

The Extended Acculturation Model for Locals: Validation, Outcomes, and Antecedents

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### Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree. Some of the ideas, literature review (General Introduction), and results (Studies 1, 2, 3 and 5) presented in this thesis are under review in the following journals:

Lefringhausen, K., and Marshall, T. C. (under review). Can locals simultaneously maintain their national culture and adapt towards multiculturalism in their own home country?

Validation of an extended acculturation model for locals. *PIOS ONE*.

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*“For every complex problem there is an answer that is clear, simple, and wrong.”*  
(H. L. Mencken)

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### Abstract

Previous scholarship has highlighted the validity and reliability of a bidimensional acculturation model for migrants, allowing for simultaneous endorsement of one's heritage and national culture. So far, however, no empirical research has explored whether the bidimensional acculturation model can be extended from migrants to members of the mainstream society (i.e., locals). Thus, the broad aims of this dissertation were threefold: (a) to validate a new framework, termed the Extended Acculturation Model for Locals (EAML), which consists of two dimensions (i.e., national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation), and (b) to examine the outcomes as well as (c) antecedents of these dimensions. In this dissertation, the General Introduction outlines the growth of multiculturalism across societies, followed by a review of existing acculturation research on migrants and the analogous work on locals. It is noted that migrants' acculturation process implies individual-level changes, whilst locals' acculturation process implies attitudes and behaviours which hinder or foster migrants' individual-level changes. The Study Overview outlines the dimensionality of locals' acculturation process, their adjustment outcomes and antecedents. Using a modified Vancouver Index of Acculturation (Multi-VIA), Study 1 found support for a bidimensional acculturation model for locals consisting of two reliable and valid subscales indicating national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation. Study 2 buttresses the validity and reliability of the Multi-VIA across cultures as well as demonstrates the ability of national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation to predict locals' sociocultural and psychological adjustment outcomes. Study 3 explains why the correlation between locals' national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation is either orthogonal or positive oblique; more specifically, the correlation is moderated by locals' degree of multicultural exposure, their likeliness to compartmentalize or blend their multicultural identity as well as through high or low self-construal endorsement. Study 4 demonstrates that national culture

maintenance and multicultural adaptation predict local employees' organizational behaviour in multinational corporations. Study 5 revealed that cultural values endorsed at the individual-level predicted locals' national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation. Moreover, these individual-level value-outcome associations were moderated by compatible societal-level pro-diversity messages. The General Discussion reviews all of the study findings as well as discusses their implications. The General Limitations and Future Directions describes the theoretical and methodological shortcomings of the Extended Acculturation Model for Locals whilst setting future directions for research. Last, the Final Remarks stresses the overall strengths of the present dissertation – that is, it fills the present research gap on locals' acculturation towards multiculturalism, and in turn, provides a new route towards harmonious intergroup relations and social cohesion in mixing societies.

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## 1. General Introduction

*“Defendons Nos Couleurs” [Defend Our Colours]*  
(Front National, 2010)

This quotation illustrates the far-right campaigns in many European nations to defend their cultures against multiculturalism. These campaigns capitalize on the fear that growing cultural and/or ethnic pluralism in terms of migrants of first and later generations (i.e., multiculturalism) inescapably leads to national cultural loss (Traynor, 2014). Such fears have taken root among some locals – that is, members of a mainstream society who share an ancestral language, history, and culture (Berry & Sam, 1997; Cattle, Alibhai-Brown, Mitchell, & Allen, 2006; Goodwin, 2011; Riek, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006; Searchlight Educational Trust, 2011). Specifically, locals, in opposition to non-locals, live in their and their ancestors country of birth (Sapienza, Hichy, Guarnera, & Di Nuovo, 2010), own its citizenship (Bourhis & Dayan, 2004), and belong to the one or several dominant/mainstream cultural group(s) within the respective country (Abrams, Barker, & Giles, 2009; Berry, 1997; Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977). Indeed, locals may believe that government actions that seek to improve the status of non-local groups must come at their expense (Ginges & Cairns, 2000; Norton & Sommers, 2011). Specifically, cultural/symbolic threats tend to show stronger associations with locals’ perceptions of multiculturalism than do economic/realistic threats (e.g., Yogeewaran & Dasgupta, 2014).

To date, however, no empirical investigation has explored whether multicultural adaptation implies the inevitable loss of locals’ national culture or whether simultaneous endorsement of multicultural adaptation and national culture maintenance is possible. In other words, when a British local has friends of German, Indian, and Chinese cultural backgrounds in the UK, engages in their traditional cultural practices (e.g., Oktoberfest, Diwali, and Spring Festival, respectively) and acts according to their cultural beliefs and values (e.g., less individualistic) does this inevitably imply that this British local is less likely to have other

British local friends, to engage less in British traditional cultural practices and acts less according to British cultural beliefs and values?

Instead, psychological research has long focused on migrants' processes (i.e., acculturation strategies), its predictors (i.e., cultural values or time abroad), and adaptational outcomes (i.e., psychological and sociocultural adjustment), mostly in Western cultural contexts (e.g., Berry & Sabatier, 2011; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). For locals who form the mainstream society, past research has examined their acculturation expectations (i.e., what locals want migrants to do; see Horenczyk, Jasinskaja-Lahti, Sam, & Vedder, 2013, for a review), intergroup ideology endorsement (e.g., support of pro-multicultural policies, Berry & Kalin, 1995; Guimond et al., 2013), and intercultural competences as a skill and/or personality trait (e.g., Bennett, 1993; Van der Zee & Van Oudenhoven, 2000) to understand their cultural adaptation towards multiculturalism within their own country. Moreover, globalization research suggests locals' acculturation may be due to intermittent/indirect contact with geographically distant groups (e.g., Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012, 2015).

Nonetheless, both streams of research have neglected the possibility of bidirectional individual-level change between locals and other cultural groups of growing vitality within the same country – that is, rather than questioning how locals want migrants to acculturate towards the mainstream society, I question how do locals *themselves* acculturate towards multiculturalism in form of maintaining their national culture and/or adapt towards other cultural groups within their own home country. To provide greater context for the present framework, I first outline the phenomenon of multiculturalism, followed by existing understandings of migrants and locals' acculturation.

### 1.1 Defining Multiculturalism

In the late 1960s, Australia and Canada introduced the term ‘multiculturalism’ to describe a new policy strategy towards migrants (Rattansi, 2011). Prior to this, Western immigration policies followed racial principles, favouring the White race in the national migration quota systems (e.g., White Australia Policy in the Immigration Restriction Act, 1901-1958; Jupp, 2002). Yet, even if of White race, migrants were expected to assimilate into their new environments through giving up the characteristics of their heritage culture while adapting to the new culture (Mann, 2012). With the demolition of the racial doctrine after World War II and the implementation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, Western countries were urged to modify their ideologies and policies towards non-local groups such as migrants (Rattansi, 2011). Thus, instead of expecting assimilation, more recent multicultural policies aimed for the integration of non-locals into the mainstream society by encouraging heritage/original culture maintenance as well as mainstream/host culture participation (Berry, 2008).

This implies that governments have to actively accommodate, cherish and defend their diverse societies within a democratic framework by promoting legal, political, and social recognition of cultural differences as a national policy (Bernstein, 2005; Dolce, 1973; Kymlicka, 2007). Therefore, multiculturalism encompasses three overlapping perspectives (Berry & Kalin, 2000; Berry, Kalin, & Taylor, 1977; Mann, 2012; Van de Vijver, Breugelmans, & Schalk-Soekar, 2008): the demographic cultural plurality within a nation state; policies reflecting specific political ideologies towards the management of cultural pluralism within a nation state; and attitudes by locals towards the political ideology of a nation state’s government (i.e., intergroup ideology).

Nevertheless, governments as well as social scientists developed varying interpretations of a political multicultural ideology and its resulting policies (Cantle, 2012;



Koopmans, 2010; Meer & Modood, 2011; Vertovec, 2012). Moreover, there is no agreement amongst social scientists as to what constitutes a non-local group as well as whether multiculturalism encompasses other categories of differences such as social class, sexual orientation, or age (Bulmer, 1996; Lott, 2009; Pope, 1995). Although these are crucial points for the discourse on multiculturalism, further consideration digresses from the main goals of this dissertation. Instead, I will first provide an overview of multiculturalism as a global trend towards demographic cultural plurality (i.e., demographic perspective) before outlining a range of its policy interpretations based on varying political ideologies (i.e., normative perspective). Multiculturalism in terms of locals' endorsed intergroup ideologies will be discussed in section 1.2.3 which reviews present concepts of locals' acculturation orientations in cross-cultural psychology literature.

