Chapter 1

Moving Into New Environments: The Perspective of People Belonging to Non-Dominant Cultural Groups

Plate 1   Immigrant demonstration in Italy, July 2000. The banner says: "We claim more respect and dignity."

Outline

We will begin by discussing immigration and cultural diversity from the point of view of those who change cultural environments and those who find themselves in environments where they are a minority in terms of culture. In plural societies a cultural group might be in a minority position at a number of different levels (economic power, political power, numerical terms). Following Berry's (1997a, 1997b) suggestion, I will refer to these people as ''culturally non-dominant groups'' to emphasize their minority position within the larger society. I include in this term both people who recently migrated and people who are part of ethnic minorities.

Of course, the situation and the experiences of those who have emigrated recently and those who, although they are citizens of a country, belong to a culturally different group, are not identical. However, a common element in their life is that these people find themselves in a minority position in terms of their cultural background and a lot of their everyday experiences are linked to this fact. Thus, I will present some of the issues that are associated with this common experience from the point of view of social psychology. Naturally, when the issues concerning these groups differ, these differences will be pointed out.

A person may decide to relocate for various reasons, among them economic hardship, professional or educational opportunities, wars, conflicts and persecution, and reunion with family members (see panel 1.1). Research by Boneva and Frieze (2001) has suggested that personality factors might also be involved in the propensity to move, which would help explain why some people decide to relocate and others don't. Reasons for moving and personality factors significantly influence how people experience culturally different environments and how they acculturate. Although these questions are very important for the student of acculturation, they are not the main focus of this book.

Our focus here is what actually happens in culturally diverse environments and how people deal with this diversity. We shall begin with those who are in a non-dominant cultural group. Three issues will be raised to discuss cultural diversity from their point of view: (1) how people deal with change, manage unfamiliar environments, and cope with the threats that change brings to their self-evaluation and identities; (2) the challenges that culturally diverse environments generate for people's values, the retention of their culture, the way they see themselves and the world; (3) how members of non-dominant cultural groups deal with social mobility, and issues of power and discrimination. We discuss the opportunities that these people may have to become ''full members'' of the new society and prosper, and the social psychological factors associated with claiming civil, social, and political rights.

Panel 1.1   Immigrants, refugees/Asylum Seekers, Sojourners, Ethnic Minorities: Definitions

- *Immigrants:* people who voluntary move to another country with the intention of making their life there and staying permanently. Second-generation immigrants are people born in a country from parents who emigrated.
- *Sojourners:* people who voluntarily move to another country without the intention of living there permanently.
- *Refugees/asylum seekers:* according to the Geneva Convention, adopted in July 1951, the status of refugee is accorded to a person who due to ''well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular group or political opinion, is outside the country of his/her nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail him/herself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside of the country of his former habitual residence is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.'' These people are seeking asylum in safer countries.
- *Ethnic minorities:* culturally different groups of people within a nation-state. Their presence might be due to immigration or to particular links with the specific nation (for example, members of ex-colonies). These people are usually citizens of the nation-state. Second-generation immigrants are also considered part of this group.

According to Berry et al. (1987), non-dominant cultural groups vary in relation to how much they want cultural contact and whether or not such contact is a result of their movement to a new environment:

WILLINGNESS OF CONTACT

MOBILITY	VOLUNTARY	INVOLUNTARY
SEDENTARY	Ethnic Groups	Native Peoples
MIGRANT	Immigrants Sojourners	Refugees

From Berry et al. (1987)

In Italy there is another term for foreign people: *extracomunitari*, which means ''people from outside the European Union'' and refers to immigrants in general. This term is interesting because it signifies an extension of the ingroup boundaries to include people from the EU, but also highlights clearly the exclusion of everybody else.

Managing Change, Unfamiliar Environments, and Experiences: Acculturation as a Major Life-Change Event

Undoubtedly, migration is a major change in a person's life. Whatever their reasons for migrating, people leave behind loved ones, familiar environments, and lifestyles. They also lose their position in their immediate environment, their community, and their country. They are referred to as immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers, foreigners, etc. They are faced with new values, new practices and ways of living, and they may not know why people behave as they do and how they themselves should behave. They may feel indignation and disgust toward some practices and become anxious in social situations. Often, they can experience prejudice and discrimination. They may feel that they have lost control of their lives and experience helplessness. In such contexts people need to understand, to cope, to rebuild their lives. This is described by Oberg (1960) as "culture shock." The idea of culture shock, however, has been criticized because it seems to imply that acculturation is solely the problem of newcomers, who should try to adjust, and because it stigmatizes those who do not make this adjustment successfully (Bochner 1986).

Researchers have argued that when changes can be relatively easily accommodated, acculturation can be considered as a learning experience (Berry 1980, 1992, 1998; Bochner 1986; Brislin, Landis, and Brandt 1983; Furnham and Bochner 1986). People learn about their new environment and accommodate new behaviors in accordance with this understanding. In other cases the experience of migration is more difficult, it affects people's health, and they suffer from **acculturative stress**.
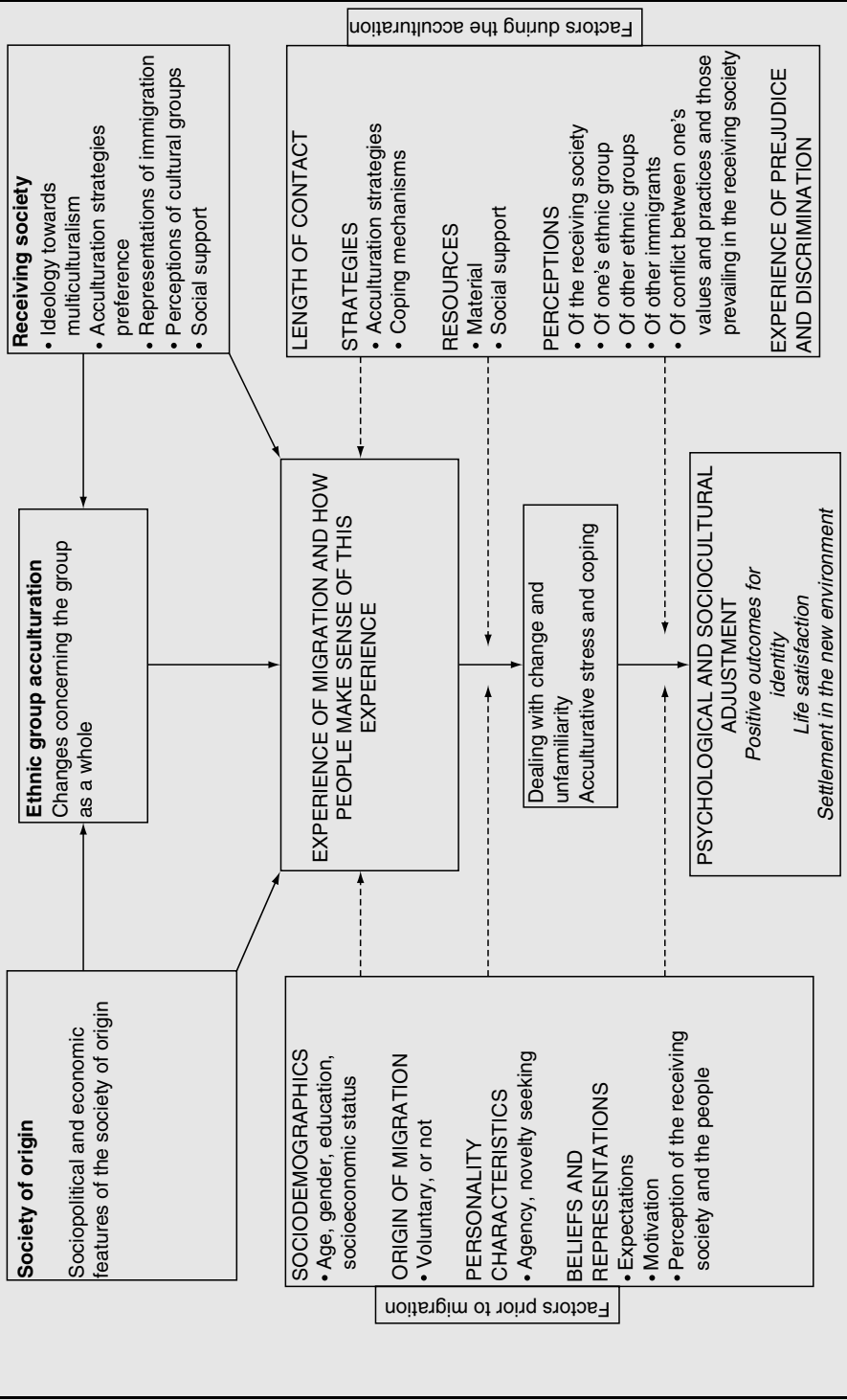
Berry (1997a) provides a comprehensive practical framework for acculturation research. This framework emphasizes both structural group-level factors (such as the situation in the society of origin, the ethnic **ingroup**, and the society of settlement) and process features, namely how people experience acculturation and how they cope with the stressors linked to this experience.

