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1. Read the article and answer the questions below in English.

Advancing acculturation theory and research: the acculturation process in its ecological context Colleen Ward and Nicolas Geeraert

Abstract

Continued intercultural contact leads to challenges and changes. As part of this process, the acculturating individual deals with acculturative stressors whose negative effects on well-being can be buffered or exacerbated by coping reactions. A second component of the acculturation process involves the acquisition, maintenance, and change of cultural behaviors, values and identities associated with heritage and settlement cultures. Both acculturative stress and acculturative change unfold in an ecological context. Within the family, acculturation discrepancies between parents and children affect acculturation trajectories and outcomes. At the institutional level, the school and workplace exert significant influences on the acculturation of young people and working adults, respectively. At the societal level attitudes, policies and prejudice affect the acculturation experiences of sojourners and immigrants and influence their psychological and sociocultural adaptation.

Introduction

Although originally considered the domain of anthropology, psychological studies of acculturation have a long history, with theory and research evolving over the last five decades. Acculturation refers to changes in an individual's 'cultural patterns' (i.e., practices, values, identities) resulting from sustained first hand intercultural contact and subsequently affecting the individual's psychological well-being and social functioning [Berry, 1997; Ward, 2001]. Although it is now widely recognized that acculturation involves change and is affected by environmental factors, relatively few studies have systematically examined acculturation as a dynamic process and how this process is affected by its ecological context. This paper elucidates the process of acculturation, its psychological and sociocultural outcomes and the influence of context on the acculturation-adaptation link. Although the core process of acculturation can be examined across a wide range of peoples experiencing intercultural contact, including ethnic majority and minority groups and native peoples, the research described here is primarily focused on sojourners and immigrants.

Conceptualizing and measuring acculturation

Shedding one's heritage or home culture and shifting toward the values and behaviors of the settlement or host culture is one form of acculturation (i.e., assimilation), but this uni-dimensional conceptualization is not adequate to capture the richness and variety of acculturative changes, nor to explore the relationship between acculturation and adaptation [Demes, Geeraert, 2014]. Instead, an individual's orientation to both the heritage and settlement cultures needs to be considered [Stoessel et

al., 2014], either as independent orientations or in interaction (heritage x settlement cultures) to delineate the four acculturation categories proposed by Berry [Berry, 1997]: integration (strong orientation to both cultures), assimilation (stronger orientation to settlement culture), separation (stronger orientation to heritage culture) and marginalization (weak orientation to both cultures). The interaction approach to categorization, however, requires dichotomizing individuals as weak or strong on both heritage and settlement culture orientations by splitting at the median, mean or scalar midpoint. Consequently, the resultant classification and distribution of individuals across acculturation categories are highly variable and not strictly comparable across studies [Demes, Geeraert, 2014; Ward, Kus, 2012].

More recently, latent class analysis has been used to uncover how heritage and settlement culture orientations are combined and change over time. This line of research has largely failed to replicate the four-category model proposed by Berry [Berry, 1997]. Integration/biculturalism and separation regularly emerge, and assimilation is frequently observed among the two (e.g., stable and increasing cultural identities) to five (e.g., separated, assimilated, and low, high and separated biculturals) classes reported. In contrast, marginalization occurs so infrequently that its viability as an acculturation strategy has been questioned [Schwartz et al., 2010].

In addition to latent class analysis, novel qualitative and mixed method approaches to assessing and elucidating acculturation are also being explored. The Cultural Day Reconstruction Method linked to diary studies [Doucerian et al., 2013] has been used to investigate the range of cultural engagements identified by individuals in culturally diverse societies. At the same time, identity maps [Ward, 2013] permit acculturating individuals to express themselves in their own terms by creating pictorial descriptions of their identities rather than being confined to quantifying the strength of their orientations to heritage and settlement cultures.

A process model of acculturation

Acculturation research commonly relies on cross-sectional surveys conducted with a single acculturating group. However, we argue that acculturation is a dynamic process and this needs to be reflected in both empirical (i.e., longitudinal studies) and theoretical approaches to our research on acculturative changes. As the acculturation process begins with intercultural contact (Figure 1), it is fundamentally important to understand the nature and characteristics of the heritage or home culture and the settlement or host culture, including their compatibility or 'distance.'3 It has been suggested that increasing distance or dissimilarity between cultures not only makes it more difficult to achieve integration, but also increases acculturative stress and negatively impacts psychological and sociocultural adaptation [Ward, 2001; Benet-Martinez, 2012].

heritage / home culture settlement / host culture cultural distance acculturation attitudes. acculturation attitudes. values, behaviors, values, behaviors, cultural identity cultural identity Julional and organizational context institutional and organizational contests intercultural contact acculturative cultural stressors awareness acquisition, maintenance and change of stress & coping cultural attitudes, behaviors, values & identities heritage / home settlement / host culture culture psychological well-being and effective social functioning the individual global culture