### **1.1.1 Multiculturalism: Demographic Perspective**

Few nation states can deny the cultural heterogeneity of its population (Cantle et al., 2006; Council of Europe, 2008; Vertovec, 2007). On the one hand, governments face a rise in foreign nationals of first, second and later generations due to the increasing demand for highly skilled labour in a globalized economic market (Chryssides, 2008; Kymlicka, 2012; Leong & Liu, 2013). On the other hand, intra-state cultural diversity through indigenous groups or substate nationals determine the ancient cultural complexity of current societies (Bourhis, Montaruli, El-Geledi, Harvey, & Barrette, 2010; Breully, 2008; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001).

Western countries in particular have experienced a rise in international migration. In 2014, the USA ranked number one in the world in terms of total international migrant residents, followed by Germany in second and the UK in sixth place (Vargas-Silva, 2014). Indeed, the ratio of first and second generation migrants in the United States already reached more than one-quarter of the country's total population in 2013 (316 million; Zong &

Batalova, 2015). Distinguished by country of birth, Mexican migrants represented the largest group, followed by Indians and Chinese (Zong & Batalova, 2015). In Germany, one-fifth of the country's total population in 2012 (16.4 million) had a migratory background with less than half (6.7 million) being born outside of the country and more than half (9.7 million) representing second or later migration generations (Dick, 2013). In particular, people from Turkey accounted for the largest migrant group, followed by Polish and Russians (Federal Office of Statistics, 2013). Similarly, about 7.8 million of the UK's population was foreign-born in 2013 with 5 million having a migratory background, representing one-fifth of the total population (Rienzo & Vargas-Silva, 2013). India is the most common non-UK country of birth, followed by Poland, and then Pakistan (Office for National Statistics, ONS, 2012a). Overall, 20.4 million people without European Union citizenship and 33.5 million people born outside of the European Union resided in one of the 27 EU-member states in January 2013 (Eurostat, 2014).

Conversely, China and India only recently experienced a rise in international migration (Brookfield, 2012). Indeed, the World Bank (2013) predicted that both countries will play an ever-increasing role in the world economy, and thus, will attract labour migration. For India, only 6 million residents of the total population migrated from other countries in 2001 (Census India, 2001). Similarly, the Republic of China reported in 2013 an immigration ratio of 0.1% of the entire population (1.41 million; International Organization for Migration, 2014). Instead, intra-state cultural diversity influences the population constellations in these two countries. India, for instance, recognizes 461 ethnic groups as registered tribes which comprise 8.2% of the total population (International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, IWGIA, 2011). Although the majority of China's population identifies as Han Chinese (92% in 2010), the country officially lists 55 indigenous groups, representing 8.5% of the country's total population (Chi-Ping, 2011; Tang & He, 2010). Moreover, the Republic of China

encompasses several national substate groups (Tibet, Hong Kong, and Macau; Statistics and Census Service, 2011). Similar intra-state diversity can be found in the UK: 84% of the total British population identified as English in 2011, followed by Scottish, Welsh, and Northern Irish (ONS, 2012a, 2012b).

This cultural pluralism is replicated in national employee markets as well as student bodies (Gibson & McDaniel, 2010; Peeters & Oerlemans, 2009). Specifically, the total number of economic migrants (i.e., expatriates) worldwide amounted to around 50.5 million in 2013 with the USA, UK, and Australia having the largest population of highly skilled foreigners (Finaccord, 2014). Of these expatriates, 8.8% were students who went abroad to study, representing 2 in 100 students globally (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2014). How countries manage the accommodation of this cultural pluralism within their societies will be outlined in the next section.

### **1.1.2 Multiculturalism: Normative Perspective**

Based on the extent of pro-diversity policies implemented in a country, social and political scientists can discern whether a country's political ideology tilts towards assimilation or multiculturalism (Guimond et al., 2013; Kymlicka, 2012; Vertovec, 2012). In fact, a government's claim to endorse a multicultural ideology may not be expressed in its corresponding policies. For example, India has constitutionally ensured the institutional recognition and accommodation of the country's culturally diverse groups (Bhattacharyya, 2003; IWGIA, 2011). Yet, the current ruling Bharatiya Janata Party has attempted to redefine India as a Hindu country, declining the presence of other religious groups (Guha, 2007). Similarly, China's ruling government recognises its cultural diversity, yet efficient policies are not in place to support non-local groups (Wang & Phillion, 2009; Zhang & Chen, 2014). Thus, a government's endorsement of assimilation or multiculturalism as a political ideology is mostly evaluated by the extent to which equitable participation in the mainstream society

and its varying domains (e.g., education, work, and political representation) as well as migrants' cultural recognition is actively supported by a country's policies (Dewing, 2009; Kymlicka, 2007, 2011).

The Multiculturalism Policy Index (MPI; Banting & Kymlicka, 2003; see also [www.queensu.ca/mcp/immigrant.html](http://www.queensu.ca/mcp/immigrant.html)) is one of the most recognized pro-multiculturalism policy indicators across 21 Western countries (Guimond, De la Sablonnière, & Nugier, 2014). The index consists of eight policy criteria such as support for media representation of migrant groups, enabling dual-citizenship, and constitutional affirmation of multiculturalism as a national policy. According to the MPI, the USA and the UK have a medium pro-multiculturalism policy whilst Germany shows a trend towards assimilation. Koopmans (2010) further supports the categorization of Germany as an assimilationist country due to migrants' limited access to nationality acquisition. Similarly, the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX, [www.mipex.eu/](http://www.mipex.eu/)), which measures 148 policies across all European Union member states plus Norway, Switzerland, Canada, USA, Australia, and Japan (37 countries in total for comparison), has been found to be a valid indicator of a country's political ideology towards multiculturalism (Kauff, Asbrock, Thorner, & Wagner, 2013a). In contrast to the MPI, MIPEX uses seven policy criteria (e.g., labour market mobility, family reunion, and access to nationality) and classified the USA amongst the highest pro-diversity countries in 2010 with the UK and Germany sharing a rank as medium strong supporters (MIPEX, 2010).

Contrary to this conceptualization of a single continuum varying between assimilation to multiculturalism, Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, and Senecal (1997; see also Bourhis & Dayan, 2004) proposed a refined model including four types of political ideology towards multiculturalism: a *pluralism ideology* which supports financial funding for and the valuation of migrants' heritage culture maintenance and the simultaneous adaptation to the mainstream culture; a *civic ideology* which only includes the expectation and valuation of

heritage cultural maintenance and mainstream culture adaptation without financial support; an *assimilation ideology* that only expects and values adaptation to the mainstream culture and allows interference in migrants' private domains to facilitate their heritage culture abolition; and, finally, an *ethnist ideology* which rejects migrants' heritage culture maintenance and asks for their separation from the mainstream culture as they are not expected to ever become rightful members of the mainstream society. Bourhis et al.'s (1997) model, in contrast to the MPI and MIPEX, classifies the UK as a civic ideological country, the USA as an assimilationist country, and Germany as an ethnist ideological country. In sum, a country's pro-diversity ideology categorization, and thus, whether multiculturalism is seen as successful or failing within that country, varies according to the political index chosen as an indicator. Due to the above outlined different perspectives of multiculturalism, the subsequent section will stress the understanding of multiculturalism within the present dissertation.

### **1.1.3 Multiculturalism: Conclusion**

As outlined above, evaluating a country's policies as the main indicator of the success or failure of multiculturalism is questionable because different metrics arrive at different conclusions. Therefore, the present dissertation focuses on multiculturalism from a demographic perspective, defining it as growing cultural plurality within nation states due to the presence of migrants of first and later generations as well as indigenous groups, rather than as a political ideology and/or policy. When considering multiculturalism from a demographic perspective, psychologists have examined its success or failure on the basis of the theory of acculturation (Berry, 1990, 1997, 2013). Acculturation can be defined as a psychological process of bi-directional adaptation and learning due to sustained contact between members and/or groups of differing cultural backgrounds (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1937; Sam & Berry, 2010). Based on this understanding, existing

conceptualizations of migrants and locals' acculturation will be outlined in the proceeding chapters.

