and catering to different dietary preferences.

The Congress was supported by the IACCP and generous donations from the University of Guelph and the City of Guelph. The support of University of Waterloo, University of Windsor, and Springer Publisher is also acknowledged. Furthermore, a shout out to members of the Centre for Cross-Cultural Research at the University of Guelph and student volunteers (see Figure 1). Their help in providing directions, assisting individuals with their requests, and maintaining a friendly and supportive atmosphere made the congress a success. Thank you!

Figure 1.

*Some Delegates and Volunteers at the Main Hall of the Congress Venue*



In addition, the 5<sup>th</sup> Culture and Psychology (C&P) School which is the educational flagship wing of the IACCP and provides opportunity to build the next Generation at IACCP took place three days prior to the congress at the University of Guelph. Participants consisted of 30 post graduate students (23 PhD and 8 Masters students) from 17 countries with the majority being Canadian (26%). The program provided a three-day workshop consisting of four streams: (1) understanding how to work with and for Canadian Indigenous communities, (2) advanced statistics, (3) theoretical and methodological aspects of research on culture and psychology; and (4) scholarly manuscript writing. Students had the option of participating in two of the four streams.

The C&P School organizing committee consisted of Dr. Alex English from Shanghai International Studies University, China, Prof. Sharon Glazer from University of Baltimore, U.S., Prof. Natasza Kosakowska-Berezecka from University of Gdansk, Poland, and Prof. Saba Safdar (Chair) from University of Guelph, Canada (see Figure 2).

Finally, 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, notably, the reviewers who evaluated the submissions.

Figure 2.

*Participants, Instructors, and Members of the C&P School by the Gryphon Statue at the University of Guelph.*



This volume, too, owes itself to the full dedication shown by the reviewers for the present submissions. We also would like to acknowledge the work and effort by the editorial assistant Katarina Marko, who ensured that the format and language of these published papers are correct. Thank you all!

These proceedings with the title “Wiser World With Multiculturalism” consist of ten papers that we sorted into three categories: The first five papers reflect the main topic of the conference about multiculturalism. A second group of paper deals with questions regarding interpersonal and interspecies relationships and culture. And last but not least, the final paper creates its own category by dealing with the importance of indigenization in cross-cultural theorizing.

The Editorial Team: Saba Safdar, Catherine Kwantes, and Wolfgang Friedlmeier



## **How Shall we all Live Together? <sup>1</sup>**

**John W. Berry**

**Queen's University, Kingston, Canada, and  
National Research University Higher School of Economics,  
Moscow, Russia**

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<sup>1</sup> This paper was prepared within the framework of the HSE University Basic Research Program and stems from an international collaborative project "Mutual Intercultural Relations in Plural Societies" (MIRIPS). I thank all my colleagues for their contributions to this research: Nadezhda Lebedeva, Victoria Galyapina, Zarina Lepshokova, Tatiana Ryabichenko, Alexander Tatarko, Raivo Vetik, Maaris Raudsepp, Jüri Kruusvall, Larissa Kus-Harbord, Marianna Makarova, Aune Valk, Asteria Brylka, Inga Jasinskaja-Lahti, Tuuli Anna Mähönen, David L. Sam, Katja Hanke, Marieke C. van Egmond, Anette Rohmann, Klaus Boehnke, Andrea U. Haenni Hoti, S. Heinzmann, M. Müller, A. Buholzer, R. Künzle, Vassilis Pavlopoulos, Frosso Motti-Stefanidi, Cristiano Inguglia, Pasquale Musso, Alida Lo Coco, Gordon Sammut, Maryanne Lauri, Felix Neto, Joana Neto, Hector Grad, R. C. Mishra, S. Bano, R. C. Tripathi, Algae Kit Yee Au, Bryant Pui Hung Hui, Sylvia Xiaohua Chen, Justine Dandy, Kevin Dunn, Jolanda Jetten, Yin Paradies, Lena Robinson, Tahereh Ziaian, Saba Safdar, Gui Yongxia, R. C. Annis, R. Gibson.

## **Abstract**

There is probably no more serious challenge to social stability and cohesion in the contemporary world than the management of intercultural relations within culturally plural societies. Successful management depends on many factors including a research-based understanding of the historical, political, economic, religious, and psychological features of the groups that are in contact. The core question is “How shall we all live together?” In this paper, we seek to provide such research by examining three core psychological principles in 17 culturally plural societies. The main goal of the project is to evaluate these three hypotheses of intercultural relations (multiculturalism, contact, and integration) across societies in order to identify some basic psychological principles that may underlie intercultural relations. The eventual goal is to employ the findings to propose some policies and programmes that may improve the quality of intercultural relationship globally. The empirical findings in these 17 societies generally support the validity of the three hypotheses. Implications for the development of policies and programmes to enhance the quality of intercultural relations are discussed.

## How Shall we all Live Together?

Achieving social stability, cohesion, and mutual accommodation are goals that citizens and policymakers in most culturally diverse societies are now seeking (Berry & Sam, 2012). This paper reports on a project “Mutual Intercultural Relations in Plural Societies” (MIRIPS; see Berry, 2017, and <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/cacr/research/mirips>). This project was carried out as a basis for attaining these goals. This was done by proposing and then empirically examining three core psychological principles of intercultural relations: multiculturalism, contact, and integration. This research was carried out across 17 culturally plural societies: Australia, Azerbaijan, Canada, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Greece, Hong Kong, India, Italy, Latvia, Malta, Norway, Portugal, Russia, Spain, and Switzerland. The first goal of the project was to evaluate these three hypotheses of intercultural relations across these 17 societies. The second goal was to examine the findings to see whether they constitute some ‘universal’ principles of intercultural relations that may be applied in many societies. If they do, it may be possible to propose some policies and programmes to improve the quality of intercultural relationships globally.

The design of the project is an exercise in replication across contexts in order to discern what may be culturally universal and what may be culturally specific in how diverse groups of peoples engage in their intercultural relations. Across the whole project, these replications were carried out with a shared conceptualisation and research instrument. However, the project employed culturally-appropriate operationalisations of the concepts and methods with highly varied samples. It thus represents a multi-trait/multi-method/multi-cultural approach, providing a robust examination of the three principles. The three principles that are evaluated in the MIRIPS project are:

- (1) **Multiculturalism hypothesis:** When individuals feel secure in their place in society, they will be able to better accept those who are different from themselves; conversely when individuals feel threatened, they will reject those who are different.
- (2) **Contact hypothesis:** When individuals have contact with and engage with those who are culturally different from themselves, under certain conditions, they will achieve greater mutual acceptance.
- (3) **Integration hypothesis:** When individuals identify with and are socially connected to, both their heritage culture and to the larger society in which they live, they will achieve higher levels of adaptation (psychological, sociocultural and intercultural) than if they relate to only one or the other culture, or to neither.

## Psychological Approaches to Intercultural Relations

The MIRIPS project focuses on the psychological aspects of intercultural relations but takes into account some of the social and political contextual features of the larger societies and of the interacting groups within them. The study is situated within the broad field of cross-cultural psychology, which seeks answers to the question: are individual human behaviours

shaped by the cultural context in which they develop? (Berry et al., 2011). The eventual goal is to achieve a set of universal psychological principles that underlie human behavior globally. In this study, universal is defined as: (i) a phenomenon that shares a common, species-wide substrate of psychological processes and functioning, and (ii) a phenomenon that also exhibits behavioural variations across cultures as this substrate is differentially developed and expressed in daily life.

The project is also situated in the field of intercultural psychology (Sam & Berry, 2016). This field deals with the question: “If individual behaviours are shaped in particular cultural contexts, what happens when individuals who have developed in different cultural contexts meet and interact within another society?” There are two domains of psychological interest here: (i) *ethnocultural group relations* and (ii) *acculturation*. The study of ethnocultural group relations has usually examined the views and behaviours of the dominant group(s) toward the non-dominant ones, using concepts such as ethnic stereotypes, attitudes, prejudice, and discrimination. These views are often assessed with regard to a number of non-dominant groups, such as specific ethnocultural groups and immigrants. This ‘one-way’ view of examining ethnocultural relations misses the understanding of the important reciprocal or mutual views held by non-dominant groups towards dominant group(s). The MIRIPS study has examined the intercultural views of both kinds of groups in contact, using the same concepts and measures with both dominant and non-dominant groups.

The second domain of psychological interest in intercultural psychology is that of acculturation, defined as “the process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between cultural groups and their individual members” (Berry, 2005). Four kinds of changes have been identified: changes in the *customs and repertoire* of groups and individuals that can be relatively easy to accomplish (such as the food, dress, and language); more problematic and challenging changes leading to the phenomenon of *acculturative stress*; the development of a set of *strategies and expectations* about how to deal with living interculturally; and some longer-term *adaptations* as people settle into their intercultural lives.

As in the case of research on ethnocultural group relations, research on acculturation has also typically been a “one-way” approach. When examining the changes, stress, strategies, and adaptations of non-dominant peoples, research has usually missed examining those of members of the dominant group(s) regarding how they think that non-dominant groups and individuals *should* acculturate and live in the plural society. These views of the dominant groups (their attitudes) and of the larger society in general (public policies) have come to be known as *acculturation expectations* (Berry, 2003). In addition, the acculturative changes of the dominant group are also examined.

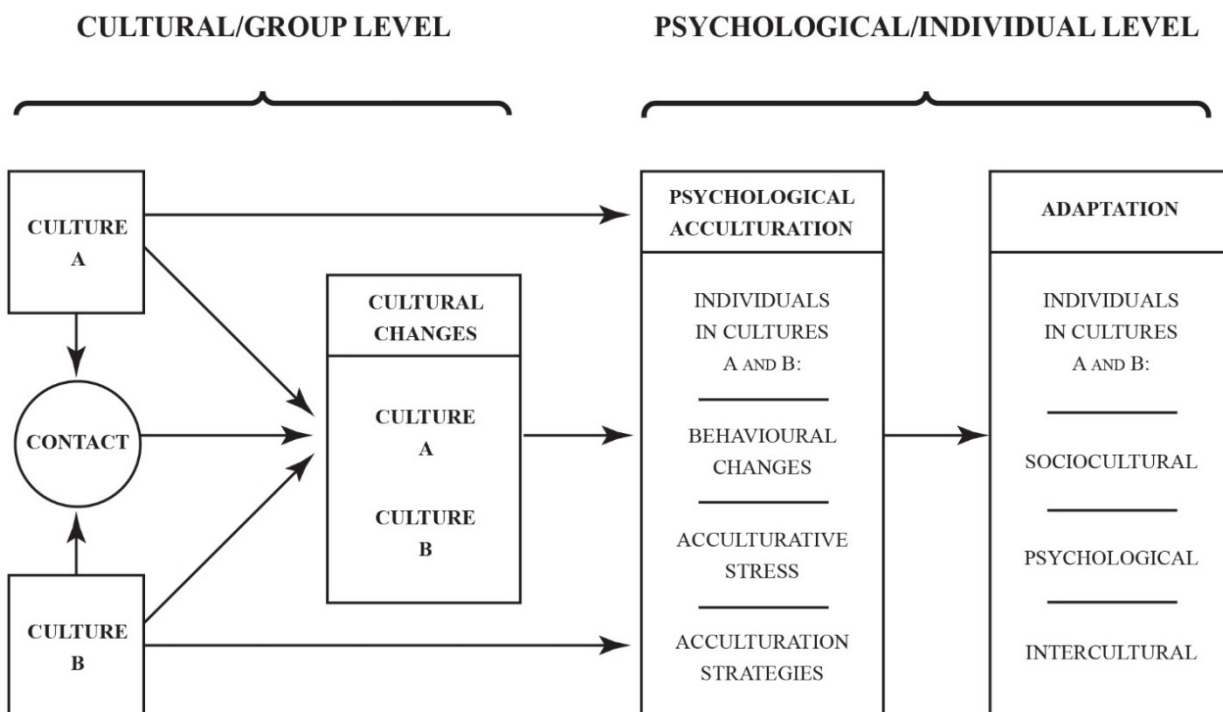
## General Framework for the MIRIPS Project

The MIRIPS project is guided by a framework that identifies the main concepts and variables and suggests their inter-relationships (see Figure 1). This figure shows five kinds of acculturation and intercultural relations phenomena:

- (1) the characteristics of the two or more cultural groups (A and B) prior to contact;
- (2) the nature of the contact between them;
- (3) the cultural changes that are taking place in both groups;
- (4) the psychological changes experienced by individuals in both groups in contact, and;
- (5) the longer-term adaptations that may be achieved.

At the cultural group level (on the left of Figure 1), the project seeks to understand key features of the two (or more) original cultural groups prior to their major contact, the nature of their initial and continuing contact relationships, and the resulting dynamic cultural changes in the groups as they emerge as ethnocultural groups during the process of acculturation. These cultural changes can range from being rather easily accomplished (such as evolving a new economic base), to being a source of major cultural disruption (as a result of becoming colonized or enslaved).

**Figure 1**  
General Framework for MIRIPS Project



At the individual level (in the middle of Figure 1), we consider the psychological acculturation that individuals in all groups in contact undergo several changes. Identifying these changes requires sampling a population and studying individuals who are variably involved in the process of acculturation. The figure shows three kinds of psychological changes resulting from contact: behavioural, stress, and strategies. Behavioural changes can be a set of rather

easily accomplished changes (e.g., in ways of speaking, dressing, and eating) or they can be more difficult to accomplish (e.g., changes in identities, self-concept, and values). Second, are changes that result from acculturation experiences that are challenging, even problematic, in which *acculturative stress* manifests. Third, individuals also develop and engage in *acculturation strategies* and *expectations* (Berry, 1980) as their preferred way to acculturate and relate to each other.

Following these three kinds of psychological changes, are some longer-term outcomes, referred to as *adaptations* (on the right of Figure 1). Three kinds of adaptations have been discerned: psychological, sociocultural, and intercultural. The first refers to adaptations that are primarily internal or psychological (e.g., sense of personal well-being and self-esteem, sometimes referred to as 'feeling well'). Ward (1996) distinguishes between *psychological adaptation* and *sociocultural adaptation*. The second type sociocultural and are sometimes called 'doing well'. This form of adaptation is manifested by competence in carrying out the activities of daily intercultural living (such as in the community, at work, and in school). The third is *intercultural adaptation* (Berry, 2005), which refers to the extent to which individuals are able to establish harmonious intercultural relations, with low levels of prejudice and discrimination ('relating well').

### **Intercultural Strategies and Expectations**

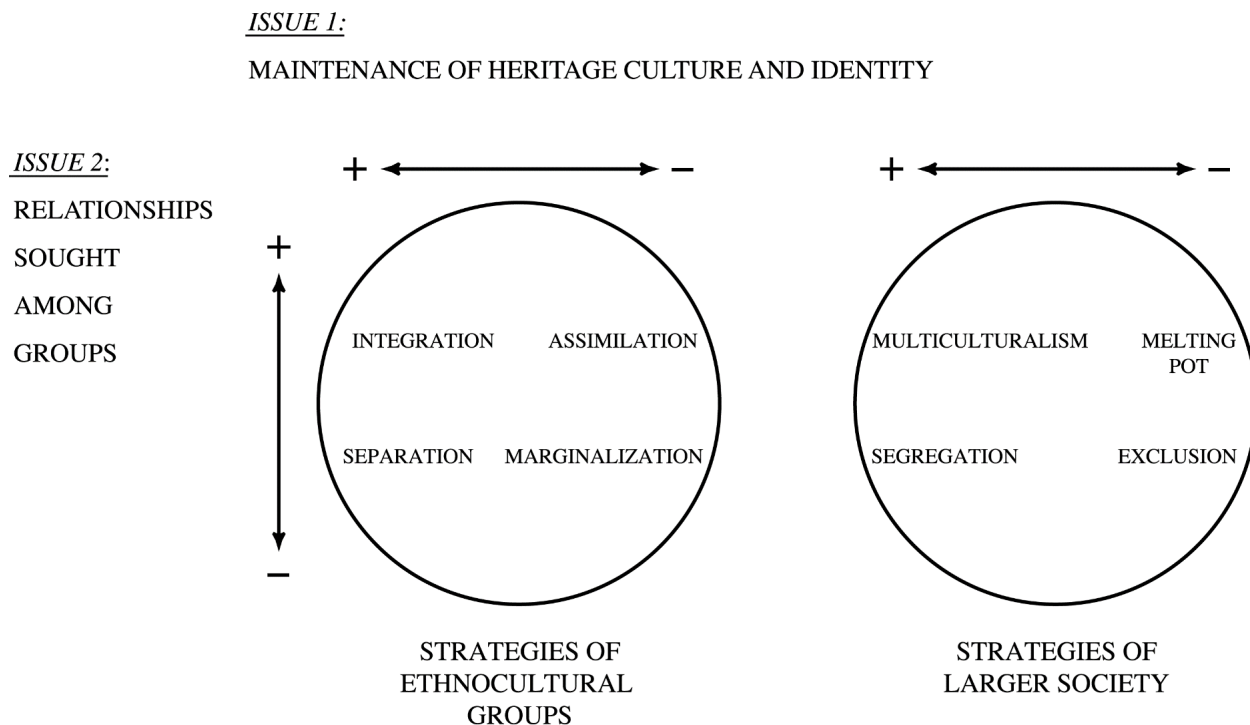
One concept that is central to, and underlies all aspects of acculturation and intercultural relations phenomena, is the way in which people seek to relate to each other in culturally plural societies. As noted above, these are the strategies and expectations that all groups and their individual members have, whether acknowledged explicitly or just implicitly, when they acculturate and engage in intercultural relations. These strategies and expectations can be held by both the dominant and non-dominant individuals and groups that are in contact.

These are based on three underlying issues: (i) the degree to which there is a desire to maintain the group's culture and identity; (ii) the degree to which there is a desire to engage in daily interactions with other groups in the larger society, including both dominant and non-dominant one(s); and (iii) the relative power of the groups in contact to choose their preferred way of engaging each other (Berry, 1980).

Four strategies have been derived from the first two issues facing all acculturating peoples (see Figure 2). There are two sets of concepts, one for the *strategies* of non-dominant groups and their individual members (how do they wish to live interculturally?), and another for the *expectations* of dominant groups in the larger society and of their individual members (how do they think that non-dominant groups and individuals should live interculturally?). The power relations between these two sectors of the population in a plural society are present in the differences between these strategies and expectations. Typically, the dominant group has more power than the non-dominant group to decide on the policies and practices that are operating in the plural society.

**Figure 2.**

*Acculturation Strategies and Expectations Among Ethnocultural Groups and the Larger Society*



These issues can be responded to on attitudinal dimensions, on which generally positive or negative orientations to these issues intersect, to define four ways of acculturating. Preferences for these ways carry different names, depending on which groups (the non-dominant or dominant) are being considered. From the point of view of non-dominant ethnocultural groups (on the left of Figure 2), 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 a value on holding on to their original culture, and at the same time wish to avoid interaction with others, then the Separation alternative is defined. When there is an interest in both maintaining one's original culture, while also having daily interactions with other groups, Integration is the option. In this case, there is some degree of cultural integrity maintained, while at the same time seeking, as a member of an ethnocultural group, to participate as an integral part of the larger society. Finally, when there is little possibility or interest in cultural maintenance (often for reasons of enforced cultural loss) and little interest in having relations with others (often for reasons of exclusion or discrimination) then Marginalization is defined.

Different (but parallel terms) are also used to refer to the four expectations held by members of the larger society (on the right of Figure 2). Assimilation, when sought by the non-dominant acculturating group, is termed the *Melting Pot*. When separation is forced by

the dominant group it is *Segregation*. Marginalization, when imposed by the dominant group, is called *Exclusion*. Finally, for integration, when cultural diversity is a feature of the society as a whole, including all the various ethnocultural groups, it is called *Multiculturalism*. With the use of this framework, comparisons can be made between individuals and their ethnocultural groups, and also between non-dominant peoples and the larger society within which they are acculturating.

Of course, non-dominant individuals and groups do not have the freedom to choose how they want to live interculturally. When the dominant group enforces certain forms of acculturation or intercultural relations, or constrains the choices of non-dominant groups or individuals, then the third element of the framework becomes necessary: the power of the dominant group to influence the strategies available to, and used by, the non-dominant groups (Berry, 1980). As a result, there is a mutual, reciprocal process through which both groups arrive at strategies that will work in a particular society and in a particular setting. For example, integration can only be chosen and successfully pursued by non-dominant groups when the dominant society is open and inclusive in its orientation towards cultural diversity (i.e., a form of multiculturalism; Berry, 1988; Safdar & van de Vijver, 2019). Thus, a mutual accommodation is required for integration to be attained, involving the acceptance by both groups of the right of all groups to live together as culturally different peoples. This strategy requires non-dominant groups to adopt the basic values of the larger society, while at the same time, the dominant group must be prepared to adapt national institutions (e.g., education, health, labor) to better meet the needs of all groups now living together in the plural society.

## **Hypotheses**

Three hypotheses are evaluated in this project: the multiculturalism hypothesis; the contact hypothesis; and the integration hypothesis. These hypotheses have been derived from the multiculturalism policy advanced by the Federal Government of Canada (1971). This policy promotes both the maintenance of groups' cultural heritages, as well as social interaction and sharing among groups.

### ***Multiculturalism hypothesis***

In the policy statement, the *multiculturalism hypothesis* is expressed as that confidence in one's identity will lead to sharing, respect for others, and to the reduction of discriminatory attitudes. That is, confidence is rooted in the cultural maintenance component of the policy, and will lead to the mutual acceptance goal. We have considered this confidence to involve a sense of security (or conversely a sense of threat) to one's person or ethnocultural group. The multiculturalism hypothesis (first advanced by Berry et al., 1977, p.192) is that such a sense of security in one's identity is a psychological precondition for the acceptance of those who are culturally different. Conversely, when one's identity is threatened, people will reject others.

Three kinds of security have been conceptualized by Berry et. al. (1977): *cultural*;



*economic*; and *personal*. Cultural security refers to a sense that aspects of one's culture (such as identity and language) have a secure status in the society. Economic security refers to the sense that one's economic status (such as job security and house prices) is not going to be diminished in culturally diverse settings. Personal security refers to the sense that one is free to move around without being accosted or attacked. The MIRIPS project assess all three forms of security

In sum, the multiculturalism hypothesis proposes that a high sense of security will predict a preference for the strategies that engage in contact and participation in a larger society: Integration and Assimilation. In addition, this hypothesis proposes that secure individuals will achieve a higher level of intercultural adaptation, including higher scores on Multicultural Ideology and Tolerance. Conversely, when individuals are threatened, especially by acts of discrimination, they will prefer the Separation and Marginalization strategies, and exhibit low levels on the Multicultural Ideology and Tolerance scales.

### ***Contact hypothesis***

The *contact hypothesis* derives from the second link in the policy framework, which proposes that intercultural contact and sharing will promote mutual acceptance. The contact hypothesis asserts that "Prejudice... may be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals" (Allport, 1954). Allport proposed that the hypothesis is more likely to be supported when certain conditions are present in the intercultural encounter. The effect of contact is predicted to be stronger when there is contact between groups of roughly equal social and economic status. However, in most intercultural situations, equal status is rare. A second condition is that the contact should be voluntary (sought by both groups, rather than imposed). A third condition is that contact should be supported by society, through norms and policies promoting contact and laws prohibiting discrimination.

In sum, the contact hypothesis proposes that under certain conditions, more intercultural contact will be associated with more mutual acceptance. Specifically, more contact will predict higher intercultural adaptation (both Multicultural Ideology and Tolerance), and should also predict a preference for the two strategies of Integration and Assimilation.

### ***Integration hypothesis***

The *integration hypothesis* proposes that when individuals and groups seek integration (by being doubly or multiply engaged in both their heritage cultures and with other groups in the larger society) they will be more successful in achieving a higher level of adaptation than if they engage only one or the other of the cultural groups. Various research has demonstrated that the integration strategy is usually associated with better psychological wellbeing (e.g., Berger et al., 2018; Berry et al. 2006; Berry & Hou, 2016). Based on a review of numerous studies, Berry (1997) made the generalization that integration was the most successful strategy for both psychological wellbeing and sociocultural adaptation. This generalization has been examined in a meta-analysis by Nguyen and Benet-Martinez (2013) who concluded that integration ('biculturalism' in their terms) was associated with the most

positive outcomes for migrants' wellbeing.

In sum, the integration hypothesis proposes that when individuals prefer the integration strategy, or have the multiculturalism expectation (when they are doubly or multiply engaged), they will achieve higher scores on psychological, sociocultural, and intercultural adaptation than when they prefer any of the other three strategies. Conversely, especially when individuals are marginalized (when they have no, or few engagements), they will achieve lower adaptations. Preference for the assimilation and separation strategies should result in mid-levels of adaptation.

## **Method**

### ***Samples***

The project sought to include a wide range of culturally-plural societies. These included: those that are 'settler societies', with both new migrants and settled ethnocultural groups; those that are experiencing migration relatively recently; those with return migrant flows of 'co-nationals'; and those that have residual populations of non-dominant groups following political realignment. The samples are also diverse, including adults and school children, community groups, online forums, and both snowball and random samples. The total numbers of participants were 7485 members of the dominant group in a society, and 5888 members of the various non-dominant groups.

### ***Variables***

There are three categories of variables assessed in the study:

- (1) Socio-demographic variables: Age, Gender, Education, Religion, Socioeconomic Status, Languages known and used, and Ethnic Origin.
- (2) Intercultural variables: Social contacts; Cultural identities (ethnic/national): Security (cultural, economic, personal); Acculturation Strategies/ Expectations (Integration/Multiculturalism; Assimilation/Melting Pot; Separation/Segregation; Marginalisation/Exclusion)
- (3) Adaptation variables: Psychological (Self-esteem; Life satisfaction; Psychological problems); Sociocultural; Intercultural (Multicultural Ideology, Tolerance; Attitudes towards immigrants)

### ***Data Collection and Analysis***

Each country research team employed the MIRIPS instrument in a way that met their research needs and their social conditions. Thus, the findings are not strictly comparable across countries. Nevertheless, the core concepts and the three hypotheses remain common, even if they were operationalized somewhat differently. Because of these variations, the goal of the MIRIPS project has not been to place all the data collected in all the societies into one data base, and thereby to carry out pan-cultural analyses (as was done, for example, in the study of immigrant youth (Berry, et.al., 2006).

Each MIRIPS team chose to analyse their data in a way that met their particular

requirements, taking into account their selecting and operationalizing the variables, their local research issues, and the requirements of their funding sources. In some cases, simple mean differences, and bi-variate correlations were used to evaluate the three hypotheses. In other cases, multivariate statistics, such as factor analysis, profile analysis, and path analyses were carried out. In some cases, a combination of these methods was used to gain multiple perspectives on the validity of the three hypotheses.

## Results

In the 17 country studies, based on all the samples, there was a maximum of 44 possible evaluations of the three hypotheses (making a total of 132 evaluations overall). These studies included samples of both dominant national and non-dominant ethnic groups in most of the countries; in some countries, there was more than one study, and more than one dominant and non-dominant sample. In some studies, not all hypotheses were evaluated, reducing the total number of possible evaluations to 112 across the three hypotheses.

Despite the lack of strict comparability in the operationalization of the variables across the 17 societies, when examining the findings across the three hypotheses, a fairly clear pattern emerged. First, for the multiculturalism hypothesis, in 36 of the 39 possible evaluations, there was support for the hypothesis. In 3 cases there was no support (in 2 cases there was no relationship between security and acceptance of others, and in the other case there was a contrary finding.) There were 5 cases where this hypothesis was not evaluated.

Second, for the contact hypothesis, in 28 of the 35 possible evaluations there was support for the hypothesis. In the 7 cases of no support, there were 6 cases of no relationship between intercultural contact and the acceptance of others, and 1 case of a contrary finding. There were 9 cases where the hypothesis was not evaluated.

Third, for the integration hypothesis, in 29 of the 37 possible evaluations there was support for the hypothesis, there were 8 cases of no support (6 cases of no relationship between preferring integration/multiculturalism and wellbeing, and 2 cases of contrary findings). There were 7 cases where the hypothesis was not evaluated.

This general result shows that these three hypotheses are supported much more often than not; 92%, 80%, and 78% of the evaluations are positive for the multiculturalism, contact, and integration hypotheses respectively. Of particular importance is that there are very few contrary findings: there is only one negative finding for the multiculturalism and contact, and two negative findings for the integration hypothesis.

## Discussion

A summary of evaluations according to the type of sample (dominant or non-dominant) shows that there is a generally common level of support in these two types of samples across the countries in the study. That is, there is little variation in the level of support

between dominant national and non-dominant ethnic samples. This may be taken as evidence for the presence of commonality in intercultural relations in most of these societies.

We are interested not only in evidence of shared support, but also in the degree to which there is *agreement* about these issues between dominant and non-dominant people living in the same society. This is the core of the question of *mutual* intercultural relations: is there support (or not) for the hypotheses in *both* dominant and non-dominant groups within a society? The level of mutuality varied across the three hypotheses. For the multiculturalism hypothesis, there was agreement in the findings between the two kinds of samples in each country in 15 of the 17 societies. For the contact hypothesis, there was agreement in 11 of the 17 societies, and for the integration hypothesis, in 9 of the 17 samples, there was agreement. Overall, we found agreement in 35 of the possible 51 society evaluations (69% of cases).

On this basis, there is some the possibility of developing policies and programmes to improve intercultural relations in those societies. This is most likely to be successful where there is both support for the hypotheses, and mutual agreement between groups in their support. However, in those societies where there is limited support for such a hypothesis, and there is still a possibility of developing policies and programmes by working with that sector of the society where such limited support was found.

## **Implications of the Findings**

### ***Universals***

The evidence produced by the research teams in these societies on the validity of these three hypotheses, while variable, has provided a large degree of general support for them. This leads to three questions: Do they qualify as universals of intercultural relations? Second, does this level of support provide a basis for claiming that these three hypotheses are likely to be global in their validity? And third, if so, can they provide a basis for advancing policies and programmes that will improve the quality of intercultural relations elsewhere in the world? The empirical findings do allow the promotion them as candidates for being universal psychological principles of intercultural relations.

### ***Policy and Programme Implications***

If the claim for some universality is accepted, we can ask the fundamental question: is such universality sufficient to serve as a basis for promoting these three principles as a valid basis for developing intercultural policy and programme in many societies? Although the three principles were drawn from extant intercultural policies (in Canada, Australia, and the European Union), and have been largely supported by empirical research in Euroamerican psychology, and in the present study in a variety of societies, do they provide a relevant basis for policy development in other plural societies?

In some of the societies just mentioned, there has been a policy transition over the past decades from attempts to assimilate non-dominant (indigenous, ethnocultural, and migrant) peoples into a homogeneous society, one that is more integrationist and multicultural (Berry & Kalin, 2000). Is it possible to emulate this transition in other plural

societies? The lesson here is that change in intercultural policy is possible; if this has been the case in these societies, what conditions may be required in other societies in order to move toward this more pluralist vision? In contrast, some societies appear to have transitioned away from multiculturalism, but this has been questioned (Banting & Kymlicka, 2013; Kymlicka, 2010).

One possible answer is that the kind of evidence provided by the MIRIPS project may be useful to persuade other culturally-diverse societies to move away from extant or emerging assimilation policies that are designed to achieve a culturally-homogeneous society, or policies that exclude those that are different, toward a more multicultural one. In my view, policies that are evidence-based are more likely to be successful than those based only on pre-conceptions or political expediency. However, evidence alone (such as that provided in this project) is unlikely to shift public policy towards more pluralist ways of living together. Other factors are also important, particularly public opinion, political ideology, and the availability of resources.

Public education is required in order to bring about any policy change from assimilation toward a multicultural way of living together. The benefits of the multicultural vision need to be articulated and advocated widely in ways that the general public can understand and accept this vision. Particularly important is the claim that life for everyone is enriched culturally and economically in multicultural societies (Berry, 1998; Berry & Sam, 2014).

These three principles of intercultural relations (of providing a secure and non-discriminatory social and cultural environment, of opportunities for equitable intercultural contact and participation, and of ways to be engaged in and identify with more than one culture) offer a clear basis for moving towards achieving a more harmonious plural society. If this goal of attaining more positive intercultural relations is valued by the general population of the larger society and by policy makers and leaders, then the path forward should be clear. Despite the obvious difficulties in many contemporary societies, these three psychological principles of intercultural relations examined in this project would be an auspicious place to start.

## **Conclusions**

The MIRIPS project is situated in the disciplines of cross-cultural and intercultural psychology. The first main feature of these approaches is that cultural experiences shape the development and expression of human behaviour. The second is that these behaviours are brought to the intercultural arena by all groups and individuals that are in contact. The third main feature is that in order to discern which features of cultural experience shape behaviours in which way, the comparative method is required. And finally, by examining the evidence obtained by empirical research across cultures to identify any general patterns, there is the possibility of discovering some basic pan-cultural (universal or global) psychological principles of intercultural relations. In this project, we followed the steps on this path using the emic/etic strategy. We have sought to articulate these principles, first by conceptually defining some psychological processes that may be theoretically-related to intercultural behaviours, and then by empirically examining them across societies.

In a sense, the project is an example of extended replication. Current controversies about the reproducibility of psychological findings, even within the same society, suggest that our knowledge base is not as secure as previously thought. So, it will be useful to attempt to repeat the empirical examination of the same three MIRIPS hypotheses in a number of different societies in order to broaden our knowledge base. In this project, despite highly variable conditions (demographic, cultural, historical, and policy), there has been a modest degree of replication of psychological findings across contexts. However, more needs to be done to expand the conceptual and empirical basis for appropriate policy development.

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# **Perception of Expectation States and Teaching Diversity in Higher Education: Insights from a Qualitative Study**

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## Abstract

There are many benefits from fostering interaction among students of diverse backgrounds in classrooms. To enhance students' potential psycho-social and intellectual development, instructors need to do more than foster group interaction. They need to encourage and teach skills for diverse students to be able to genuinely communicate their differences in knowledge, perspectives, and expectation states. An expectation state is defined as an anticipation of the quality of group members' future task performances and is shaped by socially ascribed characteristics. Researchers who based their studies on Expectation States Theory found ample evidence that expectation states exert multi-level effects on social dynamics, competence beliefs, and outcome perceptions between individuals with different cultural, ethnic, or socio-economic backgrounds. The present study was a qualitative exploration into the perception of expectation states and teaching of diversity in faculty at two higher-education institutions in the south-central United States. The sample consisted of ten faculty members. The methods employed comprised a combination of qualitative techniques. The focus was to identify *how* and *where* the themes of expectation states arose in the teaching and learning of diversity, *what* the attitudes were toward these themes and topics, and *how* these attitudes informed faculty's pedagogy. A thematic analysis of the data collected revealed four main themes: 1) considering broader contextual factors to understand potential challenges in group learning involving diverse learners, 2) recognizing expectation states stemming from socially ascribed attributes, 3) striving to break presumed or preconceived expectations, and 4) incorporating experiential learning strategies towards effective diversity education. The implications of these findings for diversity training and multicultural education are discussed.

*Keywords:* expectation states theory, diversity, higher education

## **Perception of Expectation States and Teaching Diversity in Higher Education: Insights from a Qualitative Study**

Entry into college represents the start of a critical stage for an individual's cognitive and social development and also a period of transition from late adolescence to adulthood (Newcomb, 1943; Gurin et al., 2002). Higher education creates a context that incorporates diversity, uncertainty, and complexity – a *social milieu* that distinctively differs from an individual's family or community background (Gurin et al., 2002). The unique environment offers ample opportunities for any individual to encounter varied social, political, and cultural experiences, to explore different social roles, and to even experience potential conflicts as a result of diversity within the social context. According to Erikson (1956), such experiences are influential in facilitating individuals' intellectual and cognitive development as they learn to deal with the issues emerged, as well as identity development as they interact with peers from different ethnic, cultural, political, or social roots.

In the higher-education context, it is a series of in-and-out-of-class experiences with peers through which students develop a sense of belonging in the learning community, discover abilities or personal sources of strength, and experience intellectual and personal growth (Pascarella, 1985). Arguably, college classrooms are inherently embedded in diversity; therefore, initiating small-group or cooperative learning activities could enhance intellectual and social development, ideally reflected through improved academic performance. Nonetheless, studies involving an influential perspective in sociological social psychology, Expectation States Theory (EST), provided ample evidence through decades of research that organizing and fostering group processes and cooperative learning is a necessary but not sufficient condition to enhance an individual's learning and development (Correll & Ridgeway, 2003). Sociological social psychology is an area of sociology that examines the way groups and social structures shape individuals -- their perceptions, beliefs, identities, attitudes, emotions, and behaviors -- and how individuals acting together create, maintain, and change social structures (American Sociological Association, 2019). Social psychology is a branch of psychology that investigates how individuals' thoughts, feelings, and behaviors are influenced by the actual, imagined, or implied presence of others (Allport, 1985). Scholars in these fields share an interest in describing and explaining social interaction, but their approaches are increasingly distinct (Kalkhoff, 2007). Researchers in sociological social psychology focus on interrelations of social behaviors with the larger social structures, while social psychologists concentrate on how individual-level cognitive and affective factors affect social interaction (Kalkhoff, 2007). EST is especially useful in understanding how individuals' positions in social structures such as status, class, or gender impact their interactions with one another.

