

## ADAPTATION AND ACCULTURATION IN A CHANGING WORLD

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### Learning Objectives

**LO 10.1** Identify global issues affecting modern intercultural contact.

**LO 10.2** Define and differentiate adaptation and acculturation, describing the processes involved.

**LO 10.3** Explain and critique the theories and research contributing to an understanding of acculturation.

**LO 10.4** Appraise the effects of context on acculturation experiences and outcomes.

**LO 10.5** Evaluate the current understanding of acculturation conditions and outcomes for individuals and communities.

**LO 10.6** Explain the psychological and practical purposes the arts serve in acculturation.

(Continued)

Family	Interpreting and Expressing Acculturation Experiences
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The Melting Pot and the Salad Bowl	Coping With Stressors and Maintaining Social Resources via the Arts
<b>10.6 Acculturation and the Arts in Intercultural Contact</b>	
Transmitting and Maintaining Culture in Acculturation	Intergroup Relations and the Arts

## PREPARING TO READ

- Have you been outside of your usual culture?
- Can you imagine what it would be like to move suddenly to a different culture?
- What do you think you would have to do to live day to day?
- Have you known anyone who immigrated to your country or area?
- What did they experience in the process?

*In 2011, 15-year-old Jakadrien Lorece Turner was already a troubled young girl when she ran away from her Houston home. Arrested for shoplifting, she claimed, for some reason, to be a woman named Tika Lanay Cortez. Cortez, it turned out, was a Colombian who was in the US illegally and had a criminal history. In a conservative state and a political environment demanding tough action on illegals, Jakadrien suddenly found herself deported to Colombia. She was trapped for months in a living nightmare, unable to return to her native country, though she was born and raised in the US (Crimesider Staff, 1/6/2012). The situation recalls Cheech Marin's movie Born in East LA (1987), a comedy in which the main character was deported to Mexico though he was an American-born citizen and spoke little Spanish. Jakadrien certainly was not laughing; she was a teen thrown into a foreign country with no social or economic resources and little grasp of the language or customs.*

*Hopefully, Jakadrien's story is unique, but the issues she faced were not. She lost normal social and economic supports and found herself in an alien environment without the ability to navigate or communicate in regular social interactions. Certainly there were psychological effects from the experience. How can we understand acculturation experiences, even in more normal circumstances? This chapter discusses the processes of adapting in intercultural contact and clues from research for adapting well.*

## 10.1 MULTICULTURALISM AND MIGRATION

### LO 10.1: Identify global issues affecting modern intercultural contact.

Human cultures grew apart over vast spans of time, as **migration** across the globe brought different ecologies and challenges. The result is an incredible array of remarkably distinct cultures so different that we no longer share languages or lifestyles. Things and situations that are commonplace in our lives would be difficult for our own ancestors to understand. If our great-great-great grandparents suddenly materialized at a Starbucks in an airport terminal, nothing there would make sense to them. They may have had coffee in their day, but the terms “airport” and “Starbucks” would be meaningless to them, and the setting with its noise and hubbub could be quite frightening, especially with the take-off and landing of flying machines.

In the **diversity** of cultures, worldviews, and social systems now existing, we often fail to understand each other, despite our common origins. People in China or Chad or Chile may equally love their children or music or good food, but they may differ greatly in how they view their lives and the world around them. As we humans have expanded around the world, our cultural groups have interacted peacefully and/or violently over ever-greater distance and difference. Changes happen on personal, social, and psychological levels when cultures come together, and this has become a more common experience as humans have diversified and interacted throughout human history. With airports and internet, we meet and communicate across those divides more and more often, and we must adjust to accommodate these forgotten relatives we encounter.

Intercultural differences unquestionably affect how people think, relate, and behave. The term **multiculturalism** describes a diversity of cultural and ethnic groups within a sociopolitical entity such as a community, state, or nation (see Figure 10.1). **Indigenous** cultures may be part of the ethnic landscape, and they may not welcome new groups into ancestral lands already overrun by a newer dominant culture. Politically, multiculturalism often describes policies embracing immigration and inclusion, especially in nations around the world where ethnic and **immigrant** cultures form growing segments of the population (Kivisto, 2011). These policies appear more in developed countries that have a high need for immigration to cover skill and labor shortages, often because of declining birthrates and longer lifespans in majority groups that alter demographic patterns of age and ethnicity (Espenshade, Guzman, & Westoff, 2003). These demographic

Figure 10.1 Multilingual Bank Sign



shifts have also led to nativist and xenophobic backlash against immigrants, appearing dramatically in the 2016 US presidential election and England's Brexit vote to leave the European Union.

Increasingly frequent migration and interaction brings people together in complex cultural landscapes. How does intercultural contact affect us psychologically, and how can we achieve best outcomes in the process? To understand these conditions and their implications, this chapter discusses the psychological processes and outcomes described in acculturation literature of the social sciences. A number of examples are provided to give some perspective on this complex subject.

### The Birth of Nations and Beginnings of Modern Migration

After tens of thousands of years of migration and change, even the remotest areas of the world host larger and larger populations. We interact and compete interculturally on national levels, and have for centuries. Egypt, China, and Rome were winning teams in some early encounters, expanding their domains across multiple ethnocultural regions. The **nation-state** (the modern concept of country) is a relatively recent phenomenon, arising as winners of feudal and regional conflicts created larger political entities with bigger armies and firmer borders. Countries with the biggest armies and navies set off across oceans and continents to form colonies and outposts from which to send the best resources back home. **Colonialism** flourished, with Spain, England, France, Holland, and eventually the US controlling vast expanses across continents, dominating local cultures and sometimes establishing an immigrant majority. The system gradually eroded, beginning with the Revolutionary War and birth of the US, and followed by a stream of countries rebelling against colonial powers, though even successful rebellion rarely brought equity or reparation for indigenous inhabitants. In the aftermath of World Wars of the 20th century, treaties and negotiations between winning parties led to modern definitions of national boundaries, carved without regard to traditional ethnic regions. Internal strife results, as different groups fight for autonomy or control of resources (Hoerder, 2002). This is the case in Iraq, with Shiites, Sunni, Kurds, and Armenians all forced into one uneasy national entity.

Added to the internal issues of ethnic variety within nation-states are issues of mobility and migration *across* national boundaries. Countries with greater economic resources have become a destination for people seeking a better life for themselves and their families. At the same time, women with better education tend to work more and spend less time in pregnancy and childrearing, leading to lower than replacement birth rates for dominant groups in the most developed nations (Espenshade et al., 2003; Matthews & Ventura, 1994). Improved medical care helps us have longer lives, but proportionately fewer young people are available to care for the expanding elderly population. These factors motivate people to move to more affluent countries to fill labor and professional positions, especially as medical workers caring for the elderly.

In addition to these factors pushing cultures together directly, technological advances allow people to travel long distances more affordably and to communicate and experience entertainment media on a global level. Donne's axiom "No [person]

**Figure. 10.2** Isolated Island on Horizon



is an island” has never been more factually true; physical, digital, and metaphorical bridges abound between cultures and countries that Donne could not have imagined (see Figure 10.2). On this planetary island spinning through the universe, our lives are all inextricably intertwined.

## REALITY CHECK

What is diversity in human society?

How do multiculturalist policies affect cultural experiences?

How has the rise and fall of colonialism affected intercultural contact?

How does the concept of nation-state differ from country or culture?

Why has migration between countries increased?

## 10.2 ACCULTURATION AND ADAPTATION

**LO 10.2: Define and differentiate adaptation and acculturation, describing the processes involved.**

**Acculturation** is the term for processes that happen when individuals or groups of two or more cultures meet for extended periods of time, one of the most important topics currently researched in Cultural and Cross-Cultural psychology. As Hofstede (1980)

points out, a fish does not understand water until it is on dry land, and rapid development of technologies for communication and travel now constantly push us out of our natural environs. The topic of **adaptation**, in terms of intercultural contact, deals with how we adjust to new cultural interactions. We learn our own cultures as we develop (**enculturation**), transmitting and preserving the behaviors, values, and beliefs across generations. Changes to those enculturated elements due to intercultural processes are addressed in the study of acculturation.

Amidst the flurry of exploration and migration, intercultural contact has reached a point where no cultures, not even the remotest tribes of the Amazon or Kalimantan, remain in isolation (Chagnon, 1988a; Enzlin-Dixon, 2004; Hoerder, 2002; see Spotlight: Media, Marketing, and Acculturation). Each new contact, however it happens, exposes societies and their members to differing ideas and ways of being. The more benign encounters have given us knowledge and resources to live longer, healthier lives in more material comfort and safety. Conversely, contact via colonization and invasion have decimated cultures and their resources, as with the many indigenous cultures devastated by European colonization, eliminating traditional social structures, community supports, and symbolic resources. For good or ill, intercultural contact brings changes on both societal and individual levels, and these changes lead to a range of potential psychological effects and outcomes, depending on conditions of contact and the resources and responses of those involved (Ward, 2001).

### Acculturation as a Concept

Adaptation is a process of achieving some degree of stability in relationship with one's environment (Brody, Stoneman, Flor, & McCrary, 1994). Humans have historically lived in relatively stable situations until recently, with only the rare adventurer traveling more than 30 miles from their birthplace before the 20th century. Changes happened incrementally over hundreds or thousands of years, and were probably accommodated with little notice. With the exceptions of war or natural disaster, you would have had to live for millennia to see much difference. Colonization, transportation, and communication technology, along with other factors of increased migration, have disrupted this pace of adaptation, and more frequent (if not constant) intercultural contact has disrupted the stability of our cultures and their institutions in sudden and shocking ways. As a result, we have to adapt to increasingly diverse cultural situations on individual and group levels.

Acculturation is not a new experience. Plato commented on processes of change in intercultural contact as the Greeks expanded around the Mediterranean and toward Asia in trade and military conflict (Fine, 2008). These processes happen in more or less predictable patterns, differentiated by the strength of groups and of cultural elements involved. Usually, the weaker group is forced to change the most, though dominant cultures may also change from the contact, as shall be discussed later.

The term *acculturation* was coined by John Wesley Powell (1880), who explored what would become the Western US (see Figure 10.3). He was a pioneer in the developing field of anthropology, studying indigenous North American cultures and languages



during their brutal suppression in the late 19th century. A brilliant visionary for his times, he accurately predicted that farming and depletion of water resources would lead to the Dustbowl that eventually happened in the 1930s. He also firmly believed that Anglo-American culture was the epitome of human evolution, destined to righteous dominance. “Judged by these criteria,” he said in comparing indigenous North American, European, and English languages, “the English stands alone in the highest rank” (Powell, 1881, p. 16), an incredibly chauvinistic conclusion. The concept of Manifest Destiny held that divine providence granted European colonists and their descendants dominion over North America (O’Sullivan, 1845). It was widely assumed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries that “primitive” cultures rightly should fade into the past as their surviving members willingly embraced the “superior” European-origin cultures.