## **1.2 The Theory of Acculturation**

### **1.2.1 Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory**

Acculturation is concerned with psychological and behavioural changes due to consistent direct contact between members of different cultural groups (Sam & Berry, 2010). These changes can result at both an individual-level (i.e., values, attitudes, beliefs and identities) and at a group-level (i.e., social and cultural systems; Berry, 2013). However, early research on acculturation distinguished between members of acculturating and non-acculturating groups due to varying group vitalities/power (Abrams et al., 2009; Berry, 1997, 2013; Bourhis & Dayan, 2004). According to the Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory (Giles et al., 1977, p. 308), vitality is what “makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations”. The combination of status, demography, and institutional support make up the ‘objective’ vitality of an ethnolinguistic group. Status variables include the economic, social, socio-historical and language status of a community within or outside a specific region or nation state. Demographic strength relates to the number and distributional patterns of ethnolinguistic group members throughout a nation state (i.e., birth rate, in-group marriages, immigration and emigration patterns). Institutional support factors refer to the extent to which a community enjoys formal and informal representation in the various institutions of a society such as mass media, education, government services, industry, and politics.

In combination with the individual perception of their own group's vitality within each social condition (i.e., status, demography, and institutional support), a vitality level of strong, medium, or weak can also be estimated (Bourhis, Giles, & Rosenthal, 1981; Yagmur & Ehala, 2011). For example, scholars classified migrants, indigenous people and refugees as

members of low vitality groups (Berry, 1997, 2009; Berry & Sam, 1997; Bourhis et al., 1997). Conversely, locals are regarded as members of a high vitality group (i.e., mainstream society), enabling its members to maintain their language and distinctive cultural traits within multilingual settings whereas migrants are expected to go through linguistic assimilation as well as feel less part of a distinctive collective group (Bourhis et al., 1981; Bourhis et al., 2010). Thus, researchers have tended to emphasize the acculturation of low vitality groups to the high vitality group culture (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006a; Berry & Sabatier, 2010). On this note, the following section will outline low vitality groups' acculturation.

### **1.2.2 Low Vitality Groups' Acculturation**

Given their assumed lower institutional support, demographic strength, and prestige within a mainstream society, research first focused on low vitality groups such as migrants and their acculturation orientation, outcomes and antecedents (Bourhis et al., 2010; Deaux, 2006; Giles et al., 1977). Berry (1990, 1997) proposed that acculturation addresses two underlying dimensions: the degree to which one wishes to maintain his/her heritage culture, and the degree to which one wishes to participate in the culture of the mainstream society. Due to the discrepancy between personal preference or choice and actual acculturation behaviour, a combination of both was proposed for assessment and conceptualization (i.e., acculturation strategies; Celenk & Van de Vijver, 2011; Sam & Berry, 2006). Beyond Berry's (1997) concept of contact-participation within a mainstream society, acculturation strategies can also address the domains of identification or cultural adaptation within the heritage and mainstream cultures (Berry et al., 2006a; Snauwaert, Soenens, Vanbeselaere, & Boen, 2003; Ward & Kus, 2012). Miller and Lim (2010; see also Miller et al., 2013), for example, proposed the domain-specific acculturation strategy hypothesis, focusing on value adaptation (i.e., belief systems) versus behavioural changes (e.g., language). Last, acculturation strategies may also vary along life spheres which can be distinct on a continuum ranging

from public (e.g., work) to private (e.g., family; Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2004, 2006; Celenk & Van de Vijver, 2011). For instance, a British Asian may adopt an assimilationist acculturation strategy while at work, and a separationist strategy at home.

Across such domains, researchers have debated whether the two underlying dimensions of acculturation – heritage culture maintenance and contact/participation with the mainstream culture – are better understood in terms of a bidimensional or unidimensional model (Jones & Mortimer, 2014; McFee, 1968; Sam, 2006; Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010). In a bidimensional model, the two factors may vary independently from each other (i.e., orthogonal) or they may be positively correlated (i.e., oblique; Berry et al., 2006a; Field, 2009), allowing for four acculturation strategies (Berry, 1997, 2013): integration through simultaneously endorsing one's heritage and mainstream culture; assimilation by taking on the characteristics of the new culture while rejecting one's heritage culture; separation from the mainstream culture; and marginalization through denying both cultural maintenance and contact-participation/identification with or adaptation to the mainstream culture. A unidimensional model, by contrast, describes an inverse association between heritage culture maintenance and mainstream adaptation, suggesting they represent two poles of a single continuum. Accordingly, such a model would imply that mainstream culture involvement inevitably results in heritage culture loss. By testing their Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA) against a unidimensional acculturation scale, Ryder, Alden, and Paulhus (2000) demonstrated substantial support for a bidimensional model consisting of heritage and mainstream cultural identification. Consequently, researchers agreed on the necessity to investigate migrants' acculturation process by assessing the two dimensions separately (Flannery, Reise, & Yu, 2001; Jones & Mortimer, 2014; Rudmin & Ahmadzadeh, 2001).



In fact, the four acculturation strategies based on the two acculturation dimensions are associated with different acculturation outcomes on a psychological and sociocultural level (Searle & Ward, 1990; Ward, 2001; Ward & Kennedy, 1999). Psychological adjustment refers to emotional well-being and satisfaction. Socio-cultural adaptation is mainly associated with the ability to ‘fit in’ or negotiate daily life in a mainstream culture. Consistent with LaFromboise, Coleman, and Gerton’s (1993) bicultural competence theory, numerous studies have shown that integrated migrants have the most beneficial adjustment outcomes whereas marginalized individuals have the poorest adjustment outcomes (Berry & Sabatier, 2011; Chen, Benet-Martínez, & Bond, 2008; David, Okazaki, & Saw, 2009). For example, a meta-analysis across 83 studies with over 20,000 participants found that integration had a significant and positive relationship with life satisfaction, positive affect, and self-esteem (psychological adaptation) as well as with academic achievement, career success, and lack of behavioural problems (sociocultural adaptation; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). In contrast, acculturative stress – that is, physiological and psychologically negative experiences due to culture-specific stressors (e.g., learning a new language) – strongly links to marginalization and separation (Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987; Williams & Berry, 1991). In particular, intragroup marginalization (i.e., perceived distancing by in-group members, e.g., family or friends; Ferenczi, Marshall, & Bejanyan, 2015) is associated with depressive symptoms (Cano, Castillo, de Dios, & Roncancio, 2014).

Yet with increasing multiculturalism, scholars have started to acknowledge that migrants’ acculturation strategies depend on locals’ attitudinal response to the growing diversity within their own home country (Berry, 2008; Horenczyk, et al., 2013). In fact, this response to multiculturalism has questioned the distinction between acculturating and non-acculturating groups, resulting in the consensus that acculturation brings about changes in both groups in contact (Berry, 2008; Dinh & Bond, 2008; Yagmur & Ehala, 2011). Yet while

individual-level changes (i.e., behaviours, beliefs, or identification) have been explored for low vitality groups, only changes of institutional and social systems have been expected for high vitality groups (i.e., group-level; Berry, 2008; Deaux, 2006). The following section will explore how current cross-cultural research conceptualizes locals' acculturation towards multiculturalism.

### **1.2.3 High Vitality Groups' Acculturation**

Given their assumed higher institutional support, demographic strength, and prestige within a mainstream society, locals are expected to have a large impact on migrants' acculturation strategies (Berry, 2008; Giles et al., 1977; Horenczyk et al., 2013; Zagefka, Gonzalez, & Brown, 2011). Thus, locals' acculturation has been conceptualised from the premise that their attitudes and behaviours towards multiculturalism within their own home country can constrain or promote migrants' integration (Berry & Kalin, 1995; Bourhis, Montreuil, Barrette, & Montaruli, 2009; Guimond et al., 2013). Specifically, two concepts are based on this premise: acculturation expectations and intergroup ideologies.

**Acculturation Expectations.** The Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM) describes acculturation expectations as locals' preference for what they think low vitality groups should do in the mainstream society (Bourhis et al., 1997). In line with Berry's (1997) acculturation orientations, locals' acculturation expectations base on two underlying principles (Bourhis et al., 1997, 2009): the extent to which locals agree with the maintenance of the migrants' heritage culture and the extent to which they wish migrants to adopt the mainstream culture. On this basis, five acculturation expectations were identified which in contrast to migrants' acculturation strategies can be endorsed simultaneously (Bourhis & Dayan, 2004; Bourhis & Montreuil, 2010): assimilationism, segregationism, exclusionism, integrationism, and individualism.