A number of factors (at an individual level) prior to or during acculturation moderate this experience and influence the process of acculturation. In panel 1.2 I have slightly modified Berry's framework to emphasize acculturation as a meaning-making experience that concerns major changes in people's lives. It is precisely how people make sense of this experience and how they deal with change and unfamiliarity that influence their own psychological adjustment and participation in a sociocultural environment (Ward 1997). At the same time, their presence and their actions also transform this environment.

This framework avoids the word "adaptation" because it somehow signifies that there is a very concrete reality to which people have to adapt. Acculturation can be viewed, as Schönpflug (1997) suggests, as a migration-induced process of

Acculturative stress

A reduction in health status (including psychological, somatic, and social aspects) of individuals who are undergoing acculturation, and for which there is evidence that these health phenomena are related systematically to acculturation phenomena.

(Berry et al. 1987: 491)

Ingroup

Social psychological jargon qualifying the group or social category to which one belongs or with which one identifies. Similarly, "outgroup" qualifies the group or social category to which one does not belong or with which one does not identify.

Panel 1.2

Society of origin

Sociopolitical and economic features of the society of origin

Ethnic group acculturation

Changes concerning the group as a whole

Receiving society
- Ideology towards multiculturalism
- Acculturation strategies preference
- Representations of immigration
- Perceptions of cultural groups
- Social support

Factors during the acculturation

LENGTH OF CONTACT

STRATEGIES
- Acculturation strategies
- Coping mechanisms

RESOURCES
- Material
- Social support

PERCEPTIONS
- Of the receiving society
- Of one's ethnic group
- Of other ethnic groups
- Of other immigrants
- Of conflict between one's values and practices and those prevailing in the receiving society

EXPERIENCE OF PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION

EXPERIENCE OF MIGRATION AND HOW PEOPLE MAKE SENSE OF THIS EXPERIENCE

Dealing with change and unfamiliarity
Acculturative stress and coping

PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIOCULTURAL ADJUSTMENT
Positive outcomes for identity
Life satisfaction
Settlement in the new environment

SOCIODEMOGRAPHICS
- Age, gender, education, socioeconomic status

ORIGIN OF MIGRATION
- Voluntary, or not

PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS
- Agency, novelty seeking

BELIEFS AND REPRESENTATIONS
- Expectations
- Motivation
- Perception of the receiving society and the people

Factors prior to migration

individual development where identities (ethnic, national, etc.) are formed. The effect of acculturation on people's identities should not be underestimated. However, acculturation can also be seen as a process of social change in which the culture of origin is reinterpreted and reconstructed (Horenczyk 1997), and in which the so-called receiving sociocultural environment is also changed by the presence of different cultural groups and their relationships. On the one hand, we need to consider the huge diversity of immigrant experiences (Pick 1997); on the other hand, we need to target dominant cultural groups as well (Kagitçibasi 1997). These dominant groups are not monolithic and we should not underestimate the complexity and variability of receiving society's attitudes (Horenczyk 1997).

I suggest that there are shared understandings alongside individual variations in the way people experience acculturation and deal with unfamiliarity. This meaning-making process and the ''coping'' that it requires apply to both non-dominant cultural groups and dominant ones. The coexistence of different cultures under the same political institution changes the way people see themselves and the world, and induces social change. Social representations theory (Moscovici 1961/1976, 1984, 1988a, 1998, 2000, 2001; Jodelet 1984, 1989; Doise 1990) has provided social psychologists with a theoretical framework to understand how people deal with unfamiliar events and environments, and how through communication and social influence they construct shared understandings and common practices that produce culture (TS1).

Our work as researchers of acculturation from a social psychological perspective should be to understand how people comprehend and cope with change, how they integrate novelty into more familiar frameworks, and how these understandings guide their actions.

Loss of status, the need to survive, and self-evaluation in a new environment

One of the major changes that migrants face is a change in their status and material circumstances. Migrants need to find ways of surviving in the new society. The most obvious hurdle is the need to make a living. The experience of migration inevitably redefines frames of reference and calls upon people to reposition themselves within them. Who are they in relation to this new society? Often, the receiving society defines them by their common condition as immigrants, refugees, or asylum seekers, or by opposition to the native-born population, describing them as foreigners or in relation to their ethnicity or nationality. For example, when I first moved to France, for a long time I was not introduced to people simply as a friend, but as the ''Greek friend'' of the speaker. The attribute ''Greek'' qualified my position. In addition, people lose the position they held in their society of origin, perhaps in relation to their family structure or their profession. It is not uncommon, for example, for Polish immigrants working in Greece as painters or cleaners to be qualified computer engineers or architects. Recently, medical schools in Britain started offering conversion courses for refugees who

were qualified doctors or health professionals, so that they could practice in the UK. Thus, in the new environment that defines them as the Other, migrants need to redefine and evaluate themselves.

According to Festinger (1954), people need to establish an accurate evaluation of themselves, their abilities and opinions. When there are no objective means to do so, this evaluation is made by comparing themselves to similar others. According to Festinger's social comparison theory (TS2), people will avoid comparisons with dissimilar others. The process of social comparison therefore contributes to the formation of social groups by defining "similar people" and increasing the pressures for homogeneity. Festinger also acknowledges, however, that when belonging to a group is especially attractive or when people cannot avoid the comparison they might also compare themselves to dissimilar others. In some cases, these comparisons can be damaging for self-evaluation.

People may use different points of comparison. They can compare their current situation with how they were in the past or how they aspire to be in the future (temporal comparisons). They may compare themselves with other individuals (interpersonal, intragroup, or intergroup comparisons). They may also compare their group to other groups (intergroup comparisons). They may also compare themselves with an abstract standard, a norm, or an ideal (Brown et al. 1992). Comparisons can have different directions: *upward* when the point of comparison is better than oneself, *downward* when the point of comparison is worse than oneself, and *lateral* when the point of comparison is of equal status.

People use these different comparisons strategically, pushed by motivations of self-enhancement or self-evaluation. Social psychologists have tried to clarify the conditions under which each comparison is more likely to happen. It has been argued, for example, that temporal comparisons are more likely to happen later in life (Suls and Mullen 1982; Brown and Middendorf 1996). Wilson and Ross (2000) suggest that people use temporal comparisons when they want to gratify themselves (a self-enhancement motive) and comparisons with others when they want to evaluate themselves.

It is not obvious how people of non-dominant cultural groups will actually choose to compare themselves. A temporal comparison might indeed enhance their perception of themselves if their situation before migration was worse, but it can be problematic for those who have reduced status by migrating, as in the case of the Polish immigrants mentioned above. In multicultural environments it is difficult to predict how self-evaluation will occur. Who is the appropriate point of comparison: people from the same cultural background or people in the receiving society; the culture of origin or the new culture? What are the dimensions along which the comparison takes place?

We know that when they have the opportunity people tend to select the dimensions of comparison in a way that allows them to be seen in a better light (Lemaine 1974; Lemaine, Kastersztein, and Personnaz 1978). We also know that the importance people place on the dimensions of comparison can be used in subtle ways to put others in an inferior position. Sometimes people emphasize their difference from others when in fact what they mean is that they are better than them (Mummendey and Schreiber

1984). This strategy depends also on the status of the groups under comparison (Mummendey and Simon 1989). However, some of the studies referred to here have been conducted in a laboratory setting. In real life people might not have the opportunity to select the dimensions along which to compare themselves; instead, dimensions can be imposed on them by more powerful groups (Deschamps 1980; Deschamps, Lorenzi-Cioldi, and Meyer 1982).

Hinkle and Brown (1990) argue that particular people and groups might be less inclined to use social comparisons as a strategy for evaluation – that they might instead evaluate themselves using abstract norms (models/norms of lifestyle). It is equally possible that social comparison as a means of self-enhancement is more important for the Western cultures in which most research has taken place. Even if people use abstract standards as points of reference, we need to keep in mind that these norms are socially constructed. Thus, the setting of criteria and the value attributed to comparative dimensions are part of a power-game of social negotiation. Members of non-dominant cultural groups are clearly disadvantaged in setting their criteria for self-evaluation.