An expectation state is defined as an anticipation of the quality of group members' future task performances (Szmatka et al., 1997). Expectation states are formed on the basis of specific attributes of group members. They include those qualities reflecting group members' abilities to perform specific tasks (e.g., mathematical skills) as well as their socially ascribed

attributes (e.g., social class). Expectation states function as stable structures that shape the relations of the social actors to each other within their immediate situation. They exert multi-level effects on social dynamics, social equality, competence beliefs, efforts or engagement perceptions, and outcome perceptions between individuals with different cultural, ethnic, or socio-economic backgrounds (Cohen, 1982). For example, Strodbeck et al. (1957) conducted experimental studies of mock juries. They examined the dynamics of social interaction within the jury room and how mock juries arrived at decisions. They found that gender significantly influenced perceived fitness as a juror, selection of jury foremen, and the jury's decision-making process. Men were perceived to be more eloquent and more influential than women, whereas far fewer women were selected as jury foremen. These findings deviated from the ideal that all people are social equals in the jury room. Jurors' expectation states about each other were influenced by legally irrelevant attributes such as gender. The further implication was that juries might be less than impartial in their deliberations.

In this study, we sought to explore faculty's perceptions of their students' expectation states about one another and teaching of diversity at two higher-education institutions in the south-central region of the United States. The focus was to identify *how* and *where* the themes of expectation states arose in the teaching and learning of diversity, *what* the attitudes were toward these themes and topics, and *how* these attitudes and responses reflected and informed faculty's pedagogy.

## Theoretical Framework

Expectation States Theory (EST) is a theoretical research program aimed at analyzing the dynamics involved in group processes. EST focuses on decisions made by actors in small group interactions that can lead to various outcomes such as inequalities between people. An expectation state is a judgment about what others are capable of in a task group (Szmataka et al., 1997). Groups where the goal is to complete a task are task-oriented. An example of this is a faculty council. People rely on the verbal and nonverbal information to infer others' competence in group task. Such information often includes gender, ethnicity, religious affiliation, socioeconomic status, organizational rank, and physical attractiveness. Those higher in the social order tend to receive more favorable judgments from others (Berger et al., 1972; Ellis, 1994).

EST uses a meta-theoretical model that conceptualizes a state organizing process providing a framework in which to understand interpersonal processes. This conceptual model includes two key levels: the social framework and the situation of action. The social framework is composed of three types of elements – *cultural elements*, *formal elements*, and *interpersonal elements*. *Cultural elements* are made up of social categories, beliefs, norms, and values. *Formal elements* are formalized and institutional roles, and positions in authority structures (e.g., supervisor vs. employee). *Interpersonal elements* involve communication patterns, sentiments, and influence. *The situation of action* includes the features of the situation in which the social processes occur; such features may include the goals of the actors involved, solving a particular problem or collective task (Correll & Ridgeway, 2003; Knottnerus, 1997).

Out of these conditions, a social process emerges in which the behaviors that occur and the information that is used by actors result in expectation states, which are the stable structures that define the relations of the actors to each other within their immediate situation (Cohen, 1982). The process by which these states become organized is the framework used by EST researchers to formulate principles describing the dynamics that occur in group processes and the consequences of these expectation states (e.g., the effect of individuals' status on their performance expectations) (Berger et al., 1992).

EST purports that social characteristics serve as cues that result in actors forming expectations concerning their own and others' task abilities. Once formed these expectation states shape the power and prestige order of the group, and the group takes on a definitive social structure in terms of activity and influence. For members in a task group, extant research suggests that expectation states about one another eventually create a status hierarchy in which low-status members 1) have less opportunities to participate, 2) receive lower evaluations for their performance, 3) are less influential in group decision-making, and 4) experience a decline in their motivation and performance over time (Fişek et al., 2005; Szmátka et al., 1997). Those lower in social order (e.g., lower socioeconomic status) tend to attain low status in group hierarchy, and vice versa (Berger et al., 1972).

## Research Questions

Diverse perspectives in group work can potentially boost group learning, but it requires much more effort for everyone to equally benefit from diversity (Homan et al., 2007, p. 1195). As Gurin and her colleagues (2002) noted:

Genuine interaction goes far beyond mere contact and includes learning about difference in background, experience, and perspectives, as well as getting to know one another individually in an intimate enough way to discern common goals and personal qualities (p. 336).

Yet research efforts concerning the inner-group dynamics and processes that potentially shape such genuine learning and communication across individuals from diverse cultural, ethnic, or socioeconomic backgrounds remain limited. EST presents itself as a valuable theoretical lens to analyze the dynamics involved in group processes and patterns of interactions within diverse groups. Yet this major theoretical perspective has rarely been applied to the higher education context, one with an inherent value placed on diversity and cooperative learning.

Research questions arise as to *how* faculty in the higher-education context perceive or interpret students' expectation states and diversity, *what* aspects of diversity are relevant and perhaps inherent to faculty's instructional practice, *how* these aspects manifest, and *how* these insights should be addressed in pedagogy and training. In this study we seek to explore the effects of the faculty's perception of students' expectation states and diversity on instruction and learning, as well as ethnic, social, and/or gender equality issues in the context of higher education. The central research questions are: How do faculty members at the two

higher-education institutions in the south-central region of the U.S. perceive or interpret expectation states and diversity, and what are the aspects of diversity that are relevant and perhaps inherent to faculty's instructional practice?

These central questions lead to two follow-up questions, namely (1) How are the themes and topics manifest in instruction and learning? And (2) How should issues and topics of expectation states and diversity be addressed in pedagogy and faculty training or development?

## Method

In this research, we employed a qualitative approach for the following reasons: First, qualitative methods are "interpretative and naturalistic" in nature and especially useful for exploring *how* abstract or broad theoretical concepts manifest in real settings (Gephart, 2004, p. 454-455). Second, through a qualitative design, we were able to collect data with a depth not often readily available from experimental studies which allows more fully understanding the social and cognitive processes embedded in classroom interactions.

### Participants and Procedure

Participants were recruited from two higher-education institutions in the south-central region of the U.S. in 2016. The two institutions vary on location (small city and large city) and with different demographic characteristics regarding student population composition. Research announcements were made through listservs (e-mail discussion groups). Interested participants were provided information to contact the primary author. In addition, participants were encouraged to pass on study contact information to others. Overall, 17 individuals indicated interest in participating. To ensure that participants had frequent classroom interactions with students, inclusion criteria required that participants have at least five hours of classroom teaching per week (or one hour per work day). Of those who indicated interest, five potential participants were excluded due to not meeting this requirement. An additional two potential participants failed to schedule in-person interviews with the primary author due to other obligations. Thus, the final total number of participants was 10, consisting of five faculty members at each of the two higher-education institutions. Participants had a mean age of 45.3 ( $SD = 11.35$ ) and included 60.0% females. Their ethnic background was as follows: 50% Caucasian, 30% African-American, 10% Asian/Pacific Islander, and 10% other.

The participants varied on a variety of characteristics including academic discipline, level of education, and years of teaching experience. Their current academic disciplines were as follows: 20% in Nursing, 20% in Psychological Sciences (Counseling Psychology and Educational Psychology), 10% in English, 10% in Sociology, 10% in Business Administration, 10% in Geology, 10% in Mechanical Engineering, and 10% in Biology. In terms of level of education, 70% had a doctoral degree, 20% with a master's degree, and 10% with two master's degrees. The participants' teaching experience ranged from 2 to 29 years. The participants were those who frequently interacted with students of different levels (undergraduate, graduate, or both). For these reasons, the subjects were deemed as being

highly relevant and appropriate for the exploration of the perception regarding expectation states and diversity, and valuable for extending the knowledge and understanding on how themes and topics regarding expectation states and diversity manifested in instruction and learning.

For the purpose of the research, the authors created a questionnaire that consisted of open-ended questions relating to the perception or the understanding of expectation states and diversity, teaching of relevant topics, and perceived challenges in practice. The primary author organized and conducted semi-structured one-hour in-person interviews on the sampling participants.

Besides interviews, the primary author observed one class session in which each participant served as the instructor. Observation in a naturalistic setting benefited the research team to gain relevant insights about the interactions among the students themselves and the interactions between the students and the instructor in the classroom. Additionally, the authors asked each participant to provide artifacts and documents relevant to research questions for further analyses. Specifically, we asked participants to offer artifacts and documents pertaining to their pedagogical strategies or approaches towards group learning, diversity issues, and multicultural education. Collected artifacts and documents included syllabi used as well as other course materials (e.g., supplementary reading materials) to support or challenge other data sources (interviews and observational data) or to provide a meaningful description of the participant or the setting. For example, if a participant's interview response entailed specific social or behavioral patterns of students, the notes taken by the primary author during classroom observation served as examples, confirmations, or challenging evidence of the events or sentiments as described or perceived by the participant.

In summary, data were from interviews, observation, artifacts, and documents. Multiple data sources were helpful to provide richer description, to address particularities, and to reach more compelling themes (Jick, 1979; Marshall & Rossman, 2014).

## **Data Analysis**

The interviews of the 10 participants were taped and transcribed verbatim by the primary author. All data collected (including interview transcripts, observation field notes, documents, and artifacts) were further analyzed by both authors following through an iterative process of open and axial coding (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Open coding involves the process of generating categories that reflect the characteristics of the student essays collected. Axial coding involves the process of developing connections between each category and its sub-categories (Pandit, 1996). The primary and second authors each independently reviewed the transcribed data and performed thematic analyses. The main purpose of coding was to identify main categories and subcategories that provide rich descriptions of the participants' perceptions of students' expectation states about one another and how they teach diversity and multicultural issues. During the coding process, both authors periodically met, discussed in-depth, and reviewed the inconsistencies emerged, and attempted to resolve discrepancies and reach consensus in coding. This process was repeated until inter-rater reliability measure kappa reached .85 or greater for each code. Thematic saturation was reached when there

were no new themes identified by either author (Saunders et al., 2018). Based on the conceptual foundations of this study, the authors identified a set of codes, which were eventually collapsed into main themes and sub-themes.

## Results

Based on the thematic analyses of classroom observation field notes, interview transcripts, documents and artifacts, four main themes emerged: (1) *broader context*, (2) *expectation states*, (3) *breaking expectations*, and (4) *experiential learning*. Further analyses led to the identification of sub-themes for broader context (institutional context, geographical context, disciplinary context) and experiential learning (classroom integration, real-life experience). See Table 1 for a detailed coding structure with definitions for each main theme and sub-theme.

Table 1.  
*Themes and Definitions*

Theme	Definition
<b>A) Broader Context</b>	Specific contextual factors that the groups operate in seem to make a big difference in the opportunities for meaningful group learning and interactions that occur.
A1) Institutional Context	System of bodies, rules, regulation, policies, procedures and processes that characterize the task environment of a higher-education institution.
A2) Geographical Context	Physical and cultural characteristics of places and environments.
A3) Disciplinary Context	Attributes or features that are embedded in a specific academic discipline or academic field.
<b>B) Expectation States</b>	Confirmation and examples of how expectation states manifest in the learning context involving diverse students.
<b>C) Breaking Expectations</b>	Recognition of the challenges derived from the expectation states in diverse groups.
<b>D) Experiential Learning</b>	Thoughts and ways of incorporating experiential learning into diversity education.
D1) Classroom Integration	Strategies and examples to integrate experiential learning with regard to diversity issues into classrooms.
D2) Real-life Experience	Learning and critical reflection through real-world experiences.

### Broader Context

Broader context refers to contextual factors that influence group learning and interactions. Based upon the nature of specific contextual factors, three types of contextual characteristics emerged, each typified by the quoted texts (from interview transcripts, classroom observation field notes, documents and artifacts) followed by explanations detailed below:

**Institutional Context**

Institutional context refers to the system of bodies, rules, regulation, policies, procedures and processes that characterize the operations of a higher-education institution.

According to my experience, it is also somewhat influenced by the broader context...I found often that I got from the undergraduate classes is that... I get things like "You know, you are the first faculty member I ever meet that makes me sit with people that I don't know, or people that are different from me." So the experience for many students, or at least had been as recently as five years ago: they never interact with anybody differently in class; in class they just sit next to their friends. ~ Participant #3, female, Caucasian

The participant directed attention towards institutional climate regarding the ways faculty organized student groups or facilitated group work in undergraduate classes: relatively little effort had been paid to organize students into groups such that they were given the opportunities to interact with peers with different backgrounds or perspectives.

**Geographical Context**

Geographical context refers to the physical and cultural characteristics of places and environments.

We have some challenges in nursing education that our goal is that students in our programs should, the ratio should match the people/populations that they serve. We have a high number of Native American patients but we don't have a high number of Native American students. Same context in parts of city X -- we have a high number of African Americans, but we don't have a high number of African American students in our program. So when it comes to diversity, our program is dominantly, generically Caucasian -- are the ones that we get at the university level. ~ Participant #6, female, Caucasian

In light of the demographic composition in the city (as well as in the state), a critical need existed for nursing practitioners to serve this diverse population with increased culturally appropriate knowledge, skills, and resources. The participant recognized the discrepancies between the ethnic composition of the student body of the academic program (as well as the institution) and that of the general population of patients in the city (as well as in the state).

**Disciplinary Context**

Disciplinary context refers to attributes or features that are embedded in a specific academic discipline or academic field.

It is a key concept that we teach in nursing school about cultural sensitivity and cultural awareness. And it addresses, well, it is about patient right. We address cultural beliefs – specifically were religious beliefs, whatever



influences their whole view of themselves as a person. We have a course, there is a course called human experience, and we teach the student the major world religion and what their beliefs and how that will impact their view of health, because different religions and different cultures define health differently. Some cultures define it as the absence of illness; some defines it as wellness. I mean, it's their respect. You know, when it comes to the thoughts and beliefs about dying, cultures are very different. So it is critically important, it's one of our key values that we teach students that we should have utter respect (for others' cultural beliefs). ~ Participant #5, female, Caucasian

The participant recognized that nursing education in principle values cultural awareness and cultural sensitivity. The formal curriculum adopted by the participant's nursing program integrated elements for preparing culturally competent nurses.

### **Expectation States**

EST argues that social characteristics serve as cues that result in individuals forming expectations concerning their own and others' task abilities. Once these expectation states are formed they shape the power and prestige order of the group, and the group takes on a definitive social structure in terms of activity and influence (Correll & Ridgeway, 2003). A status characteristic is defined as any attribute around which beliefs and expectations about others are organized (Berger et al., 1972).

There are two types of status characteristics: *specific* and *diffused*. *Specific status characteristics* are expectations regarding how someone will act or perform to a specific situation or a specific task, such as an individual's mechanical ability, verbal ability, artistic ability, or mathematical ability (Berger et al., 1980). *Diffuse status characteristics* are more general and include an individual's intelligence or overall competence, and also include social evaluations of honor, respect, and esteem, often associated with such characteristics as ethnicity, gender, physical attractiveness, occupation, and education (Berger et al., 1972; Berger et al., 1980).

Analyses of transcribed data suggested that expectation states impacted group learning and interactions among group members in the classrooms. For example, examination of the classroom observation field notes suggested that there was a consistent pattern associated with most of the students of the opposite gender or of a different background compared to the majority of the students in that classroom.

The male student (with beard, in a black hoodie, wearing a red cap) seems to be often quiet or less engaging compared to other female students at the table. ~ Class observation of Participant #10, male, African American

The minority non-traditional female student appears to be relatively less engaged or quiet throughout the entire class period. ~ Class observation of Participant #7, male, other ethnicity

Yet both students appeared much more interactive or communicative toward the instructor.

### **Breaking Expectations**

Breaking expectations refers to recognition of the challenges derived from the expectation states in diverse groups, as illustrated by the following excerpts from transcribed data:

It is very important to put them into contact with people whom they haven't been into contact before, to break the expectancies. The other part is to have some base knowledge; because especially in a place like Y state, students have not been exposed to a lot. ~ Participant #2, male, Asian/Pacific Islander

The participant emphasized the critical need to break preconceived expectations, which often stem from socially ascribed characteristics (e.g., gender, ethnicity, socio-economic status). The participant hoped to promote mutual understanding among students with different backgrounds and perspectives.

### **Experiential Learning**

Experiential learning refers to the thoughts and ways of incorporating experiential learning into diversity education. Particularly, 2 types of experiential learning experiences emerged, each typified by the quoted texts followed by explanations listed below:

#### **Classroom Integration**

Classroom integration refers to the strategies and examples to integrate experiential learning with regard to diversity issues into classrooms.

So I asked "how do you integrate diversity in your classes?" ... He immediately gave an example of a new fast route or something that built from Atlanta to Athens and how it was and there is no way that a geographer can't look at how this disrupted the communities and the communities that were most disrupted were the low SES and Black communities. ~ Participant #1, female, Caucasian

The participant offered a concrete example to integrate experiential learning with regard to diversity issues into classrooms. This example demonstrated *how* to facilitate the identification of the cultural diversity among people in different communities through the study of places, natural resources and people's livelihoods.

#### **Real-life experience**

Real-life experience refers to the learning and critical reflection through real-world experiences. For example, a participant described a real-life experience that had enabled her to develop new ways of thinking regarding diversity issues:

We drove back through Z state, and we went into a restaurant and it was a big chain restaurant that we have here. We were the only two Caucasian people in the restaurant, we could not get waited on; we were not served. Oh, yes, we were just like, "Okay, what a great experience for us to experience." because this is what certain groups of people in the world experience every day. We just don't; it's very rare. So I thought it was a fantastic experience that happened to us...I don't know if you can simulate something like that in the educational setting. ~ Participant #6, female, Caucasian

## Discussion

Previous studies provided evidence that beliefs or attitudes valuing diversity are needed for groups consisting of diverse members to "harvest the benefits of diversity" (Homan et al., 2007, p. 1190). In the higher-education context, it is vital for educators to direct attention towards not only cooperative learning among diverse learners, but also *how* to create opportunities for diverse learners to interact and engage with one another in meaningful and authentic ways, or *when* and *how* the group learning experience transfers to individual performance and growth. So far, however, qualitative inquiries that examine potential factors influencing the within-group interactions among diverse learners in the higher-education context remain sparse. This study makes such an attempt from the theoretical lens of Expectation States Theory (EST).

Extant research investigating the potential impact of expectation states in the learning context has largely relied upon laboratory and field experiments (Cohen 1982, 1994; Cohen & Lotan, 1995; Cohen & Roper, 1972; Dembo & McAuliffe, 1987; Miller et al., 1985; Webb & Farivar, 1994). For example, Cohen and Roper (1972) conducted a series of experiments to understand the impact of ethnicity on group interaction. The researchers organized 19 four-person groups of teen boys. Each group consisted of two African American and two Caucasian boys. They were matched on age, height, socioeconomic status, and attitude towards learning. During a group task, in 14 out of the 19 groups, at least one Caucasian boy was among the top two most active members of each group. And the most active member across all groups was Caucasian, and had 95% of his ideas accepted by the group. On the contrary, African American boys had to demonstrate exceptional ability in a skill to gain equal power and influence in their groups. This research showed that a diffuse status characteristic, ethnicity, was associated with inequalities in group interaction. Experiments conducted in controlled conditions may help researchers to identify the effects of a status characteristic on group interaction. But a critical issue has arisen as individuals may vary on not just one, but many status characteristics (Cohen 1982, 1994; Cohen & Lotan, 1995). Such experimental approach seems not applicable in K-12 and college classroom settings, as student population has become increasingly diverse. For example, a student may be associated with one less desirable status characteristic (e.g., ethnic minority) and a set of more desirable status characteristics (e.g., high socioeconomic status, high parental education level), while another student may be associated with one more desirable status characteristic (e.g., ethnic majority)

and several less desirable status characteristics (e.g., low socioeconomic status, low parental education level). The complexity of classroom or school settings has made it challenging if not impossible to create control conditions for experimental studies (Cohen 1982, 1994). There has been a growing need for research reflecting normal classroom interactions and conditions through alternative methodologies (Cohen 1982, 1994). As the existing research based upon EST is situated within sociological social psychology, there are currently no established measures to capture relevant constructs (i.e., expectation states), which limit the potential for researchers to analyze any possible relationships between expectation states and students' learning processes.

We were able to generate results that are understandable and experientially credible, not only to the participants of this study but also to others (e.g., faculty at other institutions) (Maxwell, 2012). Results from this qualitative research reveals much more thorough understanding on faculty's perception of expectation states and diversity issues in the learning context. Particularly, the theme expectation states (Theme B, Table 1) indicates that socially ascribed characteristics (i.e., diffuse status characteristics such as gender, ethnicity, or socio-economic status) influence within-group interactions and group learning. This theme corroborates the findings from EST literature. Prior studies have demonstrated that status cues determine who has influence in groups even when there is no connection between the task and the characteristic. For example, Torrance (1954) found that influence among air crews resulted from air force rank, even when rank had little to do with the task at hand.

This study suggests that the impacts of expectation states on learners' participation and group interaction are real. To create equitable patterns of group interaction, instructors need to step up beyond offering group learning activities. It is critical for faculty to engage learners in challenging the preconceived expectations about one another (Theme C, Table 1). Furthermore, a viable approach could be incorporating experiential learning strategies into the classroom (Theme D, Table 1). This is supported by previous research in that an experiential approach has a compelling influence on learners' thoughts, feelings, and behaviors during diversity education (Smith, 2011).

The themes identified by this study can inform ways to develop measures of expectation states in the future. Specifically, these themes provide nuanced understanding on the content and meaning of expectation states interpreted by the participants. Future pilot studies may incorporate these themes into focus-group interviews for developing measures of expectation states (Gelbach & Brinkworth, 2011). Note that this research was conducted within the specific institutional and geographical context (Theme A, Table 1). Further research is needed for identifying new themes in other institutional, geographical, and cultural contexts (e.g., conducting research at a historically black institution, or in a politically more liberal state, or in a more collectivistic cultural context).

The findings have implications for diversity education and training. Most diversity training programs and initiatives emphasize enhancing the awareness of the stereotypes regarding differential groups that others belong to (e.g., ethnic groups) and adjusting perceptions about other groups (Karp & Sammour, 2000). It is worth noting that if we are to teach students about diversity or cultural competence, then we need to consider *how* faculty or educators are trained and mentored in this area. This study suggests the importance to

initiate an open dialogue regarding the potential benefits and challenges involved in the social processes of diverse groups, and to potentially incorporate experiential learning strategies into diversity education.

A limitation of this study is that sexual identity was not included in the demographic questions for participants. Our participants were from two higher-education institutions located in a south-central state in the United States. In a politically highly conservative state, the majority of the faculty at these two institutions were inclined to not disclose or openly express their sexual identities. For participant recruitment purposes, sexual identity was not explored in this study. Future research should also examine how faculty's sexual identities may impact their views of diversity issues and their pedagogical approaches in the higher-education settings. Another limitation of this study is the limited number of participants, given the inclusion criteria necessary to ensure a representative sample of participants. Also, there may be a level of self-selection bias in the sample because the participants who chose to participate in this study perhaps were more open to dialogues on diversity and sharing their beliefs. Therefore, the results should be interpreted with caution. The present study explored mainly faculty's perspectives regarding expectation states issues in diverse groups. It will be informative to investigate diverse students' perceptions, attitudes, and beliefs regarding those individual and situational factors that potentially impact group learning processes.

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# **What We Can Learn about Multiculturalism from Latin American Psychology**

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## **Abstract**

Latin American psychology, although greatly under-represented in international journals, can provide important lessons for international psychologists. Mexican psychologist Rogelio Díaz-Guerrero was one of the first to describe what would now be labeled an indigenous psychology. Latin American theorists such as Paolo Freire and Ignacio Martín-Baró have provided frameworks for understanding diversity and multiculturalism among groups with unequal power. Only by critical thinking and critical analysis can we understand and challenge disparate conditions. Relatedly, Latin American psychology often focuses on achieving social justice and solving practical real-world problems. Thus, community and political psychology are strengths of Latin American psychology and have made contributions to the understanding of multiculturalism and activism. Finally, the high proportion of youth in Latin American countries makes their well-being a priority and innovative research has worked to identify and promote talent among young people. Examples of Latin American contributions, personal lessons learned, and suggestions for incorporating knowledge and perspectives from Latin America are highlighted.

## What We Can Learn about Multiculturalism from Latin American Psychology

Amalia is a first-year student at Zamorano, an agricultural university in Central America<sup>2</sup>. Nineteen years old and from El Salvador, she received notice of her acceptance and full scholarship just before classes started. She was thrilled and her family was proud of her. The transition to Zamorano has opened new windows in terms of the people she has met and the comprehensive “learning by doing” education she has received. Amalia has acquired diverse skills and knowledge, ranging from baking bread to conserving environmental resources and combating climate change. She has learned to be responsible, to work hard, and to learn from her mistakes. In many ways, Amalia and her university experience represent Latin America in terms of its diversity, emphasis on practice, economic inequality, and the indigenous view of well-being as a commitment to maintain harmony with the environment.

In 2007, Montero and Díaz wrote, “Almost every Latin American country is multicultural, multiethnic and multilingual” (p. 65). In 2019, we need to eliminate the word “almost.” All Latin American countries are multicultural, multiethnic, and multilingual. People of indigenous descent are well-represented; about one sixth of the indigenous people of the world live in Latin America. The percentages are highest in Bolivia (62%) and Guatemala (nearly 50%) (López & Sichra, n.d.) and lowest in Uruguay (2.4%) (Central Intelligence Agency, CIA, 2018). Linguistic diversity is greatest in Brazil with approximately 180 indigenous languages and rather low in countries such as Nicaragua where Spanish is almost universally spoken (López & Sichra, n.d.). Beyond indigenous languages, the colonial history of Latin America has left not only Spanish, but also Portuguese, English, Dutch, and French as legacies. Latin America is also diverse in economic terms. Economic disparity—as measured by the Gini index—is high throughout most of Latin America. Of 157 countries of the world for which data are available, Guatemala, Paraguay, Colombia, Panama, Chile, Brazil, Costa Rica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Bolivia ranked within the top thirty in economic disparity (CIA, 2018). Despite its diversity in terms of language, culture, ethnicity, and economic condition, Latin America<sup>3</sup> is greatly underrepresented in the psychological literature, especially in relation to multiculturalism.

### Scarcity of Literature from Latin American in Psychology Databases

In the major databases for literature in psychology, research originating in Latin America is scarce (López, 2014). In a study using the PsycINFO database from 2001 to 2013, the absolute number of studies with a Latin American scholar as the primary author increased by almost ten-fold (from 390 to 3492). However, the percentage of Latin American-authored articles in the database never exceeded 2.5% (VandenBos & Winkler, 2015). In

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<sup>2</sup> For a short video of Amalia’s story, see <https://youtu.be/FNzAdKpl2gE>

<sup>3</sup> In this chapter I am using a geographic definition of Latin America: Central and South America and Mexico.

analyses of the Scopus database from 2003 to 2008, approximately 2.1% of the articles included an author from Latin America (López-López et al., 2015; García-Martínez et al., 2012). Similarly, a study of articles published in prestigious developmental psychology journals from 2006 to 2010 revealed that fewer than one percent (0.7%) featured participants from Central or South America (Nielsen et al., 2017). Given that the Latin American percentage of the world's population is about 8.5%, this is a serious under-representation (Worldometers, 2018).

The majority of psychological scholarship in Latin America emanates from Brazil, a country with 216,000 professional psychologists as of 2015 (Gamba et al., 2015). Psychology research from Brazil made up over 50% of that from Latin America in 2013 (Gamba et al., 2015). Brazilian psychology has also had significant world-wide influence; it ranks 10<sup>th</sup> among the 30 most productive countries in the field of psychology. Articles published from Brazil are cited an average of 1.63 times, compared to those published in the Netherlands (6.36) or Mexico (1.59), the only other Latin American country ranked among the top 30 (Gamba et al. 2015).

### **Representation of Multiculturalism in Latin American Literature**

Despite the diversity of cultures and languages in Latin America, psychological literature addressing multiculturalism specifically is similarly under-represented in Latin American Psychology. A PsycINFO search for multiculturalism revealed over 7000 articles. When concatenated with Latin America or the names of individual Latin American countries that number was reduced to 210 or less than 3%. Fewer than half of those references (110) were to peer-reviewed journal articles.

Because regional journals are often not indexed in the major psychological databases, new databases have emerged, notably SciELO (Scientific Electronic Library Online) initiated in Brazil, and Redalyc (Red de Revistas Científicas de América Latina y el Caribe, España y Portugal) from Colombia. Searches in those open access databases revealed few studies using the term multiculturalism or *multiculturalismo*, its equivalent in Spanish. For example, a search of Redalyc revealed a total of 533 articles indexed by multiculturalism, but only four were from Latin America (two from Chile and two from Colombia). A similar search in SciELO yielded only 66 articles, of which the majority were outside the domain of psychology, and instead represented political science, education, or art. In sum, Latin American psychology has rarely addressed the issue of multiculturalism, despite its relevance to the region. There are many possible reasons for this, including language differences (much of the literature from Brazil is published in regional journals in Portuguese), the overall under-representation of Latin American psychology in journals, or what I will argue here – a difference in perspective regarding the manner in which cultural diversity should be addressed and studied.

### **Three Latin American Thinkers**

Latin American psychology often begins with an historical analysis, and I will start here by recognizing three contributors to Latin American thinking and psychology who influenced

the direction of the field. Among them is Rogelio Díaz-Guerrero, one of the founders of the International Association of Cross-Cultural Psychology (IACCP) (Díaz-Loving & Lozano, 2009). Among his accomplishments was the identification of a uniquely Mexican way of being, the psychology of the Mexican as he titled his book (Díaz-Guerrero, 1976). Díaz-Guerrero called that worldview *historico-socio-cultural* premises, that which is taken for granted by members of a culture. Today we would recognize his perspective as central to indigenous psychology, "the scientific study of human behavior or mind that is native, that is not transported from other regions, and that is designed for its people" (Kim & Berry, 1993, p. 2). Díaz-Guerrero's work continues to be cited today, not only as central to Mexican psychology (e.g. Knauer et al., 2017), but as a part of contemporary international psychology (e.g. Sayans-Jiménez et al., 2017).

Another influential Latin American thinker was Paolo Freire, a Brazilian educator and philosopher, who in his well-known book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Freire, 1970), laid out new processes for education. He rejected the "banking approach" to education in which knowledge is piled into the recipient learner in favor of a critical approach in which the learner engages in *concientization*, development of a critical awareness that eventually leads to engagement in social transformation (Freire Institute, n.d.). In addition to promoting adult education with *concientization* as a route to social change, Freire also contributed to the emerging view that dialogue between researchers and community members is essential, a perspective that led to the beginnings of participatory action research (Glassman & Erdem, 2014). Today, Freire's ideas have been applied not only to education and participatory action research, but have formed the bases of much of Latin American community psychology and political psychology (Glassman & Erdem, 2014; Natale et al., 2016; Robles Lomeli & Rappaport, 2018; Rozas, 2015).

A third influential Latin American scholar was Ignacio Martín-Baró, a social psychologist at the Universidad Centroamericana José Simeón Cañas (UCA) in El Salvador. Tragically, in 1989 he was one of the Jesuit victims of the massacre at the UCA. Martín-Baró was a founder of liberation psychology, an outgrowth of liberation theology, in which the goal of psychological research and practice is social justice and relief from oppression (Martín-Baró, 1994). He once famously remarked, "In your country it's 'publish or perish;' in ours, it's 'publish and perish,'" (Levine, 2009) a statement which turned out to be prescient. Liberation psychology has influenced psychology in Latin America in a number of ways, including the use of participatory methods, the goal of social transformation, a focus on assisting victims of state oppression, and an emphasis on political realities (Burton & Kagan, 2005).

Some implementations of the liberation psychology perspective have been described by O'Connor et al. (2011). For example, in Guatemala, many members of Maya communities had suffered greatly from the 30-year brutal civil war. A culturally-appropriate process, based in liberation psychology that acknowledged the history of oppression and violence, was an effective alternative to standard treatment for post-traumatic stress disorder (Comas-Díaz et al., 1998).

## Characteristics of Latin American Psychology

Fundamental to virtually all of Latin American psychology is the assumption that groups that differ by culture, language, and ethnicity do not have equal power in society. Because of that inequitable social reality, a post-colonial history, and the influential thinkers mentioned above, Latin American psychology is characterized by specific foci and perspectives (e.g., Torres & Consoli, 2015). Those perspectives include:

- (1) an emphasis on practical outcomes, sometimes referred to as praxis,
- (2) the extensive use of community psychology and participative methods,
- (3) the goal of achieving social justice,
- (4) the study of political psychology as a way of documenting reality and possible routes for change,
- (5) a youth-focused psychology, and
- (6) “*buen vivir*” or a type of well-being based in harmony.

Most psychological research in Latin America is aimed at solving a practical problem or addressing a crisis. An example comes from Colombia. As a post-conflict society, Colombia has faced issues of peace-building, reintegration of soldiers and displaced persons, and promotion of forgiveness and reconciliation. Psychological researchers in Colombia have purposefully and strenuously addressed those challenges. For example, Ramírez et al. (2016) related the lived experiences of internally displaced persons to document not only the trauma they had experienced, but also paths of resilience including their potential as counselors for other displaced persons. Another group of scholars recognized the need for mental health services for both ex-FARC (Revolutionary armed forces of Colombia, a guerrilla movement that made peace with the government in 2016) combatants and their victims; the authors recommended inclusive community mental health programs (Idrobo et al., 2018). A series of studies has been undertaken in post-conflict Colombia about the processes of forgiveness and reconciliation (e.g., Castrillón-Guerrero et al., 2018; Cortés et al., 2016). Those studies revealed that justice was a requirement for forgiveness and reconciliation among victims of forced displacement, and that dialogue and religious faith could assist in the process. This is a powerful example of the engagement of psychological research to address pressing problems of society.

Another defining characteristic of Latin American psychology is the widespread adoption of community psychology, especially participatory methods as the major approach in interventions (Wiesenfeld, 2012). The key involvement of communities is emphasized in the definition put forth by Montero and Díaz, “[community psychology] is a branch of psychology [that takes] into account the historic, cultural, and social context of that community; its resources, capacities, strengths, and needs. CP is oriented towards the production of social changes according with those circumstances and involving the stakeholders’ participation and commitment, in order to ensure that power and control are in their hands” (Montero & Díaz, 2007, p. 65). A participatory-action project in Quito, Ecuador (Rodríguez-Mancilla & Boada, 2016) addressed the use of public space in the

historic center of the city. The first stage involved interviews and questionnaires with local residents and other stakeholders. In the second stage, workshops were held concerning the emergent issues. The third and final stage was the implementation of changes, including construction of a center for community members, education for children on the history of the region, and provision of space for youth recreation. In other words, involvement of the community in the project led to concrete changes in the use of public space in the historic center of Quito.

A third feature of Latin American psychology is its attention to social justice as an outcome. In a study of Chilean youths' views of citizenship (Martínez et al., 2012) young people described ideal citizenship as an entity that reduced socio-economic inequities, advanced social transformation, and achieved social justice. In a Chilean study of transitional justice (measures implemented to redress human rights abuses during conflict), direct victims of the violence reported little confidence in the truth commission's ability to reach justice (Cárdenas et al., 2015). In both of these studies, social justice was an explicit goal of participants.

Political psychology—the intersection of political processes such as voting and civic engagement with human behavior and cognition—is a prominent and growing area among Latin American researchers (Ardila, 1996; Polo et al., 2014). Political psychology assumes its importance, in part, because of people's experiences in daily life, and its potential for addressing social needs (Ardila, 1996). In an early study in Nicaragua, researchers found that context was exceedingly influential in interviewee's responses to a survey. People adjusted their answers to the color of the pens used by the interviewers (colors being associated with particular political parties) and responded in accord with the perceived political bent of the interviewer (Bischoping & Schuman, 1992). More recent studies from political psychology in Latin America continue to propose political and legal avenues to resolving social problems (as opposed to changing individuals' behavior) (e.g. Lie et al., 2007; Meertens & Zambrano, 2010; Silva de Souza & dos Santos, 2017).

There are approximately 1.4 billion youth, ages 15 to 24, in the world today and they make up about 15.8 percent of the world's population (Population Reference Bureau, 2017). Although the highest proportions of the world's youth are in sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America has a higher percentage than average, 17.2%. Within Latin America, the highest proportion is in Guatemala (21.3%), ranked 7<sup>th</sup> in the world for its proportion of youth (Population Reference Bureau, 2017).

A focus on the issues faced by young people is characteristic of many psychological studies in Guatemala. For example, a series of studies by Michelle Bellino have traced civic development in Guatemalan youth (Bellino, 2015, 2016, 2017). Her studies revealed that injustice often served as a starting point and that education facilitated youth's engagement in civic activities. Other researchers have concentrated on the practical issues faced by Guatemalan youth, including exposure to gangs (Cruz, 2010; Levenson, 2013) or forced return from the U.S.-Mexico border after attempts to immigrate (Argueta et al., 2015).