Integrationists are members of high vitality groups who accept and value migrants who maintain key features of their heritage culture while simultaneously adapting to the mainstream society (Bourhis & Montreuil, 2010). Thus, cultural diversity is expected and accepted as an establishing feature of the mainstream society. Individualists regard themselves and others independently from any cultural context, and therefore interact with locals and migrants on equal terms. Montreuil and Bourhis (2004) have found that both integrationist and individualist acculturation expectations are not associated with feeling threatened by migrants; instead, they are associated with a strong desire for direct intercultural contact. An assimilationist, by contrast, will only consider migrants as members of the mainstream society if they have dissociated from their heritage culture and fully adapted to the new culture (Bourhis et al., 1997). When locals prefer migrants to separate, they hold a segregationist attitude, whereas exclusion refers to the general rejection of other cultural groups in one's home country and the disbelief of their social and cultural integration (i.e., imposed marginalization). These latter three acculturation expectations are related to higher levels of social dominance orientation (i.e., tendency to value power over other groups; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994), strong feelings of intergroup identity threat, and cultural and linguistic insecurity (Bourhis & Dayan, 2004; Bourhis et al., 2010). Moreover, results of Montreuil, Bourhis, and Vanbeselaere's (2004) study on the acculturation orientations of Quebec Francophone and Flemish undergraduates led to the conceptual distinction between the integrationist orientation and an integrationist-transformation orientation. Locals who endorsed an integrationist-transformation orientation not only accepted and valued the cultural contributions of migrants to the mainstream culture but were willing to transform some aspects of their mainstream group's cultural beliefs and habits as well as institutional practices to foster migrants' integration (Barrette, Bourhis,

Capozza, & Hichy, 2005; El-Geledi & Bourhis, 2012; Safdar, Dupuis, Lewis, El-Geledi, & Bourhis, 2008).

Over a decade of research using the IAM suggests that, in general, locals from a Western cultural background prefer individualism, integrationism, and integration-transformation over assimilationism, segregationism, and exclusionism (Bourhis et al., 2009; Horenczyk et al., 2013; Rohmann, Florack, & Piontkowski, 2006). Higher reliability for locals' acculturation expectations was achieved when distinguishing between their attitudes towards valued and devalued low vitality groups within their home country (El-Geledi & Bourhis, 2012; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001, 2004). Moreover, locals express more welcoming acculturation expectations towards valued than devalued migrants (Bourhis et al., 2010; Safdar et al., 2008). The IAM further suggests combining locals' acculturation expectations with migrants' favoured acculturation orientation towards a mainstream society (Bourhis et al., 1997; Montaruli, Bourhis, Azurmendi, & Larranaga, 2011). Depending on the degree to which acculturation orientations and expectations overlap, outcomes can indicate a consensual, problematic or conflictual intergroup climate in the respective mainstream society. Indeed, migrants who differed in their acculturation orientations from locals' acculturation expectations have been found to experience more discrimination and lower quality of intergroup relations than those with more concordant acculturation orientations (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Horenczyk, & Schmitz, 2003; Zagefka & Brown, 2002).

In contrast to the IAM, more recent acculturation models for locals suggest that the fit between both groups' acculturation preference is not an adequate measurement for intergroup outcomes. The Concordance Model of Acculturation (CMA), for example, proposes that the fit between one group's desire and their perception of what the other group wants is an adequate intergroup outcome indicator (Piontkowski, Florack, Hoelker, & Obdržálek, 2000). Piontkowski, Rohman, and Florack (2002) found that the greater the concordance between

German locals' acculturation expectations and the acculturation orientation they imputed to Polish or Italian migrants, the lower their perceived threat and the higher their perceived cultural enrichment. Navas et al. (2005, see also Navas, Rojas, García, & Pumares, 2007), on the other hand, proposed assessing intergroup outcomes through the concordance between preferred acculturation orientations by migrants and expectations by locals (ideal situation) as well as actual acculturation behaviours (real situation) of both groups. Moreover, the Relative Acculturation Extended Model also suggests different acculturation patterns for these different domains (i.e., public to private areas; Navas et al., 2005; see also section 1.2.2). With data from locals and migrants in Spain, Navas et al. (2007) revealed that both groups endorsed real and ideal assimilation within the public domains, whereas within private domains migrants preferred separation and locals preferred assimilation. In comparison, using data from migrants in New Zealand, Ward and Kus (2012) also found a discrepancy between the ideal and real situations, showing that integration was more strongly favoured if conceptualized as an attitude (ideal situation) rather than as a behaviour (real situation).

Nevertheless, the IAM suggested that pro-diversity policies at the municipal, regional, and national level reflect or shape locals' acculturation expectations and migrants' acculturation orientations (Bourhis et al., 1997; Bourhis & Montreuil, 2010; Safdar et al., 2008). Bourhis et al. (1997) distinguishes these policies through state ideology clusters (i.e., pluralism-, civic-, assimilation- and ethnist-ideology, see 1.1.2) which combine with locals' acculturation expectations and reflect individual-level intergroup ideologies (Bourhis et al., 2009). Thus, the next section outlines intergroup ideologies as the second conceptualization of locals' acculturation towards multiculturalism.

**Intergroup Ideologies.** Berry and Kalin (1995, 2000) defined intergroup ideologies as locals' personal views about how they themselves should change to accommodate multiculturalism in their society. This 'change' indicates locals' agreement or disagreement

with multiculturalism policies that either foster or hinder the adaptation of national institutions (e.g., education, health, or labour) to the demands of a plural society (Berry et al., 1977; Guimond et al., 2013; Rattan & Ambady, 2013). Berry (2001, 2008) argued that locals' multicultural ideology is the counterpart to migrants' acculturation strategies on an individual-level. However, locals' multicultural ideology is conceptualized in form of a unidimensional continuum ranging from assimilation, separation (e.g., apartheid), and exclusion (i.e., imputed marginalization) to multiculturalism rather than a bidimensional model (see also Berry & Kalin, 1995; Bourhis et al., 1997; Guimond, 2010; Moghaddam, Taylor, & Wright, 1993). An assimilation intergroup ideology, for example, supports governmental efforts to culturally homogenize the population, thus to reduce legislative support for migrants' integration ('melting-pot strategy'; Berry, 2008; Guimond et al., 2013). A multicultural intergroup ideology implies that cultural differences between groups should not just be recognized by policies but also endorsed as a national feature (Banting & Kymlicka, 2003; Berry et al., 1977). Several studies support the construct validity of a bipolar unidimensional conceptualization of intergroup ideologies consisting of multiculturalism opposing assimilation (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003; Breugelmans & Van de Vijver, 2004; Schalk-Soekar & Van de Vijver, 2008; Verkuyten, 2005; Wolsko, Park, & Judd, 2006). With data collected mostly from Canada and the Netherlands, research supports locals' general preference for a multicultural or neutral intergroup ideology rather than assimilation (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003; Berry et al., 1977; Berry & Kalin, 1995; Schalk-Soekar & Van de Vijver, 2008). Those locals who did favour assimilation also expressed higher levels of prejudice, ethnocentrism and intergroup bias, whereas those who preferred a multicultural intergroup ideology reported positive intergroup attitudes, feelings of identity security and less negative out-group evaluation (Plaut, Thomas, & Goren, 2009; Verkuyten, 2005; Ward & Masgoret, 2008; Wolsko et al., 2006).

Despite this, Guimond and colleagues (2013) argued that locals' personal intergroup ideology endorsement is shaped by what locals believe is the shared ideology with other locals (i.e., multicultural norm), which in turn is influenced by the degree of pro-diversity policies implemented at the national level. In fact, they found that Canada, USA, UK, and Germany's political classification as either a high or low supporter of pro-diversity policies matched locals' perceived support of a multicultural norm within the respective country regardless of participants' personal ideology preference. Moreover, research has neglected the simultaneous assessment of a multicultural, assimilation, and colourblind intergroup ideology on an individual and group/norm-level (Guimond et al., 2014; Wolsko, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2000). Colourblindness refers to policies that ignore cultural differences and understand people as individuals rather than distinct group members (Miller, 2002; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004). In particular, colourblindness positively relates to a multicultural intergroup ideology and negatively relates to an assimilation intergroup ideology (Kamiejski, Guimond, De Oliveira, Er-Rafiy, & Brauer, 2012; Ryan, Hunt, Weible, Peterson, & Casas, 2007). This is because both multiculturalism and colourblindness as intergroup ideologies express higher interest in equality than assimilation, which further explains why both predicted less anti-migrant prejudice in France (Kamiejski et al., 2012). In contrast to these findings in France where the government endorses a colourblind diversity policy, research in the USA and other assimilationist countries revealed that ignoring cultural differences encourages prejudice and discrimination (Nopper, 2010; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Ryan et al., 2007).