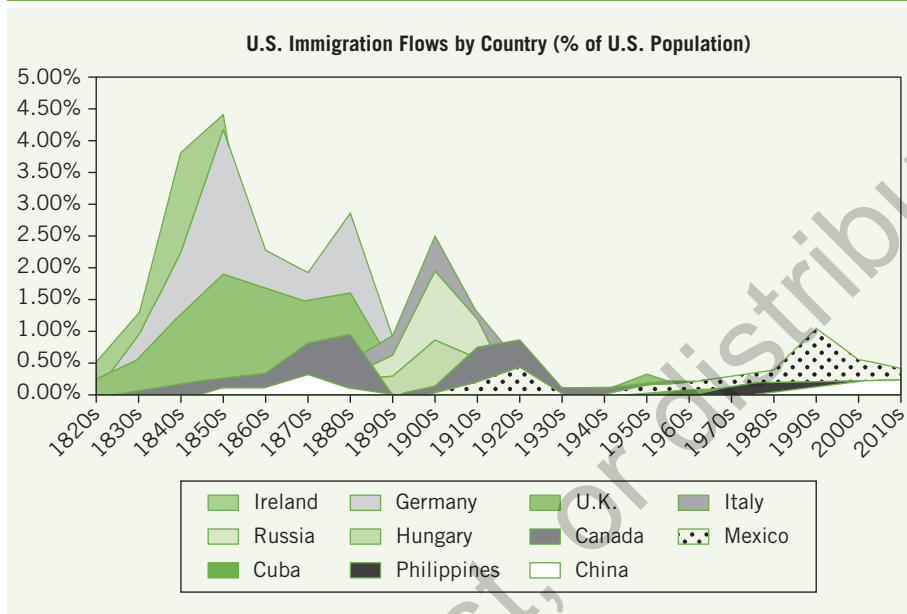
Figure 10.3 Etching of John Wesley Powell



During this same time period, immigration to the US increased rapidly, leading researchers to shift focus from declining indigenous groups to study of expanding immigrant communities in the burgeoning cities (see Figure 10.4). By the 1930s, the fields of anthropology and sociology were actively engaged in immigration research, predicting an inevitably difficult process in which minorities would be marginalized or, in the best outcomes, assimilated into the mainstream (e.g., Park, 1928; Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936). The concept of the **melting pot** entered common usage by that time, and a play with that name was first performed in Washington, D. C. in 1905 (Zangwill, 1908). The concept had been considered for more than a century before, dating back at least to St. John de Crevecoeur (1782/1905) who observed of the new US, “Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men” (p. 55).

Intercultural contact and immigration continue to be a hot topic of discussion and debate. During development of this book, millions of refugees have fled war in Iraq, Syria, and Afghanistan and have been blocked from entry into some European countries (“Migrant Crisis”, 2016), despite tragic circumstances and international accords on acceptance of refugees. Certain candidates in the 2016 US presidential race called for a total ban on immigration by Muslims (Berman, 2015), and laws have been passed subjecting Hispanic Americans to unusual detention by police if they are only suspected of being from outside the US (Cooper, 2010). In early 2017, Donald Trump began attempts to ban people from several Muslim countries by presidential order. Politicians

Figure 10.4 Graph of US Migration by Decade and Origin



Source: Image by Metrocosm, <http://metrocosm.com/animated-immigration-map/>

around the world have fanned xenophobic fears and prejudice to gain political power in a process causing increases in interethnic violence and tensions that may last for years.

Inter-ethnic tensions are unfortunately frequent in developed nations including the US, New Zealand, Canada, France, England, Sweden, and Australia, among others (Canadian Council for Refugees, 2000; Human Rights Watch, 2012; le Mesurier, 2012). In less developed nations, deadly violence erupts between ethnic, immigrant, and indigenous groups, especially in cases where a government has encouraged internal migration for political or economic goals (Human Rights Watch, 2001). Intergroup relations on social and political levels shape the psychological outcomes for the individuals involved, and the language of sociopolitical discourse on migration frames debates that determine well-being for millions around the world.

### Processes of Acculturation

Processes of acculturation happen on both group and individual levels. Theorists have suggested that acculturation at the group level and **psychological acculturation** at the individual level are distinctly different processes that should be studied separately (Graves, 1967). Further, there are semantic differences between “acculturation” at the individual-level of changes and **psychological adaptation**, which describes outcomes of the process (Ward, 2001). Historically, the processes of acculturation have often happened on larger scale as groups move en masse, as with the Irish Potato Famine



or the Jewish Diaspora of WWII. But even huge groups are composed of individuals who may have very different adaptation experiences depending on the specifics of their situation, as well as the material and psychological resources they bring. We begin with group-level dynamics, and then focus in greater depth on the psychological processes of individual acculturation and adaptive outcome.

### Group-Level Processes of Acculturation

People move in large numbers for a number of reasons. Sometimes people face dire conditions such as war or famine forcing them to move. In the Irish Potato Famine, between 1845 and 1854, nearly two million people left Ireland due to hunger and poverty, most moving to North America or to British colonies including New Zealand and Australia. This was a massive number of people in a time when far fewer people lived. They began a process of adapting wherever they went, facing different customs and **prejudice** that pushed them to band together as ostracized communities. The general process has been repeated with variations in the Jewish Diaspora following the Holocaust, Vietnamese refugees escaping the fall of Saigon, Ethiopians fleeing civil war and famine in the 1980s, and victims of ethnic cleansing leaving the Balkans in the 1990s.

The groups above are described as **refugees** or **asylum seekers**, defined in international law as people who are forced by circumstances beyond their control to cross international boundaries for safety and survival. In acculturation terminology, they experience “involuntary” acculturation (Berry & Sam, 1997; Ward, 2001). Other people who experience involuntary acculturation include indigenous people who encountered cultures as the result of colonization, such as Native American cultures and the Māori of New Zealand. A further set of people who may face involuntary acculturation are described as **internally displaced persons** (IDPs), who are forced by warfare or environmental factors to flee their traditional homes but do not cross international borders, and may or may not cross regional cultural boundaries. **Civil war** and drought in Somalia and the Sudan have forced millions to flee, though many have not crossed a border. People migrate and acculturate for numerous different reasons, but may share psychological experiences along the way.

### Motivations to Migrate

Voluntary acculturation describes the experience of ethnocultural groups who *choose* to interact with a different, dominant society. These groups might include the Amish who have lived in the United States for generations and maintain a distinct lifestyle. Permanent immigrants and temporary sojourners who move by choice for economic or educational purposes form the greatest number of contemporary migrants. Large communities of people from the Indian subcontinent can be found in the US, England, New Zealand, Australia, and many other countries. From every part of the globe, millions have chosen to seek their fortunes or education in other countries, some moving permanently, and others returning when their goals are achieved. **Sojourner** is the term for those moving temporarily to work or study in another country, but who may return after a few months or years to their native lands (Berry & Sam, 1997; Kuo & Roysircar, 2009; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999).

# SPOTLIGHT

## MEDIA, MARKETING, AND ACCULTURATION

Visiting the Malaysian Sabah portion of the island of Borneo in 2008, I did not expect to encounter multiculturalism: only a few decades ago, it was jungle full of orangutan and rhinos and barely contacted tribes. Actually, I stayed at a hostel owned by Chinese-Malaysians who told me they were saving to send their son (then 3 years old) to school in New Zealand for high school. In the common area at the base of the building was a café that featured

music each night by bands playing old pop music from the US and England. Adjacent was a Pizza Hut. A block away were a Kentucky Fried Chicken franchise (chicken can be *halal* if prepared by religious rules and can be eaten by the Muslim majority) and a multi-story mall with T-shirts, handbags, and CDs of dubious copyright or trademark (see Figure 10.5).

Movies and music are distributed globally, especially in context of the internet. It would be difficult to classify media factors in terms of acculturation research: if the children of a traditional family enjoy Euro-American songs and movies, the family may be disrupted by a very different set of cultural values. American media often portrays children mocking their parents, which may not be so strange in the US, but may be disturbing to a family expecting respect for elders. A young girl in a strictly hierarchic, patriarchal family may be in big trouble if she copies behaviors even from Disney shows. If she researches further, she may find video of Miley Cyrus twerking. In marketing, research does not discuss the effects of scantily clad women on the minds of those who see an ad, but those images may fly in the face of traditional or conservative cultures, violating ethics of divinity (Shweder et al. (1997). Elements of other cultures enter our homes and lives constantly, through aggressive marketing of American media, and the sustained encounter is essentially an acculturative process. In a world of constant intercultural contact, is acculturation the new cultural constant?

**Figure 10.5** KFC Sabah, Malaysia



The distinctions between categories may be overly fine. A family that makes its way to the United States illegally from Central America because they lack opportunity and resources, a student of Chinese ethnicity born in Malaysia who cannot find a place at a national university because of preferential quota laws, or a manager who is offered a choice between unemployment or international relocation are technically voluntary migrants, but they may have had few real choices in the matter. Some who relocate may intend to

return home but stay permanently, or conversely, intended permanent residency may not turn out well and the person may return home. Whatever the reason for migration, all acculturating groups or individuals share the experience of dealing with a different set of cultural rules and activities in the new setting for some amount of time (e.g., Nayar, 2009).

Groups experiencing acculturation may be categorized as voluntary or involuntary, reflecting the differing intentions described above. They can also be described as *pushed* by circumstance, such as poverty, or *pulled* by need or desire for some outcome, such as higher education. Other important factors include what resources they bring into the new situation, whether they are welcome or not, whether there is a community of people from their heritage culture, and whether or not opportunities are available to create a good life for themselves and their loved ones. Over generations, these factors may set trajectories for entire families adapting to their new homes (Liebkind, 1996; Miller & Rasco, 2004; Nguyen, Messe, & Stollack, 1999).

### Hurdles in Acculturative Adaptation

Difficulties may be encountered by acculturating groups in any of the categories described above. All must find new means of livelihood and must somehow understand ways of living and being that are not necessarily in harmony with their heritage cultures. The new situations involve changes in “identity, values, behaviours, cognition, attitudes and affect” (Bemak, Chung, & Pederson, 2003, p. 31). New skills may be required simply to shop for food (Nayar, 2009) or to behave in ways that fit in with norms of those around them (Nguyen, Messe, & Stollack, 1999). All may face pressures to adapt to life amid dominant or majority group societies and may face greatest pressure to do so when economic and social power structures are stacked against them (Berns-McGown, 2007; Hoerder, 2002; Marsella & Ring, 2003).

Much of the psychological literature of acculturation focuses on immigrant groups whose actual experiences may vary depending on their reasons for migration. The worst of these experiences are faced by refugees and forced migrants (Bemak et al., 2003), but all migrants face some risks. Jablensky, Marsella, Ekblad, Jannson, Levi, and Bornemann (1994) state, “There is compelling evidence that specific configurations of migration and displacement have a major impact on both short-term and long-term mental health and well-being” (p. 329). The risk factors shared by groups before and during migration include the following:

- Marginalization and minority status
- Socioeconomic disadvantage
- Poor physical health
- Starvation and malnutrition
- Collapse of social supports
- Mental trauma
- Adaptation to host culture

# SPOTLIGHT

## THE VIETNAMESE REFUGEE EXPERIENCE

The regions comprising modern Vietnam have been in almost continual armed conflict for more than a thousand years as different groups have tried to unite, dominate, or divide the region. Mountain ranges and a pinched waistband in the middle of the country have isolated the North and South to some degree and made them difficult to hold together as a unified political entity. The Chinese have dominated the region at various times over the centuries. During the Colonial era, the French controlled the country and established lucrative plantations and other ways to exploit the area's resources. France completely lost control of the region during WWII and gave up attempts to regain domination in 1954 (Yu, 1985). At that point, the US stepped in, and Vietnam became a pawn in the Cold War between the US and the USSR.

The Vietnamese had never passively accepted outside domination. The Chinese, Japanese, and French all expended huge resources and suffered great losses in the attempts at domination, and the US fared no better. The North, with Communist backing from the USSR and China, waged highly effective guerrilla warfare, and eventually the US had to withdraw in 1975, evacuating tens of thousands of those loyal to the US-backed government of the South, and leaving behind hundreds of thousands more to suffer brutal retribution under the new regime. Many of those left behind escaped in subsequent migration waves under terrifying conditions, and eventually, a third large wave began with normalization of political relations in the 1990s.

A total of 130,000 Indochinese refugees came to the US in the first wave (Nguyen et al., 1999; Thai, 2002). They included political elites, wealthy merchants, medical doctors, military officers, and others who were fortunate enough to escape immediately. Unlike the mayhem of millions relocating during and following WWII, the first wave was a finite group, and all passed through the Philippine First Asylum Camp. The US made efforts to plan and control relocation, beginning with screenings at the camp. These were people who had known years of war, and many suffered PTSD or other psychological conditions on arrival. An alarming 41% of youths exceeded the clinical diagnosis threshold on the General Health Questionnaire (GHQ), and 15% of young adults showed clinical-level scores on the HSCL-A measure of anxiety disorder (Felsman, Leong, Johnson, & Felsman, 1990).