Figure 1 Acculturation process and context: framework for studying immigrants and sojourners

Support for the cultural distance hypothesis [Babiker et al., 1980] depends to a large extent on how distance is conceptualized and measured, whether in terms of perceptions or with respect to more objective criteria. The hypothesis has received substantial support when perceived distance is assessed as a continuous variable via comparisons of home and host cultures by research participants or when national groups are assigned to categories (e.g., low and high distance) by researchers on the basis of impressionistic criteria or geographical proximity [Briones ey al., 2012; Szabo et al., 2015]. Recently, however, more objective measures, such as differences in GDP or cultural values, have been utilized with large multi-nationalsamplesto test the hypothesis, but findings have been somewhat mixed. Distance at the aggregate level does not always yield significant results [Kashima, Abu-Rayya, 2014]; however, an examination of differences along specific cultural dimensions has provided some support for the cultural distance hypothesis [Kashima, Abu-Rayya, 2014]. Although the results are thus far inconclusive, more complex designs with larger numbers of both settlement and heritage cultures may yet provide us the means to critically re-examine the phenomenon.

As elaborated in the remainder of this section, our process-oriented model of acculturation further posits that intercultural contact requires the management of acculturative stressors along with the acquisition, maintenance and/or change in heritage and settlement cultural behaviors, values and identities. It is well-established that the challenges associated with cultural transitions can lead to stress [Berry, 1997; Ward, 2001]. For acculturating individuals, this 'acculturative stress' signals the need to cope with cultural challenges and prepares them to respond to the new environment in order to achieve long-term adaptation. Early speculations suggested that negative emotional responses are routinely experienced by individuals in cross-cultural transition and that these reactions follow a standard pattern over time, the so-called U-curve [Oberg, 1960]. Recently however, fluctuations in acculturative

stress have been tested with rigorous longitudinal designs and analyses (i.e., latent class growth analyses and multilevel modeling), which have shown that significant episodes of acculturative stress only occur for a minority of individuals and that the patterns of stress over time are highly varied among individuals [Demes, Geeraert, 2014].

Acculturative stress, whether in short term sojourners or well established immigrant groups, can be ameliorated or exacerbated by coping responses [Demes, Geeraert, 2014, Akhtar, Kroner-Herwig, 2015]. For instance, whereas problem-focussed coping has been shown to be adaptive, emotion-focussed coping is typically associated with higher levels of stress [Demes, Geeraert, 2014]. Furthermore, while longitudinal research has shown that acculturative stress plays a critical role in the course of immigrants' mental health symptoms [Sirin et al., 2013a], social support can buffer its negative effects on psychological symptoms over time [Sirin et al., 2013b].

Beyond precipitating acculturative stress, intercultural contact evokes analysis and decision-making about cultural acquisition, maintenance and change in relation to both heritage and settlement cultures [Sam, Berry, 2010]. There is strong meta-analytic evidence that both heritage and settlement cultural orientations provide valuable psychological resources and function in an additive fashion so that integration or biculturalism has the strongest association with psychological and socio-cultural adaptation [Nguyen, Benet-Martinez, 2013]. However, still open to debate is how an individual's psychological and social functioning is affected by changes in cultural behaviors, values and identities over time.

Recent developmental research has addressed this question, elucidating the process of acculturation by exploring trajectories of cultural values, behaviors and identifications with latent growth class analyses [Knight et al., 2014] and relating these trajectories to psychological and social outcomes [Schwartz et al., 2010]. This line of research is relatively new and highly promising. Still, despite some evidence that strong and strengthening heritage and settlement cultural orientations, compared to weak and weakening or stable cultural orientations, are associated with more positive outcomes, overall it is difficult to synthesize the findings and premature to draw firm conclusions [Stoessel et al., 2014; Schwartz et al., 2010]. First, acculturative changes vary as a function of the acculturation domain, that is, whether behaviors, values or identities are assessed, with research suggesting that cultural practices are easily modified and change first, cultural values are most resistant to change and the rate of change for cultural identities falls in-between [Schwartz et al., 2010]. Second, the adaptive outcomes (e.g., family functioning, mental health, socio-cultural hassles and health risk behaviors) are so varied over studies that convergence of results is difficult to achieve. Third, the distinction between developmental and acculturative changes and their implications have rarely been investigated. Finally, the research samples are highly diverse, varying in ethnicity and generational status, which have been shown more generally to affect both acculturation processes and outcomes [Knight et al., 2014; Briones et al., 2014; Li, 2014].