Conversely to the above reviewed research on locals' acculturation expectations and intergroup ideologies towards multiculturalism within their own country, research suggests that locals, like migrants, experience individual-level changes in response to globalization (Jensen, Arnett, & McKenzie, 2011). Indeed, one no longer has to leave home to be exposed

to geographically distant cultures due to mass media and other communication advancements (Arnett, 2002; Jensen, 2003). Therefore, the following section will discuss locals' globalization-based acculturation and what it contributes to the literature over and above the research just reviewed on locals' orientations towards multiculturalism.

#### **1.2.4 Globalization-Based Acculturation**

Within the globalization literature, two fundamental yet opposite approaches address locals' acculturation. The first approach is consistent with unidimensional acculturation models by heralding a decline of local identities through worldwide cultural assimilation (Berry, 2008; Bird & Stevens, 2003; Fukuyama, 1992). Specifically, Jensen and colleagues (2011) suggest that the internationalization of media, language, and diet homogenizes locals' cultural identity. Thus, one globalization research stream focuses on locals' potential incorporation of self-selected cultural elements from the various worldviews and practices to which they are exposed (Arnett, 2002; Jensen & Arnett, 2012; Razzouk & Masters, 1986). According to Jensen & Arnett (2012) such a global hybrid identity would be still attached to the original cultural context. Bennett (1993, 2004), in line with Adler (1982), however, proposed that such a hybrid identity may represent the endorsement of multiple cultural reference frameworks to understand the world without belonging to any specific cultural context. For example, third culture individuals (i.e., who moved between countries during their developmental years; Pollock & Van Reken, 2009) have reported that through endorsing multiple cultural frameworks, a new 'third culture' developed which they only share with other third culture individuals (Moore & Barker, 2012). Another stream within this unidimensional approach of globalization-based acculturation assumes the development of a global meta-identity (e.g., cosmopolitan or world citizen; Bayram, 2014; Beck & Sznaider, 2010; Greenholtz & Kim, 2009; Strydom, 2012). Kim (2008, 2015), for example, suggested that such an identity or intercultural personhood involves individuation and universalization –



that is, a clear definition of the self and of others as individuals rather than members of a social group as well as the awareness of universal human characteristics.

A well established stream of a unidimensional approach towards globalization-based acculturation expects a global culture to reflect Anglo-Saxon or American values and beliefs due to America's hegemony in the world market, language and international media (Chen et al., 2008; Gillespie, McBride, & Riddle, 2010; McCrum, 2010; UNESCO, 2005). For example, Jamaican youths living in Jamaica increasingly identified with and endorsed American culture insofar as they consumed more American media (specifically sport) and food than local products, and engaged in greater American tourism and virtual transnational communication (e.g., with acquaintances in the USA; Ferguson & Bornstein, 2015). On this note, a study conducted with Iranian students found a negative relationship between their local (i.e., Arabic, Balouchi, Gilaki, Azeri Turki, Persian, Lori or Kurdi) and global (i.e., English) identity (Mahammadbakhsh, Fathiazar, Hobbi, & Ghodratpour, 2012). Thus, all of the above mentioned streams are consistent with a unidimensional model of locals' acculturation towards globalization because adopting a third culture, a meta-identity, or American values necessarily means shedding one's specific heritage culture characteristics.

The second approach also expects Americanization as the chief representative of global culture, yet is consistent with bidimensional acculturation models. According to this approach, locals can simultaneously maintain their heritage culture identity and a global/American identity. Indeed, developments in communication technologies may encourage stronger cultural-ethnic awareness, and therefore promote the survival of national cultures (i.e., Glocalization; Berry, 2008; Murray, 2007; Shimpi & Zirkel, 2012). For example, Chen et al.'s (2008) study of Chinese from both Beijing and Hong Kong revealed an orthogonal rather than a negative correlation between a global/American and a Chinese identity. Similarly, Gillespie and colleagues (2010) found support for the four-fold paradigm

of migrants' acculturation strategies (i.e., integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization) for local Mexican managers due to the prevalence of American business interactions, education, and media influences. However, their study suggested that Berry's (1997) marginalization strategy for migrants refers to a positive experience of cultural independence for locals – that is, instead of migrants' cultural identity confusion, locals experience the formation of a meta-identity (Kim, 2015). Indeed, bicultural and constructive marginalized Mexican managers demonstrated the strongest ability to progress within their organizations (Gillespie et al., 2010).

However, some of the aforementioned research lacks a conceptual distinction between locals' adapting towards cultural diversity within their own country or endorsing a global culture/identity due to contact with geographically distant cultures. For example, a global meta-identity as well as a self-selected hybrid identity is believed to stem from both direct intercultural contact through multiculturalism in their own country as well as indirect/intermittent intercultural contact through international media, language and food (Arnett, 2002; Strydom, 2012). Conversely, Ferguson and Bornstein (2012) introduced a clear definition of locals' globalization-based acculturation as remote-acculturation through intermittent intercultural contact. Thus, potential for bidirectional change on an individual-level due to multiculturalism was not explicitly investigated. Yet, intercultural competence research points out that locals can culturally adapt towards other cultural groups within their own home country not only to facilitate migrants' integration, but to fit and function in multicultural environments themselves (Chiu, Lonner, Matsumoto & Ward, 2013). Thus, concepts of intercultural competence will be discussed in the following section.

### **1.2.5 Intercultural Competence**

That locals fit and function in multicultural environments within their own home country has been conceptualized and studied in organizational (Ang, Van Dyne, & Koh,

2006; Zhu, 2008), educational (Deardorff, 2011a; Olson & Kroeger, 2001), clinical and counselling contexts (Brown, 2009; Chao, Okazaki, & Hong, 2011). Originally defined as American sojourners' intercultural effectiveness abroad (Hammer, Gudykunst, & Wiseman, 1978), the true nature of intercultural competence has been subject to much discussion (Chiu et al., 2013; Deardorff, 2011b). Nevertheless, the most common feature of intercultural competence noted by psychologists is "the ability to communicate effectively and appropriately in intercultural situations" (Deardorff, 2006, p. 247). Two underlying approaches towards intercultural competence have emerged from the literature (Matsumoto & Hwang, 2013): as skills, locals can be trained to think and act appropriately in multicultural environments; or as personality traits, some locals are intrinsically more adapted to think and act appropriately in multicultural environments.

When regarding intercultural competence as skills/abilities, Deardorff (2006) described it as a three-factor model: managing psychological stress, communicating effectively, and establishing interpersonal relationships. Chen and Starosta (1997, 2000) refined these skills into affective, cognitive, and behavioural dimensions. The affective dimension refers to intercultural sensitivity – that is, the capacity to comprehend and appreciate cultural differences. Awareness, as the cognitive dimension, indicates the understanding of how culture influences one's thinking and behaviour, while the behavioural dimension refers to effective intercultural communication and interactions. Yet, Chen and Starosta (2000) regarded intercultural sensitivity as the main driver of developing intercultural competence. On this note, Bennett (1986, 1993, 2013) introduced the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS), which suggests that the greater one's "ability to discriminate and experience relevant cultural differences" (i.e. intercultural sensitivity), the greater will be one's intercultural competence (Hammer, Bennett, & Wiseman, 2003; p. 422; see also Hammer, 2011). Within an educational context, locals who

demonstrated high second-language proficiency, had life experiences abroad, and were of high socioeconomic and educational background expressed higher levels of intercultural sensitivity (Olson & Kroeger, 2001; Peng, 2006; Spithourakis, Karatzia-Stavlioti, & Roussakis, 2009).