Another issue requiring clarification is whether people will prefer to use personal comparisons or group comparisons. In a study involving former East and West Germans, Kessler, Mummendey, and Leisse (2000) showed that evaluations of one's personal or group material situation depended on different sets of comparisons. They also confirmed the well-known phenomenon of **personal–group discrepancy** in perceptions of discrimination (Taylor et al. 1990; Taylor, Wright, and Porter 1994).

Personal–group discrimination discrepancy

The tendency for minority group members to perceive a higher level of discrimination directed at their group as a whole than at themselves as individual members of that group.

(Moghaddam 1998)

They conducted a longitudinal study in Germany, after unification, asking East and West Germans to evaluate their material situation in comparison to either individual or group targets. They found that East Germans (who are believed to be and usually evaluate themselves as being inferior to West Germans in relation to material conditions) judged their personal situation as better than the group of East Germans as a whole. West Germans (considered to be the advantaged group) believed that at a personal level they had less privileges than West Germans in general. This research establishes more evidence that social comparisons form the basis for evaluation of status. Furthermore, it highlights the fact that the choice between comparing oneself as an individual and comparing oneself as a group member has consequences for the evaluation of one's position. This is a significant issue for people belonging to non-dominant cultural groups.

However, the crucial question is whether groups are important for people's identities. We should be careful not to forget that, just because our research is about multiculturalism and our participants have been chosen for their cultural memberships, it does not mean that these people consider their ethnic/religious/cultural group as *the* group important for self-evaluation. Finlay and Lyons's (2000) study with people with learning disabilities found that "learning disability" was not a salient category for self-description and evaluation, although people were aware of belonging to it. People with learning difficulties did not use this categorization when comparing themselves to

others, despite the fact that parents and carers used it and despite the fact that this membership characterized their everyday life and activities. We can hypothesize that migrants and members of non-dominant cultural groups might not regard the categories that others assign to them as important for self-evaluation. We have some evidence, for example, that Muslim male immigrants in Britain do not wish to refer to themselves as "immigrants" because accepting this label implies settling for life there – a decision they have not yet made (Stickland 2002). People have a variety of categories to which they belong and a variety of identities. The assumption that they will use the one that homogenizes them as members of non-dominant cultural groups, or immigrants, denies them all their other identities. This is an issue that we need to keep in mind throughout this book.

   Evaluating one's position in a multicultural environment is a complex issue. On the one hand, the context imposes new criteria, groups, and people to be compared with. On the other hand, it is difficult to know which identities and which dimensions will become important for self-evaluation. In order to understand how people and groups will position themselves, we need to conduct research in such a way that it gives us a clear picture of the context, the shared understandings and norms, and the factors that might differentiate these understandings. One of the issues that we need to investigate is what are the possible threats to people's identity arising from their migration and from being members of a non-dominant cultural group.

Threatened identities

Psychological threat with regard to identity is an issue that has attracted the attention of social psychologists. The concept of threat is used very often without clarification, but I believe we can identify two types of identity threat. The first type relates to self-evaluation. It occurs when – for whatever reason – people have no positive feelings about one or more of their self-descriptions or self-categorizations. The second type occurs when the way people perceive themselves is disrupted by changes in life which demand accommodation and a reevaluation of self. The first type of threat has been a core issue for social identity theory (TS3); the second type concerns identity process theory (TS4). Both theories assume that when one's identity is threatened one will engage in a series of coping strategies to eliminate the threat.

   Drawing upon social identity theory (SIT), we can hypothesize that being a member of a non-dominant cultural group will threaten an individual's identities and will lead them to engage in a series of strategies for coping. They will either adopt a strategy for individual mobility and try to enhance their own position, or they will engage in strategies of social change in order to ameliorate the position of the whole group to which they belong. SIT is particularly interested in those identities that are linked to membership of social groups and categories. Thus, ethnic, religious, and national memberships, as well as being an immigrant, a refugee, an asylum seeker – in general, a member of a non-dominant cultural group – are of particular interest to those who work within this theoretical framework. The focus of their research will be to evaluate

the salience of these identities for people's self-description, to measure the value they attribute to them, and to assess the consequences of people's identifications for inter-group relations and social change. The underlying assumption of this theoretical framework is that in order to avoid the psychological consequences of negatively evaluated identities, people will engage in particular actions that can trigger inter-group conflict. Thus, the social psychological processes involved in the choice of strategies to overcome a negatively evaluated social position can help us understand how people perceive the relationships between groups in a particular context and what are the consequences of these perceptions for social change. Later in this book we will discuss these strategies in relation to acculturation.

Drawing upon Identity Process Theory, it is possible to see the change that acculturation implies as a major threat to one's identity. People have to deal with this change, accommodate it in the way they perceive themselves, and reconstruct a sense of self that is no longer threatened. Timotijevic and Breakwell (2000) (panel 1.3) looked at how refugees in Britain from the former Yugoslavia dealt with this major change in their lives and the threat that it represented.

Panel 1.3   Migration and Threat to Identity (Timotijevic and Breakwell 2000)

Research question

The study set out to investigate the identity threats to those people from the former Yugoslavia who moved to Britain following the war in their country. These people are in an extreme situation because the country of which they were citizens ceased to exist as a result of the war. As well as leaving behind familiar places, possessions, friends, and family, these people have no homeland to which to return and have experienced the devastating consequences of war. They faced major changes in their lives. Under these conditions, how do migrants experience threat? What attempts do they make to adapt to enduring change?

Theoretical framework

Identity process theory (TS4)

Method

In-depth interviews analyzed with interpretative phenomenological analysis (see Smith, Osborn, and Jarman 1999; Willig 2001).

Participants: 24 people from Bosnia, Serbia, and Croatia were interviewed in the London and Birmingham areas.

The *interview schedule* included questions about people's decisions to move, perceptions of the receiving country and the native country, interactions with the

British and the ethnic community, and perceptions of the receiving community concerning the home country and life-satisfaction.

Results

Three major themes emerged from the analysis:

Attribution of responsibility and claims of self-efficacy
- Their exile, due to a major conflict, and the disappearance of their homeland made people feel helpless and threatened their self-efficacy and self-esteem.
- Being able to attribute the responsibility for the conflict to external causes was a major issue that helped participants to regain self-efficacy and self-esteem.
- Going through this situation increased their self-worth and made them feel more independent.

Category negotiation to achieve continuity and self-esteem
- The conflict challenged the boundaries and the meaning attributed to different categories such as "Yugoslav," "Croatian," "Serb," "Bosnian," etc. People have to renegotiate their national/ethnic identities, what the categories mean, and how they apply them in order to maintain a sense of continuity. The analysis showed that people have different ways to restore a threatened sense of continuity.

Categories and distinctiveness
- A major issue for participants was how to position themselves in Britain. Who are they? Different labels could apply to them: foreigner, immigrant, refugee, guest, etc. These categories are associated with meanings, some of which are linked to prejudice. How should they refer to themselves in the new situation? New identities need assimilation–accommodation.
- People may feel too distinctive or not distinctive enough. The fact that they are a minority may heighten their distinctiveness, or they may experience a loss of distinctiveness when they are lumped together in an over-inclusive category (e.g., refugees, immigrants) that masks individual differences and experiences. How should they restore optimal levels of distinctiveness? (See chapter 4 on optimal distinctiveness theory.)
- The use of categories to describe themselves revealed the acculturation strategy (marginalization, separation, etc.) that participants used (see panel V).

General discussion

This research shows the impact of violent and unpredictable events on identity. The threat that these people experience seems to be chronic and demands constant restructuring of their identities. Participants negotiated the meaning of identity categories at an individual level to establish continuity at an inter-individual and intergroup level, to respond to distinctiveness requirements, and to balance relationships with the receiving society and their ethnic group, in order to regain self-efficacy and self-esteem.

Definition of values

An enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or endstate of existence is personally and socially preferable to alternative modes of conduct or endstates of existence. Values, once internalized, are standards for guiding action and as standards are employed to influence values, attitudes, and actions of others.

(Rokeach 1968: 160)

Values are desirable transsituational goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in people's lives.

(Schwartz 1996: 20; see also TS5)

Values are cognitive social representations of basic motivational goals, varying in importance, which serve as guiding principles in people's lives.

(Roccas and Brewer 2002: 98)

We have discussed here the different threats that people's identities face in a culturally diverse environment. An unfamiliar environment can also pose another type of threat: the challenge that it represents to people's beliefs and values.

Transmitting and Retaining One's Cultural Values, and Challenges to Perceptions of the World and of the Self

Challenges to the transmission of values and culture reproduction in culturally diverse environments

In the introduction we discussed the question of retaining one's original culture in relation to strategies of acculturation. Here we are interested in the challenges that culturally diverse environments pose to cultural reproduction. Cultures reproduce themselves by transmitting core **values** and beliefs from generation to generation.