Youth have been the focus of another series of studies in Peru, a country in which the percentage of youth (ages 15-24) in the population (17.3%) is above the international

average. Sheyla Blumen from Peru has been interested in identifying exceptionally talented youth (Blumen, 2008, 2016), as well as fostering their development. To that end, she studied indigenous concepts of the qualities of giftedness and talent (Blumen, 2013). Among the indigenous people of the Andes, talent and skill were revealed in communal work, in interpersonal domains such as caring and sensitivity, and in personal qualities such as humility and strength of character. Talented youth contributed to their communities and to others, valued intuition and spirituality, and provided leadership through example (Blumen, 2013). In contrast, indigenous Peruvians from the Amazon region prioritized linguistic and spatial intelligence, skills needed to navigate the 64 local languages and surrounding jungle environment. A naturalist/spiritualist intelligence—the ability to foster and maintain connections with mother earth and other people—was also valued. Like the people of the Andes, people from the Amazon also valued interpersonal skills and the ability to get along with others. Schools and other programs can take advantage of those valued qualities to foster and promote the development of extraordinary talent among youth.

*Buen vivir* is a concept originating from indigenous populations in Latin America. Literally translated as “living well,” it encompasses more than the idea of well-being, often translated as *bienestar*. *Buen vivir* comprises a philosophy of harmony and care, especially with respect to the environment. It has been incorporated into the constitutions of Ecuador and Bolivia as a guiding principle (Mercado, 2017). A study in rural Ecuador revealed that in general although people in households with low-income report lower subjective wellbeing, living in an indigenous community and growing one’s own food can mitigate some effects of poverty (García-Quero & Guardiola, 2018). These results suggest that the philosophy of *buen vivir*, including close contact with nature and community support may potentially facilitate well-being. However, the antecedents, correlates, and consequences of *buen vivir* have yet to be extensively explored.

### **Alternative Views of Multiculturalism**

According to a widely-used definition, multiculturalism is “an attitude related to the political ideology, which refers to the acceptance of and support for the culturally heterogeneous society” (Van de Vijver et al., 2008, p. 93). In a review of definitions of multiculturalism, Arasaratnam (2013) contends that all definitions include (1) a recognition of cultural differences and diversity in a plural society, and (2) support for such diversity. Contrast this perspective, however, with several views emanating from Latin America. The Guatemalan scholar Bastos not only includes the recognition of cultural differences as essential, but also specific actions including legal reforms and the design and implementation of new public policies (Bastos, 2008). From the perspective of Brazil, Loewe (2012) also emphasizes the legal actions that need accompany an ideology of multiculturalism, “In broad terms, multiculturalism is a normative program that affirms the positive value of cultures or cultural diversity, and aims to develop the legal mechanisms that protect them, encourage them and make them endure” (Loewe, 2012, p. 48).

Some Latin American scholars have been more critical of multiculturalism (e.g., Lopes, 2012). From Chile, Rozas (2016) criticizes multiculturalism on two fronts: (1) its lack of attention to the relation between communities, to the interculturality proposition that a community is defined by its relation to others and (2) its obscuration of power differences between cultures. Costa (2011) from Brazil endorses a different form of multiculturalism, a critical multiculturalism that calls attention to the asymmetrical distribution of power. Her work is based on the critical, revolutionary, and postcolonial theories of McLaren (1997, 2000), that take as their starting point the inequities and unequal power between groups. According to Arias Alpizar (2008) from Costa Rica, multiculturalism can be a negative force, a discourse by dominant groups to evade the true causes of inequality among groups. An example comes from the celebration of the “discovery” of the Americas that was to be themed, “encounter of cultures,” ignoring the domination, plunder, and oppression of the indigenous population by the colonizers (Rozas, 2016); the outcry from indigenous groups eventually led to the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (United Nations, 2008). Arias Alpizar (2008) also sees multiculturalism as a potentially positive force when it serves as a social and intellectual movement that illuminates the Eurocentrism and hegemony of the Western culture, laying claim to the right of other cultures to be recognized and respected. Although multiculturalism has been critiqued from within the Western perspective (e.g., Barry, 2013), the Latin American scholars provide a relatively uniform critique of multiculturalism. They are consistent in insisting that (1) a recognition of power differences and inequality are essential to an understanding of cultural differences, (2) the focus should be on relations between groups (interculturalism) rather than their distinctiveness (multiculturalism), and (3) specific actions such as legal reforms need to take place along with a simple recognition of multiculturalism. This particular view of multiculturalism seems to have emerged from the daily reality of economic disparity, unequal distribution of political power, and legacy of colonialism that has shaped Latin American thought.

Within Latin America the discussion of cultural differences and plural societies has taken place primarily with respect to indigenous populations. An example of a specific action taken in response to the recognition of indigenous peoples is the widespread endorsement of their rights. In 1989 the International Labour Organization (ILO) introduced the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, ILO C169. Among other provisions is the basic statement in Article 3 that, “indigenous and tribal peoples shall enjoy the full measure of human rights and fundamental freedoms without hindrance or discrimination” (ILO, 1989, para. 1). The convention also calls for the recognition and protection of social, cultural, religious and spiritual values and practices of indigenous peoples and for protection of their rights to the land that they have traditionally occupied. To date, the Convention has been ratified by Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, and Venezuela. It has not been ratified by the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, or any European country except Netherlands, Norway, and Spain.

In sum, with respect to multiculturalism, Latin America and the minority, Western world appear to be talking past each other. The dominant Western perspective on



multiculturalism examines attitudes, individuals, acculturation, perceived threat, and diversity. The Latin American perspective emphasizes community, unequal power, practice, social justice, political action, and indigenous rights. What the Western or minority world might learn from Latin America is (1) relations between groups are not neutral, but that power is almost always unequally distributed and those power differences prohibit dialogue on an equal footing, (2) the explicit goal of social justice can enable relations between groups, (3) communities and social groups are the relevant entities (rather than individual people) for discussion of multiculturalism, (4) political actions should be a mechanism for addressing inequities, and (5) the youth of the world afford the best opportunity for change (UNICEF, 2011). In the interests of mutual learning, of establishing learning partnerships, messages originating in Latin America should be considered.

If we return to the case of Amalia, she recognizes the advantage of multiculturalism to her education, including exposure to different ideas and diverse people. She has directly experienced advances in reducing social inequality with her full scholarship to a prestigious university. Her planned life course is to devote herself to the practical; feeding the world through agriculture. Consonant with the indigenous concept of *buen vivir*, she strives for harmony with the environment. Consistent with Freire, her education is not based on filling her with information, but rather “learning by doing,” a practical, experienced-based pedagogy. Finally, Amalia herself represents an investment in youth as the driver of social change.

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# **Normative Multiculturalism in Socio-Political Context<sup>1</sup>**

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## **Abstract**

Normative multiculturalism refers to individuals' perceptions about the extent to which interactions between culturally diverse groups, multicultural policies and practices, and diversity-valuing ideologies are common or normative in one's society. In this paper, we explore these dimensions of normative multiculturalism as predictors of social connectedness (trust) and psychological well-being (flourishing) in two socio-political contexts: The United States and the United Kingdom. Two hundred and eighty-four residents (143 Hispanics and 141 non-Hispanic Whites) in the United States and 375 (125 British Indians and 250 British Whites) participated in the research. The results revealed that normative Multicultural Ideology predicted greater trust and normative Multicultural Contact predicted greater flourishing in both countries; however, minority-majority group status moderated the effects in different ways in the two contexts. The positive effects of normative multicultural ideology were confined to Hispanics in the United States, while in the United Kingdom it held for both groups with the effects being stronger for Whites. In addition, the positive effects of normative multicultural contact on flourishing was stronger for Indians than for Whites in the United Kingdom. The findings are discussed in relation to socio-political context and group characteristics along with limitations of the research.

*Keywords:* Multiculturalism, Norms, Social Cohesion, Well-being



## **Normative Multiculturalism in Socio-Political Context**

Multiculturalism is a highly contentious topic, variably described as the cure for social problems and the cause of social ills. Recognizing that at least part of the controversy surrounding multiculturalism arises from lack of a common consensus about its nature and definition (Ward et al., 2018), we have begun a program of research grounded in long-standing theorizing by Berry (2005, 2013) and more recent research by Guimond and associates (Guimond et al., 2013, 2014). The research is based on the premise that diversity is necessary, but not sufficient, to define multiculturalism. Beyond cultural heterogeneity, a multicultural society is characterized by a widespread appreciation and valuing of diversity as well as the policies and practices to support and accommodate it. Multiculturalism safeguards cultural maintenance for diverse groups, while also ensuring equitable participation (Berry & Sam, 2014; Berry & Ward, 2016). This means that diverse groups must be in contact with each other, rather than leading separate, parallel lives.

In our evolving program of research, the core components of multiculturalism have been described as Multicultural Contact, Multicultural Ideology, and Multicultural Policies and Practices. In addition, we have adopted a normative perspective as advocated by Guimond et al. (2014, p. 164), who have argued that intergroup ideologies, including views of multiculturalism, are not “located solely in individual minds,” but are shared by members of a social group and become normative. Furthermore, these broad normative ideologies influence individuals’ intergroup attitudes and behaviors. Consequently, we have proposed a tri-dimensional conceptualization of normative multiculturalism, described as

...individuals’ perceptions of the extent to which interactions between culturally diverse groups, multicultural policies and practices, and diversity-valuing ideologies are common or normative in one’s society (Stuart & Ward, 2019, p. 313).

In essence, this captures individuals’ normative perceptions of their national multicultural climate. Of particular interest is how normative multiculturalism relates to social cohesion and well-being.

### **Social Connectedness and Psychological Well-being**

Trust is key indicator of social cohesion, and in general, research has shown that individuals tend to trust in-group members more than out-group members (Chen & Li, 2009). However, there is evidence to suggest that multicultural contact and multicultural ideology may lead to greater general trust. First, research has shown that both direct and extended intergroup contact provides a means for increasing out-group trust (Tam et al., 2009). Positive intergroup contact within neighborhoods has been linked to greater in-group, out-group, and neighborhood trust (Schmid et al., 2014) while residential segregation in both the United States and the United Kingdom has been associated with mistrust (Ulsaner, 2012).

At the same time, “comfort with difference” is positively associated with greater general trust (Han, 2017). Normative multicultural ideology, which reflects a national acceptance of diversity, may increase the permeability of intergroup boundaries and open up the possibility that general trust increases. Indeed, Stuart and Ward (2019) found that normative Multicultural Ideology predicted greater general trust in a predominantly White British sample, and we expect this pattern to replicate in the findings reported here. However, research has shown that there are ethnic differences in generalized trust, with minorities being less trusting and that these differences are partially explained by the experience of discrimination (Alesina & La Ferrara, 2002). Therefore, it is further hypothesized that perceptions of normative Multicultural Ideology, which reflects valuing of diversity, will exert a stronger positive effect on trust for minorities compared to majority group members.

Beyond contributing to social cohesion, it may also be the case that multicultural norms have implications for psychological well-being. Certainly there is ample evidence that social context influences subjective well-being (Helliwell & Putnam, 2013); however, research demonstrating the proximal effects of normative multicultural contact, ideology, and policies on well-being is rare. Schachner and associates’ research on normative diversity climates found a marginally significant effect of equality and inclusion norms, reflecting positive intercultural contact, on psychological and social well-being in immigrant children (Schachner et al., 2016). More broadly, it has been suggested that intercultural contact fosters social capital, bridging and enhancing linkages across social groups, and research has shown that this bridging capital is associated with greater flourishing and lower levels of psychological distress in immigrant and disadvantaged minorities, respectively (Ando, 2014; Mitchell & LaGory, 2002). Beyond intercultural contact norms, our own research has shown that both normative multicultural ideology and policies predict greater psychological well-being in Korean immigrants in New Zealand (Ward et al., 2020). To the best of our knowledge, however, evidence of the direct effect of these multicultural norms on well-being for majority groups is lacking. Accordingly, we hypothesize that normative multicultural contact, ideology, and policies and practices predict psychological well-being in minority groups and pose the research question as to whether this is also the case for majority group members.

### **The Socio-Political Context**

The collection of data from multiple countries in our developing program of research on normative multiculturalism permits us to explore the extent to which findings converge across socio-political contexts. In this paper, we focus on two of these countries, the United States and the United Kingdom. In each country majority Whites and a minority group (Hispanics in the U.S. and Indians in the U.K.) are included. The contexts and groups are described in more detail in the remainder of this section.

While there are many ways to assess cultural diversity, measures of ethnic fractionalization, the likelihood that two randomly selected individuals in the same country are from different ethnic groups, indicate that the United States is more diverse than the United Kingdom (Patsiurko et al., 2012). The proportion of immigrants in the two countries

is almost identical: 13.7% in the U.S. (Radford & Noe-Bustamante, 2019) and 14% in the U.K. (Rienzo & Vargas-Silva, 2018); however, the migration trends and source countries differ significantly. In the United States, half of the foreign-born population originates from Latin American countries, and overall Hispanics make up 18% of the U.S. population, now outnumbering African Americans (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). Within the United States, Hispanics face major social and economic inequalities compared to other ethnic groups, particularly in terms of education, employment, and health outcomes (Center for American Progress, 2012). In the United Kingdom, by contrast, 39% of immigrants are from the European Union, the largest group being Poles. Immigrants from non-EU countries tend to originate from former colonies, with Indians and Pakistanis being the largest groups (Rienzo & Vargas-Silva, 2018). Based on the most recent census, Indians make up 2.3% of the U.K.'s population with only British black/Afro-Caribbeans (3%) being a larger visible minority (World Atlas, 2019). Indians in the United Kingdom fare well in terms of education and employment outcomes when compared to other ethnic minorities; they also have a high level of social integration (Castles, 2009).

National surveys indicate that Americans hold more positive attitudes toward diversity than do the British with 90% compared to 67% agreeing that it is a good thing for a country to be made up of different races, religions, and cultures (Pew Research Center, 2009; Ward & Masgoret, 2008). Despite these positive views of diversity as an abstract principle, both countries have predominantly negative views about the impact of immigration (Ambrose & Mudde, 2015). Finally, the United Kingdom has stronger multicultural policies than the United States. It ranks equal fifth (with New Zealand) among 21 contemporary democracies compared to the United States at eleventh, on par with Ireland (Multicultural Policy Index, 2010).

## Method

### Participants

Two hundred and eighty-four adults (62.3% female) resident in the United States participated in the research. Participants were equally distributed across two ethnic groups (Hispanics,  $n = 143$ , 51.7% female; non-Hispanic Whites,  $n = 141$ , 73% female), and most (96.5%) were U.S. citizens. The majority (86.3%) of the participants were born in the United States. Of those born overseas, the mean length of residence in the United States was 31.65 years ( $SD = 20.24$ ). The sample was diverse in age, ranging from 18 to 87 years;  $M = 39.88$ ,  $SD = 17.29$ .

Three hundred and seventy-five adults resident in the United Kingdom made up the British sample. Of these 250 self-identified as British Whites (48.4% female) and 125 (56.8% female) identified as British Indians. The majority (79.5%) were born in the United Kingdom. Of those born overseas, the mean length of residence was 14.81 years ( $SD = 12.13$ ). The sample was diverse in terms of age, ranging from 18-80 years;  $M = 39.19$ ,  $SD = 12.19$ .

**Measures**

The survey included the Normative Multiculturalism Scale and measures of social connectedness (Trust) and well-being (Flourishing). In addition, demographic and background information was collected including: ethnicity, age, gender, country of birth, and if overseas-born, length of residence in the United States or United Kingdom.

**Normative multiculturalism**

We used the Normative Multiculturalism Scale (NMS; Stuart & Ward, 2019 ) to assess the perception that the social environment in which one resides is characterized by: (a) Multicultural Contact (four items; e.g., “*It is likely that you will interact with people from many different cultures on any given day*”); (b) Multicultural Policies and Practices (six items; e.g., “*Institutional practices are often adapted to the specific needs of ethnic minorities*”); and (c) Multicultural Ideology (seven items; e.g., “*Most people think that it is good to have different groups with distinct cultural backgrounds living in the country*”). Responses were prompted by “In the United States/United Kingdom, ...” and were measured on a 5-point Likert Scale, *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5) so that higher scores indicate perceptions of greater contact with diversity, more policies and practices that promote cultural maintenance and participation, and a stronger national multicultural ideology.

In the current study, good internal reliability for the NMS subscales was found in the United States sample: Hispanics ( $\alpha = .70 - .82$ ) and Whites ( $\alpha = .69 - .79$ ). In the U.K. the alphas ranged from .70-.75 for Whites and .62 to .72 for Indians (see Table 1).

Table 1.  
*Psychometric Properties of the Measurement Scales*

	United States				United Kingdom			
	Whites		Hispanics		Whites		Indians	
	<i>M (SD)</i>	$\alpha$	<i>M (SD)</i>	$\alpha$	<i>M (SD)</i>	$\alpha$	<i>M (SD)</i>	$\alpha$
MPP	2.70 (.59)	.79	3.01 (.74)	.82	3.35 (.55)	.73	3.27 (.60)	.70
MI	3.47 (.57)	.77	3.24 (.63)	.70	3.09 (.58)	.75	3.38 (.63)	.72
MC	3.60 (.69)	.69	4.13 (.62)	.72	3.90 (.60)	.70	4.11 (.51)	.62
Trust	3.49 (.59)	.83	3.00 (.71)	.82	3.11 (.67)	.86	3.12 (.70)	.94
Flourishing	6.07 (.81)	.94	5.86 (.82)	.89	5.13 (.94)	.91	5.58 (.91)	.91

Notes. MPP = Multicultural Policies and Practices, MI = Multicultural Ideology, MC = Multicultural Contact.

### **Trust**

The measure of Trust from the World Values Survey (2012) was adapted in order to measure general trust in others by changing the original items from a categorical response option to a continuous Likert scale and anchoring the responses to “others in the United States/Great Britain.” The scale included six items such as, “*Generally speaking, most people can be trusted in this country.*” Participants responded to each statement on a 5-point scale ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5) so that higher scores were indicative of greater trust. In the current study, the measure was found to have good internal reliability in both Hispanics ( $\alpha = .82$ ) and Whites ( $\alpha = .83$ ) in the United States and Indians ( $\alpha = .94$ ) and Whites ( $\alpha = .86$ ) in Great Britain.

### **Psychological well-being**

Psychological well-being was assessed with the eight-item Flourishing scale by Diener et al. (2009). Sample items include “*In most ways I lead a purposeful and meaningful life,*” and “*I am engaged and interested in my daily activities.*” Participants were asked to report how they feel about themselves after reading each item on a 7-point scale, where 1 = *strongly disagree* and 7 = *strongly agree* so that higher scores reflect greater flourishing. In the current study, measures of flourishing yielded Cronbach alphas of .91 for British Indians and Whites, .89 for Hispanics and .94 for Whites in the United States.

### **Procedure**

The studies were approved by our School of Psychology’s Human Ethics Committee under the delegated authority of the University’s Human Ethics Committee. Participants were invited to complete an online survey about multiculturalism if they were aged 18 and over and resident in the United States or United Kingdom. In the United States, Whites and Hispanics were recruited through various means including direct approaches to ethnic organizations and posting on online forums and social media sites (e.g. Facebook, Twitter, Reddit), as well as crowdsourcing platforms. British participants were initially recruited through a crowdsourcing platform, which returned a sample of 93% Whites. This was followed by a targeted recruitment of British Indians.

## **Results**

### **Preliminary Analyses**

The psychometric properties of the measurement scales are presented in Table 1. Prior to hypotheses-testing, the measurement invariance between the minority (Hispanic or Indian) and majority (White) groups was examined separately in the United States and the United Kingdom. The results of the Multi-group Confirmatory Factor Analysis for Hispanics and Whites in the United States are reported in Watters, Ward and Stuart (2020). The findings showed that configural and metric, but not scalar, equivalence was established for the

Table 2.  
*Fit and Equivalence of the Normative Multiculturalism Facets in the British Sample*

	CFI	RMSEA	SRMR	$\gamma$ Hat	$\Delta$ CFI	$\Delta$ RMSEA	$\Delta\gamma$ Hat
<b>Multicultural Policies and Practices</b>							
Configural	.910	.117[.079,.156]	.059	.936			
Metric	.909	.104[.069,.139]	.066	.949	.001	.013	-.013
Scalar	.899	.099[.069,.131]	.071	.950	.011	.004	-.001
<b>Multicultural Contact</b>							
Configural	.996	.037[.000,.133]	.133	.994			
Metric	1.000	.000[.000,.080]	.080	1.007	-.004	.037	-.013
Scalar	.994	.028[.000,.091]	.091	.996	.006	-.028	.011
<b>Multicultural Ideology</b>							
Configural	.943	.083[.047,.118]	.052	.962			
Metric	.951	.069[.032,.102]	.056	.973	-.008	.014	-.011
Scalar	.916	.084[.056,.111]	.076	.959	.035	-.014	.014

*Notes.* All indicators are estimated using an MLM estimator, reporting the robust variants.

Normative Multiculturalism Scale. In the British samples, the initial unmodified three-factor model of Normative Multiculturalism did not demonstrate a good fit to the data. Consequently, we tested the measurement invariance of the three NMS factors, Multicultural Ideology, Multicultural Contact and Multicultural Policies and Practices for British Whites and Indians (Fischer & Karl, 2019). The results, reported in Table 2, show that metric equivalence was established across each of the three factors without modifications, but that scalar equivalence was not consistently achieved. As the criteria for multigroup metric equivalence were met in both the British and American samples, this means that we can compare the relationships between the normative multiculturalism domains and the indicators of well-being and social connectedness in national minority and majority groups; however, because scalar equivalence could not be consistently established, we cannot compare the mean scores for Multicultural Contact, Multicultural Ideology, and Multicultural Policies and Practices.

### ***Hypotheses Testing***

The United States and United Kingdom data were analyzed separately by hierarchical regression with age and gender as controls, ethnicity entered in the second step, the NMS subscales (MPP, MI, and MC) entered in the third step, and the interactions between ethnicity and each subscale in the final step. The findings are reported below by outcome variables: trust and flourishing (see Table 3).

Table 3  
*Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis Predicting Well-Being and Social Connectedness within the U.S. and the U.K.*

<b>U.S.</b>	Well-Being				Social Connectedness Among Members of Society			
	<i>Step</i>	Flourishing			Trust in Others			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Age	.09	.07	.10	.09	.28***	.24***	.26***	.25***
Gender	.05	.03	.01	.01	.17**	.09	.09	.09
Ethnicity		.11	.14*	.15*		.31***	.23***	.23***
MPP			-.10	-.09			-.07	-.06
MI			.06	.02			.18**	.30***
MC			.17*	.27**			-.07	-.11
MPP X				-.01				-.03
Ethnicity								
MI X				.06				-.18*
Ethnicity								
MC X				-.14				.06
Ethnicity								
R <sup>2</sup>	.008	.020	.048*	.057	.084***	.172***	.206***	.225***
ΔR <sup>2</sup>		.012	.028*	.009		.088***	.034**	.018
<hr/>								
<b>U.K.</b>								
<i>Step</i>	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Age	.02	.05	.06	.06		.02	.05	.06
Gender	.05	.07	.10	.01		.05	.07	.10
Ethnicity		-.24***	-.20***	-.18***			-.24***	-.20***
MPP			.15**	.14				.15**
MI			.02	.01				.02
MC			.27***	.43***				.27***
MPP X				.02				
Ethnicity								
MI X				.01				
Ethnicity								
MC X				-.19*				
Ethnicity								
R <sup>2</sup>	.003	.057***	.163***	.172***		.003	.057***	.163***
ΔR <sup>2</sup>		.054***	.106***	.009			.054***	.106***

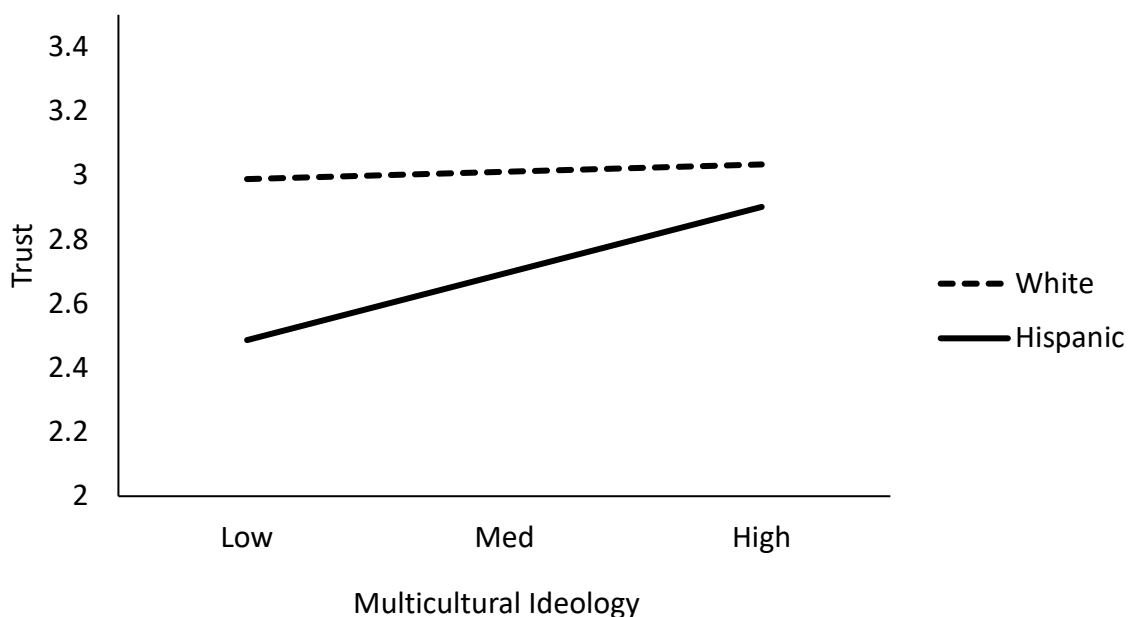
\*  $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$ . Notes: MPP = Multicultural Policies and Practices, MI = Multicultural Ideology, MC = Multicultural Contact.

### Trust

In the United States, being older ( $\beta = .25, p < .001$ ) and White ( $\beta = .23, p < .001$ ) predicted greater trust as did perceptions of strong ideological norms in favor of multiculturalism ( $\beta = .30, p < .001$ ). However, the relationship between Multicultural Ideology and trust was moderated by ethnicity ( $\beta = -.18, p < .05$ ). Further analysis of the interaction effect revealed that normative Multicultural Ideology was associated with greater trust for Hispanics ( $t(278) = 3.97, p < .001$ ), but that this relationship did not hold for Whites,  $t(278) = .42, ns.$ ) The interaction is graphed in Figure 1. Together these variables accounted for 22.5% of the variance in trust.

Figure 1.

*The Interaction Between Ethnicity and Multicultural Ideology in Predicting Trust in the U.S.*



In the United Kingdom, age ( $\beta = .16, p < .01$ ) and Multicultural Ideology ( $\beta = .21, p < .05$ ) also positively predicted trust. Additionally, a significant interaction effect was found between ethnicity and MI ( $\beta = .16, p < .05$ ). Normative Multicultural Ideology was associated with greater trust for both groups; however, the effects were stronger for Whites ( $\beta = .38$ ) compared to Indians ( $\beta = .23$ ).  $T_w(371) = 8.41, p < .001$ , and  $t_i(371) = 2.46, p < .015$  as seen in Figure 2. In combination these factors explained 15.9% of the variance in the trust outcome.



Figure 2.  
The Interaction Between Ethnicity and Multicultural Ideology in Predicting Trust in the U.K.

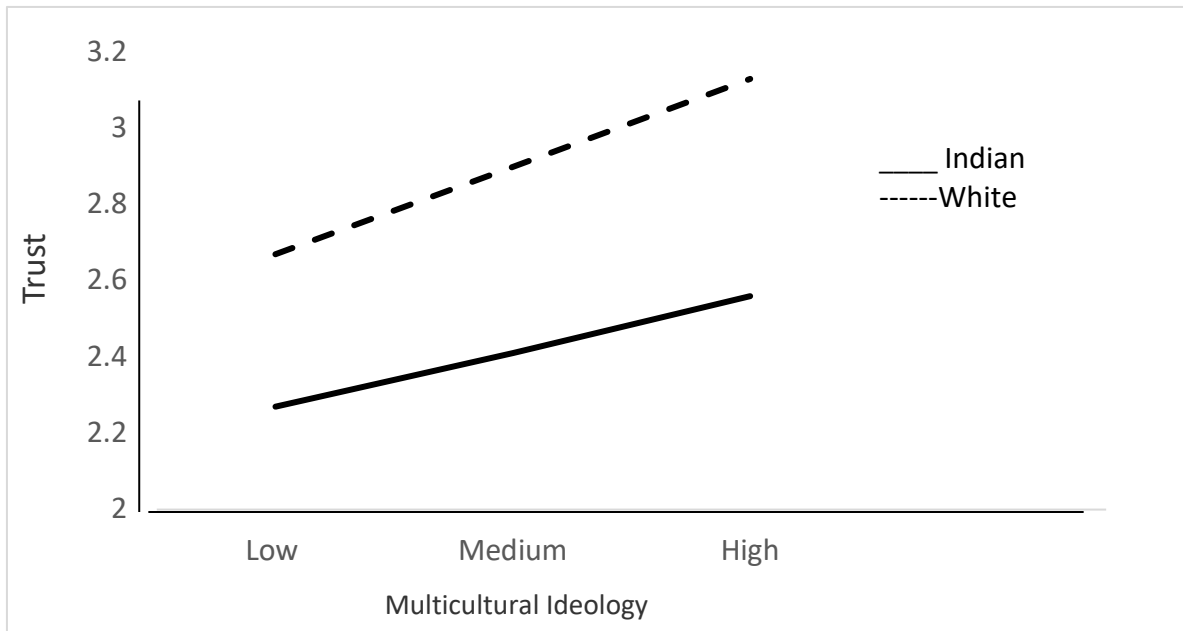
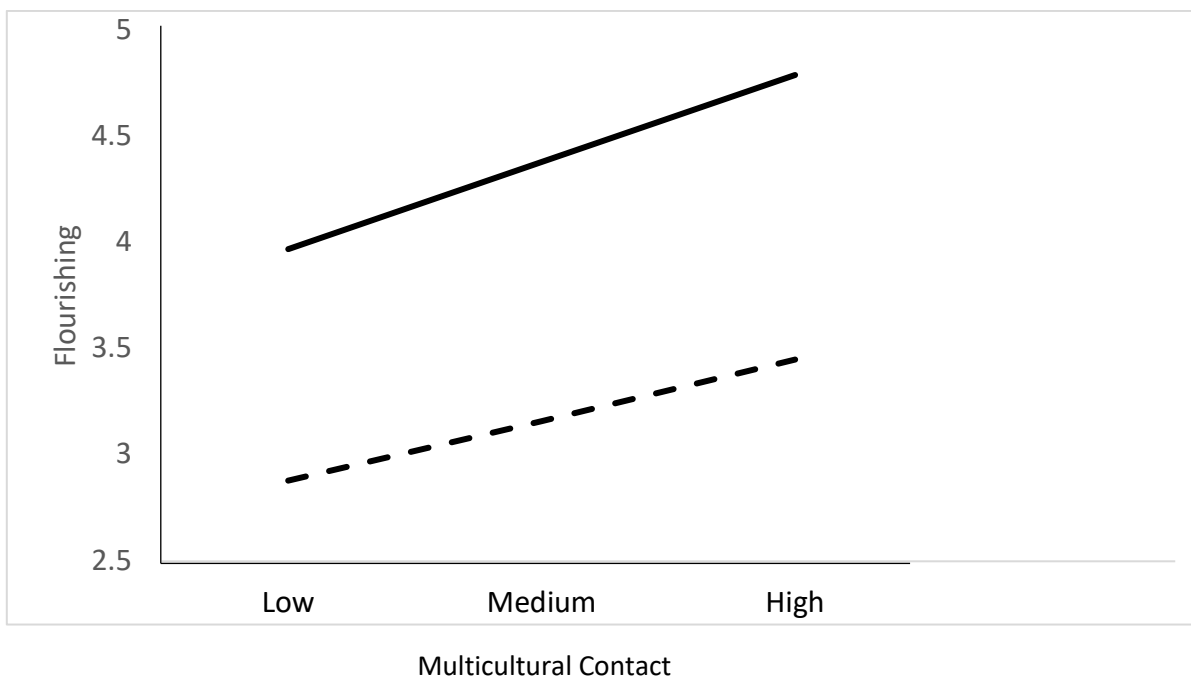


Figure 3.  
*The Interaction Between Ethnicity and Multicultural Contact in Predicting Flourishing in the U.K.*



### **Flourishing**

Neither age nor gender was related to this measure of psychological well-being in the United States; however, greater flourishing was associated with being White ( $\beta = .15, p < .05$ ). In addition, participants' perceptions of more normative Multicultural Contact predicted greater flourishing ( $\beta = .27, p < .01$ ). There were no significant interaction effects, and in total, only 5.7% of the variance in flourishing was explained in the final model.

Results from the United Kingdom revealed both similarities and differences. Ethnicity was a significant predictor of flourishing ( $\beta = -.18, p < .001$ ); however, it was Indians rather than Whites who had more positive outcomes. As was the case in the U.S., Multicultural Contact was associated with greater flourishing ( $\beta = .43, p < .001$ ); however, this main effect was qualified by an interaction with ethnicity ( $\beta = -.19, p < .05$ ). The relationship between Multicultural Contact and flourishing was significant and positive for both groups.  $T_i(371) = 4.47, p < .001$ , and  $t_w(371) = 5.90, p < .001$ ; however, the slope appeared steeper for Indians ( $\beta = .71$ ) compared to Whites ( $\beta = .49$ ) as depicted in Figure 3. Together, the final model accounted for 17.2% of the variance in flourishing.

## **Discussion**

The research examined the components of normative multiculturalism (contact, ideology, policy) as predictors of social connectedness and psychological well-being in the United States and the United Kingdom. This permitted us to explore the convergence of results in different socio-political contexts. We tested the hypothesis that normative multicultural contact and ideology predict greater trust, expecting stronger effects of ideology in minority groups. We also hypothesized that normative contact, ideology, and policies and practices predict greater flourishing in minority group members and considered the possibility that the same findings would emerge in the majority group. Our hypotheses were partially supported. Normative multicultural ideology predicted greater trust, and its effects were moderated by ethnicity. However, multicultural contact was the only significant predictor of flourishing, and this was the case for both minority and majority groups.

As hypothesized, normative multicultural ideology, reflecting the perceptions that cultural diversity is valued and multiculturalism is widely viewed in positive terms, predicted greater trust. This is consistent with previous research linking comfort with difference and general trust (Han, 2017). However, ethnicity moderated these effects in different ways between the two countries. In the United States, the positive effect of multicultural ideology was limited to Hispanics. In the United Kingdom, by contrast, multicultural ideology was associated with greater trust in both Indians and Whites with the effect being stronger in the majority group.

The U.S. findings are not surprising in that research has shown that Whites view multiculturalism as a diversity ideology that is relevant only to ethnic minorities, having little, if anything, to offer the White majority group (Plaut et al., 2011). Indeed, the notion of the great "melting pot" and a colorblind approach to diversity preceded the emergence of multiculturalism in the United States and still tends to be preferred by Whites (Apfelbaum et

al., 2012). Under these conditions it has been suggested that an “all-inclusive” approach, ensuring that members of the majority are explicitly made aware that multiculturalism applies to everyone, is required to reap the benefits of multiculturalism (Stevens et al., 2008). In contrast, the longer and richer discourse on multiculturalism linked to Britain’s multi-racial colonial empire and subsequent immigration, which along with its rejection of assimilation and increasing emphasis on social cohesion, has created a different climate in the United Kingdom (Ashcroft & Bevir, 2018). According to Modood (2016), this climate has had positive implications for race relations in the United Kingdom. In this socio-political context, perceived normative multicultural ideology predicts greater general trust in both British Whites and Indians.

Contrary to our hypothesis, normative multicultural contact did not predict greater trust in either country. We suggest two possibilities for consideration. First, although the broader literature points to a relationship between intergroup contact and out-group trust (Tam et al., 2009; Voci et al., 2017), we measured more generalized trust in these studies. Second, contact is known to exert stronger effects on intergroup perceptions and relations, including trust, when interactions are positive and occur under favorable circumstances (Schmid et al., 2015). Our measure assesses the perception that intercultural contact is normative, which is critical for a multicultural society, but it does not assess the contact quality. Both of these factors may have diffused the normative contact-trust relationship examined in these studies.