When considering intercultural competence as personality traits, Van der Zee and Van Oudenhoven (2000, 2002, 2013) proposed five characteristics based on two neurological foundations: stress-buffering traits (emotional stability and flexibility), based on the brain's behavioural inhibition system, decrease the perception of intercultural situations as threatening; and social-perceptual traits (cultural empathy, open-mindedness, and social initiative), underpinned by the behavioural activation system, encourage the perception of intercultural situations as challenging. These traits positively predict traditional adjustment outcomes including life satisfaction, social interactions, and academic achievement for exchange students, expatriates and emigrates abroad (Long, Yan, & Van Oudenhoven, 2009; Van Oudenhoven, Mol, & Van der Zee, 2003; Van Oudenhoven & Van der Zee, 2002). For locals, stress-buffering traits have been found to enhance work performance in multicultural groups (Van der Zee, Atsma, & Brodbeck, 2004), whereas social-perceptual traits decreased Australians' ethnic prejudice and right-wing authoritarianism towards Aborigines (Nesdale, de Vries Robbe, & Van Oudenhoven, 2012). In line with this, Earley and Ang (2003; see also Ang et al., 2007) proposed the concept of cultural intelligence including both skill and personality traits. Indeed, whereas Ang et al.'s (2007) meta-cognitive, cognitive, and behavioural dimensions correspond with Chen and Starosta (2000) three-factor model of intercultural competence, Earley and Ang's (2003) motivational cultural intelligence dimension relates to the intrinsic interest in and drive to learn about and effectively function in multicultural situations. Within a business context, locals high in cultural intelligence

expressed more trust, cohesion, and long-term performance in multinational teams (Moon, 2013; Moynihan, Peterson, & Earley, 2006).

Overall, although psychologists proposed intercultural competence as an adequate indicator of locals' fit and functioning in multicultural environments within their own home country, the research just reviewed is not without limitations. First, intercultural competence as multicultural personality traits is argued to be an antecedent rather than an actual representation of intercultural competence (Wilson, Ward, & Fischer, 2013). Second, intercultural competence as skills is equivalent to the concept of sociocultural adjustment outcomes within acculturation research (Berry, 2006; Ward, 2001; see section 1.2.2). Because acculturation strategies are believed to influence such sociocultural but also psychological adjustment outcomes for migrants (Berry, Phinney, Kwak, & Sam, 2006b; see section 1.2.2), the following section will explain how this may be also true for locals.

### **1.3 The Extended Acculturation Model for Locals (EAML)**

Due to their higher group vitality, locals may not be expected to experience acculturation in a similar way as migrants – that is, the psychological experience of cultural adaptation and learning due to contact with members of other cultural groups (see 1.1.3). Yet, group vitalities in terms of demographic strength, prestige and institutional support are changing, and thus may have implications for the ways that locals acculturate (Kim, 2015; United Nations Statistic Division, 2013; Vasileva, 2011). First, migratory movements are rising to fill labour shortages and population decline (see 1.1.1). Second, governments, although to varying extents, have started to recognize low vitality groups' cultural identities and provide the required institutional support to maintain cultural diversity within their societies (see 1.1.2). Last, these changing demographics and policies within the mainstream society foster “creolisation” – the mix of cultures to varying degrees (Cohen, 2007; Van Oudenhoven & Ward, 2013, p. 88). Thus, today it is increasingly likely for locals to

experience sustained direct contact with members of different cultural backgrounds of similar or growing vitality within their own home country (Bourhis et al., 2010; Kirmayer, 2013; Tseng & Yoshikawa, 2008; Van Oudenhoven & Ward, 2013; Vertovec, 2007). As such, locals may experience individual-level changes not due to low vitality group status as proposed for migrants (see 1.2.2) or due to decreasing group vitality status as suggested in globalization research (see 1.2.4), but due to the growing vitality of non-local groups within their own home country. Thus, locals may not only endorse attitudes and behaviours to foster or hinder the accommodation of cultural plurality within their own country, but they may ask themselves, similar to migrants: to what extent should I maintain my national culture and to what extent should I adapt towards other cultural groups within my country?

This new approach for conceptualizing locals' acculturation towards multiculturalism differs from the existing approaches (see 1.2.3, 1.2.4, and 1.2.5). In fact, these existing conceptualizations disregard the potential for change experienced by locals, the bidimensional nature of acculturation, and/or the distinction from globalisation-based acculturation. For example, acculturation researchers have applied Berry's (1997) bidimensional model to describe the degree to which locals wish for members of low vitality groups – and not locals themselves – to maintain their heritage culture and/or adapt towards the mainstream community (i.e., acculturation expectations; Horenczyk et al., 2013; see 1.2.3). Indeed, even the endorsement of an integrationist-transformation orientation – which implies the willingness to modify aspects of one's own culture in response to multiculturalism – attempts to facilitate the integration of migrants rather than locals' multicultural adaptation (Montreuil et al., 2004). Similarly, research on intergroup ideologies reflects locals' attitudes that may constrain or promote low vitality group members' integration rather than locals' multicultural adaptation and/or national culture maintenance (see 1.2.3). Moreover, such ideologies are situated on a one-dimensional continuum,

differentiating solely between high versus low agreement with pro-diversity policies rather than including the dimension of locals' national culture maintenance (e.g., Guimond et al., 2013).

Conversely, globalization research claims to assess locals' individual-level acculturation due to multicultural exposure (see 1.2.4). Yet, some of the research does not distinguish between adapting towards cultural diversity within one's own country or adapting to geographically distant cultures through intermittent/indirect contact (e.g., Arnett, 2002; Kim, 2008). Others, however, do focus on locals' remote-acculturation towards a global culture, often predefined as Americanization (e.g., Ferguson & Bornstein, 2015), in contrast to potential bidirectional change due to multiculturalism. Similar to globalization research, the intercultural competence literature tends to regard locals from the same standpoint as migrants, expecting behavioural, attitudinal and value changes due to intercultural contact (see 1.2.5). Moreover, these individual-level changes are expected to emerge for locals due to multiculturalism rather than due to intermittent contact with geographically distant cultural groups as suggested within the globalization literature. Nevertheless, acculturation strategies are believed to inform adjustment outcomes. Furthermore, intercultural competence as well as the concepts of adaptive personality traits disregard the bilateral nature of acculturation, solely addressing abilities/character traits that help to mitigate intercultural interaction difficulties without further reference to locals' national culture maintenance (Deardorff, 2006).

To fill this research gap, I proposed the Extended Acculturation Model for Locals (EAML) to address locals' acculturation strategies (i.e., attitudes and behaviours; see 1.2.2) towards multiple cultural groups/multiculturalism within their own home country. Specifically, the EAML does not subscribe to a unidimensional acculturation model – a one-factor solution or a negative, oblique association between a national culture and multicultural

orientation – but rather to a bidimensional model for locals. Hence similar to Berry's (1990) bidimensional acculturation model for migrants, it is characterized by a two-factor solution with either orthogonal or a positive oblique association between two dimensions (Berry et al., 2006a; Field, 2009).

In contrast to Berry's (1990, 1997, 2013) bidimensional concept of heritage cultural maintenance and contact-participation in the new culture, the EAML addresses locals' national cultural maintenance and multicultural adaptation. In general, cultural adaptation refers to the overall changes in the individual/group due to environmental demands (Berry, 1997; Searle & Ward, 1990). Bourhis and colleagues (1997; see also Bourhis & Montreuil, 2010) introduced this concept because Berry's (1997) maintenance-contact conceptualization refers to two inconsistent psychological concepts – that is, the first dimension addresses culture whereas the second dimension addresses contact (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2006a). Bourhis and colleagues (1997) maintenance-adaptation conceptualization, in contrast, assesses two consistent psychological concepts in form of valuing the maintenance of one's original cultural features and/or valuing the adaptation of values, beliefs and behaviours of the new mainstream society. Moreover, I chose the maintenance-adaptation conceptualization as it represents a more appropriate approach for the study of locals' individual-level changes in response to a growing multicultural 'culture' within their own home country (e.g., Gillespie et al., 2010). This is because research on migrants indicates that cultural adaptation is a psychologically more challenging conceptualization than contact-participation as it implies a stronger engagement in the different cultural context (Berry & Sabatier, 2011; Safdar, 2008; Snauwaert et al., 2003).

Thus, I modified the Vancouver Index of Acculturation (Multi-VIA) to assess locals' degree of national cultural maintenance and multicultural adaptation. Ryder et al. (2000) originally defined the VIA as assessing migrants' heritage and host culture identification in



terms of the degree to which individuals engage in cultural values, intergroup contact, and adherence to traditions. Cultural identification, however, describes an individual's self-categorization as a member of a certain cultural group (Hutnik, 1991). Thus, more recent acculturation research using the concept of identification applied (often single) items which directly address one's self-categorization as a cultural group member (e.g., "To what degree do you feel yourself to be Canadian [or ethnic]?", Berry & Sabatier, 2011, p. 196; or "I really consider myself as a Turk", Snauwaert et al., 2003, p. 235). Therefore, in the present dissertation, the VIA is not understood as a measurement of cultural identification.