This highly organized migration, while certainly tragic, led to some very good research opportunities, and to a number of theories about the acculturation process and adaptation outcomes. High rates of diagnosable mental illness have continued into the present in those populations, partly because of the vast *cultural distance*, or differences they face between their origin and destination cultures. The great differences in culture influenced outcomes in ways that will be discussed in the following Social Learning and the Stress and Coping paradigm sections of this chapter.

Sue le Mesurier, then Senior Policy Officer Migration of the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, said at the 21st Session of the UN's Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice,

Violence against migrants can take many forms. Physical, moral and psychological abuses against migrants are a growing phenomenon which is exacerbated by the current dialogue on migration and immigration

policies. The migrant population, especially those in irregular situations, are particularly vulnerable to labour exploitation.

Other horrendous crimes such as human trafficking and smuggling are also highly affecting migrants. These are issues that the International Community needs to address to ensure that the human rights of all, including migrants, are respected and upheld. (le Mesurier, 2012)

Although the negative aspects of migration are most immediate and pronounced among refugees, the shared hurdles can be exceedingly difficult for anyone acculturating. This is especially true in cases of pushed migration due to military, environmental, or economic hardship, when few physical or social resources are likely to be brought along on the journey. Many migrants were minorities or held low socioeconomic status in their land of origin. Both in their place of origin and in their new homes, their life situation may include such factors as very low socio-economic status, dangerous living conditions, language issues, prejudice, and political persecution or exclusion (Arroyo & Zigler, 1995; Green, 2009; UNDESAPD, 2011; Wilton, 2005). Indigenous groups often face these same issues, sometimes for generations, though they never leave traditional homelands (Hoerder, 2002; Murray, 2004). Sojourners also face stresses and difficulty in their host cultures in a number of socio-cultural domains (Kuo & Roysircar, 2009; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999). In other words, basically anyone who is not born a member of the dominant ethnic or national group where they live potentially faces some of these risks as they are pressured to adapt.

Acculturation is a two-way street because all cultures involved are placed in contact with ideas, products, and behaviors different from their origins (e.g., Berry, 2006). Some degree of cultural and psychological change may be experienced by any or all of the groups and individuals involved. European Americans have adopted the peanut as a common food and enjoy jazz music that includes numerous elements of African source culture (see Figure 10.6; DiMaggio & Ostrower, 1990; Neto, Barros, & Schmitz, 2005). In evaluating the individualism and collectivism scores of students of different ethnic groups in New Zealand, results followed interesting patterns. The New Zealand Māori were less collective than Polynesian immigrant participants, which is predictable given the long contact between Māori and Europeans. More surprising was that the New Zealand European students were less individualistic than other Western groups, suggesting that

**Figure 10.6** Peanuts, Brought to America to Feed Slaves



Source: nats77/istockphoto.com

they had accommodated somewhat to the more **collectivist** mode of the Māori with whom they share the country (Podsiadlowski & Fox, 2011). The minority group may be most pressured to adapt, given the range of social, political, and economic pressures they face (Berry, 2006), but all groups may face some measurable changes when in intercultural contact.

Immigrant or minority groups have little choice but to learn the dominant language and customs if they want to earn a livelihood and eventually be included in society. The dominant culture may hold all the cards and has relatively little pressure to accommodate the less powerful others. Minorities sometimes also form a convenient target for politicians who use divisive issues to garner support. Frequently, economic woes are blamed on the minority in a *scapegoating* process (Baumeister & Bushman, 2010), such as Jews in Nazi Germany, or illegal immigrants in the 21st-century US. Simply having a different skin color or accent can cause someone to be targeted. This happened to University of Pennsylvania economics professor Guido Menzo in May 2016, as he sat on an airplane working a mathematical equation while awaiting take-off. The Caucasian American woman sitting next to him reported him for suspicious behavior, assuming this dark-skinned man was a terrorist. Despite being Italian, not Middle Eastern, and despite his respected position, he was removed from the plane (Rampell, 2016). Racial profiling is an ongoing issue for minorities around the world and especially in the US.

## REALITY CHECK

*What types of groups experience acculturation?*

*What is the difference between immigrants, refugees, and sojourners?*

*Historically, what were the expected outcomes of acculturation?*

*What life changes might an acculturating person have to make?*

*What are the potential problems faced in acculturation?*

*What may happen to a person's status and employment after migration?*

## 10.3 APPROACHES TO THE PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY OF ACCULTURATION

### **LO 10.3: Explain and critique the theories and research contributing to an understanding of acculturation.**

As discussed earlier, academic study of acculturation began with the assumption that the process would be painful and the outcomes were all negative. In this context, sociologist Robert Park (1928) proposed the concept of The Marginal Man, which assumed that the acculturating individual would be caught in the margins between two cultures, accepted



by neither the culture he had left nor the one in which he arrived. Park believed this situation would lead to **marginalization** and that dark psychosocial outcomes would be inescapable. In the best-case scenario, the person would successfully assimilate, giving up his culture of origin entirely, and acquire the self-image of an unhyphenated American (Sam, 2006). This view is no longer endorsed in psychological research, but assimilation remains part of political debate.

Decades after the study of acculturation began, Kalervo Oberg (1960) coined the term **culture shock**, still assuming that the acculturative process included primarily negative emotional experiences and outcomes, and indeed, there is evidence that international students and others crossing cultures do sometimes experience negative health and well-being effects (Furnham, 2010). The concept became a part of popular culture and remains a commonly used term. It was not until Berry (1970) proposed the concept of *acculturative stress* that alternative views became part of serious research. Berry drew upon psychological models of stress and coping (c.f. Lazarus & Folkman, 1984) to describe a range of ways an individual might respond to stresses in intercultural contact. Berry proposed a more balanced model assuming that acculturation included stressors, but also including coping strategies and other factors affecting outcomes. Most important, Berry had found a way to draw on volumes of previous research about resources or skills people could use to promote more positive psychological outcomes when dealing with acculturative stressors.

### The Strands of Acculturation Research

Each individual experience of acculturation is unique, potentially bringing a variety of resources into the process, or bringing only needs. Understandably, given the wide variation in circumstances and options of humans in intercultural contact, research has focused on many different aspects and a number of theoretical streams have resulted. Colleen Ward (2001) summarized acculturation research overall as falling into three theoretical approaches: stress and coping, social identity, and cultural learning. The stress and coping framework focuses on the stresses faced in intercultural contact and the ways individuals deal with the stressors. The social identity approach revolves around ways people construct identity on a cultural basis and how different groups interact. The cultural learning approach discusses knowledge required to function successfully in a new or different cultural milieu.

#### Stress and Coping Research

The stress and coping framework of research deals primarily with aspects of contact that cause stressful feelings for the individual and how the person deals with the stressors. Stress and coping as an avenue to understand acculturation originated with Berry's (1970) proposal that the acculturating individual encounters stressors in the process of dealing with new environments and worldviews, and that the ways the individual copes with them shapes psychological outcomes in the process. Inclusion of coping concepts allows a framework for understanding healthier and more successful ways acculturation might proceed (e.g., Berry, 1997; Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001).

Factors affecting individual adaptation outcomes in the stress and coping paradigm include the **demographics** of the new environment, the availability of social support, the cultural differences between the culture of origin and the new environment, whether there is discrimination from dominant and other ethnic groups, and knowledge and skills the person brings or gains (see cultural learning paradigm below). Personal characteristics are also important in this paradigm, depending on whether the person can normally deal with stresses in a resilient and adaptive way (Berry, 1997; UNDESAPD, 2011; Ward, 2001).

The milieu of acculturation may be a major factor in stressors and adaptation: Is the individual accepted by the dominant or host community? Is diversity tolerated, or do attitudes of prejudice and exclusion prevail (Green, 2009; Marsella, 1994; van Oudenhoven, Ward, & Masgoret, 2006; van Tubergen, 2006)? If the dominant ethnic group is strongly prejudiced against the acculturating group, it may affect the acculturating group's ability to earn a fair livelihood, and thus yield lower socioeconomic status. This may lead to **ghettoization** and/or economic disenfranchisement of entire groups (Green, 2009; Ward & Masgoret, 2006, 2007). Differences between the heritage and host cultures, whether they are more or less similar, may affect the amount of accommodation or learning required of immigrants or indigenous groups and resulting stress (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Tadmor, Tetlock, & Peng, 2009). A number of others of the same ethnicity in the community may provide social support, mitigating stressful problems and ensuing psychological disturbances (van Tubergen, 2006). Honolulu's Chinatown hosted successive waves of immigrants, beginning with the

Chinese, and more recently, Vietnamese (see Figure 10.7). **Co-ethnics** may simply make life easier by providing employment opportunities within the community (Brody, 1994; Liebkind, 1996; van Tubergen, 2006). Conversely, other research suggests that strong co-ethnic presence inhibits the process of acculturation because less interaction with the host culture, language, and customs is required (Brody, 1994; Liebkind, 1996).

Berry's (1970) foray into the stress and coping framework marked a shift from the previous views that acculturation was a difficult and painful process leading only to negative outcomes of marginalization or cultural surrender in assimilation. Stress and coping research outside of acculturation had already discussed ways people could deal successfully with difficulties and

**Figure 10.7** Vietnamese Language Business Sign in Chinatown, Honolulu



trauma. The framework included mechanisms that could be identified and measured on interpersonal levels, such as social support, and intrapersonal levels, such as cognitive reframing and resilience skills. The potential for positive outcomes led to investigation of more possibilities in adaptation outcomes.

### Social Identity Research

The second theoretical approach, social identity, drew its inspiration from the social psychological literature of social cognition (how we think about group membership). It includes research streams focused on individual or group processes, either investigating individual sense of cultural identity or dynamics of interaction between groups involved. On the individual level, this approach studies how people identify with their culture of origin or an alternate (i.e., dominant) culture. Social identity research studies how people vary in their sense of belonging to these groups, the importance of membership, and their evaluations and appraisals of the groups involved (Ward et al., 2001). Individuals may identify as part of their culture of origin, as part of the dominant culture, or as some combination of both. In multicultural settings, a person may have heritage from a number of cultures, with parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents all having one or more different heritages. A person may have more or less knowledge of any of these cultures, may practice different traditions to greater or lesser extents, and may identify themselves as members of one, two, or more cultural groups. Each group may be held in higher or lower esteem.

On the group level, social identity research focuses on perceptions of groups and relations between groups. Individuals may have different perceptions of in- and out-groups regarding similarity of their group to others, the status and power held by each group, and boundary permeability, which refers to whether a person can move between and interact with different groups (Crocker & Major, 2003; Turner, 1999; Ward et al., 2001).

In the social identity paradigms, much of the acculturation research revolves around either Berry's (1990, 1997) acculturation strategies (discussed below) or Phinney's (1990, 1992) developmental approach to how people achieve sense of identity. Both approaches discuss ways people arrive at the sense of identity and what happens because of their choices. Strengths of these approaches are that they can be applied in complex cultural landscapes that may include indigenous groups, long-term minorities in decades or centuries of intercultural contact, and to groups in recent migration. These paradigms can also be applied to children and subsequent generations of these groups. Both paradigms assume the presence of a different, more dominant group and that there may be psychological repercussions from choices people make as they create their sense of identity. Phinney's concepts concern the ways a person makes decisions about identity during development, while Berry's concepts focus more on psychological ramifications of strategic identity choices in acculturation.

The ways we perceive and identify with heritage and other groups have been shown to affect psychological states and outcomes. In acculturation research, the general conclusion is that the marginalization strategy leads to the worst psychological outcomes

and the integrations strategy is healthiest. In other words, we need a positive sense of group affiliation to be healthy, and multiple affiliations seem best. The ways one's own and other groups are compared may also play a role, with favorable feelings about the group(s) with which one identifies being most likely to lead to better outcomes adjustment (Berry, 1997; Ward et al., 2001).