In contrast, perceived multicultural contact norms predicted greater flourishing, and this was the case in both the United States and the United Kingdom. Moreover, the relationship held for both minority and majority groups although in the United Kingdom the effects were stronger for Indians than Whites. The findings can be interpreted in terms of social capital, where the over-arching theoretical framework posits that both bridging (linkages across social groups) and bonding (linkages within social groups) capital are associated with more positive social and psychological outcomes. Not only has bridging capital been shown to predict more flourishing in immigrants (Ando, 2014) and lower levels of psychological distress in disadvantaged minorities (Mitchell & LaGory, 2002), but more diverse networks are also associated with lower levels of depression (Erikson, 2003). As normative multicultural contact increases opportunities to access bridging capital for minorities and majorities, it is conducive to greater psychological well-being for both groups.

Neither normative multicultural ideology nor policies exerted a direct effect on flourishing. To interpret this finding, we suggest that the impact of normative multiculturalism on well-being may be indirect and mediated by relational factors. Our research with Korean immigrants in New Zealand has shown that the effects of normative multicultural policy and ideology on well-being are partially mediated by belongingness (Ward et al., 2020). Schachner, Schwarzenthal, van de Vijver and Noack’s (2019) school-based research with immigrant and national children found that the relationship between diversity climates and well-being was fully mediated by belonging. Along similar lines, Le et al. (2009) reported that ethno-cultural empathy fully mediated the effects of school multiculturalism on subjective happiness. These findings point to the need for more complex mediational models to be explored in future research on normative multiculturalism.

Although no hypotheses were made about the pattern of minority-majority differences across the two contexts, some interesting trends emerged. In the United States, Whites were more trusting and flourished to a greater extent. In contrast, in the United Kingdom, there were no ethnic differences in trust, and Indians flourished more than Whites. International research has shown that with few exceptions immigrant and minority groups have lower levels of generalized trust (Smith, 2010), and this has been documented in previous research in the United States (Chávez et al., 2006). In the United Kingdom, however, recent surveys demonstrate that the trust rates are not significantly different between Whites and minority groups (Phillips et al., 2018). Consequently, our findings on trust are in accordance with the wider international literature on trust.

The results for flourishing are also consistent with earlier studies, which show that Hispanic children flourish to a lesser extent than non-Hispanic Whites (Kandasamy et al., 2018) in the United States, but that Indian children have a mental health advantage compared to Whites in Great Britain (Goodman et al., 2010). Interpreting these trends goes well beyond our data as the simultaneous influences of the national climate and the social and economic characteristics of the minority groups cannot be disentangled. We do know, however, that British Indians, compared to Hispanic-Americans, have the advantage of living in a country with a longer history of propagating multiculturalism, as opposed to colorblindness, as a strategy for managing diversity and that Indians appear to enjoy a relatively more favorable position in terms of educational and occupational status as well as social integration (Castles, 2009; Center for American Progress, 2012). Overall, these group characteristics are known to be conducive to greater trust and flourishing (Johnson et al., 2017; Wilks & Wu, 2019).

So, in the end what do these studies tell us about normative multiculturalism? First, at best, aspects of normative multiculturalism are associated with greater social connectedness and psychological well-being; at worse, normative multiculturalism is unrelated to these outcomes. Second, there is general consistency in the findings across the United States and the United Kingdom; in both contexts, perceived normative multicultural contact predicts greater flourishing and perceived normative multicultural ideology predicts greater trust. Third, the way normative multiculturalism plays out across minority and majority groups differs both within and between socio-political contexts. Normative multicultural ideology is associated with greater trust for Hispanics, but not Whites, in the United States while it is associated with greater trust in both Whites and Indians in the U.K., with the effects being stronger for Whites.

While the U.S. and U.K. data point to positive developments in theory and research on multicultural norms, there are notable limitations in this paper. First, the results from two socio-political contexts are reported here to explore the external validity of our findings on normative multiculturalism; however, this research was not originally designed as a comparative cross-cultural investigation. Consequently, there are issues of measurement invariance between the two countries that have not been addressed. Moreover, the characteristics of the two minority groups differ markedly. Had this been designed as a comparative investigation, it would have been preferable to recruit minority group members from the same ethnic community as participants in the American and British samples.

Relatedly, the length residence for the overseas-born participants in the two countries differed between the national samples and could not be controlled in these analyses. This may have affected the findings in undetermined ways. Second, we examine only two outcomes, trust and flourishing. The extent to which these findings would replicate across other outcomes reflecting social cohesion and psychological well-being is unknown. Third, only relatively small amounts of variance (6-23%) in the social and psychological outcomes were explained by normative multiculturalism, and the sample sizes were too small to also investigate the two and three-way interaction effects of the three components of normative multiculturalism. This is something that should be pursued in future research.

In conclusion, multiculturalism is a complex phenomenon. There is some evidence that it functions in the same way across countries; at the same time, it can also differentially affect minority and majority groups. Further research is required with more diverse groups and across more varied socio-political contexts. It is also recommended that future studies adopt a multinational cross-cultural comparative approach, simultaneously exploring objective measures of multiculturalism along with perceptions of multicultural norms and their relationships to social cohesion and psychological well-being.

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# **Model of Autonomous-Related Singles Counseling in Collectivistic Cultures: The Turkey Model<sup>1</sup>**

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## Abstract

In this paper the Model of Autonomous-Related Singles Counseling (MARSC) is introduced. MARSC is based on Kağıtçıbaşı's (1996) Autonomous-Related Self Model (ARSM) and on Aydın's (2017, 2019) Singles Counseling Theory which have been developed in Turkey, a country that scores high on collectivism (Hofstede, 1980). In both models, the basic psychological needs of autonomy and relatedness are the key concepts. ARSM is a supplementary synthesis model that integrates two constructs assumed to be conflicting, and it is based on cross-cultural diversity: autonomy and relatedness. ARSM is prevalent in collectivistic cultures. Research conducted on diverse national and ethnic groups in Brazil, Estonia, Turkey, China, the Canadian Inuit, and immigrants in the United States of America and Europe, provides scientific evidence with regard to the ARSM. ARSM develops in the family model of psychological interdependence (FMPI) in collectivistic cultures. It involves a healthier combination of both autonomy and relatedness, which are essential psychological needs rather than relying on single autonomy or relatedness. Autonomy infers agency (social and cognitive) and volition, while relatedness infers emotional relations and support. Intervention is needed for ARSM to develop in a collectivistic culture. A single individual at MARSC is defined as someone who never married, got divorced, lives separately, or is widowed. MARSC has been developed to inspire prevention and intervention programs to develop the ARSM and related structures and functions (such as FMPI and autonomous-related single lifestyle). However, some environmental problems have become widespread and important in Turkey, therefore, the effectiveness of these psychological counseling programs also requires these problems to be resolved. Within the scope of Turkey-MARSC, these programs should be prepared to enhance efforts on developing autonomy in single individuals.

**Keywords:** autonomy, relatedness, model of autonomous-related self, model of autonomous-related singles counseling, single individual, collectivism, Turkey.

## **Model of Autonomous-Related Singles Counseling in Collectivistic Cultures: The Turkey Model**

### **The Autonomous-Related Self Model**

Kağıtçıbaşı (1990, 1996, 2005) proposed a theory of family change that analyzes the development of different types of self within different family interaction patterns. The model aims to discover the societal and familial antecedents of the separated and the related selves. It also examines the implications of family change through socioeconomic development for the emergence of the self that integrates both autonomy and relatedness. Three family interaction patterns are differentiated: (1) the traditional family characterized by material and emotional interdependence, (2) the individualistic model based on independence, and (3) a dialectical synthesis of the two, involving material independence but emotional interdependence. These interaction patterns are studied at the intergenerational level.

Figure 1 provides a summary of the interpersonal distance and agency dimensions in terms of the self, family, and parenting type in which they imply (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005). The three quadrants of autonomy-relatedness, relatedness-heteronomy, and separation-autonomy have been described as autonomous-related self (emotional/psychological interdependence), related self (interdependence), and separated self (independence), respectively. The fourth quadrant has not yet been dealt with, since the combination of heteronomy and separation is not adequately well-recognized in research and theory. This last type also needs empirical validation. It may point to a situation in which the person lacks both autonomy of action and closeness to others. This may be the case where the individual is pushed into a subordinate and separate position, for example, in a hierarchical family involving autocratic power differentials between generations and genders, which interfere with intimacy and relatedness (Fişek, 1991; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996).

#### ***The family model of interdependence and the heteronomous-related self model***

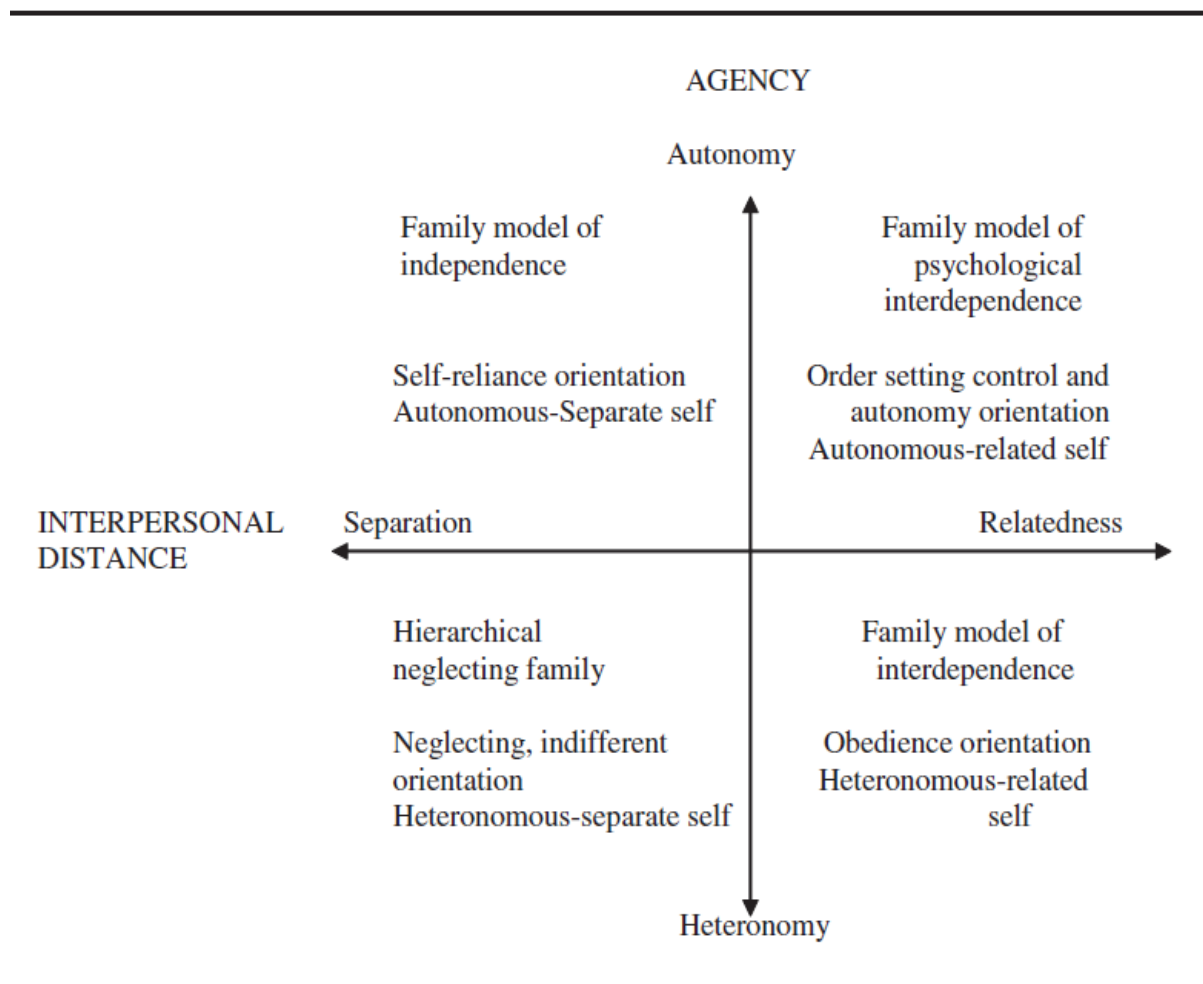
Childrearing in the interdependent family model is oriented towards obedience because it is believed that an obedient child is more likely to grow up to be loyal. The self-development in this family model is related and is characterized by relatedness and heteronomy (the two dimensions illustrated in Figure 1. Authoritarian and obedience-oriented parenting contributes to the development of the relatedness self (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996). In this family model the autonomy need is not met adequately (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2010).

#### ***The family model of independence and the autonomous-separated self model***

Autonomy and separateness of the child from parents are encouraged in the independence family model since these characteristics contribute to greater self-reliance and self-sufficiency. Relatively permissive and self-reliant oriented parenting engenders the separated self (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996). Thus, the relatedness need is not met sufficiently in this family model (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2010).

Figure 1

*Agency, Interpersonal Distance, and the Types of Selves and Families (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005).*



***The family model of psychological interdependence and the autonomous-related self model***

A dialectic synthesis of the previous two models is seen in a childrearing orientation of the psychological interdependence family model, integrating autonomy with relatedness. Autonomy and control are combined in parenting orientation, which may be akin to authoritative parenting that leads to the development of the autonomous-related self. It has been argued that the psychological interdependence family model is the healthiest model because it satisfies the needs of both autonomy and relatedness (Baumrind, 1980; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996, 2010).

Kağıtçıbaşı (1996) explains how the autonomous-related model develops in collectivistic cultures, as following:

Closely-knit interaction patterns are present in collectivistic cultures, despite the increased urbanization and industrialization (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1990). What appears to happen is that material interdependencies weaken with increased affluence and urban life styles, but emotional interdependencies continue since they are not incompatible with the changing life styles. The implications of these changes on childrearing are significant. When material interdependencies decrease, there is room for autonomy in childrearing because material contribution of the offspring is no longer required for the family's livelihood, and the child's autonomy is not viewed as a threat. Nevertheless, psychological interdependencies continue to be valued and the closeness (relatedness) to the growing child is desired. Thus, although autonomy is valued and complete obedience (and loyalty) of the child is no longer needed, there is still firm control (not permissive childrearing) because separation is not the goal (p. 183).

With changing life styles, autonomous and agentic orientations become more functional in coping with more specialized tasks that require individual responsibility compared to following age-old traditions (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996).

Autonomy for socio-cultural adaptation and relatedness for psychological adaptation are functional. The thesis is that separateness and relatedness can be equally agentic and volitional for the model of self and the family. Therefore, there is a need for intervention and prevention programs in Turkey in order to develop this healthy self model (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005, 2010).

### ***The hierarchical family model and the heteronomous-separated self model***

The hierarchical family model involves autocratic parenting (rejecting, obedience-orientation). Autocratic parenting may contribute to the development of the heteronomous-separated self. The heteronomous-separated self has neither of the two basic needs (of agency and relatedness) satisfied. It may characterize abusive family relations that lack the person of both autonomy and relatedness (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996). Since both autonomy and relatedness needs are not met, it is a psychopathological self (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2010).

The development of the autonomous-related self is, therefore, best understood from a contextual and functional perspective. This type of integrative synthesis emerges in the family context of psychological interdependence, rather than in one of total interdependence or independence. This is because both autonomy and closely-knit connectedness are functional in the model of psychological interdependence. This would be more typical in the developed (urban, educated) sectors of the collectivistic societies with cultures of relatedness, rather than in traditional society. Urban lifestyles render autonomy, rather than heteronomy functional as discussed previously. However, culture lag may slow down the process of change and obedience-oriented childrearing may persist even though it is no longer needed or functional. Such a maladaptive situation may call for intervention (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996, 2010).

## **The Model of Autonomous-Related Singles Counseling**

According to the literature (Hofstede, 1980; Ergun, 1991; Kağıtçıbaşı, 2010), Turkey is a collectivistic country. Kağıtçıbaşı (1990, 1996, 2010) states that the Autonomous-Related Self model (ARSM) emerges in families of collectivistic culture with a higher socio-economic status (SES). In order to disseminate the family model of psychological interdependence, in which ARSM emerges, it is necessary to maintain the culture of relatedness and to promote autonomy as an important value and a fundamental characteristic of individualistic culture. In other words, there is a need to revise culture in such a way that the values of relatedness and autonomy may be functional. As Kağıtçıbaşı (2010) points out, the autonomous-related self model in collectivistic culture can develop through intervention programs. For this purpose, prevention and intervention programs should be prepared.

Prevention and intervention programs can be educational, psychological, physical, economic, industrial, social, and so on. Aydın's Model of Autonomous-Related Singles Counseling (MARSC) is based on the Model of the Autonomous-Related Self (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1990, 1996, 2010) and Singles Counseling Theory (Aydın, 2017, 2019). MARSC is a psychological counseling model and depending on this model, psychological support-oriented prevention and intervention programs should be prepared for single populations (never married, divorced, etc.).

### **Specifications of the model of autonomous-related singles counseling**

#### ***MARSC's target audience***

Never married, divorced, and widowed individuals aged 18 and over are at the heart of counseling help. Parents have a sacred importance and dominant role in the parent and adult-child relationship in Turkey where Islam religion is dominant. Nevertheless, the prioritized and privileged role of the parents in family relations may easily be transformed into family pressure in some cases, subsequently complicating the development of the autonomous-related self. Due to this reason, it is recommended that families be consulted in order to increase the effectiveness of MARSC (Aydın, 2017, 2019).

#### ***The nature and functions of MARSC***

MARSC has a scientific, psychological, interdisciplinary, preparatory, and proactive nature; as the counseling model has developmental, preventive, adaptive, preparatory, continuous, and supportive functions. As a functional value, MARSC includes a synthesis of autonomy in an individualistic culture and relatedness in a collectivistic culture. Therefore, MARSC can be administered in both cultures. Comparative studies of gender and marital status (Madson & Trafimov, 2001; Bresnahan, Chiu, & Levine 2004; Aydın, 2019) revealed that women and married individuals have a related self; while men and single individuals have an autonomous self. Thus, MARSC is also characterized by a synthesis of gender roles.

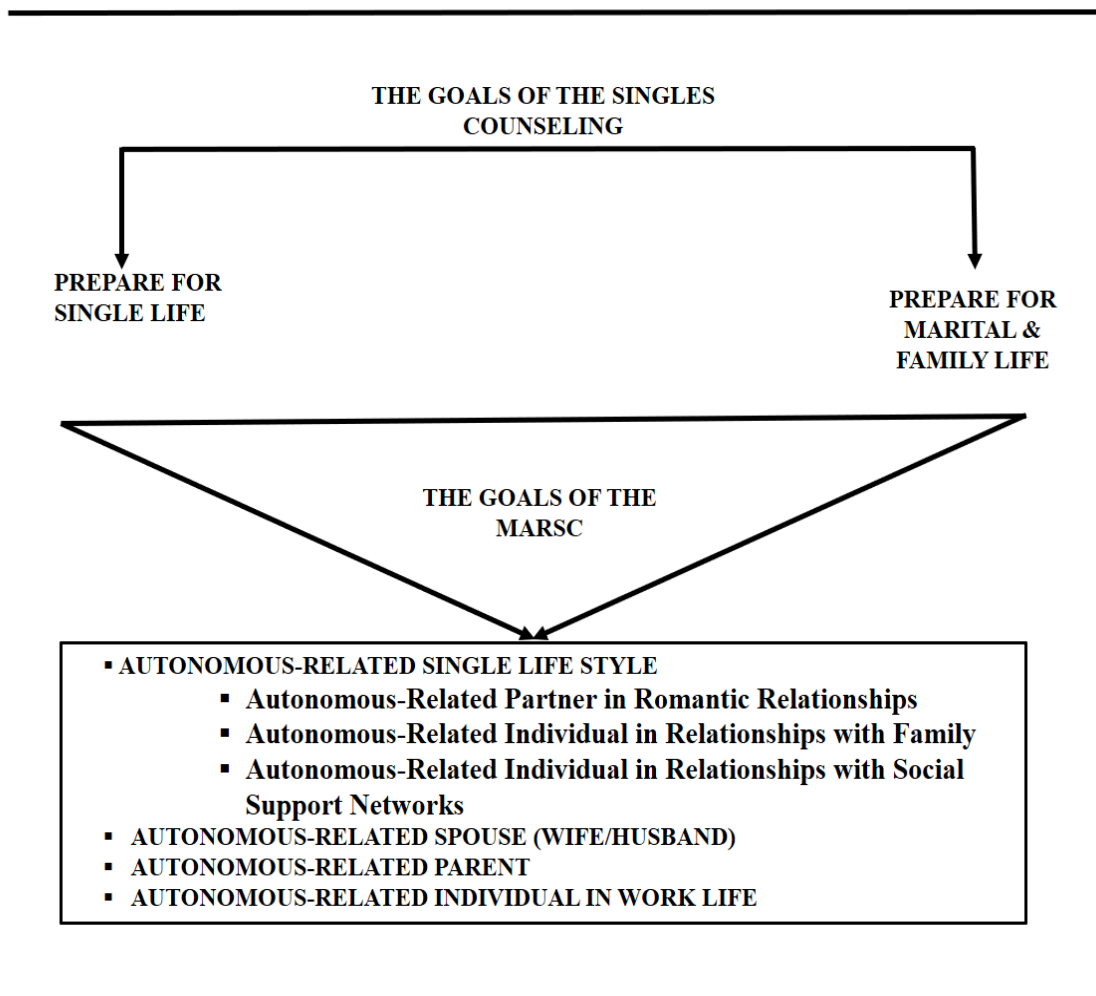
### ***The goals of MARSC***

As shown in Figure 2, MARSC is based on the Singles Counseling Theory (SCT) that proposed by Aydın (2017, 2019). The first of the two main goals of the SCT is to prepare the individual for single life and the other is to prepare him/her for marital and family life. The goals of MARSC are also based on these two main goals. Before individuals get married, if they develop the autonomous-related self model and single lifestyle, they can exhibit autonomous-related behaviors in romantic and family relationships, and also in the their roles of spouse and parent in the future (Aydın, 2019).

Since work life has a great importance for a single individual, it helps him/her to gain autonomy and relatedness skills. Satisfying these two needs leads to develop of autonomous-related self model. An individual who has autonomous-related self model may

Figure 2

*The Goals of the MARSC (Aydın, 2019)*





motivate to exhibit autonomous-related behaviors and attitudes in the relationship patterns in Figure 2.

Some examples of the autonomous-related self behaviors would be : “As an individual, I can feel, think and act without being influenced by others”; “I maintain my own freedom while maintaining a close relationship with my partner in romantic relationships”; “I can continue my relationship with my parents, while living independently from them”; “I can choose my spouse without being pressured by society”; “I respect my spouse's freedom, personality and decisions”; “I respect the privacy, personality and decisions of my child”; “As a manager without being influenced by anyone, I do not make discriminations against my subordinates due to their race, ethnicity, religion, gender and marital status”; “I value my relationships with my colleagues”; and “I can protect my own freedom and trust my power, while involved with my social support networks.”

### **The Comparison of the Model of Autonomous-Related Self and the Model of Autonomous-Related Singles Counseling**

The common goal of both models is to support the development of the Autonomous-Related Self model (ARSM). In order to develop ARSM, autonomy and relatedness needs in close relationships should be optimally met. According to Kağıtçıbaşı (2005), the thesis of the model the self and the family is that separateness and relatedness can be equally agentic and volitional. This common purpose points to the similarity between the models. The main difference between these two models is that ARSM focuses on the mother, infancy, and childhood as a source of change or development, whereas MARSC is centered upon single adults aged 18 years and older.

In MARSC, the main reason of focusing on single individuals is to prepare single individuals, especially in late adolescent and young adulthood, to the family model of psychological interdependence (FMPI) before entering their spouse and parent roles. An individual without an autonomous-related self is less likely to exhibit autonomous-related gender roles. Subsequently, it seems difficult for such an individual to establish autonomous-related relations with his/her spouse and support his/her child's autonomous-related self development. In other words; if the targeted change process starts before the start of the marriage, change for the single individual may be easier, more economical, and permanent.

It is proposed that MARSC be performed on single individuals beginning from the age of 18. Single individuals are defined as those who are never married, divorced, or widowed. However, until the age of 18, the individual's self-concept has already formed. From this point of view, intervention programs should be prepared for the purpose of changing a self model (such as an autonomous or relatedness and dependent-separated self model) established outside ARSM under MARSC. Moreover, developmental and preventive programs should be prepared for the individual to continue and use ARSM more effectively in future marriage, family, and single life.

According to Kağıtçıbaşı (2010), in families with an upper socioeconomic status (SES) in collectivistic culture, the need for autonomy as well as the need for relations can be met. Granted that Turkey has a collectivistic culture, more attention can be paid to meet the

autonomy need in the Model of Autonomous-Related Singles Counseling of Turkey (Turkey-MARSC), while counseling services are offered to single individuals aged 18 and above from the lower SES group.

Only psychological help-oriented models are not sufficient for ARSM development. In order to provide social-cognitive agency through such models, educational, economic, etc. models and programs should be also conducted effectively and important environmental problems should be solved. For example, unemployment is an important problem that may hinder the development of the autonomous-related self especially among young people. Therefore, in order to turn Turkish culture, family, and the human model into autonomous-related models, respectively common and tough environmental problems need to be solved by public policies. Some common environmental problems in Turkey are mentioned below.

### **Environmental factors that complicate the development of Autonomous-Related Self Model in Turkey**

Unemployment in Turkey's economy, particularly youth unemployment, is one of the main chronic problems. For new university graduates that have graduated with relevant professional and technical implements, it is difficult to find a job. Those who cannot find a job for a long time often lose their hope of finding a job. Therefore, this leads to a permanent increase in unemployment rates. Turkey's youth unemployment rate has remained above the 20% level (Taşcı & Duran, 2019). The unemployment rate was 25.2% in March 2019 for the young population (15 - 24 ages) (Turkey Statistical Institute/TSI, 2019). According to the statistics provided by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2019), Turkey was ranked fourth among the countries where the unemployment rate was the highest in 2019 (South Africa, Greece, Spain, and Turkey respectively).

The high ratio of young population in Turkey (TSI, 2019) increases the importance of the youth unemployment problem. Nevertheless, the singles rate of the population in Turkey is increasing rapidly. According to TSI's 2018 statistics (TSI, 2019), the proportion of individuals who never married between 1945 - 2018 increased from 46.8% in 1945 to 55% in 2018. The rate of single women increased from 16.5% to 23.4% and the single male rate increased from 30.2% to 31.6%. The first marriage age increased from 16 -19 in 2010 to 20 - 24 in women (25-29 in second place) and 25 - 29 in men in 2018. Marriage seems to be the most important social security for an increasing number of unemployed single women (Öztan, 2014). The amount of violence against women in Turkey (Resmi Gazete, 2012; Takvim, 2019; Haber Port, 2019) is also increasing day by day, revealing the importance of development the autonomous-related self especially for unemployed single women.

Unemployment is regarded as a major obstacle for young people to fulfill their developmental tasks such as establishing romantic relationships, getting a job, moving in a career, getting married and having children. According to Myers (2005), young adulthood is the most stressful period for these important purposes. The limited count of policies (Öztan, 2014), scientific research (Lordoğlu, 2016), and legal regulations (Aydın, 2018) for single populations including young adults is a crucial problem in Turkey. Therefore, the ARSM can be much more important for single individuals with limited social support resources.

According to statistical data presented by TSI in 2018 and the General Directorate of Migration Management (2019), emigration to Turkey has been most notably from Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, Turkmenistan, and Iran respectively, which are the countries in which the collectivistic culture highly dominates. This migration may complicate the development of the ARSM in Turkey. Furthermore, the migration of young people from countries at war may also contribute a rise in the youth unemployment rate in Turkey. Kağıtçıbaşı (1990, 1996, 2010) points out that urbanization has a significant effect on the development of the ARSM; and thus, ARSM is developing in families with upper SES living in cities. However, the urbanization that takes place in Turkey has gone in an unhealthy and unplanned way. In Turkey, together with urbanization, there have been great migrations from rural areas that hold the highest fertility rate among cities and regions. Along with these migrations, large “slum” settlements emerged in the cities (Karaman, 2003; Kongar, 2009). The slum settlements have led to the formation of a new culture, known as a “looting culture”. The looting culture has also greatly reduced the function of the legal system. Ethnocentrism can be considered to have the greatest role in all of them. This process of change has also formed the human model.

Developments over time show that the “self-seeker human” model, which emphasizes a purely benefit based approach, shapes developments and ultimately these people as “unity of interest” establishing “social organizations” in the left-wing extremist model then come together as communities or ethnic organizations (Kongar, 1999, p. 577).

Congregation and social control also complicate the development of the ARSM. Some of them have migrated to the city while some of the family members have stayed in rural areas. The solidarity between the family members staying in the village and migrating to the city is of great importance. Those who migrated to the city formed large slum settlement areas. In these regions, large groups formed with clusters of relatives and citizens. These groups, in which the need for mutual solidarity and support are high, also serve as social control and regulate the attitudes and behaviors of the individual and ensure their integration within the group. Thus, while creating a community spirit, individualization of the individual is prevented. Congregation and social control, which is formed with the awareness of citizenship, also leads to the continuation of rural culture in the city (Karaman, 2003).

In collectivistic cultures, relations between in-group (e.g. family) members are intense, while out-group relations are based on distance and insecurity. According to Yamagishi, Cook, and Watabe (1998), individuals who have strong bonds with their in-groups prefer to get support from their own group rather than seeking help from an out-group, as they completely trust their own groups. In-groups are trusted and perceived to assure social support. None of the statements above apply to out-groups. The perception of other groups (out-groups) as a threat element ensures the continuity of solidarity and dependence within the group. In these groups, while individualization is prevented through solidarity and social control, the dependent self structure continues.

In the countries where collectivistic culture and Islam are dominant, single individuals live together with their families (Kohan, Mohammadi, Mostafavi, & Gholami, 2017). However, economic and security reasons can also force it (Lordođlu, 2016). There are also frequently generational conflicts between young single individuals living with their families and their parents due to differences in values (Kongar, 1999). Living with the family may prevent the development of ARSM for single individuals.

Another common problem in Turkey is gender inequality against women. Since there is gender inequality, women with lower education in Turkey participate less in labor and earn less. Gender inequality caused by social pressure also brings about negative effects directly or indirectly on physical health (Şimşek, 2011). According to Orloff (1993), gender inequality can be overcome by social policies. Gender inequality against women may hinder the development of ARSM in women.

In Turkey, the traditional extended family structure has changed into the nuclear family. As the functions of the family change more slowly than the structure, the contemporary nuclear family structure still maintains some of the functions of the traditional extended family, even in the most industrialized regions. The sovereignty of the father's command restricts the freedoms of other members of the family, and such traditional extended family control the nuclear family (Kongar, 1999). According to Kađıtçıbaşı (2010), this patriarchal and authoritarian attitude leads to the development of the heteronomous-related self model which is dysfunctional in an ever-changing and globalizing world. In this context, it can be difficult for young people, especially single women, to develop an autonomous-related self.

Despite the rapid increase in nuclear families in Turkey, public policies promote the traditional extended family (Öztan, 2014; Lordođlu, 2016). The traditional extended family is patriarchal and can lead to the continuation of traditional gender roles, gender inequality, and the continuation of the heteronomous-related self model.

Although the social policies' target audience is families, a rapid increase in domestic violence (e.g. Resmi Gazete, 2012) has been observed in Turkey. According to TSI (2019), the rates of divorce increased from 123,325 in 2012 to 142,448 in 2018. According to TSI (2019) statistics for 2016, the reasons for divorce for both genders are as follows respectively: being irresponsible and irrelevant, failure of the household to live economically, disrespect towards the spouses' families, and interfering with family relations and cheating. The increase in the divorce rates and the reasons for the divorce point out that the need of relationship is also not adequately met.

According to the "Life Satisfaction" research conducted by TSI (2017) between 2010 and 2016, the relationship satisfaction of married, divorced, widowed, and never married individuals with their neighbors, relatives, and friends is rapidly decreasing. This result also indicates that need of relationship is not met optimally.

School education plays an important role in the development of the ARSM. However, considering the problems experienced in the Turkish education system, (Gür & Çelik, 2009; Yılmaz & Altinkurt, 2011; Özyılmaz, 2013; Uygun, 2013; Köstereliođlu & Bayar, 2014) it is far from responding to primary, secondary and higher education needs of the 21<sup>st</sup> century in Turkey from quantitative and qualitative aspects (Kongar, 1999). The ever-changing, exam-

oriented, and rote learning programs are unlikely to improve cognitive agency in children and adolescents.

## Discussion and Conclusion

In the Autonomous-Related Self Model (ARSM), meeting the needs of autonomy and relatedness in a balanced way may easily promote people's welfare and adaptation to changing lifestyles. Autonomy is functional for success in school and in jobs requiring proficiency in urban technology society, while relatedness provides the psychological support required for development as a healthy human. Thus, ARSM is the healthiest among the self-models described in Figure 1 (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005, 2010).

ARSM mostly develops in a collectivistic culture. Research conducted on diverse national and ethnic groups in Brazil, Estonia, Turkey, China, the Canadian Inuit, and immigrants in the United States of America and Europe, provides scientific evidence with regard to the ARSM (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996, 2010). Recent research on Turkish samples (e.g. Karadayı, 1998; Ercan, 2013; Aydın, 2019) also provides evidence of the relevance of the ARSM in actual life of collectivistic culture.

The widespread importance of issues such as migration, globalization, urbanization, industrialization, modernization, democratization, good education and income level, and specialization in countries with a collectivistic culture requires the development of autonomy. Nevertheless, there is a need for intervention in order to develop the ARSM in such contexts (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2010).

In addition to depending on context and intervention, the ARSM may be associated with individual characteristics such as innate intelligence, special abilities and personality. For example, a person raised in a collectivistic culture, where the need for autonomy cannot adequately be met, may migrate to a country with a developed and individualistic culture.

ARSM develops in families with an upper socioeconomic status (SES) living in modern cities based on industrialization and in the collectivistic culture. These families have the family model of psychological interdependence (FMPI) (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2010). In such a family model, relationships between family members are based on psychological or emotional dependence rather than material. Some of the contextual (environmental) issues such as the economic difficulties, unemployment, security problems, inadequate education, and inadequate public policies described above may affect the SES negatively and prevent the emergence of this family model. In terms of critical developmental needs such as family building, employment, and proficiency, young adults are more affected by environmental negativities. Unemployed single young people are necessarily dependent on their families for both economic and psycho-social reasons. They deal at the traditional level under the control of the family with many important issues such as spouse selection, gender roles, parental attitudes, family structure, and lifestyle. Therefore, there is a strongly need for policies that could improve FMPI in Turkey.

In Turkish society importance is given to relatedness and close human bonds, therefore, the need of relatedness is assumed largely satisfied. However, the need for autonomy is not adequately recognized and satisfied. The mother, who plays a key role in

child development, generally values relatedness and rejects autonomy (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2010). Some similar research also (Fisek, 1991) supports this conclusion. Therefore, Kağıtçıbaşı's (2010) Early Support Project (ESP; 1982-2004) focuses on the mother for the acceptance and encouragement of autonomy in child education, thereby aiming to change the child's environment (i.e., context).

In infancy and early childhood periods when the brain grows rapidly, the lack of basic physical needs and nutritional disorders can cause permanent structural and functional disorders in the central nervous system, because of affecting brain development (Evans & Shah, 1994). In these periods, psychological trauma can also cause the same negative effects on the development of the brain (De Bellis & Zisk, 2014). Structural disorders in the brain can also restrict cognitive agency. In addition, developmental defects that occur in childhood can also negatively affect the individual and social life of adulthood. Such problems are more common for people with low SES.

In Turkey, family still continues being the most basic social support rather than institutional support for the elderly and children. Adult children are responsible for the care of mothers and fathers in the period of middle and old age. Particularly, grandparents having the heteronomous-related self model and traditional values also support their adult children, in the care of their children. This situation may restrict the development of autonomy in the self of new generations.

This all requires early support and intervention based on a multidisciplinary approach for the development of autonomy. In this context, coordinated implementation of programs such as nutrition, security, health, economic, education and counseling can make the intervention more effective.

Besides the complications of collectivistic culture and some contextual issues in Turkey mentioned above, the nature of the single life makes ARSM important, as well. The Model of Autonomous-Related Singles Counseling (MARSC; Aydın, 2017, 2019) is based on Kağıtçıbaşı's (1996) Autonomous-Related Self Model and Aydın's (2017, 2019) Singles Counseling Theory (SCT).

One of the two main purposes of SCT is to prepare the individual for the single life and improve the quality of the single life; the other is to prepare for healthy marriage and family life. The healthy family is context where FMPI and autonomous-related gender roles are functional. Based on these goals, in MARSC, which is a psychological counseling model, it is aimed to develop "autonomous-related" self-model, gender roles and single lifestyle in single populations. 'Single individual' is defined as never married, divorced, and widowed individuals aged 18-65 and over. It is assumed that each sub-population consisting of a developmental period and a single status (e.g. elderly never marrieds, young adult never marrieds) has specific needs and stress experiences in SCT.