Children are socialized within these value systems and parents and schools are the primary channels for this communication. However, in multicultural environments there might be conflicts between a family's values and the values promoted by institutional education. Young people are sometimes caught between their family's values, practices, and expectations and the values of the wider society. Similarly, parents might see a conflict between their own values and the ones that are required in order to get on in the new environment. This conflict can increase the intergenerational gap that normally exists between people and their offspring. Does migration influence value discrepancies between generations beyond intergenerational effects?

Knafo and Schwartz (2001) (panel 1.4) looked at how immigration impacts on the value transmission process, at value similarity, and how consistent parental messages appear to be in Soviet-born families that recently migrated to Israel, compared to Israeli-born adolescents and their families.

Panel 1.4   Value Socialization in Families of Israeli-born and Soviet-born Adolescents in Israel (Knafo and Schwartz 2001)

Research question

This research concerns the processes of value transmission in immigrant families. An underlying assumption is that children of these families may receive conflicting messages from their parents and the social environment. The situation of accultur-

ation may affect the values that the parents transmit to their children, the values that the children perceive from their parents and how consistent they are with parents' behaviours, and the extent to which children accept these values. Also, research needs to take into account the possibility that the higher similarity between immigrant children's values and their non-immigrant peers than the value similarity with their parents may reflect a generation effect.

The research aimed to assess perceptions of value consistency, acceptance, and similarity of values with parents among immigrant and non-immigrant families.

Theoretical framework

Theory of integrated value systems (TS5)

Method

Participants: Soviet-born immigrant adolescents and at least one of their parents; Israeli-born adolescents and at least one of their parents.

Materials: A battery of questionnaires administered by a researcher who visited the family following their agreement. The measures included the value portraits questionnaire.

Results

- Independently, immigrant-status parents valued more conservation and self-transcendence values than their children, while children valued more openness to change and self-enhancement values than their parents.
- Immigrant children where more similar to their native-born peers on conservation and on openness to change values than they were to their parents. This might be a generational effect.
- However, beyond generational effects it seems that immigration increases the distance between adolescents and their parents. The difference between immigrant children and their parents was greater than the difference between native-born children and their parents on openness to change and conservation values.
- Immigrant children perceived a greater inconsistency in their parents' values over time and between what the parents said and what they did.
- Although there were differences between parents and children when the researchers compared them in groups, these differences disappeared when the comparison looked at the differences between parents and children taking them as dyads within a family.

General discussion

This research highlights the fact that immigration affects the process of value transmission in some areas and not in others. Perhaps the impact is on values

(*Continues*)

Panel 1.4   (*Continued*)

that are related to the immigration experience, such as openness to change. However, when we look at within-family value priorities the similarity between parents and children seems unaffected, in the sense, for example, that more conservative parents tend to have more conservative children. This can be explained by the fact that immigration affects both parents and children in the same direction, and although we can observe a gap at a group level this gap disappears at a family level.

The context of Knafo and Schwartz's study is interesting because both groups share a culture based on a common religion and live in a country where religious affiliation is important for self-definition and everyday interaction. There are also other factors that might influence intergenerational value transmission in multicultural environments. Phalet and Schönpflug (2001), for example, compared Turkish families in Germany with Turkish and Moroccan families in the Netherlands. They found that, after controlling for educational status and gender, parental values are selectively transmitted in different acculturation contexts and that transmission depends on parental goals such as conformity, autonomy, and achievement. In addition, the intensity of transmission varied across ethnic groups (more intense in Turkish than in Moroccan groups) and across receiving societies (more intense in Germany than in the Netherlands). To explain their results, Phalet and Schönpflug suggest that parents would feel less motivated to pass on their values in societies where they feel secure in their access to social rights and services, as in the Netherlands. Perceptions about the openness of the receiving society can influence the strategies of acculturation of immigrant groups through the process of value transmission. The structures of the receiving society, however, are not the only factors that explain variation among ethnic groups in relation to values transmission. Nauck (2001) compared the value transmission process of five different groups of migrant families (Turks, Greeks, and Italians in Germany, German repatriates from Russia, and Jewish immigrants from Russia to Israel). He found considerable variation among ethnic groups within the same environment regarding values transmission and their willingness to retain their original culture. His results indicate that the Turkish families in Germany, the German repatriates, and the Russian Israelis live in peaceful but segregated coexistence with the majority. In addition, the intensified social contacts between Italian and Greek families and members of the receiving society do not necessarily lead to more assimilation and the abandonment of original cultures. An important factor that seemed to influence this process was the educational level of the parents. However, contrary to what is the case for native populations, the educational level of the parents did not seem to influence their children's success in school, but the degree to which the original culture was maintained. Contrary to expectation, the higher the parental educational level, the more it was likely that the family's original language would be retained. These results demonstrate the complexity of the process of value transmission and retention in acculturation contexts. The migration history of a group,

its position within the social structure of the receiving society, and its history of relations with the majority are probably factors that interact with the educational level of the family and impact on acculturation. We can only think of general acculturation patterns and then research their applicability to different cultural groups, in different contexts.

We have seen the types of conflicts that can arise *within* migrant groups in relation to values. Another type of conflict that can occur is between minority and majority cultures. Whose cultural values are "better"? We have seen that groups "fight" symbolically to establish the value dimensions according to which everybody is supposed to compare themselves for self-evaluation (TS2). Young Asians and their families in Britain may blame British culture for having lost its family values and for the drinking habits that it promotes. On the other hand, British families may denounce the practice of arranged marriage that exists in some Asian communities. The British film *East is East* (1999) brilliantly reflects the value conflicts that young people of Asian origin face in Britain in relation to dominant cultural values. There are also conflicts that become serious societal issues. The situation of young Muslim girls in France, whose wearing of the veil in school was perceived as ostentatious and led to their expulsion, involved a serious conflict of values that compromised the education of women, trapped between family and societal values. Another example of serious conflict is the issue of female genital mutilation performed in some cultures, which is putting the health and future development of young girls at risk. These practices are unacceptable in Western societies, not only for health reasons, but also because of the position that they imply for women.

In conclusion, conflicts of values between generations within non-dominant cultural groups can intensify the difficulties of acculturation both for parents and young people. The consequences of value conflicts between different cultural groups will be discussed later in the book, in connection with the processes involved in intergroup relations. Non-dominant cultural groups also face challenges to the way they see social relationships and the way they perceive themselves.

Challenges to cultural orientations, self-perceptions, and representations of the collective

It has been suggested that entire cultures can be characterized by their value orientations (Hofstede 1980; Schwartz 1990, 1992, 1994; Triandis 1989; Triandis et al. 1988). Following Hofstede's (1980) work, cultures have been popularly distinguished in terms of individualism and collectivism (TS6). These orientations characterize relationships between individuals and the social environment, and promote different sets of values and practices. However, as Coon and Kemmelmeier (2001) (panel 1.5) point out, we should not ignore the variability that can exist within cultures in multicultural societies.

One of the consequences of being socialized in an individualistic or collectivistic oriented culture is the way people construct "who they are (panel 1.6)"

Panel 1.5   Cultural Orientations in the United States: (Re)examining Differences Among Ethnic Groups (Coon and Kemmelmeier 2001)

Research question

The authors highlight the importance of within-culture variability in individualism and collectivism and take issue with the assumption that ethnic groups' cultural orientation matches the orientation of the culture of origin. Ethnic groups are cultural minorities that have a different history and relations with the majority, different aspirations, and a different position in society. Thus, individualism and collectivism might be manifested differently among ethnic groups. This research aimed to examine levels of individualism and collectivism among ethnic groups in the United States.

Theoretical framework

Crosscultural research on cultural orientations (see TS6)

Method

Participants: Undergraduate students in the US who described themselves as European Americans, African Americans, Latino Americans, or Asian Americans.
   Materials: Questionnaire including different scales of individualism/collectivism (Singelis 1994; Triandis 1995; Oyserman, Coon, and Kemmelmeier 2002).

Results

Using meta-analytic techniques the authors found:

- African Americans scored higher on individualism than European and Asian Americans.
- There were no gender differences on individualism.
- African Americans and Asian Americans scored higher on collectivism compared to European Americans, whereas Latino Americans did not differ from any other group and any differences were stronger for men.
- The low reliability of the collectivism scale for African Americans raises the question as to whether the notion of collectivism, as devised by researchers, applies to this group.