### The Cultural Learning Paradigm

The cultural learning paradigm forms a third stream of psychological research in acculturation. The underlying idea is that the acculturating individual experiences difficulties because she lacks knowledge and skills needed in the new cultural context. To adapt successfully to a new culture, a person needs to be fluent in the language, to understand the rules and norms of communication and interaction, and to have skills necessary to make a living. Skills may be as seemingly simple as learning how to shop in a supermarket or whether or not to tip the staff at a restaurant. Without the needed knowledge and skills, the person faces great difficulties and may experience negative psychological effects from the resulting troubles (Ward, 2001). Does the waiter you tipped think you are a nice person or feel insulted? Can you buy food for your children, or are you intimidated and frightened by rows of cereal boxes in an unfamiliar language, illustrated with bizarre pictures of rabbits, tigers, and leprechauns? The beauty of this paradigm is that it describes a particular set of hurdles and remedies that can be measured and monitored. You can learn the word *granola* or read a map to find an Asian grocery, and data have been gathered to establish how assistance can lead to better outcomes.

Research in cultural learning has shown that effects and outcomes follow a predictable learning curve that corresponds to time spent in contact with the alternate culture. The person needs to learn a language and how people normally interact, how to do profitable work, and how to complete daily tasks of shopping, banking, having a home, and so on. This just takes time. As the person spends more time in contact with the different culture, simultaneous learning occurs in terms of knowledge of the new culture and skills needed to adapt. This experiential learning yields improved adaptation outcomes. The simple set of skills and information needed and the demonstrably improved outcomes when those are gained have made this paradigm very attractive for international business and education, when people are moving in scheduled ways. Research in this paradigm has understandably focused on these sojourner groups (Cushner & Brislin, 1996; Ward & Kennedy, 1994).

The cultural learning paradigm is a highly effective avenue of research in practical terms. It provides a clear way to describe and measure aspects of acculturation and the potential to influence beneficially the outcomes. It does not address issues of how people reshape their identities or how effects of combined stressors may come into play, and does not address effects of prejudice or violence from the host culture. It is highly effective, however, at what it is intended to do: increase understanding of the new culture and thereby improve practical outcomes. Cultural learning provides an approach that, for instance, shows why it would be valuable for sojourner students and workers to learn about their destination culture before they even depart, thereby preventing some bad experiences altogether.

## Acculturation Strategies

John Berry's studies of acculturation have included Canadian First Nations (Berry, 1974), immigrants and refugees (Berry, 1986), and numerous other groups in Canada and around the world, illuminating the processes and outcomes of their experiences. Berry's (1990, 1997) acculturation strategies originally described the degree to which individuals identified with their heritage culture or the host/dominant culture, assuming that high identification with one indicated low identification with the other. The theory evolved to recognize that individuals may maintain the heritage culture identification and, orthogonally, participate in the dominant culture (Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki 1989; Ward et al., 2001). **Orthogonal** is the term for variables that interact independently. The individual may identify with and participate in the heritage culture(s) and/or in the host or dominant culture to different degrees at the same time. Each aspect may be higher or lower, depending on the individual and the circumstances of that person's life. The degree of identification and involvement with each culture can be measured, and those scores link a person to an acculturation strategy.

Berry (1990) has described four acculturation strategies: assimilation, separation, marginalization, and integration (or bicultural strategy), based on the level of identification with the new/dominant culture and origin culture (see Table 10.1). In Berry's model, **assimilation** occurs when the individual gives up identification with the culture of origin, choosing instead to identify as a member of the dominant culture. That person identifies highly with the dominant culture, and identification with the culture of origin is low. In **separation**, the individual chooses only to identify highly as a member of the heritage culture of origin and on a low level with the host culture. In the marginalization outcome, the person does not identify as a member of either culture, and so she is low on identification with any culture. In other words, the person does not feel or value membership in any culture and probably maintains few traditions of any sort. The final strategy was initially described as **bicultural**, in which the person feels membership in both the heritage and dominant cultures. Identification with both cultures is high. The term **integration** better fits strategies observed in multicultural settings where a person integrates multiple identities, and it is now the preferred term (Ward, 2001).

**Table 10.1 John Berry's Acculturation Strategies**

		Identification With the New Culture	
		High	Low
Identification With the Culture of Origin	High	Integration (Biculturality)	Separation
	Low	Assimilation	Marginalization

Source: Berry (1990, 1997).



# SPOTLIGHT

## THE MERRIE MONARCH FESTIVAL

Each year since 1964, *hula* dancers, teachers, chanters, musicians, and fans have gathered in Hilo, Hawai'i, for the Merrie Monarch Festival (Merrie Monarch Festival, 2012). The festival honors King David Kalākaua (1836 to 1891), who was the last king of Hawai'i from 1874 to 1891. Kalākaua loved *hula* and other aspects of Hawaiian culture that had been suppressed under the influence of missionaries, following the adoption of Christianity by the Hawaiian ruling class in the early 1800s. Under Kalākaua, *hula* had a brief blossoming, prior to his death and the subsequent overthrow of his successor, Queen Liliuokalani, by a cabal of American businessmen supported by US Marines (Coffman, 1998).

Hawaiian culture went through cycles of popularity, neglect, and outright suppression. Surprisingly, *hula* traveled worldwide throughout much of the 20th century, with *hula* troupes traveling to England, Australia, India, and elsewhere (Brozman, 2009). Back in Hawai'i, *hula* was not assured of survival as anything more than a quaint photo opportunity for tourists. Hawaiian culture was in peril of being overwhelmed and assimilated (Ariyoshi, 1998; Rayson, 2004). By the 1940s, Maiki Aiu Lake was one of the few *kumu hula* (*hula* master teachers) still practicing in the traditional way, with deep knowledge of the language and underlying cultural system (Ariyoshi, 1998). She and her students poured their hearts and lives into bringing the culture back to life. The Hawaiian Renaissance of the 1970s and 80s saw a resurgence of cultural practices and language, in tandem with Civil Rights and

cultural heritage movements on the mainland US and around the world. Assimilation or extinction, as predicted by Powell (1879), did happen to many cultures around the world, but in a surprising turn of events, many traditional cultures are reasserting their value and right to survive (e.g., Mussell, 2008). The Merrie Monarch Festival serves as an Olympian competition of excellence in Hawaiian culture and arts and is a living testament to cultural sustainability (see Figure 10.8).

**Figure 10.8** Kahiko (Ancient Style) Hula



Research has focused on how to measure and describe experiences of people as they naturally utilize one strategy or the other, and how to encourage the best choices of strategy. Published research has primarily supported that the best adaptive outcomes are gained in the integration strategy (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006a), though some strongly disagree (e.g., Rudmin, 2006). The acceptance of this research has



supported efforts to help immigrants learn more about the ways and beliefs of the dominant or host culture so as to fit in better. Largely, international research such as the International Comparative Study of Ethnocultural Youth (ICSEY) in 13 receiving countries (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006b) have provided strong support for the theory. Less investigated is how people can learn and maintain their cultures of origin when it is not encouraged in the new context, and in fact may have been abandoned by the elder generation (Fox, 2010). This has been the experience, for instance, of urban Māori in New Zealand, whose parents and grandparent may have been assimilated or marginalized, and who may not have much cultural knowledge to offer (Durie, 1995; King, 2001). Many young Māori and Pasifika youth join cultural groups to learn their language and culture (see Figure 10.9). Additional research may be needed to understand both how people adapt to a new culture and how they enculturate their heritage culture—and how these patterns interact.

**Figure 10.9** Pasifika Dance Performers in Aotearoa (New Zealand)



One way people deal with multicultural life is called **frame-switching**, where people may be fluent in more than one language and competent in multiple sets of cultural norms (Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martinez, 2000). They may behave differently, depending on where they are and who else is present, and the cultural connections with others present. This is not surprising. Everyone may behave differently in the presence of Grandma from how they act around friends their own age. For a person who speaks one language at home and another at work or school, this shift happens several times daily. Going to a family gathering or religious event, one may speak and dress very differently from other situations. Further, people may actually experience a different set of ideas and feelings about themselves and others, depending on context.

Recent fMRI and ERP studies demonstrate that the change of cultural frame may cause alteration in brain patterns (Han & Humphries, 2016; Ng et al., 2010), as discussed earlier regarding self-construal. Frame-switching may involve more than an ability to speak two languages or to follow different behavioral rules as expected in different situations. These studies indicate that truly multicultural people may actually switch the physiological patterns of their thoughts from one context to another. Rather than simply switching from one skill set to another like changing a costume, the change happens internally and a slightly different person emerges on a neurological level.

Hong and colleagues (2016) reviewed recent research in multicultural identities and outcomes. Consistent with Berry's research, multiple strong cultural identifications

correlate favorably with better psychological and sociocultural adjustment. Contrary to Berry's predictions, however, some individuals who identify at very low levels with heritage and dominant/host cultures actually function very well, exhibit high degrees of creativity, and excel in international business leadership (Arasaratnam, 2013; Fitzsimmons, Lee, & Brannen, 2013; Hong et al., 2016).

Arasaratnam (2013) proposed an alternative operational definition of multicultural identity that may account for these varied outcomes: "the condition of persons who have formed an identity that is not affiliated with one particular culture but instead a blend of multiple cultures and contexts" (p. 682). Rogoff (2016) suggests that examining participation in cultural practices may form a more effective platform for understanding people's relationships with their cultures than attempting to assign a "static social address" (p. 182) based on demographic information and survey responses.

**Bicultural identity integration** (BII) conceptualizes the degree to which an individual feels her cultural identities are compatible (Cheng & Lee, 2013; Cheng, Lee, & Benet-Martinez, 2006). The two domains comprising BII are distance, which is how different the cultures are, and conflict, representing perception of tension or integration between cultural identities (Hong et al., 2016; Mok & Morris, 2013). Low BII distance is associated with lower anxiety and better performance in mixed cultural settings. Interestingly, high BII conflict can lead one to examine cultural assumptions more carefully. The internal conflict between identities makes the person more aware of interactional dynamics and less prone to pitfalls like groupthink in teamwork.

### Weaving Together the Strands of Research

The three paradigms discussed all have practical merit and well-developed bodies of supporting research. Ward (2001) synthesized the three theoretical approaches into what she termed the "ABC's of crossing cultures" (p. 415). "A" is for **Affect**, "B" is for Behavior, and "C" is for Cognition. The terms have been used as a triad in social psychology in general (Baumeister & Bushman, 2012) and are applied more specifically when discussing acculturation. In this case, the affective component corresponds to the stress and coping paradigm and relates to stressful states encountered in the processes of coping with cultural change. The behavioral aspect corresponds to the cultural learning paradigm, including the ways of speaking, interacting, and working one must learn in a new culture. The cognitive component corresponds to theories of social identity, relating to the ways one perceives and thinks about social and cultural groups involved and evaluates membership in those groups. The ABC's of acculturation provided a shorthand for the major theoretical themes in acculturation research, but each of these domains is complex, with a multitude of possible variations in individual lives.

Acculturation research shows that each individual experience and outcome may be as unique as a snowflake, with different psychological and material resources, preceding experiences, and social contexts involved. Stuart and Ward (2015) point out that previous research focuses primarily on the acculturating individual, highlighting intrapersonal processes when acculturation inherently involves interaction between individuals and groups. These interactions happen in a particular place and time, including families,

communities, and surrounding institutions. Stuart and Ward recommend an ecological approach, drawing on Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecocultural theory, to encompass the complexity of these multi-layered experiences.

Acculturation involves ongoing changes and interactions that are affected by a variety of contextual factors, leading Ward and Geeraert (2016) to suggest that a process approach can better account for these multiple influences and their effects over time. Focusing on immigrants and sojourners, they propose a model of processes and factors leading to individual well-being and social functioning outcomes. The model includes context of global culture, the heritage and host cultures and differences between them, the ecocultural layers in which intercultural contact happens, stress processes, and the blending of heritage and host cultural elements that affect individual outcomes. Indigenous experiences of acculturation may require a slightly different model, as would long-term ethnic minorities *in situ*, highly multicultural settings like Hawai'i, or acculturation experiences of dominant groups. The following section addresses effects of social contexts of gender, family, community, and nation, as well as intergroup processes of prejudice and oppression.