The effectiveness of psychological intervention can take place in an advanced, stimulating, and supportive context (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005). Contextual factors that complicate the development of ARSM may make it difficult to achieve the aims of MARSC, as well. In addition to early support and intervention, it is important to identify factors that make it easier to achieve MARSC's goals in terms of preventive. All of the complicating and facilitating factors can be determined by the survey sampling method. This model is named the Turkey-

MARSC because all these factors make MARSC specific to Turkey. Turkey-MARSC is a proposed model and its effectiveness should be tested on large samples through cross-sectional, longitudinal, and experimental studies. It is recommended to focus on improving autonomy through prevention and intervention programs to be developed on the basis of Turkey-MARSC. For example, disadvantaged populations consisting of single young people with lower SES, unemployed single young people with academic degrees, single individuals with special needs, and career women may have priority in the intervention. Developmental and preventive programs may include goals such as preparing the individual for autonomous-related spouse and parent roles (gender roles), autonomous-related single lifestyle before establishing a family.

It may not be possible to achieve the goals of MARSC with programs focused solely on psychological support. For this reason, considering the effects of inadequate and negative contexts on development and adaptation, a multipurpose and multidisciplinary approach is recommended. In this regard, the most optimal effect may be achieved when MARSC which is a psychological counseling model is applied in coordination with programs having special aims in economy, education, employment, social and health, etc. The development and implementation of all prevention and intervention programs and the evaluation of their short- and long-term effects should be supported by adequate public policies.

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**Perceived Competence and Agreeableness Predict  
Positive Behaviors Toward Mexican Immigrants:  
Less Acculturated Hispanics are More Welcoming of  
Immigrants**

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## ABSTRACT

The resettlement of immigrants who have fled their countries because of dire consequences at home and better opportunities elsewhere, has given rise to a range of prejudices toward them in their host countries. We examined prejudices and discrimination toward immigrants, specifically Mexican immigrants, as a function of their perceived competence and warmth within the context of the Stereotype Content Model. We also examined perceiver's agreeableness, openness to experience, attitudes and acculturation level, and their links with prejudices toward immigrants. We found that an immigrant's competence elicited strong and more positive feelings and responses than warmth. More competent immigrants were more likely to be liked and welcomed. Of the Big Five variables, Agreeableness was strongly linked with positive sentiments and actions toward immigrants. However, Attitudes toward immigrants showed the strongest correlations with the criterion variables, of how individuals will feel and intend to behave toward immigrants. Finally, acculturation within Latinos correlated negatively with positive feelings and actions toward immigrants. More acculturated Latinos were less welcoming of immigrants. The findings serve to inform policymakers of the varied prejudices held of immigrants and the types of discrimination they are likely to face in order to help them implement humane policy options.

Keywords: immigration, immigrants, acculturation, competence, agreeableness, prejudices

## **Perceived Competence and Agreeableness Predict Positive Behaviors Toward Mexican Immigrants: Less Acculturated Hispanics are More Welcoming of Immigrants**

### **Prejudice Toward Immigrants: Competences Elicit Stronger and More Favorable Sentiments**

Millions of people worldwide have been displaced by wars, political unrest, ethnic or religious conflicts, or economic instability, and the resettlement of these masses has given rise to anti-immigrant sentiments and stereotypes in host countries, with governments taking or threatening to take harsher actions to limit immigration (Quintero, 2017; Sunstein, 2016). Immigrants may bring valued skills that may benefit the host countries, but these qualities are often overshadowed by stereotypes and fears of immigrants as lacking in abilities, taking jobs away from citizens, or corrupting the values of the host country (Shear & Benner, 2018; Merelli, 2017). Amid the negative reactions, positive attitudes toward immigrants still persist, indicating a range of sentiments towards them. Those who are welcoming point to evidence that immigration may vitalize the host country, with immigrants showing high rates of entrepreneurialism and acquisition of skills (Lofstrom, 2014; Reeves, 2016), and immigrant children demonstrating extraordinarily strong upward educational and income mobility of any group of children (Betts & Lofstrom, 2000; Reeves, 2016).

People immigrate to the United States to attend schools, reunite with family members, escape religious, ethnic or political persecution or conflict, or in search of better jobs (Navarro, 2009). Regardless of the reasons, immigrants bring varied skills reflecting the range of training or educational opportunities which they received in their home countries (Moore, 2017). Many were physicians, pharmacists, dentists, electricians, carpenters, farmers, or therapists in their respective countries (Moore, 2017).

In this study, we examined the range of attitudes and sentiments toward immigrants, and if the prejudices and discrimination toward them varied as a function of their skills and competences. Though stereotypes of immigrants are generalized (Caprariello et al., 2009), we posited that sentiments toward immigrants vary, and that how welcoming hosts are of immigrants depends on the perceived competences and warmth of the immigrants. Further, we investigated if personality, attitudes, and acculturation levels of their hosts mitigated these prejudices and discrimination.

The Stereotypic Content Model (SCM) has been widely used to explain why people are prejudiced and discriminate against others (Lee & Fiske, 2006). According to this model, how we feel and act toward others are based on two criteria: our perceptions of others' competence and warmth (Lee & Fiske, 2006). Competence is assessed based on an

individual's acquired skills, performance level, job status, and income, with higher competence attributed to those with better skills and performance, higher income levels or job status. A person's warmth is based on similarity and cooperation, with higher warmth attributed to those with shared common attitudes and group goals. The two dimensions are assessed in combination. For example, college students, perceived as both high in warmth and competence, are likely to be admired and welcomed. The elderly, perceived to be high in warmth and low in competence, are pitied and helped. The homeless, who are perceived low on both warmth and competence, are likely to elicit disgust and be demeaned (Lee & Fiske, 2006).

This model may be useful in assessing prejudices toward immigrants. Evidence suggests that the American public views low status migrants with contempt and disgust, seeking to exclude them from the country (Caprariello et al., 2009). One would expect that low-skilled immigrants would be perceived as less threatening because they are not competing for jobs. However, in a society that places greater value on merit than on need or equality (Berman et al., 1985), low competence may outweigh attributions of warmth or sympathies for those in need. By contrast, immigrants with greater skills may elicit greater admiration, but only if they do not compete with their hosts for the same jobs. Competition for jobs may elicit lower warmth attributions, and thus, greater discrimination (Caprariello et al., 2009). Levine & Campbell (1972) labelled such a competition for perceived limited resources Realistic Conflict theory.

Periods of economic decline may heighten these prejudices and elicit feelings of relative deprivation in the hosts (Smith & Pettigrew, 2015). Evidence suggests that fear and anxiety may exacerbate negative attitudes toward an outgroup of a different culture and language (Plant et al., 2008). However, outgroups may be perceived as warmer, friendlier, and more trustworthy to the extent they adapt to and cooperate with the ingroup (Fiske et al., 2006). Indeed, prejudices may be mitigated by a forged commonness in group identity (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2012). By contrast, an uncooperative outgroup is ascribed negative traits and is more likely to be discriminated against (Fiske et al., 2006; Riek et al., 2006). Thus, to the extent that immigrants integrate and pursue shared goals with their hosts, they may be perceived as warmer and be accepted. Thus, the model may prove useful in testing prejudices and discrimination toward immigrants based on their perceived competence levels and warmth (Cuddy et al., 2007).

Personality factors, attitudes, and acculturation levels may also provide a better understanding of prejudices toward immigrants. Ekehammar and Akrami (2003) proposed that attitudes toward various outgroups stem from one or more personality basic traits. They found that Openness to Experience and Agreeableness were negatively correlated with generalized prejudice. Hodson et al. (2009) also found Openness to be negatively linked with prejudice even when statistically controlling for other Big Five factors. In this study, the Right-Wing Authoritarianism scale (RWA) and Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) were negatively correlated with Openness whereas SDO was negatively correlated with Agreeableness (Hodson et al, 2009). These findings suggest that people who score higher on these two factors may be more accepting of immigrants.

Attitudes are the most direct way of measuring prejudice toward others and the topic of immigration. Sentiments toward immigrants have been openly expressed in opinion polls, public debates, and policy forums, and range from outright hostility and fear to sympathy and support (Navarro, 2009; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2002). Immigrants have been depicted as incompatible with American culture, as cunning opportunists who manipulate the system, and culturally inferior and prone to crime. Positive attributes describe immigrants as hardworking and dedicated, ambitious, loyal, willing to make familial sacrifices, and entrepreneurial (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2002).

Attitudes toward others based on social categories (e.g. race, gender, nationality, religion, etc.) must be taken into account because they may be laden with biases and be an important source of error in measurement (Cuddy et al., 2011). For example, Plant et al. (2008) found that participants with more reported anger and anxiety toward outgroups avoided interethnic interactions and blamed the outgroup for negative outcomes in their interactions. Specifically, anger in White participants was linked with avoidance of Hispanics, while anxiety in Hispanics was associated with avoidance of Whites (Plant et al., 2008). By comparison, positive expectations about interacting with outgroup were linked with higher behavioral approach of an outgroup (Plant et al., 2008). Thus, individuals may respond with greater affect and make more extreme decisions about who to trust, doubt, avoid, or associate with, based on pre-existing prejudices (Cuddy et al., 2011).

Attitudes toward immigration have also found differences. Binder et al. (1997) measured Mexican-American and Anglo attitudes toward immigration reform in the U.S. counties bordering Mexico. They found that Latino attitudes toward immigration policies can be characterized as presenting “two competing views, which involves the cultural perspective and the socio-economic status (SES) perspective.” The former suggests that Latinos, because of their shared cultural history with nations south of the U.S. border, are more likely than Anglos to oppose restrictions imposed by immigration policies. The latter, on the other hand, suggests that differences between Latino and Anglo immigration attitudes are less a function of national origin rather than how integrated Latinos are into American society. Separate from recency of migration experience, the more integrated the Latino populations are into American society, the more the Latino attitudes will resemble Anglo attitudes toward immigration (Binder et al., 1997). The less Mexican a respondent identified him or herself to be, the more restrictive was their stance toward immigration policies. Previous research has demonstrated that being a member of a high-status group is much more appealing than being a member of a low status group (Ellemers et al., 1992). Moreover, a threat to a high-status outgroup results in being more likely to demean a low status group (Cadinu & Reggiori, 2002). By these accounts, the more acculturated Hispanics may be less welcoming of immigrants.

In this study, key research questions asked whether individuals' sentiments and behaviors toward an immigrant would vary as a function of their perceived competence and warmth of immigrants. We reasoned that prejudices and discrimination would vary, and that individuals would be more welcoming of immigrants who were perceived as warm and competent. Thus, for the first hypothesis we predict that more positive feelings and actions

will be expressed and taken, respectively, toward immigrants who are perceived to be warmer and more competent.

Auxiliary research questions about how prejudice is expressed toward immigrants also concerned personal factors and pre-existing prejudices. Specifically, we reasoned that individuals who were higher in Openness to experience and Agreeableness would be more welcoming of immigrants. Thus, for our second hypothesis, we predicted that more positive feelings and actions will be expressed toward immigrants by those who are more open to experience and agreeable. Moreover, attitudes and behaviors had to be assessed controlling for pre-existing prejudices. For our third hypothesis, we expected that individuals with more positive attitudes toward immigrants will be more welcoming of immigrants.

We also reasoned that those who were less acculturated would be more welcoming of immigrants. Thus, we predicted for our fourth hypothesis that within the Hispanic sample, the less acculturated Hispanics will express more positive feelings and behaviors toward immigrants.

## Methods

### Participants, Design, and Procedure

Originally, 507 undergraduate students participated in this study, and were recruited from a central Texas University. Seventy-eight participants were eliminated for not completing the survey or having missing data. The data for 429 participants was left to analyze in this study. Of the 86 male participants, 2.3% identified as Asian, 8.1% as African American/Black, 33.7% as Hispanic/Latino, 46.5% as White, 8.1% as Mixed, and 1.2% as Other. Of the 343 female participants, 3.5% identified as Asian, 14% as African American/Black, 30.6% as Hispanic/Latina, 42.6% as White, 9% as Mixed, and 3% as Other.

Participants were randomly assigned to one of four vignettes in a 2 x 2 between-subjects factorial design. The vignette about a Mexican immigrant was used because Mexican immigrants make up the majority of the immigrant population in the United States, constituting more than 11.7 million immigrants by 2014 (Zong & Batalova, 2016). The vignette below describes one of four conditions. In this particular vignette an immigrant is highly competent and skilled and warm, who will not be competing with Americans for jobs or resources.

An immigrant from Mexico, with name initials C.G., arrives in the United States. C.G. can speak, read, and write in English and Spanish, is highly skilled and has a master's degree from a well-respected university. C.G. will not likely compete for the same job positions that Americans will be applying for, but because C.G. is self-sufficient and self-reliable, will not take advantage of social services and resources available to Americans.



The other three conditions varied the descriptions. A low competent immigrant was described as someone without degrees and who could only speak Spanish. This is because an immigrant that is high on warmth is not likely to compete for jobs and take advantage of resources, an immigrant in a low warmth condition was described as someone who would be competing with Americans for jobs and taking advantage of resources.

### ***Dependent Variables***

Immediately following the manipulation, participants answered 4 questions about how they felt towards the immigrant and four questions about how they would behave towards the immigrant in the story. Specifically, four questions asked the extent to which participants would admire, envy, feel disgust towards, and sympathize with the immigrant. Four behavioral questions asked the extent to which they would exclude, help, associate with, and fight with the immigrant. All eight responses were noted on a 7-point Likert scale from Very Unlikely (1) to Very Likely (7).

### ***Manipulation Checks***

Two items asked participants about how warm they perceived the immigrant to be. Also, two questions asked participants about how competent they perceived the immigrant to be. These items were rated on a 5-point Likert scale from Not at all (1) to Extremely (5).

### **Additional Measures**

#### ***Big Five***

The brief and revised 10 item measure of the Big Five adapted from the original scale (Costa & McCrae, 1992) was used (Gosling et al., 2003). Participants rated the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with a descriptor using a Likert scale on 7 points ranging from Disagree Strongly (1) to Strongly Agree (7). Openness to Experience and Agreeableness were measured with two items each. Examples of items measuring Openness to Experience were: "Complex" and "Conventional." Examples of items measuring Agreeableness were "Sympathize" and "Quarrelsome." Test-retest reliability for agreeableness and open to experience were  $r = .58$  and  $r = .48$ , respectively. Inter-item reliability was not reported.

#### ***Attitudes Toward Immigrants***

Ashby Plant, David Butz, and Margarta Tartakovsky developed a scale to measure attitudes toward Hispanics, specifically discriminatory attitudes toward Hispanics in 2008. Inter-item reliability tests of these developed scales are quite robust with alpha of .94 for White participants and .90 for Hispanic participants. Seven questions were adapted from this questionnaire to measure Attitudes toward Immigrants. An example of a question on this scale is: "Hispanic immigrants are demanding too much in their pull for equal rights." Participants rated the extent to which they agreed with each statement on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from Strongly Disagree (1) to Strongly Agree (7).

### **Acculturation Scale**

Participants who identified themselves as Hispanic/Latina(o) on the survey, were administered a 13-item acculturation scale (Marin et al., 1987) that asked participants about their preferred usage of language and interaction with a racial/ethnic group. The Likert scaled items on 5 points from Only Spanish to Only English measured language use and media preference items. Ethnic social relations preferences ranged from Only Latinos/Hispanics to Only Americans. This scale's inter-item reliability that combined the language use with social relations preferences subscales has been shown to be quite robust with the reliability alpha coefficient at .92 (Marin et al., 1987). This acculturation scale may also be linked to recency of migration to the U.S.

## **Results**

### **Preliminary Analysis**

The reliability for the seven item Attitudes toward Immigrants scale was quite robust (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .91$ ). The reliability of the 13 item Acculturation scale was also acceptable (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .89$ ). The two items measuring Openness,  $r = .10, p < .05$ , did not correlate with each other, and the two items measuring Agreeableness,  $r = .21, p < .001$ , also, did not correlate with each other. Thus, the two Openness and two Agreeableness items were analyzed separately.

Independent sample t-tests conducted to check whether the manipulations worked indicated that only the two competence items were both statistically significant,  $t(426) = 3.89, p < .001$ , and  $t(425) = 9.01, p < .001$ . The manipulation checks for the two warmth items were not statistically significant.

## **Tests of Hypotheses**

The first three hypotheses were tested using a MANOVA that allowed two dichotomous variables, their interaction, and five continuous independent variables to be regressed on four emotional (disgust, sympathize, admire, envy) and four behavioral (help, fight, associate, exclude) variables. The analysis met assumptions of normality, equality of covariance, and absence of multicollinearity. In addition, scatterplot matrices show linearity among the dependent variables. The multivariate tests of this model using Wilks' Lambda criteria showed that both Warmth,  $F(8, 402) = 2.09, p < .05$ , and Competence,  $F(8, 402) = 15.51, p < .001$ , but not their interactions, were significant (Table 1). Additionally, two of the Agreeableness items were significant,  $F(8, 402) = 3.38, p < .01$  and  $F(8, 402) = 2.01, p < .05$ , including the Positive Attitudes Toward Immigrants,  $F(8, 402) = 27.22, p < .001$ . The two Openness items were not significant.

**Table 1**

*Effects of Personality, Attitudes towards Immigrants, and Perceived Characteristics (Competence and Warmth) on Feeling and Acting with a Specific Immigrant*

IV	DV	Wilk' s k	F	Df	P	MS	F	df
Agreeableness Sympathy		.937	3.38	402	.001			
	Admire					11.16	5.851	1
	Sympathize					27.10	17.81	1
	Help					21.24	15.38	1
Agreeableness Quarrelsome		.961	2.01	402	.044			
Positive Attitude toward immigrants		.649	27.22	402	.000			
	Disgust					229.85	131.4	1
	Admire					141.50	74.18	1
	Sympathize					117.10	76.97	1
	Help					119.68	86.65	1
	Fight					27.69	19.50	1
	Associate					180.48	110.6	1
	Exclude					111.48	82.45	1
Warmth		.960	2.09	402	.036			
	Disgust					16.03	9.17	1
	Admire					13.71	7.19	1
Competence		.764	15.51	402	.000			
	Disgust					12.66	7.24	1
	Admire					129.55	67.91	1
	Envy					107.35	55.60	1
	Help					6.11	4.43	1
	Associate					56.36	34.56	1
	Exclude					17.38	12.85	1

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects were conducted only if the Multivariate tests using the Wilks' Lambda criteria showed significance. The Warmth manipulation elicited main effect differences between Low and High Warmth conditions in two emotions: Disgust,  $F(1, 409) = 9.17, p < .01$ , and Admiration,  $F(1, 409) = 7.19, p < .01$ . Disgust was far more likely to be elicited in the Low Warmth and Admiration in the High Warmth conditions. See Table 2 for mean differences between conditions for Warmth.

**Table 2**  
*Mean Differences Between Conditions for Warmth*

	Warm	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Disgust	Low	219	2.54	1.687	2.380	2.700
	High	211	2.15	1.438	2.014	2.286
Admire	Low	220	4.48	1.766	4.313	4.647
	High	210	4.88	1.494	4.739	5.021

**Table 3**  
*Mean Differences Between Conditions for Competence*

	Competent	N	M	SD	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Disgust	Low	202	2.59	1.57	2.442	2.738
	High	228	2.13	1.56	1.982	2.278
Admire	Low	202	4.03	1.54	3.885	4.175
	High	228	5.24	1.54	5.095	5.385
Envy	Low	202	2.15	1.22	2.035	2.265
	High	228	3.14	1.54	2.995	3.285
Help	Low	202	4.91	1.40	4.777	5.043
	High	229	5.28	1.32	5.155	5.405
Associate	Low	202	4.33	1.55	4.183	4.477
	High	229	5.18	1.42	5.046	5.314
Exclude	Low	202	2.55	1.39	2.419	2.681
	High	229	2.05	1.22	1.935	2.165

The Competence manipulation elicited significant condition differences for Disgust,  $F(1, 12.66) = 7.24, p < .01$ , Admiration,  $F(1, 129.55) = 67.91, p < .001$ , Envy,  $F(1, 107.35) = 55.60, p < .001$ , Helping,  $F(1, 6.11) = 4.43, p < .05$ , Associate,  $F(1, 56.36) = 34.56, p < .001$ , and Exclude,  $F(1, 17.38) = 12.85, p < .001$ . Table 3 shows mean differences between conditions for Competence. There is less Disgust, and greater Admiration and Envy for immigrants in the High Competence condition than those in the Low Competence condition. Additionally, immigrants with higher competence were more likely to be Helped, Associated With and less likely to be Excluded than immigrants in the low competence condition.

Only one Agreeableness item significantly predicted two emotions and one behavior (Table 1). Specifically, Agreeableness predicted Admiration,  $F(1, 409) = 5.85, p < .05$ , Sympathize,  $F(1, 409) = 17.81, p < .001$ , and Help,  $F(1, 409) = 15.38, p < .001$ . Correlation analyses examining the relationships between this predictor and these four criteria, shown in Table 4, indicate that the more Agreeableness in the participant's personality, the more likely they reported they would admire, sympathize, help, and include the immigrant.

Attitudes toward Immigrants significantly predicted three emotions and four behaviors (Table 1). Specifically, Attitudes predicted Disgust,  $F(1, 409) = 131.48, p < .001$ , Admiration,  $F(1, 409) = 74.18, p < .001$ , Sympathize,  $F(1, 409) = 76.97, p < .001$ , Help,  $F(1, 409) = 86.65, p < .001$ , Fight,  $F(1, 409) = 19.45, p < .001$ , Associate,  $F(1, 409) = 110.66, p < .001$ , and Exclude,  $F(1, 409) = 82.45, p < .001$ . The correlation matrix supports these findings. Table 4 shows that individuals with more positive attitudes toward immigrants report that they would be more likely to admire, sympathize, help, and associate with the immigrant. Also, these individuals would be less likely to feel disgust, fight, and exclude the immigrant in the vignette.

A correlation analysis was used to test the fourth hypothesis. The analysis showed that among Hispanics, Acculturation was correlated negatively with Admire,  $r(129) = -.26, p < .001$ , Help,  $r(129) = -.31, p < .001$ , and Associate,  $r(129) = -.31, p < .001$ . Thus, the more acculturated the Hispanic participant, the less likely they reported they would admire, help and associate with the immigrant in the vignette.

**Table 4.**  
*Correlation Matrix of Key Variables*

Dependent Variables	Competence	Agreeableness	Positive Attitude
Disgust		-.212*	-.487**
Admire	.395**	.204*	.360**
Sympathize		.211*	.401**
Envy	.315**		
Help		.239**	.487**
Fight			-.301**
Associate	.221*	.184*	.433**
Exclude		-.225**	.434**

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ . Note:  $N = 423 - 428$ .

## Discussion

Our results showed that sentiments and actions taken toward immigrants are influenced by their perceived competence. Additionally, the Agreeableness, Attitudes, and Acculturation of the participants predicted prejudices and behaviors are also influenced. Specifically, the Agreeableness personality trait was found to be predictive of prejudices and behaviors because people who have high levels of Agreeableness may tend to be more agreeable towards everyone. Hypotheses 1 and 2 were partially supported. Hypotheses 3 and Hypothesis 4 were more strongly supported.

The Competence condition evoked far more emotional and behavioral outcomes than the Warmth condition. High competent immigrants were more likely to be admired and envied and more likely to be included, associated with, and helped. This finding suggests that our high regard for highly skilled and competent immigrants attenuates prejudices and discrimination against them. Perhaps this finding reflects the tendency to weigh stable factors such as Competence more heavily than Warmth (Fiske et al., 2002). An immigrant's Competence, or the lack thereof, may evoke far more emotions and behaviors than an immigrant's Warmth because ability is perceived as an unchanging and fixed construct, while an affect may vary and be unreliable.

The strength of the Competence condition may also reflect the valued stereotypes Americans see themselves as possessing and expect others to have, such as being hard-working, skilled, and prosperous (Weber, 1904/1992, p. 175). High competent immigrants who are seen assimilating to these values may be perceived as an ingroup and a better fit with their host country. Thus, these highly skilled immigrants may be more likely to be welcomed and accepted (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2012; Linville & Jones; 1980).

Additionally, only one Agreeableness item was linked with two emotions and two behaviors. Our results partially support previous findings linking Agreeableness with greater acceptance of outgroups (Hodson et al., 2009). We suspect that the Openness to experience items, may have been misunderstood or misinterpreted. Participants reported that they didn't understand the term Conventional. Additionally, the term Complex was interpreted by many to mean problematic rather than openness.

Attitudes toward immigrants showed the strongest and most consistent correlations with all but one criterion variable. This suggests that the Likert measure of attitude is a robust and reliable predictor of how individuals will feel and intend to behave toward immigrants. The Acculturation results within the Latino sample were as predicted and support prior findings (Binder et al., 1997). More acculturated Latinos have adopted more mainstream attitudes toward immigrants.

### Limitations and Future Directions

There are limitations in the current study. First, the vignettes presented were hypothetical. Participants may not respond or express themselves as openly in person as they would toward a fictional character in a story. Individuals are more likely to control and keep their prejudices in check in real interactions. A future study may assess reactions based on face

to face interactions with immigrants. Second, the vignette in the story was about a Mexican immigrant. Participants' prejudices toward different outgroups may vary. Their prejudices toward immigrants from Western Europe may differ from those they expressed in this study. A future study would examine prejudices toward immigrants from different cultures. Third, our Warm condition was weak. The manipulation check indicated that it did not have the intended effect. Perhaps a vignette about an immigrant who cooperated or sacrificed for the host country would increase the Warmth strength of this condition. Fourth, our participants were college students, and their sentiments toward immigrants may differ from those who are not. The generalizability of the findings may be limited to attitudes held by college students.

## Conclusion

This Stereotypic Content Model along with additional measures were tested to determine how people would feel and behave toward immigrants who varied in their competence and warmth. These measures have not been previously been tested together in previous research. Immigrants are not all treated the same, and a better understanding of how immigrants are treated were obtained by examining the issue in a multifactorial way. Our results suggest that attitudes and behaviors toward immigrants depend on their competence, to some extent warmth, and by the agreeableness, attitudes and acculturation of the perceiver. This serves to inform policymakers of the varied prejudices held of immigrants and the types of discrimination they are likely to face in order to help them implement humane policy options.

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# **The Elephant in the Room: The Often Neglected Relevance of Speciesism in Bias Towards Ethnic Minorities and Immigrants**

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## **Abstract**

The area of intergroup bias and, specifically attitudes towards ethnic minorities and/or immigrants, has received a great amount of investigation by (cross-cultural) psychologists, spanning many theories and perspectives (Hewstone et al., 2002). However, one perspective rarely taken in mainstream psychology is one that acknowledges the inter-linkage of bias towards ethnic minorities and/or immigrants and that towards non-human animals (NHAs), despite relatively substantial literature outside of psychology emphasizing it (Singer, 2002). In the present paper, we draw from relevant literature outside and inside of psychology that speaks to the connectivity between attitudes towards marginalized human outgroups and NHAs, focusing on the mechanism of dehumanization in intergroup bias. We also shed light on more recent psychological research, specifically the Interspecies Model of Prejudice (IMP; Costello & Hodson, 2010; Costello & Hodson, 2014a; 2014b) as an example on how psychological research could incorporate speciesism into the discussion of intergroup bias. It is hoped that highlighting the existing rare, yet valuable, research endeavours within psychology inspires further engagement from psychologists interested in cross-cultural, intersectional, and diversity research in order to help better the lives of both marginalized human outgroups and NHAs.

*Keywords:* speciesism, intergroup bias, dehumanization, non-human animals, immigrants, ethnic minorities

# **The Elephant in the Room: The Often Neglected Relevance of Speciesism in Bias Towards Ethnic Minorities and Immigrants**

If you have men who will exclude any of God's creatures from the shelter of compassion and pity, you will have men who will deal likewise with their fellow men (St. Francis of Assisi).

The area of intergroup bias has received a great amount of investigation by psychologists (Hewstone et al., 2002). Research on dehumanization, i.e. the derogative likening of marginalized human outgroups to non-human animals (NHAs; Haslam, 2006; Leyens et al., 2000), has elucidated some of the mechanisms through which bias towards marginalized human outgroups occurs and is justified (Opatow, 2005). Dehumanization is often directed at ethnic minorities and/or immigrants by assigning to them animalistic characteristics, e.g. describing them as beastly and uncivilized (Adams, 2007; Deckha, 2008; Esses & Lawson, 2008, October).

Even though much of what lies at the heart of dehumanization is how humans as a group view NHAs in society (Costello & Hodson, 2010), the intergroup bias literature, and psychology in general, tends to neglect incorporating speciesism (Caviola et al., 2019), which is a preference for our own species over NHAs at the cost of NHAs (Singer, 2002). The existence of speciesism in our society is prevalent, as evidenced by the vast amount of NHA lives taken by questionable farming, testing, breeding, and other ill practices. More than 150 billion NHAs are killed per year worldwide for the meat, dairy, egg, and fish industry alone ([The Vegan Calculator, n.d.](#)). Parallels in speciesism and oppression of human outgroups have long been highlighted throughout history (Spiegel, 1996), e.g. the cruel acts directed towards NHAs at factory farms compared to humans in the context of slavery (acts like branding, restraining, beating, auctioning, and separating offspring from parents; York, 2013).

In the present paper, we acknowledge the insight of critical thinkers and philosophers from multiple disciplines (e.g. animal rights studies, eco-feminism, sociology, anthropology etc.) that have informed our understanding of the nature of speciesism and the experiences of oppression shared between ethnic minorities and/or immigrants and NHAs throughout history. We will, subsequently, review empirical research that is valuable in offering psychologists unique perspectives and insights to speak to the interrelatedness of speciesism and bias towards human outgroups. While we briefly review a variety of empirical literature, we will focus on dehumanization, a mechanism contingent upon societal views towards NHAs, often directed at marginalized humans. Next, we shed light on how the concepts of speciesism and dehumanization can both be incorporated into a discussion of intergroup bias with regards to ethnic minorities and/or immigrants, by focusing on the Interspecies Model of Prejudice (IMP) as an example (Costello & Hodson, 2010; Costello & Hodson, 2014a, 2014b). Lastly, we conclude that, in order to properly understand and combat dehumanization of marginalized

humans, we are in need of psychological frameworks that are less homocentric (i.e. human-centred), as well as more research that addresses human perceptions of NHAs. We also offer suggestions for future research endeavours that psychologists interested in cross-cultural and/or intersectional research could embark upon to contribute to the valuable efforts initiated by other researchers in the field.

## **Historical Parallels Between Human and NHA Oppression and the Role of Speciesism**

Critical scholars and thinkers from different schools of thought, such as critical animal studies, sociology, and ecofeminism amongst others consider speciesism to play an important role in the wider pattern of dominance and exploitation in society (Irvine, 2008). Although the majority of humans view NHAs as worthy of moral consideration, our actions as a society, overall, contrast this view (Wyckoff, 2015). Despite generally positive attitudes towards NHAs (Anderson 2008; Beatson & Halloran, 2007), there is a collective cultural belief that humans are inherently superior to NHAs. NHAs, as a group, are often denigrated in our culture by being portrayed as lacking value, emotional perspective, self-determination, morality, intelligence and other similar traits when compared to humans (Weitzenfeld & Joy, 2014). Such belief in a stark dissimilarity or a human-NHA divide (Roothaan, 2017) has reinforced NHAs' subordinate status throughout our history (Kalof, 2007), and is currently evident in the systemic institutional mistreatment of them (Mason & Finelli, 2006).

While each culture holds its own nuanced societal perception of NHAs (Foer, 2009), generally, within Western culture, the concept and cultural meaning of animality is incorporated in our daily discourse and influences our concepts of ethnicity, skin colour, immigrant status, etc. (Deckha, 2008). According to the Species Grid proposed by Wolfe and Elmer (1995), societal status is determined by the extent of animality assigned to a certain group. While "animalized animals" are positioned at the lowest rank and are exploited the most for our own pleasure (e.g. farm NHAs), higher in rank are the "humanized animals" who are our pets and companion animals. "Animalized humans" or marginalized human outgroups (i.e., the dehumanized humans, such as ethnic minorities and/or immigrants) are associated with a more primitive existence than the "humanized humans," whose humaneness is not questioned and who occupy a safe space at the top from which others are measured in value.

Often, images or characterizations used for the animalized animals are deployed to minimize the human status of marginalized humans, i.e. the animalized humans. For example, immigrants are often likened to NHAs who are perceived to be trespassing or quickly multiplying (e.g. ferrets), filthy and unwanted and disease carrying (e.g. insects), or in need of being hunted or attacked like prey animals (Adams, 2007). This act belittles both animalized groups and further reinforces their low ranking. A historical catalogue (Jahoda, 1999) revealed that ethnic minorities and immigrants have been represented as barbarians lacking culture, self-restraint, morality and intelligence in both popular culture and scholarship. The discourse around people of African descent has had imagery of apes associated with it (Goff et al., 2004;

York, 2013), and tendencies to make this association still remain in society. Ethnic minorities have been depicted as vermin, demons, and monsters throughout history (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005), and are often constructed as uncivilized, irrational, or beastly (Adams, 2007; Deckha, 2008; Esses & Lawson, 2008, October).

Animalized humans and animalized animals have shared experiences of exploitation, confinement, and displacement. Parallels have been drawn between exploited and confined human and NHA slaves (e.g. farm NHAs), associated with holding a property status within society for labour and breeding purposes (Irvine, 2008; Nibert, 2002; Torres, 2007; York, 2013). Spiegel (1996) asserts that cruel acts, such as branding, restraining, beating, auctioning, and separating offspring from parents and forced voyages that human slaves were subjected to are (still) directed at NHAs today. For example, female slaves were raped and separated from their children, forced to breastfeed their captors' children. The average dairy farm cow is also forcibly impregnated, only to have her calf taken away; she is forced to provide milk for humans rather than being able to feed her own offspring (York, 2013). Dr. A. Breeze Harper, founder of the Sistah Vegan Project, which is a series of narratives and reflections by African American vegan women, reveals the following about her revelation about this parallel;

The transition awakened me to many things that I was ignorant about and was keeping me in a state of suffering. I began realizing that the Standard American Diet seemed to parallel a colonial and imperialistic mentality. I was consuming colonialistic ideologies and it was killing my health physically and spiritually. (York, 2013, p.113)

Similar to how NHAs are exploited for medical experiments, so have been African Americans (and other minority groups) when testing humans as subjects. Many were tested without consent throughout history (e.g. Tuskegee studies; Jones, 1981). Nowadays big pharmaceutical companies offer new immigrants who often lack the language skills or educational background to easily find employment, monetary compensation for participation in medical tests without full comprehension of risks involved (Veracity, 2006).

In addition, many migrants also share the plight of displacement with NHAs. Refugees often lose their homes and communities and take refuge in a new land, often experiencing some psychosocial trauma (Kirmayer et al., 2011). Similarly, wildlife and endangered species are displaced from their natural habitats due to new infrastructure and experience loss and dispersion (Bradshaw & Watkins, 2006). The modes of transportation for refugees and detention centres evoke images of factory farms and slaughterhouses (Perry, 2014).

In addition to such critical arguments drawing historical parallels between the subordination of humans and NHAs, psychological empirical research also provides links between the maltreatment of humans and NHAs, which we will turn to next. We will first review some general psychological research that indicates a role of speciesism in bias towards humans, before turning to the dehumanization literature.

## **Empirical Research on the Connection of Speciesism and Bias Towards Human Outgroups**

As mentioned previously, there is relatively little psychological empirical research that has explored the links between speciesism and bias towards human outgroups. Traditionally, many studies in (social) psychology have consistently found that individuals who are biased against one group are likely to be biased towards other groups as well (Akrami et al., 2011; Bergh et al., 2012; Duckitt & Sibley, 2007). It has been found that speciesism shares psychological characteristics with other forms of bias and is motivated by similar psychological mechanisms and ideologies (Caviola et al., 2019; Dhont et al., 2014; Dhont et al., 2016).