General discussion

This research raises some important questions. First of all, by definition, multicultural societies cannot be monolithic in terms of cultural orientation and it would be wrong to ignore within-culture differences. Secondly, it will be equally problematic

to assume that ethnic groups endorse the cultural orientation of their society of origin. It is possible that levels of individualism and collectivism change as a factor of the unique experience of each group and its relations to the majority, and the strategies that group members adopt in order to acculturate and ameliorate their position. Another important factor in changing cultural orientations is the impact of the dominant orientation and the normative character that this orientation has due to its powerful position. Thirdly, the study highlights the need to reexamine the content of the concepts of individualism and collectivism by looking at the meaning these concepts have for different groups.

Panel 1.6   Culture and the Self

Social psychologists believe that an important factor influencing the cognitions, emotions, and behavior of individuals is how people perceive and feel about themselves. Markus and Kitayama (1991) and others (Cousins 1989; Laungani 1999) have argued that different types of cultures (individualistic or collectivistic) influence the way people construct the self. These different constructions impact on people's cognitions, emotions, motivations, and behavior.

In *individualistic* cultures that emphasize individual differences, that reward personal goals and achievements, and where social relationships are mainly characterized by competition (TS6), people see themselves as *unique* individuals, *separate* from others. These cultures favor an *independent self.*

In *collectivistic* cultures that emphasize positions and roles, that reward compliance with cultural norms, and where social relationships are mainly characterized by cooperation (TS6), people see themselves as *related to others* and *close to their group*. These cultures favor an *interdependent self.*

Markus, Mullally, and Kitayama (1997) describe the relationship between cultural orientations and the self as "patterns of cultural participation" and "selfways": characteristic ways of being a person in the world, as different representations of personhood.

However, although research has confirmed that individualistically oriented and collectivistically oriented cultures give rise to different ways of constructing the self, this clearcut definition of the self – and more importantly a deterministic approach to the relationship between cultural imperatives and self-construction – has been challenged.

There is evidence from within-culture research that individuals vary in their degree of individualism and collectivism (Coon and Kemmelmeier 2001; Green-Staerklé 2002; Oyserman 1993; Triandis 1994; Watkins et al. 1998). Furthermore, Cross, Bacon, and Morris (2000) argue that being interdependent means different things for people living in individualistic or collectivistic cultures. In a recent theoretical development (Vignoles, Chryssochoou, and Breakwell 2000) we also argue that identity principles such as distinctiveness might not be a characteristic

(*Continues*)

Panel 1.6   (*Continued*)

exclusively of individualistic cultures; rather, people draw their distinctiveness from different sources in accordance with cultural imperatives.

I would agree with Green-Staerklé (2002) when she concludes that "individualism and collectivism might not be expressions of psychological characteristics of members of national groups, but these dimensions express normative, collective, and societal imperatives from which people develop strategies of self-presentation and evaluation."

The way we perceive ourselves is linked to the culture in which we are socialized and is an important point in our discussion about cultural diversity. It means that who we think we are influences how we see the world; at the same time, how we see the world influences how we see ourselves.

This idea has both theoretical and practical consequences. At a theoretical level, it means that the social structure and the psychological organization of individuals are connected. If we accept that identity is the psychological structure that reflects social relationships at an individual level, I would argue, along with others, that knowledge about ourselves might be constructed through the processes of social representations (TS1). In other words, the cultural regulations and orientations that operate at the level of the meta-system, influence how our selves are organized.

At a practical level, this means that people in culturally diverse environments might have different ways of perceiving social relationships and different ways of positioning themselves in relation to them. Groups of people might disagree in their expectations about how relationships are regulated. The social structure might encourage different perceptions of those relationships and might emphasize different models of personhood. Thus, people's cultural orientations might provide them with different understandings of social relationships, of where they themselves stand and how they are expected to behave. Interviewed on a television program about marriage, a 10-year-old British Muslim said that he would like to make his parents proud of him by accepting the wife that they will choose for him, but he wasn't sure if he would like her or not. His relationship with his parents seemed more important to him than his relationship with his future spouse. He seemed to see his role and position as a son as more important in guiding his choices. This might appear strange to another culture. These perceptions reflect different "theories" about the world.

Cultural diversity is neither new nor problematic in itself. The "problem" (if it is a problem) is that people tend to think that conflicting approaches are harmful. As social psychologists have argued, divergence can be the source of creativity and innovation (see TS17 on minority influence) and blind agreement can lead to destructive decisions (see panel 4.2 on groupthink and blind patriotism). The questions we need to ask ourselves are about how these views of ourselves and the world are constructed, how they become shared in order to enable communication, what is the content of the worldviews they reflect, and what are their consequences for societal cohesion and change. These questions are not new, but they have become crucial for multicultural societies.

Culturally diverse environments bring to the fore the fact that different representations of the collective exist. These representations organize the way we form relationships with objects and people. Individualist and collectivist cultural orientations probably mean that different forms of societal organization are reflected in the cultural goals of societies. An analysis of interviews conducted with women in Britain and Japan (Kuwahara and Chryssochoou 2002) showed that, although Britain is considered an individualistic society, people described it as characterized by class divisions that ascribe status to people and determine their relationships, loyalties, identities, and opportunities for success. On the other hand, participants described Japan – usually thought of as a collectivistic society – as characterized by a powerful division between the public and private spheres. Individuality was very much valued by the Japanese respondents, although they are only "allowed" to display it within the private sphere. They believe, however, that this situation is changing because of alterations in the economic system. It seems that the way society is organized is reflected in cultural imperatives and in representations of the collective.

Some researchers consider that these representations of the collective are **universal and linked to human evolution** (Fiske 1991, 1992).

Others have focused on understanding the consequences of these representations for power relations within a given society (Lorenzi-Cioldi 1988, 1995). Of particular interest for us here are representations of groups as collections or aggregates, which reflect a different priority for relationships and are clearly associated with different levels of power. Lorenzi-Cioldi's research deals mainly with gender relationships. He suggests that powerful groups, at least within Western societies, are represented as a **collection** of individuals and prioritize interpersonal relationships between equal and free individuals. Groups that are powerless in a given society are more often described as an **aggregate** of interchangeable individuals who favor interactions as group members.

Thus, powerful groups are described as variable and powerless groups as homogeneous. For the student of cultural diversity, Lorenzi-Cioldi's suggestion has an important implication for individualism/collectivism. We need to ask ourselves if describing societies as collectivistic – in other words as societies that give priority to group encounters – assigns them a less powerful position than our own societies, which are characterized by individualism and, therefore, by variability and distinctiveness. As we have seen, cultural orientations and representations of the collective are of extreme importance for self-definition and social interaction.

From the perspective of non-dominant cultural groups the issue is crucial. These people are in a numerical minority and their minority status can be aggravated by the poor material conditions in which they live. Furthermore, because of this minority status, their cultural practices are challenged. On top of all this, their cultural orientation might confine them *symbolically* in a powerless position because they are

Relational theory

Relational theory suggests that there are four different types of models used in every culture to give meaning to social interactions. These models describe social relationships and are used as cognitive schemata:

Communal sharing
Authority ranking
Equality matching
Market pricing

To find out more, see Fiske et al. (1998).

Western representations of groups in relation to their power

The *dominant* groups are represented as a collection of individuals, with their own specificity. *The non-dominant* groups are represented as aggregates of individuals that are undifferentiated.

(Lorenzi-Cioldi 1988)

represented as interchangeable members of homogeneous groups, a representation that describes the powerless.

We have discussed here the challenges that members of non-dominant cultural groups face in relation to the acculturation process, how they manage change and unfamiliarity, how they evaluate their status, what are the threats to their identity and the challenges to their values and self-knowledge. In the next section I discuss how members of non-dominant cultural groups deal with issues of power, social mobility, and discrimination.

Becoming a Member of the ''New Society'': Dealing with Devalued/Minority Identities, Prejudice, and Discrimination

As already discussed, moving into a new society requires a reevaluation of the self and a repositioning within the new environment. However, this reevaluation is not the unilateral decision of the newcomer. It is obvious that the receiving society's evaluations and perceptions play a crucial role in determining the opportunities that are open to newcomers and to minority members. Let's examine the social psychological aspects of being a minority for members of non-dominant cultural groups.

By being in a minority position within the wider society, immigrants and other non-dominant cultural groups can develop a minority identity. This identity is based on their cultural difference. It is important to keep in mind that such minority identities can be sources of pride and mobilization for their members (Hutnik 1991). For

Attributional ambiguity

Ambiguity may characterize the attribution of causes to outcomes for stigmatized individuals because stigma may provide a framework for interpreting events in their life. When outcomes are determined or influenced by other people (prejudiced or not), stigmatized individuals may be ambiguous whether the outcome was due to their personal qualities or by reactions to their stigmatized status.