Instead, most of the VIA items reflect behavioural maintenance/adaptation (e.g., "I enjoy entertainment (e.g. movies, music) from my heritage culture.") while some items referring to value maintenance/adaptation (e.g., "I believe in the values of my heritage culture.", Ryder et al., 2000, p. 65). Specifically, Miller (2007; Miller & Lim, 2010; Miller et al., 2013) introduced the distinction between the acculturation process across behavioural and value domains. The value domain addresses differences between the belief and value systems and/or political ideologies between individuals' heritage and host culture. The behavioural domain, by contrast, addresses individuals' engagement in the new culture, including contact-participation (e.g., preferring friends of another cultural background), understanding cultural specific values and social norms as well as daily living habits (e.g., preferences for cultural specific entertainment and customs). Thus, although the Multi-VIA includes items that address contact-participation, the overall instrument goes beyond this single concept mainly indicating the broadened conceptualization of behavioural adaptation.

The theoretical rationale behind this research project was not to equate the experiences of migrants with those of locals, but rather to establish whether commonly-used acculturation models can explain locals' adaptation towards growing multiculturalism within their own home country. Thus, I proposed that Berry's (1997) acculturation model could be

modified to explain locals' experiences in response to the growing vitality of migrants, thereby suggesting a potential new route towards harmonious intergroup relations and social cohesion in today's mixing societies. Accordingly, the overarching goals of the present research project were to explore (a) the dimensionality of locals' acculturation towards multiculturalism (Studies 1, 2, and 3), (b) the associated adjustment outcomes (Studies 2 and 4), and (c) potential predictors (Study 5). The next chapter will provide an overview of all five studies, their objectives, and methodology.

## 2. Study Overview

To assess locals' national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation, the VIA subscales heritage culture maintenance and host culture adaptation were modified to assess locals' national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation (i.e., Multi-VIA). In Study 1, I used exploratory factor analysis to test whether the Multi-VIA consisted of a unidimensional or bidimensional Extended Acculturation Model for Locals (EAML) for an American sample ( $N = 218$ ). Moreover, I attempted to buttress the constructs' validity by examining potential linkages of locals' national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation with their acculturation expectations and intercultural sensitivity – that is, multicultural adaptation was expected to be positively correlated with more welcoming acculturation expectations as well as ethnorelativism and negatively with less welcoming expectations and ethnocentrism (i.e., establishing convergent validity of the Multi-VIA). No such relationships (or of weaker magnitude; Trochim & Donnelly, 2007) were expected for national culture maintenance (i.e., establishing discriminant validity of the VIA).

To examine whether the bidimensional acculturation model for locals is reliable and valid across cultures, Study 2 consisted of multiple-group comparison analyses of the measurement model across three continent groups: North America (USA,  $N = 200$ ), Europe (UK and Germany,  $N = 214$ ), and Asia (China and India,  $N = 205$ ). Additionally, I assumed a

positive linkage of locals' national culture maintenance with national group commitment (supporting convergent validity for the Multi-VIA) whilst no such association was assumed for multicultural adaptation (establishing discriminant validity for the Multi-VIA). Moreover, it was proposed that locals' multicultural adaptation would predict more intercultural sensitivity and less acculturative stress across cultures whereas both multicultural adaptation and national culture maintenance were expected to predict higher satisfaction with life.

Study 3 examined the nature of the correlation (positively oblique versus orthogonal) between locals' multicultural adaptation and national culture maintenance dimensions across Indian ( $N = 208$ ) and American ( $N = 272$ ) samples. I expected that (a) findings of Study 2 could be replicated and (b) that the degree of multicultural exposure, a compartmentalized versus a blended multicultural identity, and an independent versus an interdependent self-construal moderate the factor covariance between locals' acculturation dimensions. Specifically, it was assumed that a bidimensional rather than unidimensional acculturation model for locals would be supported across cultures and ethnicities. Moreover, living and/or working in a high culturally diverse environment, endorsing one blended multicultural identity or a strong independent self-construal were hypothesised to foster a positive oblique correlation between locals' multicultural adaptation and national culture maintenance rather than living and/or working in a culturally homogenous environment, endorsing a compartmentalized multicultural identity or a strong interdependent self-construal.

Due to China and India's ever-increasing economic rise, and the associated increase of international subsidiaries and expatriates in those countries, Study 4 examined the extent to which local employees' multicultural adaptation and national culture maintenance predicted their organizational behaviours in Asia. Data was collected from Chinese ( $N = 57$ ) and Indian ( $N = 54$ ) local employees who worked at executive levels across business sectors for multinational corporations where they experienced daily intercultural contact (e.g., with

colleagues, clients, or suppliers). In particular, I proposed that their multicultural adaptation would predict more organizational citizenship behaviours to the benefit of the organization and colleagues. Also, I expected national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation to enhance local employees' organizational identification due to their corporations' local and international orientation.

Last, Study 5 examined potential predictors of locals' national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation. In particular, I tested whether culturally-compatible messages can change locals' multicultural adaptation and national culture maintenance. Specifically, those who value societal order and security (i.e., conservation) tend to express negative attitudes towards multiculturalism, whereas those who seek novelty and creativity (i.e., openness to change) tend to endorse more positive attitudes. Thus, it was proposed that pro-diversity messages that are culturally-compatible for Americans and Indians may neutralize conservative locals' negative attitudes, and buttress the already-positive attitudes of those high in openness. Also, I expected that such value-outcome associations would be mediated by intergroup threats. Therefore, I first conducted a pilot study (India,  $N = 50$ ; USA,  $N = 46$ ) to support the validity of two value compatible pro-diversity primes reflecting conservation or openness, and one value-neutral control prime. Then for my main study, 231 Indians and 304 Americans were randomly assigned to one of these three prime conditions. Thus, with the exception of Study 5, all studies were based on a correlational research design. A full description of each study is given in chapters 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7.

### **3. Study 1: Exploration of an Extended Acculturation Model for Locals**

Given the ever-increasing migratory movements around the world, the underlying premise of locals' acculturation process needs to be extended: not only can locals' intergroup ideologies and acculturation expectations constrain or promote migrants' integration opportunities, but locals themselves may culturally adapt towards multiculturalism while

maintaining their national culture. To test the validity of this Extended Acculturation Model for Locals (EAML), data was collected from a highly culturally diverse nation – the United States (Zong & Batalova, 2015). By using the Multi-VIA, I predicted the following:

*Hypothesis 1.* The EAML's two dimensions of national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation, whether positive obliquely or orthogonally related, will emerge from a factor analysis.

Considering the empirical novelty of my research, I chose an exploratory factor analytic approach to test how many factors would emerge as well as how they are associated (oblique or orthogonal). To further buttress the constructs' convergent and discriminant validity, relationships to the theoretically-related and yet distinct concepts of acculturation expectations (Bourhis et al., 1997; see 1.2.3) and intercultural sensitivity (Bennett, 1993; see 1.2.5) were examined. The following sections therefore explore potential linkages between locals' national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation with locals' acculturation expectations (see 3.1) and intercultural sensitivity (see 3.2).

### **3.1 Convergent and Discriminant Validity: Acculturation Expectations**

Of the three acculturation domains – contact participation, cultural adaptation, and identification (Snauwaert et al., 2003; see 1.2.2) – two have been investigated with regard to locals' acculturation expectations towards migrants. Specifically, Bourhis, El-Geledi, and Sachdev (2007) proposed that locals who strongly identify with their national/ethnic identity are more likely to differentiate between their own group and others, which in turn fosters less welcoming acculturation expectations towards migrants (i.e., exclusionism, segregationism, and assimilationism; Bourhis & Dayan, 2004; see 1.2.3). For instance, the more Francophones endorsed the feeling of national belonging to Quebec, the more strongly they expressed an exclusionist orientation towards migrants (Bourhis, Barrette, & Moriconi, 2008). As explained by the Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), this is because an

individual's identity is an important source of self-esteem and a sense of belonging. To achieve this positive self-image, people tend to enhance the status of their own group and discriminate against out-groups (i.e., social comparison; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In contrast to a single group identification, then, individuals who identify with multiple groups may have heightened cognitive complexity which links to higher openness towards others (Tadmor & Tetlock, 2006; Tadmor, Tetlock, & Peng, 2009). Accordingly, bicultural locals (e.g., Basque-Spanish) express more welcoming acculturation expectations than monocultural locals towards out-groups (i.e., integrationism and individualism; Montaruli et al., 2011).