The literature has so far established a few relatively robust linkages that deserve our attention before we review the dehumanization literature. These findings relate to the cognitive (i.e. views), affective (i.e. emotions), and behavioural aspects (i.e. acts) of intergroup bias (Dovidio et al., 2010) and include, but are not limited to the following:

- (1) Research has identified that people who hold views that are more anthropocentric (i.e. of the belief that human species is superior to NHAs) also tend to be more ethnocentric (i.e. devaluing certain cultures in comparison to their own (Bizumic & Duckitt, 2007; Chandler & Dreger, 1993). Furthermore, connections between speciesism and racism have been found (Caviola et al., 2019; Spiegel, 1996) in addition to links to other forms of human to human biases (e.g. sexism and homophobia). For example, in a Canadian study, attitudes towards NHAs correlated significantly and positively with attitudes towards outgroups, i.e. participants who had positive attitudes towards NHAs also liked human outgroups more (Dhont et al., 2014). Both the belief in a human- NHA divide and the tendency to perceive human outgroups as inferior are forms of ideologies that encourage hierarchical and unequal relationships (Milfont et al., 2013; Pratto et al., 1994). Studies have linked Social Dominance Orientation (SDO), a preference for social inequalities (Pratto et al., 1994) with a tendency to exploit the environment in unsustainable ways (Jackson, 2011; Milfont et al., 2013), a belief in a sharper human and NHA distinction, a tendency to endorse utilization of NHAs as ethically justifiable (Hyers, 2006), and a belief in human superiority (Costello & Hodson, 2010). Researchers have found that participants' SDO was related to a tendency to dehumanize immigrants (Costello & Hodson, 2010, 2014). In addition, Dhont et al.(2016) conducted three studies (in Belgium, UK, and USA) demonstrating that SDO is a key factor connecting ethnic prejudice and speciesist attitudes.
- (2) People in the animal protection community tend to hold higher levels of emotions, such as empathy, towards humans than those in the general community; furthermore, people who report more empathy for NHAs also extend more empathy toward humans than those who show less empathy for NHAs do (Taylor & Signal, 2005). Similarly, vegetarians score higher on empathy for humans than do omnivores (Dixon & Arikawa, 2008).
- (3) A theoretical, as well as empirical, continuity between violent acts towards NHAs and towards humans has been established, namely with bullying (Henry & Sanders, 2007). Abundant evidence has shown that abuse of NHAs often coexists with abuse of vulnerable



people (e.g., children and abused women; Ascione, 2008; Ascione & Shapiro, 2009). Desensitization to acts of violence (e.g. through media) has been found to have an affective and physiological effect on sensitivity towards NHA violence (Fielding et al., 2011). Moreover, research shows that adolescents who witness NHA abuse in the home are more likely than others to engage in bullying outside the home (Gullone & Robertson, 2008). Links between NHA abuse and spousal abuse (Arkow, 2014), parental abuse and NHA abuse (Currie, 2006), and bestiality and crimes against people (Hensley et al., 2006) amongst other things have been found (also see Linzey, 2009 for a more comprehensive review). On the other hand, those who express advocating behaviour, e.g. fight for animal rights, often also have been the ones advocating for women rights, civil rights, and child protection (Petersen, 2012; Selby 2000).

In addition to these empirical links in the literature, the dehumanization literature within social psychology offers us valuable insight into the psychological processes underlying these parallels between bias towards marginalized humans and NHAs. As mentioned previously, dehumanization is defined as a psychological process through which others are derogatively likened to NHAs and perceived as less human (Haslam, 2006; Leyens et al., 2000). Although explicit dehumanization has often occurred in relation to intergroup aggression (e.g. genocide), relatively more recent research has shown that, nowadays, more subtle forms of it are a common aspect of intergroup attitudes and relations (Jackson, 2011; Leyens et al., 2003). Intergroup attitudes are often characterized by this more subtle infrahumanization, which is the tendency to view outgroup members as less human than ingroup members by attributing fewer distinctly human qualities to the former.

Research has shown that when people are seen as lacking in civility, refinement, and socialized attributes (UH traits, i.e. “uniquely human” traits), they are regarded as coarse, uncultured, and amoral, and this kind of dehumanization is consistent with likening humans to NHAs (“animalistic dehumanization”; Haslam, 2006). In addition to traits, certain emotions are also seen as more human than others (Petersen, 2012). Primary emotions such as excitement, pleasure, anger, pain, and fear are seen as basic and not unique to humans (Petersen, 2012). However, secondary emotions, such as serenity, compassion, hope, guilt, remorse, and shame are believed to be unique human emotions and often less associated with marginalized human outgroups likened to NHAs (Leyens et al. 2000, 2003, 2007).

The literature provides solid evidence for the dehumanization of racial and ethnic minority groups and immigrants. For example, in Cuddy et al. (2007), participants rated African American victims of hurricane Katrina as experiencing less uniquely human emotions than White victims, which affected their intention to help. In addition, research has found that individuals attributed traits that were seen as uniquely human less to immigrants than to native-born individuals (Hodson & Costello, 2007). Other studies have found that refugees were associated with enemy or barbarian images, and dehumanization led to specific emotional reactions, such as contempt and lack of admiration (Esses et al., 2008).

Furthermore, it appears that more blatant dehumanization (in addition to the more subtle infrahumanization) is still alive and well. Fairly recent research (Kteily et al., 2015) has shown that across seven studies, participants generally assigned the highest level of physiological

and cultural evolving to Americans and Europeans and the lowest to Arabs. This blatant dehumanization predicted support for minimizing immigration of Arabs, less compassionate responses to injustice experienced by an Arab, and less money donated to an Arab versus American cause.

Although the outcomes of dehumanization (e.g. lower prosocial or more antisocial behaviour towards the person dehumanized; Haslam & Loughnan, 2014) have been studied, discussions around what causes dehumanization and strategies to reduce it have been quite limited in the psychological literature. The Interspecies Model of Prejudice (IMP) which will be discussed in the next section proposes a pathway that addresses this gap and illustrates the important role that speciesism is likely to play in bias towards marginalized humans.

### **The Interspecies Model of Prejudice- an Example of Incorporating Speciesism into Psychological Research on Intergroup Bias**

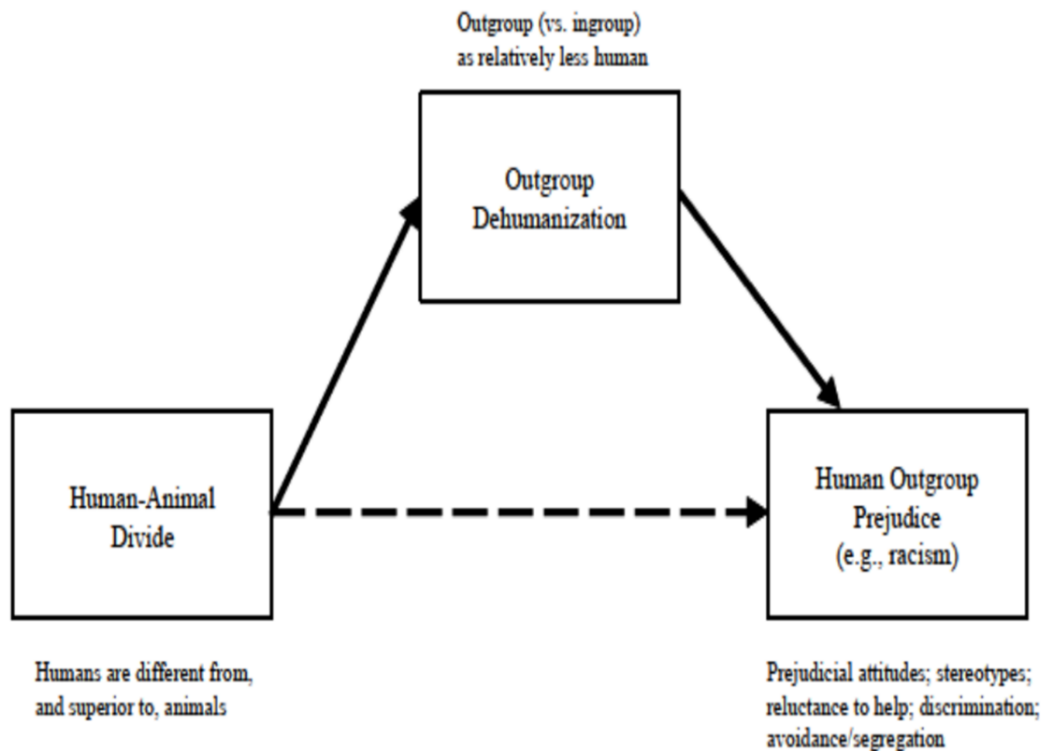
In an innovative social psychological model by Canadian psychologists, it is proposed that the concepts discussed so far, namely human-NHA divide, dehumanization, and intergroup bias are interlinked (Costello & Hodson, 2010). The Interspecies Model of Prejudice (IMP; see Figure 1) postulates that dehumanization arises out of the belief in a human-NHA divide (i.e. a speciesist attitude) and mediates the relationship between this belief and intergroup bias towards human outgroups (Costello & Hodson, 2010). Support for this model has been observed in correlational and experimental data among young children, as well as young and middle-aged adults, measuring attitudes towards racial minorities and immigrants (Costello, 2008; Costello & Hodson, 2010; Costello & Hodson, 2014a; 2014b).

In a series of studies conducted by Costello and Hodson (2010), participants who believed in a greater human-NHA divide engaged in higher levels of dehumanization, which, consequently, predicted higher anti-immigrant attitudes. The IMP was also expanded to consider dehumanization processes among children (Costello & Hodson, 2014a). Both the child participants and their parents showed a tendency to dehumanize children of African descent by denying uniquely human traits and secondary emotions to them. For the children, as well as their parents, greater perceived human-NHA divide predicted greater bias towards the racial outgroup, and this was mediated by greater tendency to liken the outgroup to NHAs (i.e. dehumanization).

Going beyond understanding the connection between belief in a human-NHA divide and intergroup bias, attempts were made to understand how to reduce this tendency. Previous research had shown that emphasizing human-NHA similarity has positive effects on attitudes towards NHAs (Plous, 1991, Wuensch et al. 1991, June). The proponents of the IMP proposed that emphasizing this similarity could also minimize dehumanization, which in turn was predicted to lead to more favourable attitudes towards human outgroups (Costello, 2008). Costello and Hodson (2010) implemented an experimental manipulation by exposing groups to editorials that either emphasized differences or similarities between humans and NHAs.

Figure 1.

*The Interspecies Model of Prejudice (Costello & Hodson, 2010)*



Ratings of human-NHA divide, dehumanization, and bias towards immigrants were compared between the participants of these different conditions, as well as with a control group. Participants who were exposed to a manipulation that emphasized “animals are like humans” had a lower belief in a human-NHA divide and lower biases towards the immigrant group than those of the control group or other experimental conditions (Costello & Hodson, 2010). In addition, after a video manipulation highlighting human-NHA similarity, children’s pre- and post-video measures indicated a minimized belief in human-NHA divide (Costello & Hodson, 2014 a). Furthermore, Bastian et al. (2012) found that participants who were asked to write an essay on how NHAs are similar to humans also showed more moral concern for marginalized human outgroups (Africans, Asians, Muslims, Aborigines, immigrants) than the control group. Essentially, the manipulation of stressing similarities was thought to “rehumanize” human outgroups through a broader and more flexible group categorization (Costello & Hodson, 2014b).

Costello and Hodson (2010, 2014a) employed what is named recategorization, i.e. a form of rearranging the representation of the ingroup in such a way that includes the outgroup (Paluck & Green, 2009). Numerous studies have found recategorization to be one of the prejudice reduction methods that has been repeatedly shown to be effective across a variety of situations (Paluck & Green, 2009). According to the Common Ingroup Identity Model

(Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000), which highlights the process of recategorization, finding a more encompassing identity that includes both the ingroup and outgroup, based on similarities, will reduce intergroup bias. Endorsement of a more inclusive superordinate intergroup representation can result in the decrease of intergroup bias in many contexts, including ethnic context (Esses et al., 2001).

The experimental manipulation utilized by Hodson and Costello (2010, 2014a) follows this model, however, it encourages a broader and more inclusive superordinate identity than the usual manipulations that employ this method for immigrants do, as it encourages a superordinate group of animal kind (including humans and NHAs). In essence, Costello and Hodson (2010, 2014a, 2014b) assert that their studies show that bias towards NHAs relate to beliefs about human outgroups, and that by incorporating NHAs into our moral consideration and research, as psychologists, we could improve conditions for both.

## **Towards a Psychology that Addresses Speciesism in Inter-Group Bias Research**

While the explicit expression of human to human forms of bias is, generally, not socially acceptable in our current society, speciesism is, overall, still an accepted social norm within Western society (Caviola et al., 2019). Yet, as reviewed in this paper, a speciesist ideology, if not addressed, can propel and shape biases directed towards marginalized humans, such as ethnic minorities and/or immigrants. Therefore, we argue that psychologists, who are interested in intergroup bias research could benefit from understanding speciesism, especially when exploring dehumanization.

Psychology possesses the theoretical, experimental, and statistical tools to explore the connection between speciesism and bias towards human outgroups. However, mainstream psychology, as it currently stands, may benefit from a shift in philosophical perspective before it can enter into a discourse that is less homocentric (i.e. human centred; Bradshaw & Watkins, 2006; Joy, 2005). Psychology has so far mostly restricted psyche to human subjectivity and experience (Bradshaw & Watkins, 2006), assuming human superiority over other species (Metzner, 1999). As mentioned, the effectiveness of dehumanization of marginalized humans is contingent on the subordinate status of NHAs in society. Therefore, we believe this homocentric stance not only limits psychology's ability to properly understand bias at a scope that it could otherwise grasp but could also reinforce the kind of bias motivated by dehumanization, by fostering a perception of an exaggerated human-NHA divide.

New psychological frameworks and theoretical propositions that could help to offer an alternative viewpoint are emerging and strengthening. For example, proponents of trans-species psychology (Bradshaw & Watkins, 2006) illustrate that cognitions, emotions, and experiences are shared by humans and other animals, a perspective from which a more conventional psychology that insists on the existence of unique human traits and emotions could benefit. Specifically, the field of cross-cultural psychology has been stated to benefit from integrating a cross-species approach, in order, e.g., to account for how culture affects

the behaviour of humans and NHAs alike (Liebal & Haun, 2018). We suggest that such a perspective could also enrich the sub-field's understanding of behaviour shown *towards* humans and NHAs. For example, a shared group membership, such as foreigner status, can result in a shared experience of marginalization for humans and NHAs. "Invasive species" (i.e. those that cross the border from another nation) are often unwelcome, as their name implies, and are perceived to be damaging to the host society (Davis et al., 2011). Such discourse and labeling has also been utilized to decrease support for prospective immigrants (Coates, 2006). In those cases, it is the societal perception associated with foreigner status, regardless of species status, that encourages a climate of discriminatory behaviour towards immigrants. Addressing the stigma associated with invasive NHAs (in addition to those with immigrants) is likely to, eventually, contribute to a more positive climate for humans with foreigner status. A broader scope that includes cross-species analyses could offer cross-cultural psychologists new and more effective methods for combating bias towards immigrants, especially if a result from dehumanization.

Such more flexible and intersectional approaches in psychology will, hopefully, motivate more psychologists to research dehumanization and bias towards immigrants and ethnic minorities from a different angle than often taken. Innovative research in intergroup bias and psychological models, such as the Interspecies Model of Prejudice (IMP), have valuable practical implications. We find such methods of bias reduction beneficial, as they address bias indirectly and could minimize defensive reactions that highly prejudiced people show when exposed to more direct methods (Esses et al., 2001). A superordinate identity, such as e.g., animal kind or living being, can lay the groundwork for other subsequent approaches that connect groups in an effort to minimize intergroup bias (Dovidio et al., 2009). Perhaps, the editorial or video method used for rehumanization can be combined with positive contact with NHAs to build a more solid manipulation. Previous researchers have combined the common ingroup identity approach and contact into more integrative approaches (Dovidio et al., 2008). We hope that, in the future, this and other models and efforts will be explored further in order to test pathways between speciesism and attitudes towards human outgroups, and that this will be done with a variety of different participants and within different sociocultural contexts.

In addition, hopefully, future studies conducted in the area will inform us more about the long-term effects of such methods on biases towards marginalized outgroups. We believe such contributions by psychologists can inform and be informed by efforts in humane education, which is a curriculum designed to emphasize the inter-connectedness of humans and other animals and the environment in order to foster a healthy inter-connected society (Unti & DeRosa, 2003). Rehumanization efforts such as those implemented by Hodson and Costello (2010, 2014a) and humane education initiatives share many characteristics and goals and could be extended to reach adult populations.

It is also crucial for psychologists to examine the origins of the human-NHA divide in the first place. As reviewed, social dominance orientation appears to play a role in speciesism, and further research is needed to explore this link in order to build a more interconnected body of knowledge with regards to bias and oppression towards all living beings. Furthermore, the cognitive mechanisms that allow speciesist attitudes to be upheld (e.g. moral justification, euphemism, disregard, distancing etc.; Caviola et al, 2019; Plous, 2003) also need to be

further studied by psychologists who are interested in dehumanization of marginalized humans.

In conclusion, psychology, as much as it perhaps has contributed to the human-NHA divide over time, also possesses the power to address this crucial, but often overlooked, component of dehumanization. We are hopeful that the psychological literature on the topic will grow and that the research devoted to the Interspecies Model of Prejudice (IMP), one day, will be one of many initiatives within the area, rather than a rarity as it is now.

## Conclusion

This paper explored intergroup bias towards human outgroups in a rare manner, namely by exploring how it can be connected to our biases towards NHAs. As shown by research within and outside of psychology, the interlinkage between human and NHA oppression is far from illusionary and warrants further solid empirical research. As evidenced, despite the limited literature, there is certainly good reason to believe that by improving human attitudes towards NHAs, we can also improve attitudes towards marginalized humans. The main purpose of this paper was to emphasize the importance of human bias towards NHAs in the dehumanization of others and to inspire future engagement with the topic, so we can move towards a psychology that honours diversity.

Although this paper focuses on highlighting the importance of studying our attitudes towards NHAs in order to assist us in reducing dehumanization of human outgroups, we like to conclude by emphasizing that researching speciesism is an important act in its own right. As emphasized by Bradshaw and Watkins (2006), “psychology, by maintaining an agenda of speciesism, violates one of its central projects: individual development of moral consciousness” (p.3). We, as psychologists, share a moral responsibility with others in positions of power to join forces to respond to the NHA cries that often do not reach the academic or community settings we venture in to. We argue that NHA subordination is a human issue, as it is humans (as a group), who exploit and mistreat NHAs. As it was outlined in the paper, history has shown us that humans and NHAs have shared the plight of exploitation and mistreatment, with detrimental consequences to humans (particularly to minorities and migrants) and NHAs. Perhaps the future can be one of joined empowerment.

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**Hostile and Benevolent Sexism in India:  
Analysis Across Cultures**  
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## **Abstract**

Society often fails to acknowledge that gender inequality, or the disparity in status and power between men and women, continues to exist today. However, rising incidents of crime against women and victim blaming by politicians and higher officials in Indian society make it important to acknowledge the rampant prevalence of hostile and benevolent sexism. The present research focuses on benevolent sexism as displayed by participants from India. It aims to assess the prevalence and consequences of Benevolent sexism in India. Cross-cultural studies by Glick et al. (2000) are based on Ambivalent Sexism theory and provide the means of such comparison. In the present study, 500 participants (both sexes, M = 35 years old) residing in sub-urban regions of Northern India responded to Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI) (Glick & Fiske, 1996) and Ambivalence towards Men Inventory (AMI) (Glick & Fiske, 1999). The study revealed high levels of Hostile and Benevolent sexist attitudes held by Indian men and contrary to many other countries, Indian women neither endorsed the system-justifying ideology of Benevolent sexism nor expressed hostility against men.

*Keywords:* Hostile Sexism, Benevolent Sexism, Cross-Cultural Analysis

## **Hostile and Benevolent Sexism in India: Analysis Across Cultures**

The fight against gender discrimination has been an age old one, and will continue until the latent stereotypes and sexist attitudes wither away. The gender insensitive attitude is embedded in the human culture both in forms of hostile and benevolent sexism. Researchers have discussed that sexism is a special case of prejudice marked by a deep ambivalence, rather than a uniform antipathy toward women (Glick & Fiske, 1996). The Ambivalent sexism theory developed by Glick & Fiske (1996) that views sexism as a multidimensional construct that encompasses two sets of sexist attitudes: hostile and benevolent sexism. *Hostile sexism* is the most commonly identified form of sexism, in which women are objectified or degraded. Benevolent sexism has been defined by Glick et. al. (1996) as a set of interrelated attitudes toward women that are sexist in terms of viewing women stereotypically and in restricted roles but that are subjectively positive in feeling tone (for the perceiver) and also tend to elicit behaviours typically categorized as prosocial (e.g., helping) or intimacy- seeking (e.g., self-disclosure).

Though the Benevolent sexist attitudes might sound positive, they are equally degrading and damaging (Glick et. al. 1996). People in various parts of the world are oblivious to the effects of benevolent sexism (BS). It has become an embedded and accepted form of gender stereotyping which is aggravating the gender gap as much as the hostile sexism (HS) is.

Glick et al. (2000;2004) have conducted cross-cultural research over the presence of both hostile and benevolent sexism towards men and women across gender. However, their work mostly involved countries from Europe, Australia, Africa and the Americas. Only Japan and S. Korea were the two Asian countries included. India is the largest democracy and is inhabited by diverse and unique cultures. Analysing a sample from India on similar lines provided rich cross-cultural data for understanding the constructs better.

### **Gender Discrimination in India**

India falls at the 130th position among 189 countries on Gender Development Index in the UN Human Development Reports (2018). Gender discrimination is a pervasive and long running phenomenon in India, and especially the rising crime against women is a matter of grave concern for the Indian government. The issue of gender-based violence in India has been creeping up the policy agenda over the past couple of years. As a result, reducing women-based crimes has become the most essential agenda in the manifestos of Indian political parties. While many Indian women are striving to improve their state by seeking education and financial independence, the gruesome crimes against them in ways of gang rapes are increasing.

According to the National family health survey (2015-16), 27% of women have experienced physical violence since the age 15 in India. This experience of physical

violence among women is more common in rural areas than among women in urban areas.

A 2017 report by Global Peace Index had claimed India to be the fourth most dangerous country for women travellers. The Gender Vulnerability Index 2017 compiled by Ministry of Women and Child Development found Bihar, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, and Jharkhand to be the bottom four states in terms of safety. According to a survey done by [Thomson Reuters Foundation](#) in 2018, India is the world's most dangerous country for women due to the high risk of sexual violence and being forced into slave labour ([Goldsmith & Beresford](#), 2018)

It is important to understand the reasons behind the increasing crime against women in India. It is not always the overt display of patriarchal values that need to be changed rather the covert value systems should also be focused upon while bringing a change. One such latent value system is the benevolent sexist attitude.

### **Benevolent Sexism in the Indian Context**

Benevolent sexism is evident in interpersonal and intrapersonal contexts for both men and women. Research has shown that people with benevolent sexist beliefs are likely to subscribe to the notion that only "bad girls," who have violated traditional sex role norms by behaving in a manner that invites sexual advances, get raped (Viki & Abrams, 2002). Therefore, the endorsement of benevolent sexism is associated with placing blame on female victims of rape and domestic violence, while dismissing the intentions of male perpetrators (Abrams et al., 2003; Glick et al., 2002).

This is quite evident in some Indian politicians' statements. For instance, when three men were convicted in 2014 for the gang rape of a woman journalist, Mulayam Singh Yadav, leader of the regional Samajwadi Party said: "Boys make mistakes. They should not be hanged for this. We will change the anti-rape laws." (Biswas, 2018). Mamata Banerjee, a woman who has been chief minister of West Bengal state since 2011 said: "Earlier, if men and women held hands, they would get caught by parents and reprimanded, but now everything is so open ... Rapes happen because men and women interact freely". Mohan Bhagwat, the leader of the influential Hindu social organisation the [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh](#) commented in 2013 as follows: "Rapes take place in cities and not in villages. Women should refrain from venturing out with men other than their relatives. Such incidents happen due to the influence of Western culture and women wearing less clothes." "Women should not venture out with men who are not relatives," said politician Abu Asim Azmi in 2014, in answer to a question about rising numbers of rapes. Azmi also said: "The more nudity, the more fashionable a girl is considered. Ants will swarm the place where sugar is." (Dhillon, 2017). Such statements by the Indian political leaders promote benevolent sexism in the country. These statements indirectly imply that women are pious and should take care of themselves. Anything wrong that happens is because of their own negligence.

Benevolent sexism is also evident in gender stereotypes. Within the framework of benevolent sexism, males and females are stereotyped with opposing strengths and weaknesses (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Jost & Kay, 2005; Kay & Jost, 2003). Men are given



stereotypes, such as being independent, ambitious, and competitive (Jost & Kay, 2005). They are viewed as highly competent, and therefore, well-suited for high-status workplace positions (Glick & Fiske, 2001). In contrast, women are assigned stereotypes, such as having nurturing, interdependent, and considerate characteristics, which are suitable for the duties of a proper wife and mother (Good & Sanchez, 2009). These stereotypes enforce the idea that women are subservient to men, as well as incompetent and incapable without their financial support (Dardenne et al., 2007; Glick & Fiske, 2001). Such stereotypes are quite evident in Indian society, as a result of which India suffers from a skewed gender ratio in the corporate world. India ranks 26th globally in terms of the presence of women in boardrooms. The overall percentage of women in Indian boardrooms is merely 6.91%. (Chatterjee, 2017).

Even though the content of women's communal stereotypes can be perceived as positive, they still give way to oppressive gender roles (Jost & Kay, 2005). Men are less likely to think of female communal stereotypes as sexist as they have a positive feeling tone regarding connotations to sexist phrases (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005). Therefore, in the countries studied by Glick, both men and women unconsciously promote gender inequality by endorsing benevolent sexist ideas of complementary gender roles (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Glick & Fiske, 2001).

## The Present Study

With increasing crime against women and a depleting rank of India in Gender equality statistics, it becomes important to understand the prevalence of different types of sexism in Indian society. The present research work aims to assess the presence of both hostile and benevolent sexism across gender in India. Previous research in India has focussed more on hostile sexism and its consequences, however, have somehow missed studying the underlying benevolent sexism among Indians. The present research also aims to empirically test in the Indian context the findings of the previous cross-cultural research on Hostile Sexism and Benevolent Sexism (Glick et al., 2000, 2004). Based on the findings across cultures by Glick et al. (2000, 2004) hypotheses for the present work are as follows:

**Hypothesis 1:** There is a significant correlation between hostile and benevolent sexist attitudes of the present sample. Hostile and Benevolent sexism emerge as complimentary forms of sexism. This hypothesis is based on Glick's finding that Sexism encompasses subjectively benevolent as well as hostile orientations. At the societal level of analysis, these are complementary forms of sexism.

**Hypothesis 2:** There is a significant correlation between the patriarchal values as assessed by AMI and sexist attitudes as measures by ASI for both male and female participants. This hypothesis is based on Glick's finding that AMI scale measures sexism towards men which in turn depicts patriarchal mindsets which are similarly portrayed in ASI. Previously, Glick et al. (2004) argued that cross-culturally AMI dimensions, Hostility toward men and Benevolence toward men reflect and support gender inequality by characterizing men as being predisposed for dominance. ASI and AMI scales tap a coordinated set of traditional gender attitudes (Glick et al. 2004). Thus, if men or women in a nation scored

highly on one scale (AMI and ASI), both men and women in that nation are likely to score high on the other scale (AMI and ASI scale) (Glick et al., 2004).

**Hypothesis 3:** Women score higher than men in Benevolent Sexism. This is based on Glick's finding that relative to men, women are more accepting of Benevolent Sexism than of Hostile Sexism, suggesting that members of subordinate groups find ostensibly benevolent prejudice more acceptable than hostile prejudice toward their group.

**Hypothesis 4:** Women score higher than men in Hostility toward men. This is based on Glick's finding that in nations where men more strongly endorse Hostile Sexism; women evince more Hostility toward men relative to men. Thus, Hostility toward men on the part of women reflects resentment of men's hostility toward women.

## Method

### Sample and Procedure

Participants were from a community sample of 500 (249 men and 251 women) Indian residents from the northern part of India. Their mean age was 28, ranging between 25-35 years. Their state wise distribution was 30% Delhi, 26% Punjab, 23% Uttar Pradesh, 15% Haryana and 6% Himachal Pradesh. Because the questionnaires were in English, we restricted eligibility to a minimum of university graduates. Participants were contacted personally after obtaining telephonic informed consent. Initially, the questionnaires were filled by 564 respondents, however, 35 of them were discarded due to incomplete responses and 29 removed during data cleaning as they had responded the same to all the items making the error of central tendency. Participants were not provided with any form of compensation; the participation was completely voluntary. It took approximately 6 months to complete data collection.

### Measures

Participants responded to both questionnaires using a 6-point Likert scale (from 0 - "strongly disagree" to 5 - "strongly agree"). The following scales were used.

**Ambivalent Sexism Inventory** (ASI; Glick & Fiske, 1996) comprises of 22 items that assists in measuring ambivalent sexism. It measures sexist antipathy or Hostile Sexism (HS) and Benevolent Sexism (BS). There are three sub-dimensions of the Benevolent Sexism scale, namely Protective Paternalism (e.g., "Every woman should have a man to whom she can turn for help in times of trouble"), Complementary Gender Differentiation (e.g., "Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess"), and Heterosexual Intimacy (e.g., "People are not truly happy in life unless they are romantically involved with a member of the other sex"). ASI has strong convergent, discriminant, and predictive validity. The alpha reliability coefficient for ASI was .90, for Hostile Sexism alone was .89 and for Benevolent Sexism alone .83.

**Ambivalence towards Men Inventory** (AMI; Glick & Fiske, 1999) is a 20-item measure consisting of a 10-item hostility toward men subscale (HM) and a 10-item benevolence toward men sub-scale (BM). Hostility toward men is mainly related to attitudes of male dominance and stereotypes men as controlling and condescending. People with attitudes high in hostility toward men negatively characterize men based on their position of advantage over women in society. Benevolence toward men is related to beliefs about support and justification of male dominance. BM portrays men as emotionally stronger than women, more willing to take risks for success, and, on the whole, stereotypes men as being higher in competence and status than women (Glick et al., 2004). Hostility toward men sub-dimensions include: “men will always fight to have greater control in society than women” (resentment of paternalism: viewing men as arrogant and abusing their power), “men act like babies when they are sick” (compensatory gender differentiation: contempt for men’s domestic abilities), and “a man who is sexually attracted to a woman typically has no morals about doing whatever it takes to get her in bed” (heterosexual hostility: viewing men as sexual predators). Benevolence toward men sub-dimensions include: “even if both members of a couple work, the woman ought to be more attentive to taking care of her man at home” (maternalism: the notion that women must take care of men in the domestic realm in compensation for men acting as protectors and providers), “men are more willing to put themselves in danger to protect others” (complementary gender differentiation: positive characterizations of men as protectors and providers), and “every woman ought to have a man she adores” (heterosexual intimacy: the idea that a male romantic partner is necessary for a woman to be complete). Average reliability coefficients for each sub-scale are as follows: Hostility toward men = .76; Benevolence toward men = .77.

## Results and Discussion

It was found that Hostile and Benevolent sexism are complementary forms of sexism as significant Pearson correlations were found between Hostile Sexism and Benevolent Sexism with  $r(249) = .32, p < .01$ , for men and  $r(247) = .42, p < .01$ , for women (Table 1). Further, significant Pearson correlations were found between Hostility toward men and Benevolence toward men with,  $r(249) = .59, p < .01$ , for men and  $r(247) = .34, p < .05$ , for women (Table 2). Thus, hypothesis 1 was supported. Glick et al. (2000) also reported similar findings across nations (Tables 1 & 2). Hence, it can be inferred that both Hostile and Benevolent sexist attitudes are present in the sample.

The data in Tables 1 and 2 (except for India) are based on Glick’s previous findings, and are depicted here to seek reference for present findings. In the present finding, even though the correlation coefficients have been found significant, it may be pointed out that the degree of correlation coefficients are lower than .50. However, to justify this, it is important to

Table 1.

*Correlations Between Hostile and Benevolent Sexism (HS-BS) Across Genders for Various Countries*

Continent	Countries	Men	Women
North America	U.S.	.44** (n = 528)	.44** (n = 729)
	Argentina	.72** (n = 35)	.59** (n = 161)
	Brazil	.29** (n = 338)	.36** (n = 488)
	Chile	.36** (n = 689)	.33** (n = 665)
Latin America	Colombia	.27** (n = 60)	.34** (n = 174)
	Cuba	.20* (n = 126)	.50** (n = 160)
	Mexico	.26** (n = 135)	.42** (n = 295)
	Peru	.52** (n = 201)	.26** (n = 194)
	M	.37	.40
Europe	England	.31** (n = 243)	.51** (n = 485)
	Germany	.25** (n = 383)	.31** (n = 495)
	Italy	.08 (n = 125)	.31** (n = 199)
	Netherlands	.44** (n = 887)	.61** (n = 705)
	Portugal	.16 (n = 59)	.45** (n = 227)
	Spain	.49** (n = 1186)	.64** (n = 439)
	Belgium	.18 (n = 110)	.15** (n = 418)
	M	.27	.42
Africa	Nigeria	.03 (n = 576)	.11* (n = 437)
	South Africa	.06 (n = 128)	.10 (n = 314)
	Botswana	-.14 (n = 141)	.17* (n = 219)
	M	.01	.13
Middle East	Syria	.15* (n = 268)	.14* (n = 270)
	Turkey	.21** (n = 376)	.35** (n = 315)
	M	.18	.49
Australasia	Australia	.45** (n = 192)	.46** (n = 262)
	Singapore	.39** (n = 163)	.50** (n = 245)
	Taiwan	.45** (n = 509)	.54** (n = 512)
	M	.43	.50
Asia	Japan	.19** (n = 330)	.50** (n = 220)
	South Korea	.16** (n = 1010)	.32** (n = 545)
	M	.18	.41
	<b>INDIA</b>	<b>.32** (n = 251)</b>	<b>.42** (n = 249)</b>
	New M	.22	.41

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . Notes: HS - Hostile Sexism; BS - Benevolent Sexism. The source of the correlation values (except for India) is Glick et al. (2000, 2004).

Table 2.  
*Correlations Between Hostile and Benevolent Sexism Towards Men (HM-BM) Across 16 Nations*

Continent	Countries	Men	Women
Latin America	Argentina	.81** (n = 35)	.57** (n = 161)
	Colombia	.71** (n = 106)	.51** (n = 173)
	Cuba	.50** (n = 138)	.43** (n = 162)
	Mexico	.52** (n = 135)	.50** (n = 295)
	Peru	.15* (n = 201)	.19** (n = 194)
	M	.54	.44
Europe	England	.55** (n = 44)	.78** (n = 120)
	Germany	.33** (n = 205)	.31** (n = 277)
	Italy	.57 (n = 105)	.44** (n = 227)
	Netherlands	.41** (n = 835)	.40** (n = 300)
	Portugal	.16 (n = 59)	.46** (n = 227)
	Spain	.46** (n = 495)	.39** (n = 508)
	M	.41	.46
Middle East	Syria	.22* (n = 268)	.28* (n = 270)
	Turkey	.31** (n = 320)	.37** (n = 334)
	M	.26	.32
Australasia	Australia	.48** (n = 106)	.70** (n = 313)
	Singapore	.54** (n = 163)	.61** (n = 245)
	Taiwan	.57** (n = 509)	.42** (n = 512)
	M	.53	.58
Asia	<b>INDIA</b>	<b>.59** (n = 251)</b>	<b>.34* (n = 249)</b>

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . Notes: HS - Hostile Sexism; BS - Benevolent Sexism. The source of the correlation values (except for India) is Glick et al. (2000, 2004).

note that according to Cohen (1988, 1992), the effect size is low if the value of  $r$  varies around .01, medium if  $r$  varies around 0.3, and large if  $r$  varies more than 0.5. In the present case,  $r$  values have a moderate effect size with values such as .32, .42, and .34 respectively for men's correlation on Hostile Sexism-Benevolent Sexism, women's correlation on Hostile Sexism- Benevolent Sexism and women's correlation on Hostility toward men-Benevolence toward men. The effect size is large with a value of .59 for men's correlations on Hostility toward men-Benevolence toward men.

The findings that benevolent sexism is prevalent in India are also supported by previous research. Kanekar and Kolsawalla (1977, 1980, 1981) have shown that rape victim-blaming is prevalent in India, with male participants attributing greater responsibility to victims and sympathizing more with rapists than female participants do. Rape Victim blaming, or Rape myth as it is called, is influenced by a number of factors, including attitudes toward women (Costin & Schwarz 1987; Das et al. 2014), as well as hostile and

benevolent sexism (Chapleau et al. 2007; Glick & Fiske 1996). Kanekar (2007) goes on to suggest that, in India compared to America, victims of rape and sexual assault are treated more harshly by society. This suggestion is supported by Nayak et al. (2003) who found that American students were more positive, or less negative, about sexual assault victims than Indian students.

The present findings support hypothesis 2. Scores on AMI and ASI for both Indian males and females correlated significantly with,  $r(249) = .57, p < .001$  for men,  $r(247) = .80, p < .001$ , for women and  $r(498) = .63, p < .001$  for the total sample (Table 3).

Table 3.  
*Correlations of AMI and ASI Scale for Indian Respondents*

	ASI-AMI	HS-HM	BS-BM
Total	.63***	.25**	.26**
Men	.57***	.30*	.47***
Women	.80***	.46**	.22

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$ . Note: ASI – Ambivalent Sexism Inventory; AMI – Ambivalence towards Men Inventory; HS - Hostile Sexism; HM – Hostility towards Men ;BS - Benevolent Sexism; BM – Benevolence towards Men; for data on other countries refer to Glick et al. (2004).