(Crocker, Major, and Steele 1998)

example, French Canadians and Scots, even if they are cultural minorities where they live, often display pride in their identity and show their determination to protect their difference and resist homogenization. However, minority identities are often (but not necessarily) devalued. Being part of a devalued group reflects the position of the group on a socioeconomic scale and within a symbolic hierarchy of cultures. Throughout history groups have attempted to negotiate positions in a hierarchy of cultures and delineate the boundaries of civilization. Ancient Greeks, for example, claimed that whoever was not Greek (in terms of culture) was a barbarian. Today, there is a symbolic (sometimes more than symbolic) conflict between Christianity and Islam, and Muslims who live in countries with a Christian majority are often put in the difficult position of having to prove that their culture is civilized rather than barbarous. Immigrants are often viewed by members of the receiving society as ''scroungers'' who have come to benefit from available resources and not to contribute. The constant reminder that one belongs to a devalued group can have serious psychological consequences.

What are the psychological consequences of being a member of a devalued group? Research on stigma by Crocker, Major, and Steele (1998) provides some insights. First of all, members of a devalued group have to deal with this issue on a daily basis. Even when they

perform everyday tasks they might be reminded that they belong to a group that is not highly regarded in society. As Swim, Cohen, and Hyers (1998) remark, people's reactions to such situations can range from passivity and psychological withdrawal to a total separation from society. This is how members of non-dominant cultural groups can become progressively marginalized.

Dealing on a daily basis with a devalued identity may lead people to become oversensitive to the behavior of others and to how they are treated. Is the empty seat next to them on the train empty because nobody wants to sit beside them? Did they get their job through merit or because of a policy of positive discrimination? Attributing causes to events with certainty is a powerful need in all of us (TS7). When people with devalued identities try to explain others' behavior toward them they may not feel confident about their explanations. This phenomenon of **attributional ambiguity** (Crocker and Major 1989) can create problems in relationships and everyday interactions, and make people sensitive to rejection.

When people assume they will be rejected it can prevent them from seeking interactions and fully taking part in society. Furthermore, as research into close relationships has shown (Ayduk et al. 2000; Downey et al. 1998), **rejection sensitivity** can operate as a **self-fulfilling prophecy**. Anxious people who expect to be rejected can act in aversive ways and generate reactions that confirm their initial expectations of being rejected.

Similarly, people belonging to devalued groups might experience **stereotype threat**.

Devalued identities are associated with a set of negative stereotypical beliefs about abilities, characteristics, and behaviors. People in non-dominant cultural groups are aware of these stereotypes and might be afraid that their behavior will confirm them. Anxiety about confirming a stereotype can have disruptive effects on the way people behave and become a self-fulfilling prophecy. In a series of studies, Steele and Aronson (1995) have shown that stereotype threat, when it refers to important dimensions such as intellectual ability, can psychologically disrupt members of devalued groups to such an extent that it actually impairs their performance. Thus, African-American students under conditions that can generate stereotype threat in relation to intellectual ability (they were told that a test was diagnostic of intellectual ability) suppressed their performance in comparison to white participants. Under conditions where the threat was minimized they performed equally well or better than whites. Such research has shown that activation of a racial stereotype interferes with performance. Furthermore, activation of the stereotype is easily achieved. A simple question asking people to record their racial membership is enough to make the stereotype salient. Thus, the existence of negative stereotypes about a group may lead to behaviors that confirm those stereotypes (Crocker, Major, and Steele 1998).

Stereotype threat, fear of rejection, and avoidance of situations where the devalued identity is made salient can push people to disengage from a particular domain as

Rejection sensitivity

The disposition to anxiously expect, readily perceive, and overreact to rejection.

(Downey et al. 1998: 545)

Self-fulfilling prophecy

When beliefs and expectations about a situation or a person influence social interactions in a way that the outcomes or behaviors end up confirming the initial expectations.

Stereotype threat

Is being at risk of confirming, as self-characteristic, a negative stereotype about one's group.

(Steele and Aronson 1995)

a response to chronic threat. Major (1995; reported in Crocker, Major, and Steele 1998) found that the less African-American students reported to be engaged with academic performance and the less they valued doing well at school, the lower their actual grades were. This is not surprising. To succeed, one needs to be motivated and to think that the goal is worth pursuing. If members of devalued groups, aware of negative stereotypes, attempt to protect themselves from stereotype threat and possible rejection by disengaging from school and academic performance, they will underperform. As individuals, they then run the risk of being left behind in the educational system; as a collective, they feed the stereotypes about the inability of their group. We see here social psychological factors that interact with social conditions to impair people's development. It seems that people from cultural minorities who disidentify with the society in which they live can end up separating from it, becoming marginalized and prevented from making any valuable contribution.

Following social identity theory (TS3), awareness that one's social identity is devalued threatens self-evaluation both at a personal and at a collective level (Tajfel 1974, 1978, 1981; Tajfel and Turner 1986). When a devalued identity is conferred upon them, people engage in strategies to protect this part of the self that is attached to their social memberships (panel 1.7).

Panel 1.7   Social Identity Theory and Strategies for Coping with Devalued Identity

Social identity theory (see TS3) holds that individual or collective behavior depends on people's belief systems. When faced with a devalued social identity, those people who believe in the *permeability* of boundaries between groups (*social mobility belief system*) will choose a strategy of *individual mobility*. In other words, they will try to improve their status by becoming a member of the high-status group. The high-status group may encourage this strategy at a small scale for many reasons:

- By allowing some "passing," the high-status group provides evidence that it is doing something for members of the unprivileged group. Consequently, larger-scale efforts can be avoided.
- Members of the low-status group who pass into the higher-status group can serve as examples to prove that the boundaries between groups are open and that passing is possible. Consequently, structural conditions can remain unchanged.
- By promoting individual mobility belief systems, the high-status group "individualizes" the members of the deprived group and avoids overt conflict between groups.

Those members of devalued groups who succeed in passing into the higher group enhance their social identity. However, conditions for the group as a whole remain the same. For those who fail in their attempts at individual mobility, there is a high

risk of marginalization: they may be unable to revert to their previous membership, either because they psychologically disidentify with it or because they are no longer welcomed by those they attempted to leave behind.

For those people who believe that the boundaries between groups are *impermeable* (*social change belief system*) the choice of strategy to overcome a devalued identity depends also on the other perceptions of the structural social conditions. If they believe that the status asymmetries between groups are legitimate and that the situation will not change (stability), people are more likely to choose from among the strategies of *social creativity*. These strategies can make people feel better, but they do not change in the short term the sociostructural conditions that produce the status asymmetries between groups. These strategies include:

- *Finding new dimensions of comparison.* If the group is devalued in specific dimensions, members of the group might try to introduce other dimensions within which their group can be evaluated as being better. This strategy, if consistent, might change the social context in the long term by introducing new perspectives. Research on minority influence has shown how consistent minorities can bring change.
- *Redefining the value of the existing dimension of comparison.* For example, the movement "Black is beautiful" tried to change the perceptions associated with black skin and the black culture.
- *Abandoning the comparison with the high-status groups and looking for lower-status outgroups for comparison.* The high-status group may encourage this strategy because it serves the purpose of "divide and rule."

When people with a social change belief system perceive the asymmetric relations between groups as *illegitimate* and foresee *possibilities of change* (instability) they are likely to engage in *strategies of social competition*. These strategies might take normative forms such as civil rights activities and political lobbying, or non-normative forms such as terrorism, revolution, or war. If successful, these strategies are likely to change the social order and the relationships between groups.

However, it is important to keep in mind that the choice of strategy is not solely a matter of individual preference. It also depends on the belief systems of dominant *and* non-dominant groups, perceptions of the permeability of boundaries between groups, and the perceived legitimacy and stability of their relationship. Furthermore, the choice depends on the personal status of the ingroup member, and the extent to which they identify with the ingroup.

According to the theory, immigrants and ethnic minority members faced with a devalued identity might try the following two options. Let's look at them in relation to the acculturation strategies discussed in the introduction.

A member of a non-dominant cultural group might opt for an individual mobility strategy if he or she believes that the boundaries between the groups are open. However, what do "open boundaries" mean in the case of culturally diverse societies?

They might mean that people could become full cultural members of the receiving society, leaving aside their cultural origins: in this case individual mobility would equate with a strategy of assimilation. They might mean that people have the chance to become citizens (with citizens' rights and duties) of the receiving society independently of their membership of a different cultural group and without having to abandon their culture: in this case a strategy of individual mobility becomes a strategy of integration. Thus, the same belief in the permeability of boundaries between groups might be interpreted in the first case as presupposing the abandoning of one's cultural origins, whereas in the second case this assumption is not made.