The ecological context of acculturation

Intrapersonal resources are known to influence acculturation processes and outcomes. Factors that have been positively associated with cross-cultural adaptation include emotional stability, agreeableness, extraversion, social initiative, open-mindedness and cultural intelligence [Wilson et al., 2013; Huff et al., 2014]. However, these individual-level factors operate within the broader ecological context of intercultural contact [44]. Although most researchers still fail to make reference to contextual factors, recently a growing body of studies has examined how the familial, institutional and societal contexts impact acculturation and adaptation.

Familial context

While the experience of psychological acculturation occurs at the individual level, the process often unfolds within a family context, particularly for those who immigrate as part of a family unit. It is widely agreed that family dynamics exert significant influences on the acculturation process with cohesion leading to positive outcomes and conflict leading to negative consequences for young people [Li, 2014; Lorenzo-Bianco et al., 2012]; however, there is less consensus about the mechanisms through which this occurs. Cross-cultural psychologists have tended to adopt an acculturation framework that positions family-related variables as contextual antecedentsto acculturation orientations, which, in turn, mediate contextual effects on psychological and socio-cultural adaptation [Arends-Toth, van de Vijver, 2006]. As shown in a study of multi-national immigrant youth in Germany, parental expectations, compared to language usage at home and the importance of religion in the family, were the strongest predictors of heritage and settlement country orientations, and both cultural orientations positively predicted adaptive outcomes [Schachner et al., 2014]. Developmental approaches may be more likely to position family functioning variables as mediating the effects of acculturation on adaptation outcomes. For instance, in a study of teenage Hispanic Americans, assimilated adolescents, compared to moderately or highly integrated individuals, reported poorer family functioning, which in turn, was linked to greater risk behaviors, such as smoking and unsafe sexual activities [Schwartz et al., 2013].

Acculturation discrepancies between parents and children and their effects on well-being and social functioning of adolescents and young adults have attracted strong attention in the family context. This acculturation gap, often, but not always, leads to distress as outcomes are dependent upon the direction and domain of differences [Rasmi et al., 2015], and effects can be mediated by factors such parenting styles and family relations [Kim et al., 2013]. While the acculturation gap is most commonly manifest as young people having stronger orientations to the settlement country and weaker orientations to their heritage culture, compared to their parents, a 'reversed' acculturation gap can also lead to harmful outcomes [Rasmi et al., 2015]. The negative consequences of an acculturation gap on the well-being of young people can be buffered by open communication [Kim, Park, 2011] and positive relations in the family [Rasmi et al., 2015].

Institutional and organizational contexts

Beyond the family, the school provides an important and influential context for the acculturation of young people. Perceptions of strong assimilationist pressures in schools create tensions and can lead to separation [Niens et al., 2013] while perceived social support from teachers and peers fosters more positive attitudes toward the settlement country and leads, in turn, to integration [Tartakovsky, 2012]. In addition, the socioeconomic status (SES) of educational institutions has been linked with students' adaptation and intercultural relations. Compared to high-SES schools, lower-SES schools have a wider gap in risk behaviors between native and immigrant pupils, and inter-ethnic friendships are less common [Greenman, 2011]. Interestingly, for Asian American students, but not for Hispanic American students, parenting and peer relations mediate these effects.

For adults the work environment can similarly affect acculturation and adaptation. Culturally diverse organizations with multicultural policies and practices foster greater inclusiveness and achieve greater engagement from minority groups [Apfelbaum et al., 2012]. For expatriates, more specifically, there is evidence that personal characteristics interact with features of the organization and demands of the job so that 'better fit' is associated with more positive adjustment outcomes [Nolan, Morley, 2014]. In addition, organizational support from both home and host culture sources contributes to expatriate psychological, social and work adjustment [Zhuang et al., 2013].

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Societal context

At the societal level acceptance of diversity, acculturation expectations, and multicultural policies, both real and perceived, impact the maintenance and change in cultural orientations and how acculturation relates to adaptive outcomes [Berry, Ward, 2016]. At the most basic level, the relationship between heritage and settlement culture orientations varies depending on the sociopolitical climate with a negative relationship found in more assimilationist environments and a positive relationship observed in more receptive multicultural settings [Dimitrova et al., 2014]. Within country studies suggest that prejudice against immigrants predicts a stronger desire for cultural maintenance in immigrant groups [Christ et al., 2013]; at the same time, in assimilationist environments, cultural maintenance in ethnic minorities can lead to lower levels of life satisfaction [Kus-Harbord, Ward, 2015]. Multinational studies are rare, but indicate that a more positive acculturation climate encourages a stronger orientation toward the settlement culture in immigrants whereas heritage culture orientation remains strong in assimilationist environments [Yagmur, van de Vijver, 2012].