Hypothesis 3 states that Indian women would score higher than men in Benevolent Sexism. In the present study, a significant gender difference was found in Hostile Sexism and Benevolent Sexism (using MANOVA), wherein males scored higher in both Hostile Sexism,  $F(1, 498) = 23.6, p < .001$ , and Benevolent Sexism,  $F(1, 498) = 6.2, p = .01$ , on the ASI scale (see Table 4), implying that men endorse both hostile and benevolent sexism more than women among present Indian sample, thus supporting hypothesis 3.

In the study by Glick et al. (2000), similar to the present finding, men across 19 nations had scored significantly higher in Hostile Sexism. However, a higher Benevolent Sexism score of males was found only in Australia, Brazil, the Netherlands, Spain, South Korea, and the United States. In the three African countries, namely, Botswana, Nigeria, and South Africa females scored significantly higher on Benevolent Sexism. Glick stated that the more people in a nation endorse traditional gender attitudes (whether about women or men), the more women endorse Benevolent Sexism relative to men, even to the point of endorsing Benevolent Sexism more strongly than men in few nations. Through endorsing Benevolent Sexism, women justify the patriarchal social systems that they belong to, even though they are essentially supporting their own disadvantages in society (Glick & Fiske, 2001; Russo et al., 2014). In this way, women are adaptively able to convince themselves that the society they are part of is desirable and acceptable, and ultimately reduce the emotional distress of being oppressed (Sibley et al., 2007).

Thus, based on the present findings and previous findings it can be stated that cross-culturally, women (in comparison with men) reject Hostile Sexism, which stands true for the present sample too. Also, with lower Benevolent Sexism score of women, India seems to be endorsing relatively lesser traditional gender attitudes than that of many African countries as women from present sample are not using Benevolent Sexism as a compensatory mechanism. This negates the system justifying ideology among Indian women. Hence, even though Indian women are suffering at the hand of patriarchy, they are not justifying the gender discriminatory norms by using Benevolent Sexism as a defence mechanism. This seems to imply that Indian women are aware of their state and are striving to improve their plight.

Research conducted by Kapoor and Ravi (2014) talks about 'the silent revolution of Indian women' wherein it was reported that Indian women voters have become more active over the years. The sex ratio of voters, which is defined as the number of women voters to every 1,000 men voters, has increased from 715 in the 1960s to 883 in the 2000s. According to a newspaper article in *The Hindu* (2016), an online survey conducted between December 2015 and January 2016 by Accenture, covering more than 4,900 working women and men in 31 countries found that among Indian women and men with the same level of digital proficiency, women are better able to find work. The survey also found that nearly 61 percent of women respondents in emerging markets like India said they aspired to be entrepreneurs rather than mere participants in the workplace.

Thus, the significantly lower Benevolent Sexism score among women in India contradicts the common finding that women tend to endorse Benevolent Sexism so as to justify the patriarchal system and defend themselves against prevailing sexism in the society. Along with overall Benevolent Sexism scores, men also scored higher in two Benevolent Sexism dimensions; Heterosexual Intimacy,  $F(1, 498) = 6.2, p = .014$ , and Protective Paternalism  $F(1, 498) = 25.7, p < .001$  (see Table 4). Heterosexual Intimacy is a belief that men's sexual motivation toward women is linked with a genuine desire for psychological closeness. A higher score among men on this dimension might portray their defence against their patriarchal beliefs. Protective paternalism is evident in the traditional male gender role of provider and protector of the home, with the wife dependent on the husband to maintain her economic and social status (Peplau, 1983; Tavis & Wade, 1984). Hypothesis 4 states that women portray higher Hostility toward men relative to men. It is based on the notion that in nations where men more strongly endorse Hostile Sexism, women evince more Hostility toward men relative to men. However, no support for hypothesis 4 was found. Even though Indian men scored higher on Hostile Sexism portraying sexism towards women, Indian women have not scored higher on overall Hostility toward men. There is no significant difference between men and women in the overall extent of Hostile sexism towards males. Except in one dimension of Hostility toward men - Resentment of paternalism i.e. viewing men as arrogant and abusing their power where women have scored higher than men (see Table 4). In the other two dimensions of Hostility toward men - Compensatory gender differentiation (contempt for men's domestic abilities) and Heterosexual hostility (viewing men as sexual predators) there are no significant differences between men and women.

On the Benevolence toward men subscale, there is no significant gender difference in the overall value of Benevolence toward men. However, males have scored higher on two dimensions of Benevolence toward men - Complementary gender differentiation (positive characterizations of men as protectors and providers),  $F(1, 498) = 8.9, p = .004$ , and Heterosexual intimacy (the idea that a male romantic partner is necessary for a woman to be complete),  $F(1, 498) = 5.7, p = .019$  (see Table 4). Both men and women have emerged to believe almost equally in compensatory gender differentiation, i.e., contempt for men's domestic abilities, heterosexual hostility i.e. viewing men as sexual predators and maternalism i.e. the notion that women must take care of men in the domestic realm in compensation for men acting as protectors and provider.

Hence, Indian women don't seem to be avenging the patriarchy by being hostile towards Indian men. They might be focusing on their own growth, which is a positive sign to improve the state of affairs of Gender discrimination in India.

Table 4.

*Gender Differences in Dimensions and Subdimensions of ASI and AMI in the Present Indian Sample (F-values)*

Variables	F	M (Male)	M (Female)
<b>ASI</b>			
Hostile Sexism (HS)	23.66***	2.73	2.07
Benevolent Sexism (BS)	6.17**	2.93	2.54
Heterosexual Intimacy	6.22**	3.14	2.61
Protective Paternalism	25.70***	2.88	1.97
Complementary Gender Differentiation	.57	-	-
<b>AMI</b>			
Hostile Sexism (HM)	2.75	-	-
Heterosexual hostility	2.11	-	-
Resentment of paternalism	12.24***	2.40	3.16
Compensatory gender differentiation	.30	-	-
Benevolent Sexism (BM)	.08	-	-
Maternalism	.99	-	-
Heterosexual Intimacy	8.92**	2.87	2.15
Complementary Gender Differentiation	5.66*	3.22	2.70



## Conclusion and Implications

India has to progress towards reducing gender inequality by taking steps against both hostile and benevolent sexist attitudes. The male sample in the present research has emerged high on both hostile and benevolent sexism. The culture of victim blaming in rape cases has become so prevalent among Indians is an indication of prevailing benevolent sexism. Benevolent sexism is more dangerous than hostile sexism as it is a sugar coated means to gender discrimination. Since benevolent sexist beliefs are mistaken as harmless, people accept these ideas more readily, which leads them to become complacent about gender discrimination (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005; Jost & Kay, 2005). Research has found that women's experiences within interpersonal interactions that are marked by benevolent sexist attitudes have implications for their internal thought processes as well (Glick & Fiske, 1996). When facing an employer's benevolent sexist attitudes, women doubt their cognitive capabilities and perform significantly worse on executive functioning tasks (Dardenne et al., 2007). Women who hold benevolent sexist beliefs have less ambitious educational and career goals and feel more dependent on their future husbands for financial support (Fernandez et al., 2006).

Through endorsing benevolent sexism, Indian society is less likely to challenge the rampant gender inequality that exists today. Considering benevolent sexism's various manifestations and contributions to gender inequality, both men and women need to be educated about the menacing consequences of prevalent benevolent sexist attitudes. Interventions should also aim to increase men's understanding of benevolent sexism's oppressive nature and help them develop empathy for women who experience gender discrimination (Connelly & Heesacker, 2012). Also, present research implies that both men and women should be provided with interventions at school, college, and organisational level that explicate the differences between benevolent sexism and politeness (e.g., opening a door for a woman because she is a woman vs. opening a door for a woman to partake in a kind, civil act; Barreto & Ellemers, 2005; Becker & Wright, 2011; Connelly & Heesacker, 2012).

Overall, the present study based on the sample from northern part of India has generated intriguing findings about Hostile and Benevolent sexism, which in the present study were found to be complementary forms of sexism. Further, men were found endorsing both Hostile and Benevolent Sexism more than women among the present Indian sample. Unlike the trend in many countries, wherein as a result of oppression faced due to hostile sexist attitudes of men, the women tend to display hostility against men (Glick & Fiske, 1996), Indian women were not found avenging patriarchy by being hostile towards men.

A suggestion for future researchers working on hostile and benevolent sexism in India include taking a sample more representative of the entire country. India is a land of diversity and every Indian state has its own cultural belief system which can affect the nature and extent of sexism prevalent in that particular state. Also, future research can involve qualitative analysis of the everyday situations in India wherein hostile and benevolent sexism are prevalent and thus change is required. Research can also be done on analysing how Indian women are handling patriarchy if they are not displaying hostility towards men.

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# **Intermarried Couples: Transnationalism, and Racialized Experiences in Denmark and Canada**

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## Abstract

Despite an increase in interracial or mixed marriages (intermarriages) globally, the experiences of couples in such marriages are generally under-researched, particularly within psychology. Using a cultural psychological framework and qualitative methods, this paper studies the psychosocial experiences of couples in intermarriages. It focuses on four South Asians in ethnically intermarriages in two settings: two Indian-origin men married to native Danish women in Denmark, and two Indian-origin women married to Euro-American men in Canada. Data from in-depth interviews were subjected to a thematic analysis yielding an array of themes, of which this paper presents the two most dominant themes across the two contexts: 'transnationalism' and 'racialized experiences in social situations'. The results demonstrate that the participants lived transnational lives to varying degrees depending on their gender, socio-economic status and age, which in turn intersected with variables such as the nature of the transnational relationships they were attempting to sustain, and their own motivations and agency in maintaining these ties. While in some cases participants maintained a high level of contact with India through visits and digital technology, others kept up limited ongoing contact with the country of origin. Furthermore, varying racialized experiences emerged from the narratives, with differences in how these experiences were interpreted. While some participants recognized them as racial discrimination, others chose to rationalize these experiences in various ways. After offering an account of these results, the paper reflects briefly on the implications of these findings.

*Keywords:* intermarriages, Indian, race, transnationalism, Denmark, Canada

# Intermarried Couples: Transnationalism, and Racialized Experiences in Denmark and Canada

## Introduction and Literature Review

This paper focuses on the contextualized experiences and perspectives of four spouses in mixed-race or inter-ethnic marriages ('intermarriages'), who encounter racial discrimination as they live transnational lives that straddle both the country of origin and the host country. An emerging trend in global demography is that the world's multiracial population is one of the fastest growing of all ethnic groups. Increased migration, technologies that enable transport and communication, processes such as transnationalism (Vertovec, 2010), and globalization (Appadurai, 1990) have made it possible for individuals to meet and marry across the lines of religion, race, nationality, and class, thus leading to what has been called the "internationalization of intimacy" (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2014; Castells, 1996). As a result, mixed couples, individuals with mixed backgrounds and "world families" (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2014) have increased worldwide (Rodríguez-García, 2015).

In the United States, of its population of over 337 million (United States Census Bureau, 2018), 14.5% consist of immigrants, making it the country with the largest immigrant population in absolute numbers. In 2013, in the United States, 12%, or one in eight of newlyweds married someone from a different race, not including inter-ethnic marriages between Hispanics and non-Hispanics (Parker et al., 2015). The picture is different in Canada, a country with a population of about 38 million (World Population Review, 2020), where about 22% are immigrants (Statistics Canada, 2017). In Toronto, the most populous city in Canada, ethnic diversity is high; 50% of the population consists of East Asians, South Asians, Africans, Afro-Caribbeans, Southeast Asians, Latin Americans, and others who were born outside Canada. Despite this diversity in pockets like Toronto, inter-ethnic unions account for only 4.6% of couples in Canada, which is about half the rate of the United States and Britain, with significant geographical variations (Statistics Canada, 2017). South Asians and Chinese, the two largest visible minority populations in Canada, had the smallest proportions of couples in mixed marriages, at 13.0% and 19.4% respectively. The overall rate of such unions in Canada is expanding much more slowly than in the United States, by about one percentage point a decade, even as the proportion of visible minorities expands through immigration. Hou, Wu and Schimmele (cited in Todd, 2017) report that intermarriage rates among members of an ethnic group tend to decline in regions that house a large cohort of that group, thus offering more options for partnering with individuals from one's own ethnic group. Both, the United States and Canada acknowledge that immigrants make up a notable portion of their population and hence, claim to be multicultural societies. But Denmark, a Scandinavian country, is different.

Of Denmark's population of 5.8 million, only about 12% are immigrants and their descendants, with almost 7% from non-western countries (Statistics Denmark 2019). In Denmark, specially analyzed statistics point to a relative increase in the number of mixed marriages in the past two decades (4% in 1990, 6.1% in 2012). Still, ethnically mixed couples and their children are almost invisible as a statistical category (Bang Appel & Singla, 2017).

In fact, Denmark characterizes itself as a homogeneous country with a high degree of egalitarianism, despite polarization in society along ethnic lines (Øverland et al., 2014). There is no formal acceptance of multiculturalism. From a political standpoint, mixed marriages, especially transnational marriages involving one partner across national borders, have been regulated, particularly since 2001 by some of the strictest spouse reunification laws in the European Union that make the entry of a spouse from a non-European country difficult. Danish laws require that in cases of spouse reunification, the criteria connecting Denmark and the country of origin of the potential immigrant be weighed. If the potential immigrant is deemed to have strong connections with the country of origin, immigration or residency are denied. In fact, in 2019, the European Court of Justice had to rule that Danish restriction laws preventing a legally resident Turkish national from bringing his wife to Denmark were unjustified.

Canada differs from Denmark in that it has a formal policy of multiculturalism. Canadian laws around family reunification have also been critiqued for being quite narrow; only spouses, and children below the age of 22 are supported by these laws and a limited number of parents and grandparents are allowed to apply. However, in comparison to Denmark, Canada's laws are more lenient; strong ties to the country of origin are not seen as problematic when immigrants apply for legal resident status in Canada.

In spite of changes and developments worldwide resulting in increased rates of immigration and intermarriages, we know little about the social implications of intermarriage (Rodríguez-García, 2015). How do they contribute to social transformation? How do the individuals who inhabit such marriages experience them? What are the internal dynamics between couples in such marriages? Intermarriages also provide a lens through which we can view lives that are lived, embedded in more than one country and culture. Furthermore, the different meanings that such pairings might have in different national contexts is worth studying in our current climate of rapid globalization and unprecedented crossing of national boundaries. The more stratified the context in social, ethnic, racial, or religious terms, the more significant mixed partnerings between individuals who represent polarized groups socially will be (Rodríguez-García & Freedman, 2006). Despite this and in spite of increases in the multiracial population through intimate partnerships and marriages across racial/ethnic borders, the couples themselves and their narratives about their experiences are under-researched. Qualitative studies that provide insights into the experiences of such couples are even fewer. However, many such mixed couples suggest that their very existence (and their children's) is a step toward interrogating the concept of race and breaking down racial boundaries and that a mixed-race population is becoming increasingly normalized, despite existing concerns about racism and racial bias within and beyond various communities in countries such as the United Kingdom (Song, 2017). This transformation in boundaries and the growing commonality of mixed people and families coexists with racial pathologization and scrutiny in the various settings that such individuals and families participate in. Torngren, Irastorza and Song (2016) emphasize that such unions are often romanticized as a sign of integration. At the same time, they challenge people's ideas of us/them and purity/impurity, and so, intermarriages, in fact, remain controversial, and even taboo in many societies (Mahtani, 2015; Skinner & Hudac, 2017). Hence, the racial aspects of intermarriages deserve careful study.



In the Danish context, one of the few studies by Poulsen (2012) delineated the interpersonal dynamics between couples but did not focus on the transnational aspects of such marriages. Similarly, although Killian (2013) emphasizes the significance of race and racial discrimination among intermarried couples in the US, transnationalism—patterns of interconnections between and embeddedness in both the country of origin, and the country of residence—is hardly included. Moreover, transnationalism is barely academically researched within psychology, especially in countries such as Denmark (Poulsen, 2012; Refsing, 1998) and Canada.

In this paper, we use qualitative methods to examine the experiences of individuals who are in intermarriages. As there are multiple ways to delimit groups—by nationality, race, ethnicity, ancestry, country of origin, religion, class, and other criteria—there are many ways to conceptualize intermarriages. Here, we conceptualize intermarriage as a constellation of intimate relationships between an ethnic-minority and a majority person, constituting *visible ethnically mixed couples* (Phoenix, 2011), regarding it as a prism through which in/exclusion processes at various levels can be studied. This article focuses empirically on both the transnational patterns of living and being and the socially-based racialized experiences of spouses in mixed couple relationships. It analyzes their narratives about their lived experiences, thus contributing to a better understanding of intermarriages in two diverse contexts. The experiences of these couples challenge some of the dominant discourses about homogeneity and the ideology of colorblindness that discount skin color and phenotypes (Torngren, 2011). The objective in this paper is to invoke the perspectives of intermarried couples in an overlooked field. After offering a summary of the methods for the two qualitative studies that this paper is based on, one that was conducted in Denmark and another in Canada, major findings related to the racialized experiences and the transnational lives of couples in mixed marriages are presented.

## Theoretical Framework

The cultural psychological approach (Shweder, 1991; Valsiner, 2008; Vygotsky, 1978) forms the background for both studies, evoking the broad context of Danish and Canadian society. Also, part of the framework are the concepts of transnationalism and diaspora, in which diaspora is defined as people who are displaced from an original center or ‘homeland’ (Safran, 1991). Such dispersal implies distance from place of origin due to which diasporic communities often attach significance to maintaining connections with the homeland and its culture (Safran, 1991). Reducing, or at least dealing with, that distance becomes an important goal (Dufoix, 2008). We also understand the term diaspora as having multiple meanings: as a specific form of transnational community or social organization, as a way to synthesize hybrid identities or specific forms of cultural consciousness, and as the production of transnational social and cultural phenomena (Tölölyan, 1999; Vertovec, 1997, 2000). As a social form, diaspora is concerned with relationships, networks, and economic strategies across the borders while as a form of consciousness it is based on multi-locality, both here and there, interconnecting with others, sharing “roots” and “routes” (Hall, 2003; Gilroy, 2003). Lastly, as a mode of cultural production diaspora is seen as a transnational phenomenon, with

flow of media images and messages that serve as connectors (Appadurai, 1990). Kalra et al. (2005) argue that the concept of diaspora shifts attention away from viewing migration as a simple one-way process and facilitates an understanding of the complex transnational identities that are formed and sustained. They conceptualize diaspora as both a *positive embracing* of transnational affiliation in context of the South Asian postcolonial history, and defensive posture by communities in the face of a hostile host telling them *they do not belong*. Diaspora is about the individuals who are part of ongoing political, socio-economic, psychological and cultural ties, about ambivalences and exclusions, and about emotional constructs based on memory and loss. Transnationalism encompasses diaspora and includes day-to-day links between two or more countries. Transnationalism occurs when diasporic people and communities manage to remain connected to and involved in their countries of origin and simultaneously embedded in other national contexts. We examine transnationalism as practiced among intermarried couples keeping in mind that there are large variations between individuals in their practice of transnational relationships and engagements. Moreover, through the study of the experiences of mixed couples, we attempt to contribute to our understanding of mental health, particularly risk factors such as exclusion and racial discrimination.

We also take an intersectional approach (Phoenix, 2007, 2011). Hence, we focus on participants' multiple categories of belonging, and on how they *do* the social categories as well as the ways in which families and personal relationships are implicated in intersecting systems of empowerment and oppression, both as aspects of the problem and as sites of resistance and transformation (Chaudhary, 2007). We take for granted that gender, race, and class are major categories that account for fundamental inequalities in multiple contexts. At the same time, we are aware that participants might foreground inequalities in other domains such as religion, sexuality, stage in the life cycle, and age although the very concept of "visibly ethnically different" couples is informed by the theory of race as constructed through the perception of visible differences (Killian, 2013).

Despite color-blind reasoning—the idea that 'skin color doesn't matter'—the role of visible difference is highlighted in the Scandinavian context according to a study of attitudes to intermarriage in Sweden by Torngren (2011). In the United States, there is a long and fraught history of negative attitudes towards intermarriage. Up until the 1960's, laws forbade mixed marriages across racial borders due to fears of miscegenation. Since the Supreme Court of the United States overturned miscegenation laws in 1967 (*Loving v Virginia*, 1967), there has been increasing acceptance of interracial romantic relationships (Livingston & Brown, 2017). Only 11% of the U.S. population explicitly rejects them (Wang, 2012). However, as there is a stigma attached to the open expression of racial prejudice (França & Monteiro, 2013), there is, what researchers have called a "repressive tolerance" (Mahtani, 2015), and so it is not a stretch to say that the rates of disapproval are probably underestimated. Although Canada, unlike the U.S., did not explicitly and legally ban interracial marriages, there are historical accounts of the stigma attached to such marriages. In current times, political correctness may forbid people from articulating disapproval but such silences are problematic too. We maintain that mixed marriages provide a glimpse into the complex interconnections

between ethnocultural, racial, economic, interpersonal and emotional realms of experience in a society (Padilla et al, 2007).

## Methods

This article is based on the narratives and experiences of four individuals who were part of two studies described below. Although both studies were independently undertaken and at different times, during discussions at the IACCP Congress in 2018, the high degree of overlap in the objectives, theoretical underpinnings, methods, and the continuity across times and spaces in the experiences of the participants in the two studies became clear.

### Participants

For the first study (Singla, 2015), in-depth interviews were conducted with 10 adults in intermarried relationships in the Copenhagen area in 2010. The participants were recruited through key persons in relevant networks, who functioned as gatekeepers (Sanghera & Thapar-Björkert, 2008). Participants were 21-61 years of age, and had been married between a few months to 27 years at the time of the interview. The sample involved couples where one spouse was of South Asian (Indian or Pakistani) origin and the other a native Dane. All participants belonged to middle to upper middle socio-economic group.

In the second study (Ganapathy-Coleman, ongoing), in-depth interviews were conducted in 2015-16 with five middle- and upper middle-class first-generation immigrant women of Indian origin, married to white men residing in Canada. The objective was to obtain a nuanced understanding of the experiences of these women with regard to various dimensions of their intermarriages, including parenting and work life, through repeated in-depth interviews. The women were between 30 and 50 years of age and had been married for 5 to 20 years. Participants were identified through informal contacts and snowballing.

Our rationale for focusing on two men of Indian origin living in Denmark from the first study, and two women, also of Indian origin, living in Canada from the second study was to ensure comparability in their ethnocultural backgrounds (as there were participants from Pakistan too, in the first study). This allowed us to highlight their shared connection to their country of origin, India, as well as their experiences of being the racial “other” in the western contexts of Denmark and Canada. In addition, this sub-sample offered the possibility of gaining insights into gendered differences in the experiences of intermarried couples. Small samples of this type enable us to understand contextually based processes that tend to become invisible in quantitative studies.

### Procedure

The interviews for the first study (by Singla, 2015) were conducted at their residences by a project researcher (Dunger, 2010) who herself was in a Swedish-Danish mixed marriage. The interviews were conducted primarily in Danish and English, depending on the participants' linguistic choice. Ethical rules, such as anonymization of participants, were followed. The tape-recorded interviews formed the basis for post-hoc categorizing and a thematic analysis. Six

themes emerged from the analysis: Getting Together, Managing Everyday Life, 'Mixed' Parenting Ideals and Practices, Local Lives in a Transnational Context, Living 'Private Life in the Public Gaze', and Implications for Strengthening Mixed Partnering and Parenting. This paper focuses primarily on the experiences of two male spouse, two Indian men in Indian-Danish marriage – Rajiv and Sam, who present very diverse strategies for transnationalism through their life trajectories. Both Rajiv and his wife Katja were interviewed directly, while Sam's experiences are analysed on the basis of his wife Cecilia's interview. We concentrate on the themes, 'Local lives in a Transnational Context' and 'Living Private life in the Public Gaze'.

In-depth interviews for the second study were conducted in the homes of the participants or in mutually agreed upon public spaces by the co-first author (Ganapathy-Coleman), who is in an intermarriage. The similarity in the backgrounds of the researcher and the study participants contributed to a rapport between them and provided the opportunity to offer an emic perspective on the experiences of the participants. The interviews were conducted in English with some code-switching into Hindi. The open-ended interview questions covered a variety of topics ranging from the circumstances around the decision to immigrate, the immigration journey, experiences of the first few days, months, and years post relocation, supports available, the process of choosing their marital partner including negotiations of divergent values stemming from cultural and individual differences, efforts at integrating cultures and lifestyles, and experiences of being in a mixed marriage. All interviews were transcribed verbatim. Open, axial, and focused coding were used to arrive at the themes and subthemes that characterized the narratives of the participants. Frequency counts were used to identify the most commonly occurring themes. Four themes emerged from an analysis of the interviews: Give and Take as Even More Crucial in Mixed Marriages, Blended Ideals and Practices, Living Transnational Lives, and Management of Public and Familial Perceptions and Biases towards Mixed Couples. We focus here on the last two themes: 'Living Transnational Lives' and 'Perceptions and Biases towards Mixed Couples', which correspond with the themes 'Local Lives in a Transnational Context' and 'Living Private Life in the Public Gaze' in the first study. We combine them into 'Transnational Lives' and 'Racialized Experiences of Inclusion and Exclusion.' We focus here on the narratives of two women whose identities we protect behind the pseudonyms Padmini and Shoma. We also scramble some biographical details for ethical reasons.

## **Results and Discussion**

### **The Intermarried Couples**

This section offers a short biography of the participants foregrounded in this paper. The first, Rajiv, 35, introduced himself, "I am from India. Indian." He grew up in an upper middle-class family in an Indian metropolis and has one older sister and a large extended family. As the holder of a master's degree, he has worked in the advertising sector. Currently, he is self-employed part-time in the health sector. His first, short-lived, marriage was to an Indian. His current wife of three years, Katja, 32, whom he met in a metropolis in India, introduced herself

as “Danish, with Danish parents.” They have an infant daughter. Both considered their ethnic identity as well as their professional identity to be important.

The second participant is Sam, 36. His Danish wife Cecilia, 37, introduced him as a “Danish citizen and Indian guy.” He was born and raised in Denmark by Indian parents, who moved to Denmark four decades ago. He lost his father many years ago, and has a younger sibling and a large extended family in India and other countries. Sam has a business degree and a highly paid job in the private sector. He and his wife met at their workplace in Denmark and have been married for four years. They are parents to two daughters, three years and four months old respectively. Their ethnic belonging and work identity were moderately important to them.

Padmini, 47, who participated in the second study describes herself as “Very much Indian. Secular Hindu.” Born and raised in urban India with her sister in an upper middle-class family, she moved to the United States over 20 years ago for higher education where she met her husband, Peter. Following several years of living in the U.S. and raising their daughter, who is now in her late teens, they moved to Canada, where they live and work as faculty members in a university. Both of them openly declared that their work is their vocation. Ethnic belonging was especially important for Padmini, but both spoke about their deliberate and sometimes poignant attempts at finding spaces where their identity as a mixed couple would be fully accepted, and where their daughter could also belong.

The situation was a little different in Shoma’s case. Shoma, who is 46, was raised in India in a middle-class family. She moved to Europe for higher education and met Ben when she was in the United States for work. Married to Ben, who was raised in a secular Jewish household, Shoma does not emphasize her ethnic identity or belonging as much as Padmini although, unlike Padmini, she is frequently dressed in ethnic attire. Like Padmini and Peter, she and Ben are also academics. They have one daughter who is nine years old.

### **Transnational Lives**

Rajiv demonstrates intensive transnational practices and connections (Charsley, 2012). He maintains frequent contact with India, his country of origin, both through travel and internet technologies such as Skype. He communicates not only with his family in India, but also family in other countries, although he says,

With the aunts [in the USA & UK] I am the black sheep in the family. I am very bad at keeping contact with everybody ... but sometimes I call, I hate SMSing, so I call most of the time by Skype.

Rajiv travels once or twice a year to India but considers this to be infrequent as his expectation at the time of marriage was that he would make more frequent visits. Life events (Levy et al., 2005), such as the birth of a child, are major factors for explaining this frequency:

Our original plan, what I was told when we moved to Denmark was that, “Oh darling you can go back to India whenever you feel like. You can go every three months if you want.” Of course, it does not work like that. In the

beginning I think that every six months we were going, but now, it is once a year. This last time I did a trip on my own because Sonia [daughter] was too small to travel...

His narrative then illustrates the diverse objectives of his trips to his country of origin, such as to give concrete financial advice to his father, to further develop his professional competences, or to relax:

...we have to figure out the situation ... take all that over, because they [parents] are getting old and want to simplify their life ... they have a big house, which they are taking care of all the time... so I took a one-month trip and I was in [City name] for a few days ... then I went up into ... a beautiful township and studied yoga ... stayed there in an ashram.

He has no financial responsibility towards his family in India. On the contrary, his parents have been contributing economically for their granddaughter. Although Rajiv has a noticeably limited Indian network in Denmark, he has close emotional ties with his extended family in India, the UK, and the US where some of his relatives live, through the internet and Skype: "... one of them has been living in the UK all her life. She is ... a psychiatrist ... now retired... another one has been in the US all her life."

Rajiv has interconnections with India but at the same time he expresses attachment to his country of residence, Denmark, thus demonstrating his transnationalism (Vertovec, 2010). After moving to Denmark, gradually, he felt included and developed a sense of belonging, and stated after a hectic trip to India that his home was Denmark and India was now a place he visited. Possibly, Rajiv has found a 'hiding place', a place to 'relax' in Denmark, associated with wellbeing and satisfaction with new beginnings:

We had not really had any quiet time [during India visit] and ... that was the first time I really felt that 'oh now we are going home – (ohm). And that really, like, wow, did I really say that. Yes, we are going home and this is home. India is the place where I visit family and friends.

Rajiv's trajectory bears similarities to Padmini's. In their initial excitement of being an intermarried couple, she and Peter dreamt together of going to India every year. He offered to move to India and continues to encourage her to keep her connections with India alive. For Padmini, visiting India annually seemed like the perfect way to balance their practical and emotional needs. They attempt to maintain an egalitarian relationship in terms of division of labor. Peter actively participates in domestic chores but concedes that Padmini shoulders the greater burden more frequently than him. Both agree that living in the west allows them to more freely negotiate these dimensions of their relationship creatively; things may have been more complicated had they lived in India with its more rigid gender norms. In any case, many of her extended family members were already living in North America although her parents have remained in India. But over the years, between the commitments of their dual careers, their daughter's academic obligations, and financial constraints after purchasing a home, their

visits have happened only every two-three years. Padmini expressed relief over her aging parents' good health and financial independence. This took the edge off her guilt over not visiting them frequently; her moral guilt remains. She also regretted the infrequent visits for her own sake saying,

.... the visits to India are important for my emotional and spiritual well-being. Living in the U.S. and Canada ... you are marked, visible because of your skin color. India is... where I can be comfortable in my own skin. When I am in India, nobody asks me, "Where are you from?" ... they do ... in the U.S. and in Canada, even though I am a U.S. citizen.

Unlike the other participants, Sam's experiences in Denmark reveal that he has almost no memories of travelling to his country of origin, India, as his first-generation immigrant Indian parents chose not to maintain links with India especially through visits. He and Cecilia have, however, visited extended family members in the UK and Canada. For Cecilia, this is the positive, "fun aspect" of her mixed marriage because both of them are fond of travelling. She referred to the process of finding similarities, in spite of differences, and noted the possibility of travelling to different countries, where various family members reside. This implies transnational ties in other countries than India:

I guess that the fun is that you find out that it is actually not that different and, in any family, the base is love... We have a large family and we can travel around the world and see his family, and I find that a gift as well.

Cecilia noted that a traumatic lifecycle event, the sudden demise of Sam's father leading to an early widowhood for her mother – in –law, and the resulting responsibility of raising two young sons as a single parent, may have affected the socioeconomic basis for maintaining the transnational ties with the country of origin. She had experienced her own mother's widowhood. She explained:

But Sam has a very strong mother and she means the world to him and his brother, and she became a widow quite early as well, as my mom. But she did everything for her boys and she still does....

Though Cecilia has not visited India, she has ongoing contact with her sister-in-law in Canada, the wife of Sam's Indian cousin.

The desire to maintain transnational connections, the reasons for and frequency of such links, their depth and other aspects show variations depending on the individual's unique position and characteristics. In contrast to Padmini's desire for greater frequency of contact with India that demonstrates her emotional commitment to her former homeland (Safran, 1991), Shoma remains in close contact with India, visiting at least once a year with Ben and their daughter, but says that it is primarily for work and only secondarily for family or cultural reasons:

I don't feel much of a pull ... or nostalgia for India or things that are Indian. Maybe it is because I keep going there? Maybe ... because we live in City where there are so many Indian grocery stores and restaurants. But we also travel a lot worldwide and have ... fun whether we are in India or Canada or Hong Kong or Italy.

For Shoma, ideas of ethnic belonging take a cosmopolitan and transnational form that is not anchored in either her own heritage or Ben's (Schroedter et al., 2015). She spoke fondly of her late father, who had insisted that she should travel to any part of the world to access the best education possible. She remarked that she had done that, fulfilling her father's dream of an ivy league education for her. But "...he has passed since" she said quietly. Her mother lives in India with her brother, and Shoma does visit her. Her visits are brief; typically, she heads to some other part of India to fulfill work-related responsibilities, which she admits are self-chosen. She noted that her father, her biggest cheerleader, is no longer there. Although Shoma remembers her childhood and young adulthood in India fondly and travels there, her narratives did not have the kind of poignancy or nostalgia that Padmini's did.

### **Racialized Experiences of Inclusion and Exclusion**

All four participants spoke about their racialized experiences with society and sometimes with family. Padmini discussed her experiences of being married to "a white man." She had encountered covertly discriminatory, non-accepting reactions from Peter's family early on in their relationship, and the exclusion continues occasionally even now, after two decades of marriage, although she conceded that they are mostly loving towards her. Additionally, for her, in many social interactions, racial bias complicates the gender bias:

Sometimes, people just don't see me when we are together ... they will look only him, address only him ... like I am not there...invisible. Or they try to ring us up separately at the grocery store. I understand they may not want to presume but when a couple comes up to the cashier chatting, with one cart, one grocery list, and a child, is it so hard to interpret the situation? Peter tells me to ignore them and I did, for a long time, but I find it hurtful and exhausting

Even living in the ethnoculturally diverse city of City in multicultural Canada does not always protect one from experiences of racialized exclusion (Torngren et al., 2016). What Padmini has likely gauged is the negative affective response stemming from the implicit bias of strangers towards her (Skinner & Hudac, 2016), a bias that Peter likely did not comprehend for many years because of the tacit privilege he enjoys as a white man. Since becoming more attuned to the ways in which Padmini is excluded from particular spaces, Peter has participated with her in identifying and selecting spaces that are inclusive and accepting of them.

While Padmini was critical of the restrictive and laborious requirements of migration laws in the USA and in Canada, Rajiv described the whole migration procedure in the Danish



context almost without any critical comment, implying an indifferent attitude to the procedure despite its being characterized by restrictions and control especially after 'reform' in 2001 and 2011.

Interviewer: So, now you have a Danish citizenship?

Rajiv: No, you can't have that. You get in and you can have a resident permit. And basically, the first two years you get a visa on your passport, that let you stay here and work here and get all the facilities that a Dane would get except that you can't vote and you don't have any rights to a pension and stuff like that. But, then after two years they renew it.

He seems unbothered by the discouraging family reunification policies and points to the "spaciousness" of Danish society, perhaps because he considers himself fortunate to have gained entrance into a restrictive but prosperous country, or perhaps because he is aware of Denmark's emphasis on homogeneity and egalitarianism (Øverland et al., 2014). He expresses his appreciation of the relative economic equality in Denmark and criticizes the corruption in India, his country of origin:

But I love the fact that the systems work and have a basic sense of respect for each other. The space ... is good. Nobody is hungry, nobody here have ever experienced hunger in their entire life. The homeless people are not even hungry. So that is a big, big thing. Denmark is the least corrupt country in the world. Did you know that? Number one. India is number 83...

When questioned about the *racializing gaze*, that is, being looked at as a visibly ethnically mixed couple, Rajiv downplayed the phenomenon and characterized it as a pleasant experience. This is different to some extent from his wife Katja's narrative described later. His rationale is that his indeterminate physical appearance (Aspinall & Song, 2013) means he is not pigeonholed into a stigmatised Indian identity; rather, he is misrecognized as a Jamaican. He explained that a Jamaican can be perceived from two different angles: in a positive way as someone who loves Bob Marley, or negatively as someone who smokes marijuana 24 hours a day. Rajiv's more ambiguous physical appearance and dreadlocks may be the reason for him being subjected to a different, perhaps non-stigmatizing gaze that raises fresh questions about both, the origins and the experience and perception of discrimination.

Interviewer: What about when you walk around as a mixed couple on the street? Do you feel that you are being watched?

Rajiv: No, not really. In a nice way, sometimes, in a nice way. There is no one like 'oh weirdo'. Most of them think that I am from Jamaica or something, because of my hair [dreadlocks]. They don't think that I am from India or something like that. I'm not being stared at or anything like that.