Furthermore, as we can see in panel 1.8, immigrants and receiving society members might have different ideas about whether assimilation or integration is preferable.

If members of non-dominant cultural groups believe that the boundaries between groups are closed, they might engage in strategies of social creativity or social

Panel 1.8   Attitudes of Minority and Majority Members Towards Adaptation of Immigrants (Van Oudenhoven, Prins, and Buunk 1998)

Research questions

What do majority and minority group members think about the ideal form of adaptation? What kind of adaptation do Moroccans and Turks living in the Netherlands prefer? How does the Dutch majority evaluate the several forms of adaptation that Moroccan and Turkish immigrants may choose?

Theoretical framework

Berry's strategies of acculturation.

The immigrants

Most immigrants feel the need to have contact with the majority group, because this can help them to master their new environment.

Hypotheses
- Moroccans and Turks will be more positive toward integration and assimilation than toward separation and marginalization.
- Moroccans and Turks will have a preference for the integration strategy.

The receiving society

Majority group members like the fact that immigrants are inclined to seek contact with them. Dutch majority members would prefer them not to adhere to their own cultures, but to attempt to adapt to Dutch culture.

Hypotheses

- Majority group members would prefer assimilation and integration to marginalization and separation.
- Majority group members would prefer assimilation and marginalization to integration and separation.
- Assimilation would be liked most and separation least.

Method

Participants: 32 women and 62 men of Moroccan origin and 72 women and 131 men of Turkish origin, plus a representative sample of the Dutch population (N = 1844).

Material: Four different stories depicting a Moroccan or Turkish immigrant in the Netherlands (male or female to match the participant's gender) and providing information about the acculturation strategies of this character were presented to participants (each participant read only one story). Each story corresponded to one of the acculturation strategies (integration, assimilation, separation, marginalization). Immigrant participants were asked to specify whether they *identified with the character* whereas Dutch participants were asked to *estimate the percentage* of Turks and Moroccans in the Netherlands *who would behave like this character.* All participants were asked whether they liked the central character (affective responses) and whether other Moroccans/Turks in the Netherlands should behave in the same way (normative responses).

Results

The immigrants: The immigrant population in general showed more appreciation for integration. If the character in the story was described as having a considerable amount of contact with the Dutch and as considering his or her culture as being important, the participants:

- identified themselves more strongly with that person;
- felt more positively about that person;
- felt more strongly that Moroccans or Turks should behave like that person.

The receiving society: Respondents estimated that:

- The percentage of Turks/Moroccans who would like to maintain their culture was higher compared to those who did not. However, they had less positive feelings toward such a person and thought that other immigrants should not behave that way.
- The percentage of immigrants who have a great amount of contact with the Dutch was low. They felt more positively toward the story character that had greater contact with the Dutch and thought that other Turks/Moroccans should behave that way.

(*Continues*)

Panel 1.8   (*Continued*)

Thus, those adaptation forms that imply almost no contact with the majority are assumed to occur most often. However, minority members are evaluated more positively when they do not consider their original culture as important (assimilation).

General discussion

The main results of this study are that Turkish and Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands prefer integration, whereas for the Dutch majority the most valued strategy is assimilation (although they also value integration). It is important for the majority that immigrants strive for contact and show appreciation and respect for their values.

There is a discrepancy between immigrant and receiving society's attitudes towards acculturation.

competition. Adopting a social creativity strategy might mean that people follow a policy of integration if they try to find new dimensions of comparison or change the values of the existing dimension. However, if their strategy is to select another out-group for comparison, they might already be in the process of separating themselves from the majority. In addition, separation is clearly the strategy of those belonging to non-dominant cultural groups who have chosen a strategy of social competition. There has been considerable debate, for example, within the Muslim community in Britain as to whether members should take active part in the public sphere of the country or live separate lives (Hopkins and Kahani-Hopkins in press).

As we have already seen, choosing one or another path of acculturation is not a matter of individual decision. Thus, dealing with a devalued identity is not a clear individual choice and every strategy has psychological consequences. Is it easy to change group membership? Research has focused mainly on the reactions of the dominant group towards those who choose to join it. Regardless of whether the strategy is accepted by the dominant group, the choice has psychological, symbolic, and material consequences for the person concerned. For example, those who express a wish to leave their group and join the culturally dominant group might be considered as renegades (Chryssochoou and Sanchez-Mazas 2000), or they might be marginalized and rejected by both communities. A Vietnamese student who has lived in Britain since the age of five said that her community regarded her as a "banana": yellow outside and white inside. She couldn't find her place in either the British or the Vietnamese community. At an individual level, it can be psychologically difficult to juggle with these considerations and find a place in society.

In an interesting field study within the framework of SIT, Blanz, Mummendey, Mielke, and Klink (1998) produced a taxonomy of the strategies that East Germans used in order to confront a devalued identity following the reunification of Germany. They suggest that strategies can be classified along two dimensions. The first dimension categorizes strategies according to whether they aim to (a) change the relationship between groups,

leaving the groups unchanged; (b) change the object of the comparison (not entering, or avoiding comparison with, the dominant group); or (c) change the groups (altering the boundaries of the groups, or assimilating). The second dimension categorizes the strategies as either behavioral or cognitive. These suggestions comprise a useful tool for research in the area and their own research has cast some light on the meaning that the strategies have for members of devalued groups. However, the authors take care to point out that their research is based on a sample (East Germans) in a particular socio-historical context. This context is characterized by policies and ideological beliefs that influence the way people respond to devalued status. The authors conclude that "future research could also focus on whether strategies of the various response clusters might be predicted differently by variables such as the perceived legitimacy of the status inequality, the degree of ingroup identification or the preference for a specific comparison object or comparison dimension" (ibid: 723). In other words, each multicultural context, each ethnic group, and the history of the relationship with the dominant group, might influence people's perceptions and thus their actions.

In order to predict the pattern of strategies that devalued group members will adopt, we need to understand how people make sense of their specific situation. Do they believe that the boundaries between groups are permeable? Is the relationship between groups legitimate? Will this relationship change in the future? These cognitive perceptions are influenced by people's understanding of sociohistorical factors (the regulations at the level of the meta-system: see TS1). Actions arise from the interaction between these perceptions and the relative importance of particular groups for people's sense of identity. As research has shown for other low-status groups (Ellemers, Spears, and Doosje 1999), immigrants and ethnic minority members can respond to the threat of devalued identity by strengthening their identification with their cultural group (Phinney 1990). This can lead to a strategy of separation from the cultural environment of the receiving society. The level of identification with one's group, along with perceptions of factors that characterize the social context (such as permeability, stability, and legitimacy), guide people's choices of strategies in order to cope with a devalued identity (Branscombe and Ellemers 1998; Ellemers 1993; Lalonde and Cameron 1993) and impacts on their acculturation patterns.

Up till now we have discussed the consequences of a devalued identity and the strategies for coping with it. However, it is not just the consequences for people's identity but also the material and symbolic power issues that affect the condition of minority groups. Being in a minority might make salient issues of resource distribution between members of different groups; it might mean different opportunities for development and success; and it might produce feelings of resentment. In particular, members of minority groups may feel relatively deprived. Relative deprivation (TS8) is the feeling people have when they perceive a discrepancy between what they possess and what they believe they deserve and should be able to obtain. This feeling is the outcome of comparisons (TS2) between what one used to have and what one has now, or between what other people or other groups have and is desired. As Pettigrew (2002: 353) observes: "relative deprivation is a model social psychological concept, for it postulates a subjective state that shapes emotions

Reference groups

Groups that are used for social comparison and self-evaluation and that provide individuals with norms or standards. These groups are not necessarily the groups one belongs to.

False consciousness

The holding of false beliefs that sustain one's oppression.

(Cunningham 1987: 255)

System justification

The psychological process by which existing social arrangements are preserved in spite of the obvious psychological and material harm they entail for disadvantaged individuals and groups.

(Jost and Banaji 1994: 10)

Just world theory

According to Lerner (1977, 1980), individuals are motivated to believe that the world is a just and controllable place where people get what they deserve and deserve what they get. Thus, according to this belief, people are responsible for what happens to them and are rewarded for their efforts.

and cognitions and influences behavior.'' For non-dominant cultural groups and in particular ethnic minorities this issue is vital. Feelings of relative deprivation can arise if people perceive that they do not have the same rights or resources as other citizens, if they feel treated as second-class citizens. This feeling can be a powerful motivation for protest and mobilization if people realize that their group as a whole is deprived (fraternalistic deprivation). Civil rights movements in the US have arisen when the circumstances of the black population improved and people realized that their conditions and opportunities were lower than what they felt they deserved.