## REALITY CHECK

Who is the Marginal Man? Why might marginalization lead to bad outcomes?

What happens when a person switches frames?

How might co-ethnics affect the process of acculturation?

What are the ABCs of crossing culture?

What is culture shock?

## 10.4 SOCIOCULTURAL CONTEXTS IN ACCULTURATION

### LO 10.4: Appraise the effects of context on acculturation experiences and outcomes.

Recent acculturation research acknowledges that level of analysis may be a crucial consideration in studying acculturation (Chirkov, 2009). Recall that Vygotsky (1934/1986) and the Russian Cultural-Historical School developed a theoretical model emphasizing context of development, and Urie Bronfenbrenner (1979) proposed that all human development happens in ecological contexts expanding from family to community and outward toward the broader nation and culture. Current approaches in acculturation research now acknowledge that acculturation happens in ways that may not fit a uniform set of steps and outcomes; contexts shape both process and results (Ward, Fox, Wilson,

Stewart, & Kus, 2010). We craft our identities and roles from a complex set of elements: ethnic and religious affiliation, economic and employment status, social memberships and hierarchies, gender and gender roles, and marital and family structures among them. Our roles and experiences in those contexts shape acculturation processes.

### General Sociocultural Factors

A primary factor in the process of acculturation is **cultural distance**, or the degree of difference between the culture of origin and the culture to which a person must adapt (Berry, 1997; Ward, 2001). If the cultures are similar, there is less to learn to adapt successfully, and the process may be relatively stress free. If they are very different, there may be more to learn in terms how people are expected to behave and interact. Similarly, a shared language makes the process easier, even if terminologies differ, such as boot versus trunk or bonnet versus hood on a car. Dialects of English use similar terms to describe shared physical constructs. A totally different language can make simple communication and life tasks difficult. Seemingly simple processes such as shopping for food can be daunting if a person is accustomed to shopping in a village market and must learn to navigate a large supermarket (Nayar, 2009). Imagine walking for the first time into a huge building where doors slide open without being touched, revealing row upon row of boxed items with labels you cannot read, if you grew up in a village where you knew every person and raised most of your own food.

Cultural identity is enacted in social contexts where “social performers meet social perceivers” (Hong et al., 2016, p. 51). In other words, we stake our claim to identity by our actions, assuming that our actions will be perceived as congruent with our intended identity. In any context, a person may be misperceived. A strongly identified Asian-American may be perceived as only Asian by a white majority perceiver, or a person with integrated Asian and American identities may be perceived as assimilated into American culture and lacking Asian identity. As with cultural distance and awareness, negotiation of identity occurs in all of the contexts to follow.

### National-Level Factors

Laws and policies on a national level can have a great effect on the acculturation process. Governmental policies can address or ignore issues of social inclusion and barriers, social capital, and social well-being (Peace, Spoonley, Butcher, & O’Neill, 2005). Is an immigrant welcomed and protected by laws against discrimination or do laws or policies unfairly favor a dominant culture.

The term *multiculturalism* was first used in Quebec in the 1970s to describe policies designed to value and preserve the multiple ethnic communities there, including large French- and English-speaking segments (Hong et al., 2016; Morris et al., 2015). Multicultural policies facilitate cultural maintenance and integration strategies in acculturation, but have been observed to reduce national unity (Reitz, Breton, Dion, & Dion, 2009). These policies are observed to enhance self-esteem only for highly identified individuals. Support for visible displays such as cultural festivals may either reduce or

inadvertently reinforce stereotypes (Hong et al., 2016; O'Hagin & Harnish, 2006; Sousa, Neto, & Mullet, 2005). Whether exclusionist or embracing, national policies affect those who immigrate or seek refuge across national borders.

Malaysia has what are called *bumiputera* laws that favor those of Malaysian ethnicity (Shamsui, 2001), setting quotas for admission to schools and universities, and inhibiting access to higher education even for groups such as Indians or Chinese who have lived there for generations. Within the US, as described above, laws and policies increasingly subject particular groups to identity checks, searches, and potential incarceration or deportation (Cooper, 2010). Unofficial policies can lead to exclusionary practices in hiring or to additional requirements for professional licensure, even when these policies and practices violate legal guidelines (Diego-Mendoza, 2010). Policies and laws affect people in immediate ways, and may affect their psychological condition through stress and demoralization.

In Malaysia, the US, or any other country, the policies, laws, and practices of a nation may affect indigenous or long-term minorities as well as immigrants. Rates of incarceration and institutionalization are much higher for indigenous people in New Zealand and Australia and for Native and African Americans in the US (c.f. Durie, 1995; Western & Petit, 2010). Discriminatory conditions increase stressors and require greater coping effort, and they may result in greater psychopathology for large groups of people. Ethnic Russians who moved to Estonia during the Soviet era enjoyed many advantages during that time, but they now experience resentment and prejudice from the majority Estonian population who regained political power after Glasnost. Contrary to expectation, the Russian participants who adopted an integrated acculturation strategy exhibited lower life satisfaction, underscoring potential complications from historical and contextual factors on national levels (Kus-Harbord & Ward, 2015).

Even well-intentioned national policies may have negative effects. The first wave of Vietnamese refugees from the Indochinese War was dispersed across the United States, often into areas that were previously entirely Euro-American, in an attempt to avoid ghettoization. While the intent was to avoid clumping refugees together in bad neighborhoods, what actually happened was that families and individuals were left with drastically reduced social networks and resources, and few or no people who spoke their language. They had a markedly higher level of psychological disorders and usage of public health systems than other groups, probably partly due to isolation. This was especially true for the Hmong, a fiercely independent minority in Vietnam and Cambodia (Fadiman, 1998), some of whom were relocated to rural “white” areas of North Carolina and Minnesota (Westermeyer, Vang, & Neider, 1984). Already suffering higher levels of PTSD, depression, and anxiety, the Hmong also faced prejudice and discrimination, adding stressors that exacerbate pathology (c.f. Fadiman, 1998).

It is important to keep in mind that, despite some serious issues and inequities around the world, there are many favorable national-level factors in immigration and acculturation. Numerous nations continue accepting numbers of refugees each year, per post-WWII accords, allowing greater life opportunities and/or escape from intolerable life-threatening conditions. In general, most legislation internationally tends to increase protections against prejudice and exclusion. Daily experiences in communities,

# SPOTLIGHT

## MULTICULTURALISM IN NEW ZEALAND

Aotearoa, the land of the long white cloud, is currently known as New Zealand, though the other name has been around far longer. The indigenous Māori are estimated to have arrived in about 1200 CE. Abel Tasman, a navigator for the Dutch East India Company, happened across the archipelago in 1642 but did not land, besieged by hostile Māori in *waka* (canoes; Keightley, 2005; Slot, 1992). Englishman James Cook arrived in 1769 (Beaglehole, 1961). Limited settlement by Europeans began with camps of whalers and sealers in 1792, and missionaries arrived in 1814. Permanent settlement gradually increased, and by 1839, about 2,000 Europeans were present, comprising two percent of the population at most, compared to a minimum of 85,000 Māori (Davidson, 1983; Liu, Wilson, McClure, & Higgins, 1999; Phillips, 2008).

In 1840, British consul William Hobson, proposed a treaty with the Māori, who were assured the document granted them perpetual control over their physical and cultural assets, as well as full rights as citizens of the British Empire. The English and *te reo Māori* (Māori language) versions differ significantly (probably intentionally), principally in use of the Māori words *tino rangatiratanga* (sovereignty, self-management, self-determination) and *kawanatanga* (Māori adaptation of the term *governor*). In the Māori version, the Crown was granted *kawanatanga*, with Māori retaining *tino rangatiratanga*. The English version ceded political dominion over the land and people to the Crown (Barclay, 2005; Liu et al., 1999; Walker, 2004; White, 2001). British immigrants violated even the English version within 72 hours, but the document currently serves as the basis for litigation to gain compensation for two centuries of land theft and domination by military force (Barclay, 2005; Walker, 2004; White, 2001).

In the modern *bicultural* system, the Māori and British descendants are supposed to share governance, but the system has never worked equitably. Added to the situation are new migrants, about whom the Māori were not consulted. Seeking to supplement skill shortages amidst high outward migration and an aging population, the government eased immigration policies in 1988, and in twenty years, the percentage of non-European immigrants swelled from under 2% to more than 20% (Ministry of Social Development, 2008). It is a unique and dynamic setting for rapid acculturation.

Kiwis, as white New Zealanders call themselves casually, perceive theirs to be an enlightened, open, embracing culture. In actuality, they have all of the intercultural problems found in other developed countries, including overt and covert discrimination in public and workplace arenas and great inequality in political power distribution. Governmentally, minorities and immigrants are theoretically supported and protected by Ministry of Māori Affairs, the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, and the Office of Ethnic Affairs. Privately, individuals and communities have created organizations for mutual support and collective clout, eventually coalescing into the New Zealand Federation of Multicultural Councils (NZFMC), which has regional councils in many cities around the country.

The New Zealand government, the NZFMC, and numerous communities host festivals each year to celebrate diversity. The Indian community celebrates Diwali, the Festival of Lights, in Auckland and Wellington, with more than 150,000 people attending in 2016 (Asia New Zealand Foundation, 2018). That is 5% of the New Zealand total population. Common thought is that the festivals provide a non-threatening, positive setting for inter-cultural



interaction and thereby promote more positive relations. This parallels research following Allport's Contact Theory (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), in which constant contact of living in close proximity with other ethnic groups in post-WWII housing projects was seen to reduce prejudice. In the New Zealand case, the contact is less direct, but tolerance of diversity seems to be increasing (Fox, 2010).

Over time, New Zealand is becoming more inclusive of its minorities. The indigenous Māori have made some strides with *te reo Māori* now an

official language, and a number of financial settlements for illegal seizures of land have been reached. They do, however, continue to experience lower educational achievement and much higher rates of incarceration (Durie, 1995; Statistics NZ, 2012). The concept of multiculturalism seems a cruel joke to some, with equity as a bicultural Māori-British nation never having been achieved. New Zealand is not a perfect case in outcomes, but it is a perfect example of the factors and processes of acculturation.

work, schools, and other settings tend to reduce prejudice and increase acceptance, as was suggested by Gordon Allport's contact theory (Allport, 1952, 1953; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). While exclusion and violence gets media attention, immigration is often positive for both immigrants and receiving communities. Comparing New Zealand and Great Britain, Stuart, Ward, and Robinson (2016) observed better adaptive outcomes for Muslim emerging adults in New Zealand, which is normally more accepting of immigrants, though if they felt acculturative stress they suffered lower life-satisfaction and increased behavioral issues in both countries.

## Community

Culture normally happens in communities. We learn our culture in communities; popular sayings like "it takes a village to raise a child" reflect this truth. Our parents are normally part of a community, and the values, beliefs, and behaviors of culture are passed on in these ecological contexts. We also normally encounter other cultures in context of community, when we encounter other ethnicities in our area (Prilleltensky, 2008; Sabatier, 2008). Exactly how this happens depends on many factors, but there are few ways intercultural contact can happen independent of community.

### Composition, Distance, and Cohesion in Communities

Community factors have been viewed in both positive and negative ways in acculturation research, mostly related to ethnic composition of the community, degree of difference between groups (especially majority and minority), and community cohesion. In terms of composition, differences depend on whether the larger community is diverse or primarily one dominant ethnicity. A homogenous mainstream may be less accepting of other ethnicities, while a multicultural community may be more tolerant (Maira, 1999). Having few people of one's group in a community may lead to a sense of isolation. Presence of a larger group of co-ethnics may enhance sense of inclusion and support,

or may facilitate a Separation strategy in which a whole community insulates itself from the host culture (Liebkind, 1996; van Tubergen, 2006). Pockets of an ethnic group or minority are termed **ethnic enclaves**, which includes the Chinatowns of many major cities or the Polish community of Chicago. In short, the makeup of the community sets the stage for the acculturation experience that will follow.