However, when questioned about the reaction of others to their mixed marriage, Rajiv's wife Katja points to her experiences of being subject to the "gaze" in public space, both in India

and Denmark, thus questioning Denmark's claims of being colorblind (Torngren, 2011). Although she attempts to rationalize being 'noticed' as non-judgmental and related to people's curiosity, it can be interpreted as a relatively negative experience for visibly different intermarried couples. Perhaps as a couple Rajiv, with his claim of his supposedly ambiguous appearance as non-stigmatizing and Katja, with her view of people's gaze as originating in their curiosity, have devised this particular strategy to rationalize their experiences of being othered through "gazes" in the public domain.

Similarly, Cecilia's answer to the question about the experiences of "gaze" as an ethnically visibly mixed couple is relevant (Singla & Holm, 2012). She defends herself and Sam from this broad discourse by emphasizing that the harsh negative stereotypes apply to other ethnic minority groups, not Indians. She is aware of her husband's "otherness" but much like Katja and Rajiv, she too downplays it, "I think that sometimes people look at us. But I guess that the fact that he is Indian makes it a little bit easier actually. I think it would have been difficult if he was from Iraq or Iran with another background." While speaking of the racism she experiences, Padmini pointed out that ironically, within the South Asian community, anti-black racism is common. The belief, she said, is, "We are brown, not black. We are educated, we are better" and commented on the absurdity and ethical hollowness of such claims (Prashad, 2000). Shoma, in the US context, too expressed awareness of the "othering gaze", especially of whites in public spaces, but she chose to be dismissive of it, opting for the moral high ground and relegating it to ignorance:

They are ignorant, you know. They have known only people just like themselves. They have stayed in their comfort zone. So yes, sometimes they stare at us but it is because they just don't know, they don't understand. I don't pay any attention to it anymore. It is better to ignore it anyway.

Both her, and Cecilia's interpretations and responses may be forms of rationalization, a defense mechanism used to cope with a difficult and anxiety-provoking situation. Cecilia mentions that these discriminatory, systemic, and macro-cultural influences do not affect her everyday life, yet she reflects on them, demonstrating her racial literacy (Twine, 2010):

In general, I think that, if I should be quite frank, that the Danish people should be ashamed of the politics we have in Denmark in regard to foreign people. I think that relations between especially Muslims and other cultures have been quite dramatic in the last 4-5 years, and, and I think it is a shame that one party in Denmark has that kind of power.

Although she distances herself from her personal experiences of discrimination, Cecilia is aware of the exclusion she faces and that is implied also for Sam. In addition, both Sam and Cecilia's anxiety about racial discrimination can be seen, as she expresses her concerns about raising mixed children in a country where ethnic minorities face discrimination. When questioned about the children's future, she says:

I think that the biggest concern is for the girls, I mean if it continues to go down this road, it could be difficult for them. Hmm... (pause) and maybe if they find a future husband from a different country. Respect for other human beings until you know that person. That is something that I miss in society today.

Cecilia is worried about raising her children in an environment that excludes certain groups in the population. The historical experiences of exclusion and stigmatization of the *other* (Andreassen & Henningsen, 2011) directly affect these understandings to some extent. Contemplating the future, she references potential spouses for her daughters and their possible mixed marriages in a context of limited acceptance of visibly different persons. In some ways, Cecilia's situation, as the intimate partner of Sam, a person of Indian origin, a visible minority, and mother of mixed children can be characterised as "insider-outsider." These types of concerns were voiced by Padmini, but not by Shoma, who saw herself as raising her daughter to be a global citizen. Twine (2010) offers the concept of racial literacy in a British context and expands on parental strategies of countering racism through which mixed race children can develop knowledge and understanding about the processes of racism. Some of these strategies are relevant in the Danish and in the Canadian setting. The phenomenon of racial stereotyping and stigmatising are reminiscent of Cecilia's mother's fear of her Indian son-in-law, Sam, running away with her grandchildren in the early phase of her daughter's mixed marriage.

Despite negative experiences of othering, these participants still see the west as "home." Padmini stays in fairly close contact with her aging parents through Skype and WhatsApp. She keeps in occasional touch with a handful of members of her extended family too, who are in India but is not in touch with kin in North America, citing "family politics." Her ties with old neighbors and friends in India remain strong. Padmini is also aware of how irrevocably she has been changed by two seminal landmarks in her life: her relocation to the west, and her marriage to Peter:

By the time we spend one or two months in India, relax with my parents, meet...extended family, shop, travel, etc. I am usually ready to be home. I love India and have fond memories about life there but I like having my own space ... when in India, I miss the culturally eclectic personal life we lead.

In sum, we cannot generalize about the nature of transnational contacts on the basis of structural categories such as stage in the life course, or religion, or subjective dimensions such as the nature of relationships. The agency of the persons involved, the choices they make, and the interpretations they offer are far too important. There is intense and frequent transnational contact between Rajiv, who is a marriage migrant, and his extended family. His case demonstrates the intersection of ethnicity, class (upper middle), access to resources, life stage, position of the family members, and strength of extended family relationships across national borders. The baggage of power and privilege that Rajiv as an Indian man belonging to such a social position brings is infused with more egalitarian gender norms due to his marital relationship with a Danish spouse, whose status as a Danish citizen has opened doors

to him that would otherwise stay shut. This more egalitarian perspective, in turn, brings about greater awareness in him about practices around his family duties that then apply outside his marital relationship to his family, transnationally.

Padmini is also privileged in terms of her socio-economic status and access to resources. However, she immigrated for education; she is not a marriage migrant (Williams, 2010) and was not dependent upon Peter for her legal status. She has also been financially independent. Having carved a life for herself on her own terms, with Peter joining her a bit later as a partner in her journey, she has succeeded in offsetting the injustices of racial discrimination with an egalitarian marital relationship in which both search together for more inclusive spaces for their family, and by underscoring her legal and financial independence.

Rajiv uses Internet-based communications technologies to stay in touch with his immediate and extended family members, thus demonstrating his commitment to strengthening his relationships with significant people in his country of origin. His sustained ties with his parents mean that he is involved in their welfare and in family decision making processes. His priorities, commitments and efforts illustrate intersections between many variables: between his gender and life span position as the only son of elderly parents, his filial dutifulness stemming at least partially from his religious piety as a Hindu, his socioeconomic belonging as an upper middle-class person with no economic responsibility towards parents, except for emotional and moral duties. His transnational ties and travels to India have contributed to his sense of belonging to Denmark as well.

Padmini too uses technology to keep her ties with her parents intact. Due to her high level of education, and experiences of life, work and parenting in two cultural worlds, her parents, and more so her old friends and neighbors, involve her while making important decisions. The simultaneous connections and feeling of belonging to both countries that both, Rajiv and Padmini display, are representative of transnationalism (Betelsen et al., Kalra et al. 2005; Ozer et al., Raghuram & Sahoo, 2008; Singla & Schwartz, 2017; Vertovec 1997, 2000). However, Sam's limited transnational practices in relation to his country of origin illustrate different intersections in his parents' life trajectory between their socioeconomic situation, family position, and their choices. But his interconnections with extended family members in other countries is another form of transnationalism (Singla & Varma, 2019). In yet another form, Shoma's transnationalism extends beyond her country of origin and country of residence to embedded interconnections with many other countries that she visits frequently, and works in, for extended periods of time.

The dynamics of gender and race play out in the relationships of mixed couples in unique ways and may be articulated to a greater or lesser extent depending on the couple. Thus, while Padmini and Peter spoke about gendered dimensions of household work, and Padmini about racial discrimination, Shoma only noted in passing the distribution of household work at her home as being equitable. She did not highlight racialized experiences as much, referring to them fleetingly and occasionally, interpreting it all simply as stemming from ignorance, and choosing instead to underscore her and Ben's exciting transnational life together, similar to Rajiv in the Danish context.

## Implications

One point that emerged is that the policies and laws of particular countries can either ease or complicate the lives of intermarried couples. Canada's official policy of multiculturalism offers more support for intermarriages and likely more space and freedom to speak openly about experiences of discrimination. But Denmark's insistence on both, homogeneity and egalitarianism means perhaps that those who migrate there probably cannot air their grievances around racism as much. A second point that emerges is that the well-being of intermarried couples is influenced by their ethnicity, gender, and socio-economic status, as well as by other categories such as stage in the life course and career categories. Although there were overlaps in the narratives of these four participants, there were points of divergence too, deriving from differences in how experiences and situations were understood and interpreted. Lived experiences of gender roles, incidents of othering, interpretations of such experiences, stage in the life course, choices and quality of transnational experiences, and the availability of financial resources emerged as important variables.

From a methodological standpoint, studies such as this inform us that only through qualitative methods do we have a hope of understanding the specifics of the contextualized and subjective experiences of individuals, who live complicated and fascinating transnational lives both as members of diaspora groups and as individuals who have dared to cross racial boundaries in choosing their partners in life. This study suggests that the study of mixedness provides insights into psycho-sociocultural adaptation through cultural literacy and fluency, the dynamics of conflict and negotiation, and the understudied and unpredictable consequences that the arbitrary divisions of political borders and policies can impose upon human beings. It informs us about aspects of integration that are traditionally overlooked in psychology, such as ways of life, ways of thinking and life satisfaction. It suggests that mixedness offers us hope for cultural integration. At the same time, it is clear that disappointing practices such as cultural and racial prejudice and exclusion persist. Systematic hostility directed at particular individuals, couples, families, and groups can cause them profound psychological and social harm in the form of chronic stress and uncertainty. Eventually, hostility and its consequences dishearten human beings and hinder social cohesion. Insights gained from such studies can help health practitioners, counselors, policymakers, and researchers to understand the unique concerns that govern the lives of couples in mixed marriages. Such studies provide guidance on how the mental health and psychosocial well-being of couples in mixed marriages can be optimized.

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# **Traditional Career Development Models Lack the African Woman Voice**

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## **Abstract**

Research in careers is increasing, though there is still a paucity of research focusing on the career development of African women. The purpose of this article is to critically review selected theories of career development, critique the methodologies used to generate such knowledge, and recommend a model that is appropriate for the African woman career research. The selected age/ stage career theories examined in this article were tested on different population samples with different backgrounds, using positivistic methodologies. They, therefore, remain decontextualized when transposed directly to the African context. This article submits that expanding extant literature on career development requires deconstructing, constructing and reconstructing career development theory by creating new knowledge using epistemologies and methodologies that allow African women to construct their own theories about their career development experiences.

**Keywords:** African women, career development theories, the missing voice, critique, African epistemologies and methods

## **Traditional Career Development Models Lack the African Woman Voice**

Postcolonial indigenous research advocates a process of decolonizing and indigenizing Euro-Western research methodologies (Chilisa, 2012). Indigenization is a process that involves a critique of and resistance to the colonisation and supremacy of Euro-Western methodologies, and the call for adapting orthodox methodologies by including perspectives and methods that draw from the indigenous knowledge, languages, metaphors, worldviews, experiences and philosophies of the former colonised, historically oppressed and marginalized social groups (Chilisa, 2012). Applied to the career psychology of women, this refers to the need of fresh ways of studying career development that are significant to the African woman and her environment.

Afrocentricity, the proposed view to understanding career development of women places African ways of perceiving reality, ways of knowing, and value systems on an equal footing with other scholarly examinations of human experience (Baugh & Guion, 2006). Afrocentric methodologies require researchers to develop relationships with the research subjects and reaffirm those relationships using methods that are not orthodoxly used with Western populations. This approach is collaborative, allowing the community to participate and provide input during all stages of the research process (Baugh & Guion, 2006), in line with the principles of social constructivism.

Meanwhile, mainstream career research is largely grounded in post-positivism, which reflects decontextualized and reductionist perspectives of career behaviour (Stead & Watson, 2017). Post-positivism, supportive of quantitative research designs, applied in career psychology continues to reflect the perspective and reality of the samples and populations studied. Even with claims of using social constructivism in career research sometimes, the existing career theories still have a gap in terms of explaining the career development of African populations, as social constructivist research is culture-bound (Holdstock, 2000). In challenging Western psychologists to acknowledge the right of people to differ individually as well as collectively, Holdstock (2000) renewed the call for the development of indigenous psychologies or a global community psychology. I join this discussion at a time when social constructionism as an epistemology promises to give voice to the voiceless and is strongly advocated for, in lieu of its impending contribution in the field of career psychology, as evidenced by theorists such as Mainiero and Sullivan (2005), and Savickas (2013) and Sharf (2010). I thus intend to expand on their works in recommending an approach to career development of women that is more conducive for women in Africa, to bridge the gap of the missing voices.

This article aims to firstly, critique the selected career development models. These are Super (1957) and Levinson's (1978) age or stage career development theories. These theories were developed and adopted by middle-class scholars for privileged populations and socioeconomic classes (Blustein et al., 2005). Secondly, the article focuses on their applicability to the career development of African women. Thirdly, an Afrocentric approach that supports social constructionism in the creation of knowledge about career development

is advocated.

The thesis statement of this article is that African women with different backgrounds, national cultures, identities, and communities do not fit neatly into the traditional age/stage models of career development, which were developed in different contexts using positivist methodologies. This claim is supported by evidence that the career development models discussed were adopted from countries such as the United States of America, which is a completely different context to that of Africa, using different samples with different backgrounds. I also argue for a social constructivist approach that allows for women with missing voices in career theory to construct their reality based on their true stories.

## Literature Review

The traditional age/stage models and theories assumed that people's lives follow a linear equation, without due consideration for the contextual factors that may result in the majority of African women not following the same career structures that they proposed (Erikson, 1963; Levinson, 1978; Super, 1957). Thus, the career and life structures that these theorists describe may not be appropriate for all women from different contextual backgrounds. Gilligan (1982), a feminist critique of the traditional psychological theory stated that whilst current theory brightly illuminates the line and the logic of the boy's thought, it casts scant light on that of the girl's. Thus, expanding a new line of interpretation, based on the imagery of a woman's thought processes and life experiences will influence career development theory and practice (Gilligan, 1982).

A call for what Kim and Berry (1993) and Holdstock (2000) called indigenous psychology, does not separate psychology from the local conditions of the people is imminent. Kim and Berry (1993) defined indigenous psychology as "the scientific study of human behaviour or mind that is native, that is not conveyed from other regions, and that is designed for its people" (p. 2). The indigenous psychology approach will prevent career researchers from ignoring differences in meanings that people attach to their career decisions. Advocating for indigenous psychology further implies using methodologies applicable to local conditions and local communities, which includes not just having the African voice, but also paying attention to the means of getting to those voices (Chinyamurindi, 2012). There is thus a need for the evolution of career theory, to focus not only on methodologies, but additional implied epistemological challenges brought about by this evolution of career theory in Africa, which should be addressed. As Stead and Watson (2017) indicated, one does not generate contextually appropriate knowledge merely by having African samples, or by determining the meaning of existing approaches in the African context, on the contrary, by devising new theories, constructs and career interventions that are context-specific. Below is the discussion of Super (1957) and Levinson (1978) age or stage career development theories.

### **Super and Levinson's Age/Stage Career Development Theories**

These two theories have emerged as the most popular in career stage research. The common underlying assumption behind these stage/age theories is that there are a series of predictable tasks that occur at more or less predictable times during the course of one's career (O'Neil & Bilimoria, 2005).

According to Erikson (1963), during the early career phase, young adults focus on establishing their careers, whilst simultaneously attending to intimacy versus isolation issues. Super and Levinson borrowed from Erikson (1963) and Schein (1978) theories of human development, who both agreed that during the early career phase, young adults are faced with the task of managing multiple roles, namely work, family, and community engagement.

Super (1957; 1990) proposed a lifespan developmental model of career development that focuses on self-concept. According to Super (1978), people develop in five stages; growth (4-14 years), exploration (15-24 years), establishment (25-44 years), maintenance (45-65 years), and disengagement (65 years and above). Super (1990) described self-concept as a product of complex interactions amongst factors such as physical and mental growth, personal experiences, and environmental characteristics and stimulation at each of the stages. With regards to vocational choices, Super (1990) explained that between 15 and 24 years of age, an individual passes through a development stage to form, specify, and implement vocational preferences (Super, 1990). Hall (1986) refers to this stage as an initial exploratory and trial activity in early adulthood, in which career-related information is gathered, hypotheses about the self are tested, career plans are made, and decisions are taken that will lead to a personally meaningful work life. As a result, individuals are theoretically expected to settle into a routine after a phase of career exploration (Hodkinson et al., 1996). According to Hodkinson et al. (1996) and Hodkinson and Sparkes (1997), routines can be

- (i) confirmatory (i.e. original choices and the path chosen become engrained),
- (ii) contradictory (i.e. consider a different career),
- (iii) accepting (of a career which was previously reluctantly chosen),
- (iv) dislocating (i.e. against one's identity but without being able to initiate a transformation), and
- (v) evolutionary (i.e. gradual changes without changes being contradictory or dislocating). This also implies that routines will change or be disrupted, whether voluntarily or involuntarily.

In this context, Hall (1986) discusses turning points, which can be

- (i) structural (e.g. leaving school),
- (ii) incidental (i.e. outside one's control), or
- (iii) deliberate decisions (i.e. within a person's control) of varying duration.

Despite the occurrence of turning points, people develop an individual career conception over time (Brousseau et al., 1996). According to Brousseau et al. (1996), one cannot differentiate between a linear, expert, spiral, and transitory career concept.

As Super's theory was validated on White Americans, and thus focused on White Americans and their life perspective and experiences during development, its application with such clear western principles becomes inapplicable in a context different to the western context. Ultimately, such a theory cannot be generalised to other contexts, like the African context, that are different to the western context as the contextual factors such as culture, language and psycho-social factors differ as postulated by Stead and Watson (1998).

Levinson (1978), on the other hand, developed a comprehensive theory of adult development, referred to as the Seasons of Life theory, which identified stages and growth that occur well into the adult years. His belief was that adults follow a life structure or pattern that is comprised of one's social interactions, relationships, and work life. This life structure is constantly influenced by several stages of life. The two recurring seasons in life that Levinson highlighted were the Stable Period, or a time of consistency, when a person makes essential life decisions, and the Transitional Period, or the end of a certain life stage and the start of a new one (Levinson, 1978).

Levinson identified seven specific stages of adult development in his theory of the Seasons of Life. These stages include the following: early adult transition (17-22 years), entering the adult world (22-28 years), age 30 transition (28-33), settling down (33-40), midlife transition (40-45), entering middle adulthood (45-50), and late adulthood (60+).

Though Super (1980) and Levinson (1978)'s theories have received support from the community of career researchers and practitioners, they have, however, received criticism from feminists such as O'Neil et al. (2008), and White (1995). O'Neil et al. (2008) argued against the assumption of predictable tasks that happen at predictable times in people's lives. Thus, Levinson and Super's theories are criticized for proposing a linear progression through a series of life stages based on male patterns of behaviour (Doherty & Manfredi, 2010). These models emphasize individual achievement, continuous employment, and progression, while women's lives are characterized by breaks, late starts, transitions and interrupted employment consistent with Bimrose et al. (2013).

Despite their contribution, evidence in support of Super and Levinson's theories to the field of career development has only been moderate. This is due to the paucity of research that directly tests these two career stage models in different contexts and the limitations associated with age stage models (Smart, 1996) and less emphasis on contextual factors as highlighted by Stead and Watson (1998). Furthermore, regardless of the attention given to these models, both of which are postulated to be applicable to women and men, almost none of the empirical investigations have identified women as their focus as emphasised by Ornstein and Isabella (1990). This is difficult because of the questions raised regarding the generalisability and transferability of male career development models to women (Betz & Fitzgerald, 1987; Fitzgerald et al., 1995). Literature reviews by Astin (1984), Betz and Fitzgerald (1987), and Gutek and Larwood (1987) draw attention to the differences between men and women on various career indices. Therefore, to continue to assume that female concerns are identical to those of males ignores the unique career psychology of women.

Stead and Watson (1998)'s argument against the appropriateness of Super's life span, life space approach theory, is its validity based on a sample which varied from the Africans. Stead and Watson (1998) instead suggested that the meanings of core concepts in Super's theory, such as self-concept, should be re-evaluated to be more relevant to Africans, and only then could they be more appropriate for use by career counsellors and researchers from Africa, and this is my line of argument.

Recent articulations from Herr et al. (2004) and Savickas (2002) regarding Super's theory have called for a stronger emphasis on the effects of social context and the reciprocal influence between the person and the environment as postulated by Holland's theory (1992). Consequently, the view of a career as a linear equation, as suggested by these traditional career paths, has become a myth rather than reality in today's society, where people change jobs much more frequently than in the past. Instead of a single occupational choice, career construction has become the norm, as encapsulated in Savickas (2002), which is said to be an advancement of Super's theory.

Figure 1 below presents graphically the criticisms of the traditional (Western) career development theories, starting from their research paradigms, their research designs, their ontology, epistemologies, and methodologies. We therefore cannot separate the knowledge generated from the knowers, and the manner in which the knowledge is generated.

Our next focus is on the applicability of these models to the career development of African women.

### **The Applicability of Traditional Theories of Career Development to African Women**

Super and Levinson's career stage models have been criticized for excluding some voices and generalizing about the white male experience. It ignores the influence of family roles and expectations in women's lives when studying their career development. Factors such as marriage and motherhood in women career development trajectories are strongly related to career attainment, innovation and commitment, and continue to represent the major factors that differentiate women's vocational behaviour from that of men (Osipow & Fitzgerald, 1996), a finding which is still relevant, two decades later.

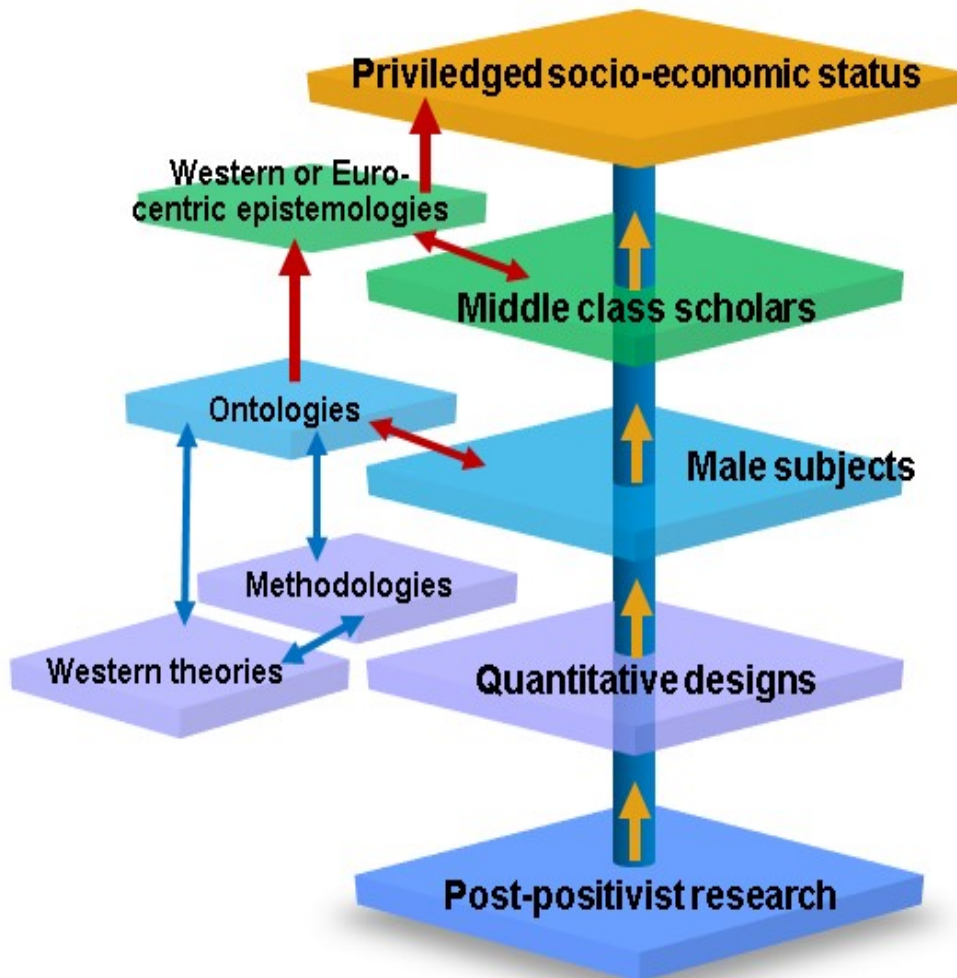
The accuracy of traditional career development theories and their applicability to the African context has thus been widely questioned (Chinyamurindi, 2012), for basing their results exclusively on studies of male participants (Erikson, 1968; Levinson, 1978; Schein, 1978). Maree and van der Westhuizen (2011) have maintained that the career development theories developed elsewhere cannot be transposed directly onto the South African situation.

Another explanation for the non-acceptance of these theories within the African context is the methodologies employed to arrive at findings. The majority of these studies employed quantitative surveys (Creed et al., 2002; Stead & Watson, 2017), and the quantitative approach is fraught with limitations, such as sampling and not taking contextual factors into consideration. Methodologies like psychometric tests were criticised for being culture-bound and thus inappropriate for people coming from different cultural backgrounds.

Furthermore, using tests in the quest for objective data has resulted in fixed, linear, and stable models (Maree & Beck, 2004) which are not appropriate for African women and their challenges. Maree and Beck (2004) contend that the accepted linear career models are based on the archetypal male principle, symbolized by an arrow, whilst the corresponding female principle is represented by a spiral, with its allusion to the ebb and flow of life. These female perceptions and expectations challenge many of the conventional assumptions that have been made about career development.

Figure 1.

*The Critiqued Previous Career Research Framework*



From this discussion, it is evident that these theories have not been welcomed within the



African continent without criticism. There is therefore a need to expand thinking with regards to the career development of women, particularly in Africa, hence the Afrocentric approach to the career research of women, using African epistemologies and methodologies that are inductive and appropriate to this context.

### **A Recommended Afrocentric Model to the Career Development of Women**

From an epistemological level, critiques of existing career theory, including the discourse about work and careers, have emerged from social constructionist perspectives (Burr, 1995; Gergen, 2009). The hallmark of these critiques is the questioning of the existing theories and underlying assumptions, and thus the extant literature. The social constructionist critique encourages a more relativist understanding of knowledge, which acknowledges the assumptions that shape the enquiry and the influence of culture. Social constructionist perspectives seek to unpack how knowledge is constructed, taking into consideration social and political discourses that frame how questions are asked and answered (Blustein et al., 2004). The challenge for indigenous researchers lies in the integration of indigenous perspectives into the major paradigms because of the underlying epistemologies, ontologies, methodologies and axiologies of such paradigms (Wilson, 2008). Perspectives from Africa share a common understanding of an indigenous research paradigm informed by relational ontology, epistemology, and axiology (Chilisa, 2012).

Constructivists believe that we are shaped by our life experiences, which will always result in the knowledge we generate as researchers, and in the data generated by our subjects (Denzin & Lincoln, 2012). In my view, valid and acceptable knowledge is information obtained directly from those experiencing the phenomenon being studied, and knowledge is therefore relative. Blaikie (2000) also indicates that in constructivism, knowledge is seen to be derived from everyday concepts and meanings. The social investigator goes into the social world to understand the socially constructed meanings, and then re-interprets these meanings in social scientific language. I argue that different approaches will enhance our understanding and research methods reflecting broader philosophical orientations will be more appropriate for previously excluded voices, in line with feminists such as Bimrose et al. (2013) and O'Neil et al. (2008).

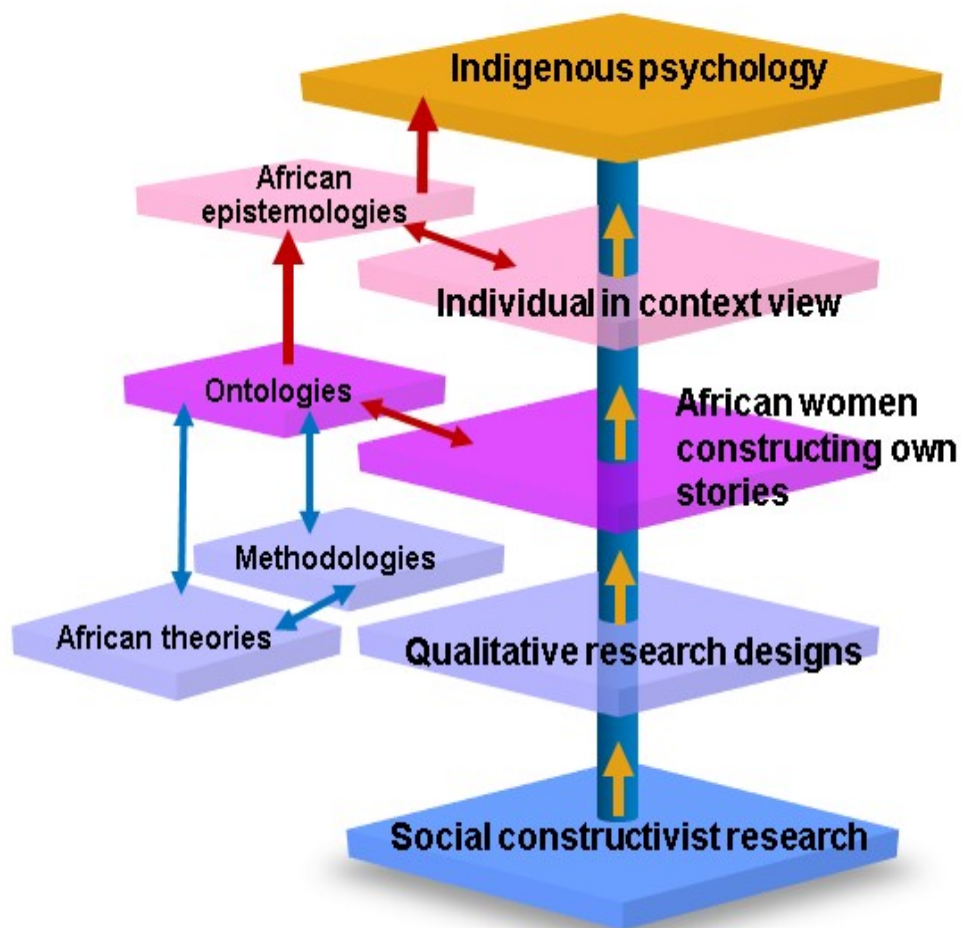
Investigating and understanding the everyday world of women's experiences is paramount to feminism and feminist research (Stanley & Wise, 1993). Stanley and Wise (1993) reflect the prevailing view of feminists, contending that what is needed is a "woman's language", a language of experience, which must come from exploring women's personal, everyday life experiences. The proposed Afrocentric approach to career development, as an alternative to the traditional models, is discussed below in Figure 2.

The failure of traditional age/stage career models and frameworks to reflect the lived experiences of women has led female researchers in Africa and other regions to develop contemporary models that can give authentic expression and representation to women (Bostock, 2014; Gallos, 1989; O'Neil & Bilimoria, 2005; Ogbogu & Bisiriyu, 2012; O'Leary, 1997). African feminism, a feminist epistemology which validates the experiences of women of African origin against a mainstream feminist discourse (Goredema, 2009), highlights the

discernible difference between women who were colonized and those who were deemed the colonizers. Feminist epistemology puts women at the centre of the research process, in order for generalizations to be made about women (Brooks, 2006; Garko, 1999), whilst acknowledging that women are not homogenous. This reality requires studying women's histories, present realities, and future aspirations. Feminist critiques, such as Blustein et al. (2005) and Patton and McMahon (2014), have posed a similar question regarding the relevance and adequacy of existing career development models and theories in confronting a world where the oppression and marginalization of women is the norm.

Figure 2.

*The Proposed Afrocentric Approach to Studying Career Development of Women*



O'Neil and Bilimoria (2005), came up with a career development theory for women that proposed that women's careers are made up of three age-related phases, namely idealistic achievement (24-35), pragmatic endurance (36-45), and re-inventive contribution (46-60). They found that while the salient issues in each phase differ, women in all three phases were concerned with succeeding in both their careers and their relationships. The results of their research show that women's careers develop according to three distinct age-related phases, which are characterised by differences in career patterns, loci, contexts, and beliefs. Two other contemporary theorists, Ogbogu and Bisiriyu (2012), explain career development from women's perspective and consider the broader social or psychological context.

Additionally, Savickas (2002) proposes another career construction theory attempted to expand and contextualise Super's theory. In terms of Savickas' (2002) career construction theory, an individual's career development is based more on adaptation to his or her changing context than on the maturity of prescribed behaviours. Thus, Savickas (2002) used career adaptability instead of career maturity as careers are constructed. Savickas replaced the maintenance stage with the management stage, as the latter term suggests continuous adaptation. Savickas (2002) built on Super's notion of self-concept, which originated from personal construct theory. However, he adopted a constructivist perspective. Using social constructionism as a metatheory, construction theory views careers from a contextual perspective that sees people as self-organising, self-regulating, and self-defining (Savickas, 2005).

Furthermore, granted that women do not all progress through career stages in a linear and uniform fashion, their development cannot be restricted to age frameworks, such as Levinson (1978) and Super (1957; 1990). Individuals have different encounters in life, and thus to assume people of the same age will be doing similar tasks and activities, is a prejudiced assumption as women are not a homogenous group and thus do not have similar life experiences, consistent with (Sharf, 2010) a career construction theory. Taking Sharf's (2010) career construction theory, women's career life stories reflect predominant preoccupations related to each of the developmental stages of career adaptability.

Considering the uniqueness and diversity of the African culture, and the differences in women's backgrounds, it is impossible to have one career theory that explains the career development of women in Africa. I therefore strongly advocate for African feminism, a social movement whose aim is to increase the global consciousness that sympathizes with African women's histories, present realities and future expectations as shown in Figure 1.2 above. African feminism uses descriptive methods as they are deemed more conducive to getting the stories of African women as they call for openness in exploring women's experiences. In storytelling, individuals locate themselves as the primary narrator and character of their stories, and in this way, identity is constructed (McMahon et al., 2010). Feminist critiques challenge what is taken for granted and strive towards the acknowledgement of positioned knowledge and experiences. Feminist critiques such as Alcoff (1991), Carby (1987), Eagly (1987), and Gilligan (1982) have emphasised the importance of acknowledging women's voices, and the danger of the privileged speaking on behalf of the oppressed. Alcoff (1991) indicates that not only is location epistemologically salient, but certain privileged locations are discursively dangerous, referring particularly to privileged persons speaking for or on

behalf of less privileged persons. Alcoff (1991) states that this has helped to increase or reinforce the oppression of the group that is spoken for. For this reason, the act of the privileged speaking on behalf of the oppressed has been increasingly criticised by members of the oppressed groups. Carby (1987) posits that in order to gain a public voice as orators, black women had to confront the dominant domestic ideologies and literary conventions of womanhood, which had excluded them from the definition of a woman. According to her, there is a need to revisit the African feminist theory, and African women themselves need to reconstruct their definition of womanhood. Indigenous psychology as depicted in Figure 1.2 above, is therefore considered appropriate for studying the career development of African women, because it gives a voice to samples that would otherwise have been neglected. Secondly, it provides a contextual understanding, unlike the quantitative approach, which is prescriptive in nature and aims to match people with careers (Chinyamurindi, 2012).

The understanding of career development could be enhanced by using indigenous research, as it investigates the real-life context and concerns itself with vivid, dense, and full descriptions of the phenomenon being studied (Chilisa, 2012).

## Conclusions

From this discussion, it is clear that while it may be beneficial for African career researchers to utilize and adapt theories and constructs developed elsewhere, it is vital that career theories deeply rooted in the African context are developed, in order to eliminate dependency on the theories that were tested in Western communities using methodologies appropriate to those contexts. These theories, though adapted to fit the African context, remain decontextualized, and fail to capture the essence of African people's lives. The generalization of these theories to wider populations has reflected an assumption that they are meaningful and relevant for different ethnicities and backgrounds (Stead & Watson, 1998).

Noteworthy is the reality that no single theory can adequately account for all the experiences of African women, given that each woman constructs her own story about her career development experiences. Furthermore, the heterogeneity of women's experiences based on their geographical locations, cultural backgrounds, demographic profiles, societal norms, skill levels, and other factors responsible for differences in women's behaviour makes it impossible to have a single theory that explains the career development journey of each woman in Africa. However, this article has highlighted the need for more research on career development models that take an "individual in context view" (McMahon et al., 2014, p. 30), and theories that recognize the individual, dynamic, relational, and complex nature of careers. These factors have been largely overlooked by existing career theories (Stead & Watson, 2017).

Constructivist career theorists agree that women's careers are constructed differently to those of men, and are therefore worthy of their own attention in research. Thus, from the researcher's perspective, who would like to make a contribution by investigating and understanding the everyday world of women's experiences, it is essential that indigenous

knowledge systems to be used. Future research that will expand on the meaning of career development for women in the African context is thus needed, as well as career researchers who will question the validity and generalizability of the male-oriented constructions of career development.

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