Conclusion and future research directions

The world has changed enormously during the last 45 years of acculturation research, and criticisms have been raised that our theories have not kept apace. Along with increasing globalization, transnationalism and changing demographics within countries, there have been calls for revising and expanding our conceptualization and measurement of acculturation. This includes the recognition of remote acculturation via vehicles such as media and sports and movement away from sole reliance on a bi-dimensional conceptualization of acculturation (heritage and settlement cultures) to more multidimensional models [Ward, 2013]. Indeed, research has already simultaneously examined the dynamics of ethnic, national and religious identities in Moroccan-Dutch Muslims [Verkuyten et al., 2012], how Jamaican immigrants to the United States 'juggle' three cultural worlds, Jamaican, European American, and African American [Ferguson, 2013], and how global culture impacts marginalization [Kunst, Sam, 2013]. More radical recommendations suggest the abandonment of dimensional and categorical frameworks altogether in favor of a network approach, which recognizes that individuals' cultural engagements are partial and fluid, whether the engagement is with heritage culture or multiple other cultures [Morris et al., 2015]. These perspectives merit serious attention as our field advances.

In the end, acculturation unfolds as a process and is situated in an ecological context. As such, it is time to move beyond single sample, single context, cross-sectional studies. More longitudinal and multi-group studies, both within and across cultures, along with new conceptual approaches, are required to advance acculturation theory and research.

Ouestions to discuss:

- 1. What does the term "acculturation" mean? What are uni-dimensional and bi-dimensional approaches to conceptualizing acculturation? Provide explanations based on the information given in the article. Apply both approaches to the situation of a student who went to study abroad: Give an idea of his or her acculturation strategy using each of the two approaches.
- 2. How ecological context interacts with a representative of the host population during the process of acculturation on three levels: familial, institutional, and societal? Explain without repeating definitions and examples from the text and use your own words and explanations.
- 3. Based on your knowledge in psychology, suggest at least three individual psychological characteristics that can also influence the acculturation and adaptation of the individual. Explain why you consider each of the proposed characteristics important and what are the consequences they could produce?

- 4. Based on the model from the article and your knowledge in psychology, create and explain an idea of a psychological intervention that could prepare an individual to successfully cope with the stressors of future acculturation.
- 5. According to your scientific and practical interests, suggest a future study proposal that addresses the process of acculturation in the perspective of social and cross-cultural or economic and organizational psychology (aside from the topics which the author indicates as directions for future research in the text). You need to explain the main idea behind the study (some theoretical grounds based on the article and your knowledge), possible research question or hypothesis, description of the study design (sample, methods, instruments) and practical significance of expected results.

2. As a psychologist, please, comment on this case.

- 1) Describe and explain what are the main problems and challenges Advik has faced.
- 2) Explain why a misunderstanding occurred and what is the reason for the low effectiveness of Advik's team?
- 3) Create a set of possible solutions which can help Advik to cope with the problem in the most effective way.
- 4) What preliminary preparation or instructions (before going to Algeria) could have helped Advik and other foreigners to avoid the difficulties described in the case? Which psychological theories and concepts do these instructions or preparation programs should rely on?

Please, use social psychological theories in your response. Try to be concise and avoid journalism and stereotypes in your analysis. Note that your response should be given in English.

Advik is an Indian immigrant who works for multinational German engineering company. After working in a few international projects in countries like South Korea, Russia, Lithuania and Spain, his company deputed him to work at a gas-based power station in Algeria. He was a team leader and was responsible for commissioning of gas turbine and therefore managed a team of engineers and workers who were mostly Algerians. No clear instructions were given to him regarding how to manage the intercultural differences he would encounter. His new boss was an Egyptian and two of his other colleagues were a German and a fellow Indian; but all his subordinates and most of the workers were Algerians and for many it was their first experience working with foreigners.

Advik was regarded as a very gentle and polite boss who respected his subordinates and always welcomed their ideas and remarks. He strongly believed in working as per procedures and protocols. Here he applied the same leadership style. However, under his supervision, the Algerian engineers didn't fulfill work specifications and didn't care much about contractual requirements. He talked about this situation with his Egyptian boss, who advised him that Algerians were generally a lazy people and wouldn't work unless he were strict. Advik also notes that the Algerian engineers treated the workers very roughly. They gave orders in a very unfriendly way and shouted at them if they didn't do work adequately.

Advik wasn't very satisfied with the reply and continued with his egalitarian management style. He felt apprehensive about being strict with natives of a foreign land. He held a meeting with his team and asked them to share their ideas about the project and the milestones to be achieved. He was surprised to see everyone silent in the meeting. However, his decisions were supported by everyone without any questions. In all the subsequent meetings, the same model repeated. Nobody seemed to take any initiative and expected instructions to come only from the team leader. The plans formulated in the meetings weren't properly carried out by the team however. This made the Egyptian boss furious.