The effects of cultural distance are felt most acutely in community settings. In situations of low distance (high similarity), the immigrant or minority person may pass almost unnoticed. If the distance is high, one may stick out like a sore thumb. Muslim women wearing *hijab* (headscarves) or *burkab* (full body and head covering) have been the target of prejudice and even legislation against wearing their garb in parts of the US and other countries, and Western women are advised to wear these items in certain Muslim countries. Remember that all groups must adapt to each other to some degree, and the less the differences, the easier this will be (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Tadmor et al., 2009).

A third broad topic is how people connect and interact in communities. Are people supportive of each other within their ethnic group and of members of other groups? Or is there an atmosphere of mistrust, selfishness, and exclusion? A sense of connection to others has been shown to be extremely important to healthy psychological functioning (Barber & Schluterman, 2008; Baumeister & Leary, 1995), and connectedness may be low or missing during acculturation. The presence or absence of social support in community can have a huge impact on well-being.

Ideally, the immigrant or refugee arrives in a hospitable environment. As the Syrian refugee crisis expanded in 2015, a number of countries closed their borders to asylum seekers, flagrantly defying the 1951 Geneva accords on refugees. Justin Trudeau, Canada's newly elected prime minister, responded to the Syrian refugee crisis by stating that Canada would welcome 25,000, greeting the first arrivals personally, and making clear Canada's commitment to providing safe haven (Austin, 2015; "Trudeau Welcomes Syrian Refugees," 2015). Co-ethnics already in the community may also provide support. Co-ethnics share traditions and behavioral norms, can help to nurture children and connect people with jobs, and tend to make familiar foods and other necessities available.

Conversely, community factors may impede healthy adaptation. Immigrants may face exclusionist policies or attitudes, and members of the dominant culture may exhibit great prejudice, leaving the minority persons more aware of their isolation. Close communities that embrace Separation strategies may prevent members from exploring other options for connection and learning outside the ethnic enclave. The social environment may affect immigrants on an individual or family level, or may impact entire communities.

## Family

When people relocate, they often move as a family unit. In families, we have a number of our most intimate relationships and our earliest formative experiences. Acculturation is experienced by all family members together, bringing both benefits and complexities (Ward et al., 2010). Families provide social support and teach us our cultures, and generally give us our best chances for psychological well-being

(Oppedal, 2006; Phinney & Ong, 2002). Surprisingly, family has only recently become a topic in psychological acculturation research, perhaps due to psychology's inherent focus on the individual (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007), but as with community, one usually finds individuals within families.

Families face a number of challenges in acculturation. Complicated and time-consuming processes of immigration and entry can be costly, potentially draining family resources. Adults who come into contact with another culture may have a very different experience from their children, with some uncomfortable changes in statuses, roles, and behaviors (Chung, 2001). Children may be young enough to learn a new language without accent and to learn normative behaviors more easily, given their greater neuroplasticity. In many cases, children serve as translators in official dealings. This may lead to situations in which parents, who would normally be directing their children's development, become dependent on the children for navigation of the new culture. A child's better adaptation to the alternate culture may give her an unusual amount of power, being the primary member assisting the family with authorities or finding livelihood.

Immigrant children usually grow up attending schools and making friends in the new culture on a daily basis. This exposure makes them likely to adopt different values and beliefs that are not acceptable in their heritage cultures. Conflicts may then result across generations, causing additional stresses in lives of all involved (Phinney, Kim-Jo, Osorio, & Vilhjalmsdottir, 2005; Ward et al., 2010). The migration experience may offer greater freedoms and opportunities, but can place the younger family members at odds with elders rooted in tradition.

Despite some inherent risks and pitfalls, families also provide potential resources for enhanced outcomes. While family cohesion may be threatened in acculturation, strong family bonds provide children with social support and sources of resilience. Families can help to create a strong sense of identity through maintenance of values and traditions, giving children a more cohesive view of who they are (Stuart, Ward, Jose, & Narayanan, 2010). Family-level outcomes are improved by "(1) fostering openness and mutual respect among family members in response to generational conflicts that arise during the acculturation process; (2) enhancing family cohesiveness; and (3) utilizing the social support provided by the family unit" (Ward et al., 2010, p. 29). In these ways, families can actually improve outcomes, providing different trajectories from the expected downward spiral of marginalization.

### Gender Issues

Sex and gender identity determine roles, statuses, rewards, and treatment in any situation, but particularly in migration. In civil unrest and war, women and children experience exceptional hardship that may lead them to relocate; for instance, women may experience rape or widowhood, and children may be orphaned, raped, or conscripted into paramilitary activity (e.g., Bemak et al., 2003). Normal intergender interaction in one culture may be illegal in another, such as using physical violence in disciplining a spouse or child. Life in a different culture often brings about changes in family structure

and interaction, such as necessity for women to work or simply to go out of the house. These activities may have been prohibited in their heritage culture. Women may then gain greater independence and autonomy, and men may lose traditional authority.

Attitudes and values always change in the acculturation process, and changes around gender and sexuality may cause particular problems between generations within families, perhaps simply because a teen from a family where marriages are arranged wants to go on a date. Interaction between unrelated males and females is prohibited in many cultures. These changes may cause insecurity, anxiety, and conflict for the whole family, and loss of control has caused some men to react with anger and violence (Denmark, Eisenberg, Heitner, & Holder, 2003; Eckblad et al., 1994).

Challenges for LGBTQ individuals before, during, and after change of cultural context may be exceptionally dramatic (Luu & Bartsch, 2011). Gender or sexual preference issues may have been reasons for immigration or relocation, often under mortal peril in countries where homosexuality is criminalized. Cultural differences in acceptance of alternative gender or sexual identities may press a person to seek a new cultural context, perhaps simply by moving from a rural to a more urban location with more accepting norms, or by fleeing to another country. Oppression may be left behind, or may exist in the new culture. Attitudes toward homosexuality change with acculturation to more liberal cultures, and may bring relief to some. Traditionalists may be extremely uncomfortable with these changes (Luu & Bartsch, 2011; Rosenthal, Levy, & Moss, 2012). Any of these factors can affect the experience of acculturation for better or worse.

## REALITY CHECK

*What is cultural distance and how does it affect people?*

*Why does it matter who lives in your community?*

*What do families often experience during acculturation?*

*How can gender or gender orientation affect acculturation outcomes?*

## 10.5 OUTCOMES OF ACCULTURATION

### **LO 10.5: Evaluate the current understanding of acculturation conditions and outcomes for individuals and communities.**

Acculturation happens in context of major changes in a person's life situation. In the Holmes-Rahe Life Stress Inventory, stressors have been rated as to severity, with a threshold of 300 marking the point of likely illness. A person will almost certainly face change in financial state (38 points), changes in line of work (36), change in living condition (25), revision of personal habits (24), changes in residence (20), social activity (18), family gatherings (15), and eating habits (15), for 191 points. This does not count a host of other

conditions in the new setting or extreme events before departure, like potential deaths of family (63 points). Changes to social roles and deeply held beliefs may also adversely affect the psychological health of people in the process. These factors influenced early assumptions about negative outcomes in acculturation, but other factors are in play as well.

Prior experiences may include horrible traumas that result in post-traumatic stress disorder (Jablensky et al., 1994). Terrible experiences in a new culture may be equally traumatic (le Mesurier, 2011). Throughout those experiences, a person's thoughts and feelings about these conditions may have far-reaching effects on eventual outcomes, including whether a person seeks or accepts treatment resources.

Mental health interacts with physical health, particularly in cases of stress, which causes release of hormones and neurotransmitters related to fight-or-flight reactions. Prolonged stress may cause **adrenocorticotrophic hormone syndrome**, where over-taxing of resources may lead to physical and mental illnesses (Dunn & Berridge, 1990; Gallo & Mathews, 2003). This concept ties into the Stress and Coping paradigm of research in terms of how acculturation may increase stresses and how a person's reactions to those stresses may lead to better or worse health outcomes.

Access to and use of healthcare may solve numerous problems. Timely treatment for physical or mental issues may alleviate them quickly and effectively. Cultural learning may be important in health outcomes because access to healthcare requires language skills and understanding of bureaucracies that may be quite alien. If they do make their way to healthcare, migrants' expression or understanding of disorder may differ greatly from that of healthcare professionals. Sometimes, negative mental states are expressed as *somatization*, which is physical perception and/or expression of psychological illness (Marsella & Yamada, 2000; Southard, 1912; Walsh, 1912). Issues of health and treatment are discussed in Chapter 11.

Emphasis on real risks and difficult situations in immigration may misrepresent the actual acculturation experience. Much research up to present has followed the deficit model of the 19th century, assuming that outcomes would be negative. Researchers may be guilty of some confirmation bias in focusing on negative issues. Immigration may actually bring safer, healthier conditions and greater access to better healthcare. While the situations described above are largely negative, it is important to remember that acculturation experiences can also bring healthy, happy outcomes.

The experience of acculturation includes what *actually happens* to the person before, during, and after intercultural contact, and the person's *interpretations* of what goes on during these stages (Marsella, 1999, 2009; Marsella & Ring, 2003). These form experiential and interpretive domains, respectively, and together they shape realities and outcomes of the process. People bring a variety of experiences to the table and can conceptualize and understand what has happened very differently, for good or ill. Acculturation can be an exciting experience of learning a new and wonderful culture, if conditions are right both in the external milieu and in the immigrant's mindset. Positive experiences may lessen effects of previous trauma and positive interactions in the new setting may help make the acculturation process a pleasant one (e.g., Coppens, Page, & Thou, 2005; Son & Kim, 2006). It can be, however, that previous experiences or adverse conditions on arrival may set the stage for mental health issues.

## The Melting Pot and the Salad Bowl

This chapter provides a very broad look at the enormously complex topics of acculturation processes and research. What happens on an individual level depends on an enormous range of possibilities before and during acculturation. These processes extend back centuries in the US, and the conjunctions of indigenous peoples and immigrants have shaped the resulting nation. For the European arrivals, the usually benevolent situation led a French immigrant to remark,

Whence came all these people? They are a mixture of English, Scotch, Irish, French, Dutch, Germans, and Swedes. . . . What, then, is the American, this new man? He is neither a European nor the descendant of a European; hence that strange mixture of blood, which you will find in no other country. I could point out to you a family whose grandfather was an Englishman, whose wife was Dutch, whose son married a French woman, and whose present four sons have now four wives of different nations. He is an American, who, leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced, the new government he obeys, and the new rank he holds. . . . The Americans were once scattered all over Europe; here they are incorporated into one of the finest systems of population which has ever appeared.

—J. Hector St. John de Crevecoeur,  
*Letters from an American Farmer* (1782)

In the 19th century, the focus was on ways inferior cultures would be assimilated into dominant culture. At the beginnings of the 20th century, *The Melting Pot* (Zangwill, 1908) described ways multiple cultures would become one, probably dominated by the majority culture, and it was assumed that the burgeoning immigrant communities of the great American cities would blend into a superordinate single culture. The melding never really happened, and civil rights movements around the world made clear the demand that all cultures be valued (Schuck, 1993; Soysal, 1994).

Multiculturalism came to the forefront in the US with a speech in Pittsburgh on 27, October, 1976, when presidential candidate Jimmy Carter said, “We become not a melting pot, but a beautiful mosaic. Different people, different beliefs, different hopes, different dreams.” A growing body of social research demonstrates the value of cultural diversity for the health and vitality of communities. Indigenous groups are demanding cultural survival in civil life and in court. Increasingly, it is acknowledged that true social cohesion requires respect for and nurturance of a varied cultural tapestry rather than homogenization (Abele, 2004; Beauvais & Jenson, 2002; Peace et al., 2005).