It might seem obvious that people will adopt strategies to overcome circumstances in which they are devalued. Sometimes, however, members of non-dominant groups accept their minority position and consider the dominant group to be superior. A seminal study by Clark and Clark (1947) asked 3–7 year-old white and black children to choose between different dolls: the one with which they identified, the one that they found beautiful, and the one they wished to play with. There was a tendency among black children, especially at younger ages, to choose the lighter-colored dolls. In my own research (Chryssochoou 2000b), investigating the construction of European identity, my Greek respondents often considered the category ''European'' as being a superior group of people, even in terms of IQ. The wealth of Western Europeans led people to make assumptions about the abilities of the group. Some respondents felt that other Europeans might not see the Greeks as part of the category ''European.'' Thus, the more powerful groups manage to position themselves as ''models'' (Deschamps, Lorenzi-Cioldi, and Meyer 1982) and become **reference groups** (Hyman 1942, 1960; Merton and Lazersfeld 1950) for those who belong to less powerful groups. The **false consciousness** (Jost and Banaji 1994) that some members of minority groups develop legitimizes and **justifies the social system**. Thus, a system of social inequalities can be considered as just, even by those who are suffering (see Jost and Major, 2001, on the psychology of legitimacy).

The need to believe that one lives in a **just world**, in which opportunities are available and one has control over one's life, leads people to accept material, power, and symbolic inequalities even if they are suffering from them (Olson and Hafer 2001).

In such contexts the emphasis is put on individual differences and achievements, in the sense that people's outcomes are linked to their abilities and efforts. Thus, whoever does not achieve success is considered responsible and has only themselves to blame. Self-blame can be a psychological impediment to people perceiving the barriers that the social system places in the way of success. These beliefs are very powerful, at least in Western societies. They function as norms (**norm of internality**) or biases (**fundamental attribution error**) and guide our ways of thinking.

What does make people react to social inequalities? According to Taylor and McKirnan (1984) (TS9), changes in the structural conditions of society influence social psychological factors such as processes of social comparison (TS2) and social attribution (TS7). These processes impact on the perception of intergroup behaviors and on social action. In other words, what happens in society makes people change their targets of comparison when evaluating their own position, so that they attribute responsibility for their condition to different factors. Thus, perceptions about intergroup relations vary. For Taylor and McKirnan, intergroup relations follow five stages. Collective action is expected at the fifth stage when three conditions are present: (a) members of minority groups attribute their condition to the fact that they are discriminated against as a group; (b) members of minority groups evaluate their position using intergroup comparisons; (c) members of minority groups feel that they are responsible for their future and that they can do something about their condition collectively. We can conclude, therefore, that non-dominant cultural groups will fight for civil, social, and political rights when (a) they perceive that they are prevented from becoming full citizens because of their ethnic background; (b) they engage in intergroup comparisons with the dominant cultural group; (c) they feel able to take their future into their own hands. Collective action can take generally acceptable forms (e.g., lobbying, demonstrations, political representations) or non-acceptable forms (e.g., riots, terrorism).

We have seen that people can accept their minority condition and the beliefs associated with it, or they can engage in strategies to change the situation. According to SIT (TS3), the choice of strategies will depend on the strength of identification with the minority group and the perception of the structural conditions that characterize the relationship between groups. Relative deprivation theory (TS8) has suggested that an important factor in determining the choice of strategies is the feeling of resentment that people have when they believe that they do not get what they deserve. Researchers (panel 1.9) have attempted to clarify when these factors lead to collective or individual strategies.

Norm of internality

According to Beauvois and Dubois (1988), people systematically prefer and value internal explanations irrespective of their truthfulness.

Fundamental attribution error

According to the fundamental attribution error (Ross 1977), people underestimate the importance of situational factors in producing behaviors and have a tendency to make internal (dispositional) attributions for others' behaviors

(see also TS7).

Panel 1.9   Strategies for Coping with Negative Social Identity: Predictions by Social Identity Theory and Relative Deprivation Theory (Mummendey et al. 1999)

Research question

The study aimed to investigate the power of the theories of social identity and relative deprivation to predict identity management strategies in the case of a negative social identity. A possible integration of the theories was also explored.

(*Continues*)

Panel 1.9   (*Continued*)

- For *social identity theory*, the authors hypothesized that identification with the ingroup will mediate the effect of sociostructural variables (i.e., legitimacy and stability of the status relationship between groups and perceptions regarding the permeability of boundaries) on identity management strategies.
- For *relative deprivation theory* it was hypothesized that feelings of resentment about one's group position and perceptions of group efficacy would mediate the effects of the outcome of comparison between what the group has and what it feels it deserves (referent outcome), the perceptions of the procedures leading to this outcome (referent instrumentality), and the perceptions of future amelioration on identity management strategies.

Six identity management strategies were identified: individual mobility and recategorization to a higher level corresponded to *individual* strategies; social and realistic competitions were considered as *social change* strategies; preference for temporal comparisons and the reevaluation of the material dimension were presented as *social creativity* strategies.

Theoretical framework

Social identity theory (SIT) (TS3) and relative deprivation theory (RDT) (TS8).

Method

Participants: 517 people born and living in different regions of East Germany, of both genders from 17 to 87 years old and of various educational levels and professional activities.

   Materials: Participants completed a questionnaire measuring:

- Independent variables: perceptions of stability and legitimacy of the status relations between East and West Germans, perceptions of permeability of boundaries between the two groups, perception of the material position of the East Germans in comparison to the West Germans (only for RDT test).
- Mediators: identification with the East Germans (for SIT test), feelings of resentment with regard to the relation between the two groups, expectation of ingroup efficacy to change the situation (for RDT test).
- Outcome variables: individual strategies, social change strategies, and social creativity strategies.

Results

Three models were tested using structural equation modeling techniques. The first model tested the predictions of SIT. In this model the sociostructural variables were considered as predictors of the strategies through the mediating effects of identification. From this analysis the authors conclude that:

- The model can reasonably predict individual strategies, whereas the prediction of social creativity strategies is rather weak.
- Legitimacy predicts only social competition strategies. (The more that intergroup relations are perceived to be unfair the more likely it is that people will engage in competitive strategies.)
- Stability predicts powerfully individual mobility, recategorization at a higher level, and realistic competition. (If people perceive the asymmetric relationships between groups to be stable, they will try individual mobility strategies or will compete for reversing the material conditions.)
- Permeability directly predicts individual mobility and social competition. (The more open the boundaries between groups are perceived to be the more people will choose individual mobility strategies and not engage in social competition.)
- Identification with the group predicts the use of strategies either directly or as a mediator of the effects of stability and permeability.

The second model tested the predictions of RDT. In this model the predictors were referent outcome, likelihood of amelioration (stability), and referent instrumentalities (legitimacy); mediators of these effects on identity strategies were perceptions of group efficacy and resentment about the group's situation. The test of this model indicated:

- This model is better than the SIT model in explaining strategies of competition.
- Group efficacy and fraternal resentment are better mediators of competitive strategies than identification to the group.
- Recategorization to a higher level was better predicted by SIT.
- Again, social creativity strategies were not explained satisfactorily.
- Group efficacy was predicted only by referent instrumentalities (legitimacy). This seems to indicate that perceptions of the group's status as illegitimate might afford considerations of group efficacy to change the situation. Group efficacy is important once illegitimacy is perceived to mobilize people towards change. Legitimacy of the group's status might be accompanied by feelings of helplessness and low efficacy.

A test of an integrative model that included predictors and mediators of both theories revealed that:

- Identification was directly related to individual strategies.
- Negative feelings of deprivation and resentment were connected to collective strategies.
- The relation between identification and collective strategies was mediated through resentment and group efficacy.
- The model could not explain social creativity strategies satisfactorily.

(*Continues*)

Panel 1.9   (*Continued*)

General discussion

This study has shown how perceptions of the structure of the relationships between groups can predict identification and feelings of resentment, as well as strategic responses to the situation. Each theory has its unique concepts (permeability for SIT and perceptions of status for RDT). Moreover, SIT emphasizes the cognitive aspect of identification, whereas RDT emphasizes the emotive response to status inequalities. The authors suggest that these different emphases relate to different strategy preferences: individual strategies relating to group identification and competition relating to resentment and group efficacy.

However, what is important to highlight is that collective action is likely when members of minority groups feel *discriminated* against. In chapter 2 we look at cultural diversity from the point of view of the members of cultural majorities and discuss the origins of discrimination and the prejudice that feeds and sustains it.