Emphasis on diversity has led to the metaphor of the **salad bowl**, in which each culture retains its unique colors and flavors in complement to others (Huddle, 1987). These metaphors and corresponding assumptions in research parallel changes in public policy and effects on acculturative outcomes. The processes are not linear; recent political rhetoric has not always become more accepting, even though social science



research supports the ultimate value of diversity. Peace et al. (2005) suggest that governments must balance the need to welcome immigrants inclusively with the need for immigrants to respond to the institutions of the new country. Elements of social inclusion and well-being must be addressed to maintain cohesive societies.

The processes and outcomes of acculturation are relatively recent topics of investigation, and results of inquiry are vigorously debated (e.g., Rudmin, 2010). The acculturation process and its outcomes provide a marvelous area for future research. Many factors in acculturation have already been identified which may interact in numerous ways, and the burgeoning human population leads to dramatically increasing interactions between cultures. Resulting questions include the value of sustaining diversity versus exclusion, balancing potential for intercultural misunderstanding and conflict with benefits of wider ranges of individuals contributing to knowledge and productivity. These dynamics will likely shape progression of research (including funding issues), publication (as it aligns with accepted theories), and public understanding (as theories enter—or do not enter—popular knowledge) for decades to come.

## REALITY CHECK

*How can acculturation processes affect mental and physical health?*

*How does historical context affect acculturation and its outcomes?*

*Why would issues from before immigration affect outcomes?*

*How do the concepts of melting pot and salad bowl relate to understanding acculturation?*

## 10.6 ACCULTURATION AND THE ARTS IN INTERCULTURAL CONTACT

**LO 10.6: Explain the psychological and practical purposes the arts serve in acculturation.**

Arts have formed a core pillar of culture, in the music of our rituals and celebrations, in the clothes and tools we use, and in the images that decorate our lives. When we have migrated through the ages, we have brought our arts with us. The functions of community cohesion and cultural transmission continue as long as a group has its arts, and in fact they may be more important when the group has left their familiar surroundings. The group may lose its sacred ground, but still have their songs and symbols contributing to their sense of identity and cohesion (e.g., Farr, 1997; Gaunt, 2006; de Silva Jayasuriya, 2006).

In migration, traditional musical and artistic practices frequently continue to be preserved and transmitted, sometimes over eons and great distance, as with the Great

Pacific Migration. Much as words follow migration and remain in the deep structure of languages across vast regions, so also do the sounds, images, and stories (Gaunt, 2006; Obeng, 1997; Waseda, 2005). Arts also change to reflect the migration experience, adding elements as cultures meet, and adding stories as the body of experience grows (de Silva Jayasuriya, 2006; Valdez & Halley, 1996).

Despite the obviously large quantity of cultural information within music and other arts, very little psychological research has been conducted regarding the role of arts in acculturation. Study of arts processes has been the academic domain of anthropology, ethnomusicology, and cultural studies (Hargreave & North, 1999). Arts are only just beginning to be examined and explored psychologically in their roles in culture (Stern, 2004; Sussman, 2010). In psychological inquiry that *has* transpired, traditional or ethnic music and dance, particularly, have been shown to strengthen or maintain ethnic identity (Waseda, 2005), alleviate anxiety and homesickness (Son & Kim, 2006), increase social bonds, and facilitate transmission of cultural values (Hargreave & North, 1999). This list is remarkably congruent with the risks and pitfalls of acculturation. In acculturation, arts can be seen to play four general roles: transmitting and maintaining culture across generations and regions, interpreting and expressing the experiences encountered, coping with stressors and maintaining social resources, and connecting to the other groups met along the way.

### Transmitting and Maintaining Culture in Acculturation

Someone leaving home to attend college brings practical items like clothing, but also some mementos of home, their music collection, and some art for the walls. Families in migration, given the time and opportunity, bring their most treasured items, which might include photos or painting of ancestors, traditional clothing, or musical instruments. These might be passed down through generations along with stories of their meaning and origin, providing connection to familial origin and culture. The images and songs carry layers of information. We learn our culture through arts, and cultures carry these encoded lessons as they travel. The legend of the white stag explains how the Huns and Magyars journeyed to settle Hungary in 896 CE, and continues to form a key element in national identity (Makkai, 2000; Selnick, 2012; West, 2000). *The Aeneid of Virgil* (Virgil, 2004) commemorates the founding of Rome by the fleeing Trojans, following their defeat, and justifies their conquest of the Italian peninsula.

Arts travelled the slave-trade routes, as the music, the dances, and their social functions travelled from Africa with the slaves brought to other countries, serving the same psychosocial functions in new lands. Kyra Gaunt's (2006) study of jumping rope and hand-clap games among African American girls shows how these seemingly simple games transmit cultural values and belief systems, traveling in the lyrics and rhythms, and in the cooperative motions. She credits these as key in the development of rap and hip-hop, establishing links from those styles back to pre-slavery roots in Africa. The games are fun and comforting, and while those participating would rarely be aware of the importance or antiquity of what they are doing, it places young children squarely in a centuries-old chain of cultural continuity. The transport of cultural knowledge extends not only to Europe and the Americas, but also across the Indian Ocean.

Notably, Sri Lanka retains a surviving African subculture, established during slavery under the Portuguese (1505–1658), Dutch (1658–1796), and British (1796–1948) colonial eras (de Silva Jayasuriya, 2006; Farr, 1997).

A resurgence of cultural identities began in the Civil Rights movement and other movements around the world, and artistic elements became hallmarks of these efforts. Soul food, soul and funk music, and dashiki type garments became symbols of African American pride. Master *taiko* drummer Kenny Endo was a jazz drummer from Los Angeles during that time. He sought his Japanese identity in the rigorous discipline of *taiko*, spending years studying in Japan, and subsequently passing his knowledge to those who attend his concerts and to thousands of students in Hawai'i.

Indigenous cultures suffered massive losses of population and cultural knowledge over the past few centuries. Hawaiian children were beaten for speaking their language at school and their parents were told speaking anything but English would make them stupid. Native American, Australian Aborigine, and Māori children were taken from their families and placed in boarding schools or foster families. What survives was largely passed down in songs, chants, dances, and tactile arts, now used to enculturate new generations. Native American powwows provide annual opportunities to reassert and transmit identity. Māori maintain a growing number of *marae* ceremonial houses, where *haka* and other traditions live on. Learning the *Kumulipo* creation chant taps hula students into thousands of years of continuous culture. In 2013, a *bula halau* at the Merrie Monarch festival danced in *kapa* fabric beaten from bark for the first time in well over a century, reviving a traditional art that had completely died out when traders brought more convenient fabrics to the islands (see Figure 10.10).

Figure 10.10 Sabra Kauka Making Kapa



## Interpreting and Expressing Acculturation Experiences

Intercultural contact brings about a variety of experiences, both good and bad, which must be incorporated into a person's psyche. Migration means a home is left behind, perhaps loved ones, and certainly, one's familiar life. According to Farr (1997), arts "provided a mechanism for communal coping- an expressive outlet with restorative benefits to ensure healthy adaptive functioning, particularly under difficult circumstances" (p. 184). Koreans migrated to Hawai'i in 1903 to work the sugar cane fields and were trapped, unable to return, when the Japanese took political control of the country by military force. The traditional song *Arirang*, with its lyrics about love and loss, came to symbolize the Koreans' loneliness and homesickness, as they spread to the mainland US and ever further from their homeland (Coffman, 2002).

Arirang

Look on me! Look on me! Look on me!

In midwinter, when you see a flower, please think of me!

Ari-arirang! Ssuri-Ssurirang! Arariga nanne!

O'er Arirang Pass I long to cross today.

—Traditional song, Sejong Cultural Society (2016)

In intercultural contact, music has played an important role of expression and communication in post-colonial processes (Graburn, 2004; James, 1999; de Silva Jayasuriya, 2006; Kramer, 2004). The Berbers of Algeria, both in their native regions and in France, have embraced music and poetry as a nonviolent way to move toward political acknowledgement and autonomy (Goodman, 2005). Across the vastness of Africa, music and dance have always been particularly salient factors in maintaining social cohesion and negotiating transitions, and these functions continued through colonization and slavery. In the United States, rap music (demonstrably an extension of African musical tradition) provides a means of emotional and social expression amidst continued prejudice and suppression (Kopano, 2002). The music has been filtered through church music, blues, jazz, soul, and funk along the way, but continues to serve functions similar to those served before Africans were enslaved and exported. It is for this reason, Farr (1997) explains, that hip-hop dance therapy is effective in treatment of at-risk African American adolescents.

## Coping With Stressors and Maintaining Social Resources via the Arts

Arts practices provide a way to connect members of communities and families in acculturation. Traditional arts provide excellent ways for young people to learn cultural traditions and to connect in positive ways with elders who might otherwise seem distant and strange (Coppens et al., 2005; Miller & Rasco, 2004; Nguyen et al., 1999). Dole and Csordas (2003) observed development of connectedness through participation in

traditional ceremonies for Navajo youth. Coppens et al. (2005) observed and evaluated a Cambodian dance program for young Cambodians living in the northeastern US set up to “increase awareness and pride in Cambodian culture, promote healthy behaviors, and create linkages within the community” (p. 321). Music provides an avenue for increasing social cohesion among Latinos in Toledo, Ohio, helping to unify a population that is actually diverse in countries and cultures of origin (O’Hagin & Harnish, 2006). In Hamilton, New Zealand, Guerin, Fatuma, and Guerin (2006) observed Somali refugee women’s groups. The women’s participation in parties and celebrations involving music and dance “was easily seen as contributing positively to their mental health and well-being, and their feelings of belonging in their new country, as they changed with the better position of the community over time” (p. 4). Loss of social support and resources has been observed to be sources of stress in acculturation (Markovitzky & Mosek, 2005), and arts provide a way to cope with these losses.

Sharing of popular arts also can provide ways to increase connectedness and reduce stresses. Chinese immigrants in Japan hold “dance parties,” using certain favorite musical content, in which the shared contact affirms identity and sense of belonging while also providing opportunities to garner social capital and support (Farrer, 2004). Similarly, the tango subculture in New York City provides a means of accessing social networks and resources in the city’s Argentinean community (Vladrich, 2005). By far the most widespread use of a popular genre to provide resources of connectedness in acculturation is found in the worldwide dispersion of Bollywood movies, music, and dance in Indian communities across the world (Punathamberkar, 2005). Bollywood brings together people who identify as Indian and can connect to the genre despite generational differences and origins in entirely different ethnic subcultures back in India. In New Zealand, tens of thousands of Indian immigrants gather for annual Diwali festivals with sold-out Bollywood dance competitions (Asia New Zealand Foundation, 2009). These activities, in cultural contexts far removed from the origins of ethnic groups involved, provide ways to increase social support and reduce stressors common in migration (e.g., Jablensky et al., 1994; Marsella & Ring, 2003), and thereby may bring about better adaptation (see Figure 10.11).

### Intergroup Relations and the Arts

Finally, arts provide an avenue for intercultural understanding and beneficial contact, as well as a platform for negotiation of acculturation issues. Obviously, adoption of jazz by the American mainstream demonstrates the acceptance of transplanted African cultural elements by mainstream white culture. Latin music events in Toledo (O’Hagin & Harnish, 2006) provide a means of connecting the Latin community to other ethnic groups (including the dominant group). The researchers were told that experience of Latino musical festivities was perceived by their respondents to help overcome the “Taco Bell” image of Latinos. Inclusion of Latin music elements in school curriculum was seen to help to increase intercultural understanding. Similarly, inclusion of Cape Verde music in Portuguese curriculum reduced skin-color based prejudice among children less than 10 years of age (Sousa, Neto, & Mullet, 2005).

Figure 10.11 Hare Krishna Festival at Avenida Paulista, Sao Paulo, Brazil



Source: AllisonGinadaio/istockphoto.com

Exposure to arts of different ethnic groups may help to reduce intergroup conflict in ways that parallel Gordon Allport's contact theory, in which sustained, positive interaction between residents of integrated housing projects in the 1950s was seen to reduce prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Arts do not provide the direct contact Allport observed but do provide exposure to the beliefs, values, and behaviors of other groups in non-threatening contexts. The oldest people alive in the US grew up with early jazz and gradual integration of big bands (e.g., Mintz, 2012). Those now in their sixties grew up with Motown, soul and funk, and younger generations have listened to reggae, rap, and hip-hop (Gann, 1997). These musical developments occurred alongside the Civil Rights movement and cultural Renaissance movement among Native Americans, Hawaiians, Asian Americans, and others. As our cultural landscape has become more diverse, so have our tastes and the arts we enjoy.

Arts draw their inspiration from daily life and reflect both our increasing diversity and the cultures we have brought on the journey. My own journey into the study of culture began with experiences of music and other arts from various cultures that were initially exotic and fascinating to me. Through playing music with people of numerous cultures, I came to greater understandings of those people and their cultures of origin—and of the ideas and histories they expressed in their music. Arts form avenues of expression, adaptation, and understanding in intercultural contact. Arts participation does not cure all ills, and use of cultural arts may sometimes constitute theft of cultural property (Cameron, 2005). On the brighter side, communication



by artistic media and acceptance of arts from different cultures demonstrate hopeful signs that we are becoming more enlightened in our understanding of other cultures and more tolerant of cultural difference.

## REFLECTING ON YOUR READING

- How did the birth of nations affect the current adaptation of immigrants?
- Can you differentiate between the strands of acculturation research? Does one seem to have more merit?
- What factors influence outcomes in acculturation?
- How do the arts assist adaptation in acculturation?

## CHAPTER 10 SUMMARY

### 10.1 Multiculturalism and Migration

Cultures have differentiated over time to such a degree that mutual understanding is difficult. People from different cultures live in ever closer proximity as migration and globalization break down barriers and people leave their traditional regions.

Current social groups attempt to find solutions to issues of diversity. Diversity in groups can be a great asset because different viewpoints tend to lead to better solutions, or conversely to disagreement and misunderstanding. In some countries, immigrants and minorities are vilified and blamed for social ills, while in others, diversity is celebrated. Situations of inter-cultural contact affect us psychologically as we are forced to adapt to new cultural contexts.

Colonial conquests led to violent cultural encounters on a global level. Differing educational opportunities and resource availability have led to new reasons for migration. Simultaneously, demographics are shifting in more affluent countries, stimulating need for labor and certain skilled workers, especially in healthcare. We have become an inescapably multicultural world.

### 10.2 Acculturation and Adaptation

Acculturation describes the processes of adaptation when two or more cultures meet for extended periods of time. It differs from enculturation, which is the normal learning during development within a culture. Sustained contact affects those involved with a range of outcomes from beneficial to disastrous. Acculturation was assumed to be a painful process leading to marginalization or assimilation, negative outcomes viewed as natural during the post-colonial era. Inter-ethnic tensions continue in many developed countries hosting immigrant populations.

Some theorists carefully differentiate between group processes and individual psychological acculturation, and use the term psychological adaptation to describe the outcome. Often large groups of people have migrated together, at times facing prejudice from host cultures. Extreme circumstances sometimes lead people to become refugees or asylum seekers, forced to flee. Internally displaced people are also forced to migrate, but do not cross national borders. These are termed involuntary migrants.

Some people migrate voluntarily for reasons including economic and educational opportunity. Those who do so temporarily are called sojourners. Migrants can also be differentiated as being pushed by circumstance or pulled by desire for an outcome. All of these factors affect the immigrant and may affect future generations.

People crossing cultures encounter a number of predictable difficulties. They must learn new skills, languages, and behaviors in unfamiliar settings, potentially causing considerable stress. They may have had terrible experiences before migration that continue to affect them. These conditions are most intense for involuntary migrants, but are faced to some degree by all migrants. Acculturation effects are also experienced by host cultures, though they face less pressure to adapt.

### 10.3 Approaches to the Psychological Study of Acculturation

Early acculturation research assumed the process would always be painful and outcomes would be dismal. Oberg (1960) coined the term culture shock to describe the process. In 1970, Berry proposed the concept of acculturative stress, which still assumed a negative process, but one that could be assisted through coping techniques.

Acculturation research overall falls into three theoretical approaches: stress and coping, social identity, and cultural learning. Stress and coping research seeks to identify sources of stress and mechanisms to minimize negative consequences. Social identity research deals with how people identify with heritage and host cultures and how this affects them psychologically. The cultural learning paradigm focuses on how people gather the skills necessary for effective functioning in the new culture.

Berry's acculturation strategies are widely accepted in the social identity stream. People may identify with their heritage or host culture independently, leading to outcomes termed *assimilation* (low heritage ID, high host), *separation* (low host ID, high heritage), *marginalization* (low host

ID, low heritage), and *integration* (high host ID, high heritage), with integration assumed to be most beneficial. Frame-switching happens when a person strategically shifts behaviors and attitudes to match host or heritage contexts.

In Ward's (2001) "A.B.C.'s of crossing cultures" (p. 415), "A" is for Affect, from the stress and coping paradigm, "B" is for Behavior, corresponding with cultural learning and "C" is for Cognition, relating to theories of social identity. All have merit, but philosophical and methodological differences make them difficult to connect.

### 10.4 Sociocultural Contexts in Acculturation

Recent research suggests that different levels of analysis and contexts must be considered in acculturation research. Context shapes the processes and outcomes. Cultural distance, how different host and heritage cultures are, forms a primary general-level factor, affecting how easily the person can navigate the new context.

The laws and policies of the host country have serious effects on the process, making life better or more miserable depending on the conditions. Community forms the usual level where other cultures are encountered. The composition of a community determines its effects on minorities and immigrants, including presence of coethnics and acceptance by the mainstream. Cultural distance becomes most important at this level. This is also the level where support can be strongest. Families face particular challenges, with children learning languages and cultures more easily, and parental authority facing numerous challenges. Family cohesion can be threatened in the process, but family can also provide support in the process.

Cultures are structured in ways that specify roles, statuses, and rewards based on gender. Often, these do not align with the new host culture's set of specifications. Familial structures may change, with women gaining and men losing status. These changes are often sources of serious stress. In addition, gender

identities may differ in the new culture, particularly in regard to transvestite, homosexual, and transgender identities.

### 10.5 Outcomes of Acculturation

Two sets of factors affect what happens to the physical and mental health of those who acculturate: what happened before acculturation and the conditions in which acculturation happens. Traumas beforehand may have long-term repercussions. Attitudes toward public resources may limit their use by acculturating people. Conversely, beneficial environments may make rapid and lasting improvements in people's lives.

Views of immigration and acculturation are changing. Multiculturalism is replacing preferences for assimilation. Metaphors of a homogenized melting pot are giving way to the collection of identities of a salad bowl. Even assumptions drawn from acculturation research are being replaced at a rapid rate.

### 10.6 Acculturation and the Arts in Intercultural Contact

Arts have always travelled with people throughout our existence. As a part of culture that can travel with us, arts provide a means of maintaining and transmitting culture in the process. Numerous examples support this view. Arts provide a means by which acculturating people can express their experience and reach greater understanding through dialogic processes. Arts also provide ways to maintain and increase social supports in acculturation, and to engage in therapeutic processes of expression. In acculturation, arts are likely to pass interculturally both directions, regardless of dominance. They provide a relatively non-threatening avenue to experience other cultures, and in that context, they convey rich information that can increase understanding. Arts may serve as a mechanism to increase contact and subsequent understanding.

## GLOSSARY

**Acculturation:** The processes of accommodation that occur when individuals or groups from two or more cultures come into sustained, direct contact.

**Adaptation:** The processes of accommodating new, changing, or different environmental circumstances.

**Adrenocorticotrophic hormone syndrome:** The process that occurs when adrenalin and related chemicals are present in the body for a sustained period of time, leading to depletion of physiological resources and susceptibility to illness.

**Affect:** Emotional feelings and expression.

**Assimilation:** The condition in acculturation wherein the individual abandons the culture of origin, instead adopting and embracing the dominant or host culture.

**Asylum seekers:** Individuals seeking shelter and protection from the government of another nation because of repression or persecution in their own country.

**Bicultural:** Having origins in or associations with two cultural or ethnic groups.

**Bicultural identity integration:** A term conceptualizing the degree to which an individual feels two or more cultural identities are compatible.

**Civil war:** Formalized armed conflict between two or more factions within a nation or country.

**Co-ethnics:** People of the same ethnic origin living within a community.

**Collectivist:** A way of being in which one focuses attention more on group affiliation than on individual autonomy.

**Colonialism:** A geopolitical movement primarily occurring in the 15th to 20th centuries, during which European nation states sought political and economic domination of other countries and regions.

**Cultural distance:** The discrepancy between the elements of two cultures, including language, customs, behavioral norms, world view, etc.

**Culture shock:** Oberg's concept of the effects of sudden cultural displacement on the individual psyche.

**Demographics:** Characteristics of a population, such as age, ethnicity, income, social status, etc.

**Diversity:** In politics and social sciences, a term for population characteristics including multiple ethnicities, religious persuasions, gender orientations, and/or other socioeconomic characteristics.

**Enculturation:** The process of learning the ways of being, thinking, and acting as a member of a cultural group, occurring naturally during lifespan development.

**Ethnic enclaves:** Geographic locations with a high concentration of an ethnic group or minority.

**Frame-switching:** Changes in behavior and thought experienced by individuals using an integrated strategy of adaptation in multicultural living situations when they go from one cultural context to another.

**Ghettoization:** Localization of an immigrant or minority ethnic group in a particular area characterized by low income, lack of access to public process and services, isolation from other ethnicities, and/or prejudicial treatment by dominant groups.

**Immigrant:** A person who has left his or her nation of origin to live long term in another country.

**Indigenous:** In social sciences, an ethnic group with a long history of living in a particular region, usually considered to have begun prior to colonization, occupation, or domination by another country or ethnic group.

**Integration:** In political and educational settings, the inclusion of diverse groups as members, clients, or participants. Individually, the acculturation strategy in which a person embraces cognitive and behavioral elements of two or more cultures.

**Internally displaced persons:** People who have been forced to leave their native region due to armed conflict, natural disaster, or other circumstances but who have not crossed a national border.

**Marginalization:** In acculturation, the status in which an individual feels no membership or affiliation with either her culture of origin or the host/dominant culture(s).

**Melting pot:** A term from the late 19th century describing the mixing of ethnic immigrant groups in the cities of the United States. The concept assumed that all of the distinct cultural elements would be subsumed into a superordinate amalgamated culture.

**Migration:** Movement from one region to another.

**Multiculturalism:** The existence or embracing of ethnocultural diversity within a sociopolitical entity such as a community or state.

**Nation-state:** The modern geopolitical entity equivalent to a country, usually with internationally recognized borders and governance systems, often dividing or comingling ethnocultural groups against their wishes.

**Orthogonal:** In statistical analyses, domains that move independently, in other words, ones which can be higher or lower without correlation.

**Prejudice:** An ingrained or systematic attitude applied categorically to a set or subset of people, for instance against a particular ethnocultural group.

**Psychological acculturation:** The behavioral, affective, and cognitive changes that occur when an individual comes into sustained, direct contact with an unfamiliar culture.

**Psychological adaptation:** The processes of accommodating behavioral, affective, and cognitive differences encountered when an individual comes into sustained, direct contact with an unfamiliar culture.

**Refugees:** People who have been forced to leave their country of origin due to armed conflict, natural disaster, or other circumstances and have crossed a national border in the process. Certain international treaties require that nations provide certain levels of accommodation to refugees if they attempt to enter the country.

**Salad bowl:** A recent term for the interaction of different ethnicities in communities that is now preferred to the term *melting pot*. In the salad bowl, each

culture can maintain some level of uniqueness, as opposed to the homogenization expected in the past.

**Separation:** The condition in acculturation wherein the individual embraces only his or her culture of origin and does not adopt elements, beliefs, or practices of the dominant or host culture.

**Sojourner:** Individuals who live for a limited amount of time in a different culture or country for purposes such as education or employment.

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