Despite locals' mono- or bicultural identification, acculturation expectations relate to the degree of multicultural exposure. For example, Montreuil and Bourhis (2001, 2004) reported that local students from less culturally diverse colleges expressed less welcoming acculturation expectations than those from more diverse institutions. Moreover, locals having direct intergroup contact expressed more favourable expectations towards even a devalued migrant group (El-Geledi & Bourhis, 2012). These findings are based on the Contact Hypothesis (Allport, 1954), which defines intergroup contact as a key reducer of prejudice and xenophobic tendencies (e.g., Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner, & Christ, 2011). With regard to the research outlined above, identification and contact with diverse cultural groups encourages more welcoming acculturation expectations and decreases the endorsement of less welcoming expectations. Thus, I hypothesised the following to test for convergent validity of the Multi-VIA:

*Hypothesis 2a.* Multicultural adaptation will be significantly, positively correlated with the acculturation expectations of individualism and integrationism.

*Hypothesis 2b.* Multicultural adaptation will be significantly, negatively associated with the acculturation expectations of assimilationism, segregationism, and exclusionism.

Reverse hypotheses were not made for national culture maintenance. This is because Americans in particular have a mixed perception of cultural plurality. Indeed, previous studies revealed Americans' general preference for individualistic and integrationist acculturation expectations towards migrants (e.g., Bourhis et al., 2010). This is because the USA represents a high individualistic culture, which favours individualisation over group conformity (Hofstede, 2001). Moreover, Americans regard cultural pluralism as a core tenet of their national culture (Bourhis et al., 2010; Levine, 2004; Schwartz, Zamboanga, Rodriguez, & Wang, 2007). Nonetheless, the country's political ideology towards multiculturalism still indicates a strong preference for migrants' assimilation rather than integration (Deaux, 2006; see 1.1.2). Because state policies affect individually-endorsed intergroup ideologies (see 1.2.3), which in turn influence locals' acculturation expectations (Bourhis et al., 2009), America's assimilationist political ideology may mitigate Americans' general preference for individualism and integrationism. Thus, I assumed the following to test for discriminant validity of the Multi-VIA:

*Hypothesis 3.* National culture maintenance will not be significantly associated with assimilationism, segregationism, and exclusionism, but it will be significantly related to higher individualism and integrationism. These latter correlations will be weaker than the associations of multicultural adaptation with individualism and integrationism.

Besides taking into account the theoretically-linked concepts of acculturation expectations as validation variables for the EAML, intercultural sensitivity is a further construct which is concerned with locals' fit and functioning in multicultural environments within their own home country (see 1.2.5). The following section discusses potential linkages between locals' national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation with high and low degrees of intercultural sensitivity.

### **3.2 Convergent and Discriminant Validity: Intercultural Sensitivity**

To further buttress the construct validity of the EAML, I examined potential linkages with the theoretically-related Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS; Bennett, 1993; see also 1.2.5). The DMIS describes six consecutive steps resulting in increased intercultural competence and a multicultural identity for locals and non-locals— that is, a cultural hybrid identity through integrating one’s own and other cultures, yet detached from any specific cultural reference framework. This conceptualization of a multicultural identity opposes the suggestion by Arnett (2002; see also Jensen & Arnett, 2012) who suggested that locals in particular are more likely to form a hybrid identity based on the adoption of national culture-compatible elements of other cultures, resulting in a personalized culture that is still attached to the national culture context.

With each consecutive step of the DMIS, one’s experience of cultural difference becomes more sophisticated, moving from an ethnocentric to an ethnorelative worldview (Hammer, 2011). Ethnocentrism is explained specifically by the two steps of Denial and Defence in the DMIS (Hammer et al., 2003; Paige, Jacobs-Cassuto, Yershova, & DeJaeghere, 1999). The former relates to individuals’ unawareness of cultural differences as they regard their own vision of the world to be the centre of all reality (i.e., parochialism). This mainly derives from limited intercultural contact and high levels of discomfort if such contact arises. Defence refers to individuals who distinguish people into ‘them’ and ‘us’ – feeling threatened by other cultures as well as regarding them as an inferior group. Ethnorelativism, by contrast, is specifically underpinned by the two steps of Acceptance and Adaptation in the DMIS (Hammer et al., 2003; Paige et al., 1999). The former indicates an understanding of cultures as dynamic, rather than static. Thus, the individual accepts the relativity of cultural values and regards other worldviews as equal. Adapted individuals have a strong sense of empathy, which enables them to change frames of cultural reference to act and feel in a culturally



appropriate manner (i.e., bicultural- or multiculturalism). Consequently, I hypothesised the following to test for convergent validity of the Multi-VIA:

*Hypothesis 4a.* Multicultural adaptation will be negatively associated with ethnocentrism.

*Hypothesis 4b.* Multicultural adaptation will be positively related to ethnorelativism.

In turn, will national culture maintenance be positively associated with ethnocentrism and negatively related to ethnorelativism? The American national culture stresses individualism (Hofstede, 2001), which has been found to be positively correlated with ethnocentrism (Angraini, Toharudin, Folmer, & Oud, 2014). However, as pointed out in the previous section on locals' acculturation expectations, multiculturalism is also regarded as a core trait of the American national culture (Levine, 2004), suggesting that national culture maintenance will be positively associated with ethnorelativism rather than ethnocentrism. Thus, the following was expected to support discriminant validity of the Multi-VIA:

*Hypothesis 5.* National culture maintenance will not be significantly associated with ethnocentrism, but it will be positively related to ethnorelativism. Nevertheless, the latter correlation will be weaker than the association of multicultural adaptation with ethnorelativism.

### **3.3 Method**

#### **3.3.1 Participants**

To be categorized as local, researchers suggest several indicators like country of birth (Sapienza, Hichy, Guarnera, & Di Nuovo, 2010), citizenship (Bourhis & Dayan, 2004), spoken language(s) (Montreuli et al., 2004) and self-identification as a local (Bourhis et al., 2010). A combination of factors was suggested by Bourhis and Barrette (2006) who defined locals as being born in a particular country, having the citizenship of this country, and an ancestral background in this country. Therefore, participants for the present study had to fulfil

the following requirements: they identified as American, they were born in the USA, as were both of their parents; they had spent the majority of their lives in the USA (at least 60%) and were currently a resident. Because I was interested in locals who had experienced at least a minimum of multicultural exposure within their own home country, participants also needed to have learned a second language for at least one year. The latter requirement was included because second language proficiency is the first step in gaining entrance to and learning skills in a new cultural environment (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). For example, Chen et al. (2008) defined bilingual proficiency as a key indicator for biculturalism. Therefore, I chose second language acquisition as a minimum indicator for multicultural exposure within one's own home country. The total sample consisted of 218 respondents (95 males and 123 females) between the ages of 18 and 69 ( $M = 33.78$ ,  $SD = 12.72$ ). 57% of participants were employed (student, 23%; unemployed, 20%). They were mainly Caucasian (77%; African-American, 11%; Hispanic, 2%, other, 10%), and of higher educational background (e.g., Bachelor or Master Degree, 60%; High-School Degree, 37%; No Degree, 3%).

### 3.3.2 Procedure

An online version of the survey was developed using the original English measures and accessed through an online survey-hosting website ([www.surveymonkey.com](http://www.surveymonkey.com)). Data collection was restricted to Americans through Amazon Mechanical Turk, who received \$.50 USD for completing the survey. Participants' IP addresses were examined for duplicates. None were found.

### 3.3.3 Materials

**Multi-Vancouver Index of Acculturation (Multi-VIA).** The VIA (Ryder et al., 2000) consists of mainstream and heritage culture subscales with each containing 10 items rated on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). For the present research, the VIA was modified to assess locals' national culture maintenance and

multicultural adaptation (see Table 3.1 for the items in the Result section). Participants were instructed as follows: ‘In brief, the following questions will measure to what extent you feel part of your American culture, and to what extent you feel part of and engage in a culturally ‘diverse’ or multicultural community in your own home country (i.e., different cultures than your British/German/American/Chinese/Indian cultural background). For example, I face multiculturalism on a daily basis due to my culturally diverse housemates, neighbours and colleagues (direct contact).’ The reliability and validity of this modified measure is reported in the Results section.

**Host Community Acculturation Scale (HCAS).** Various researchers (Bourhis et al., 1997; Bourhis et al., 2009; Bourhis & Montreuil, 2010; Montreuil et al., 2004) have demonstrated that the HCAS scale is a reliable and valid measure for locals’ acculturation expectations towards the generic target group of ‘immigrants in general’. Yet, such phrasing was found to induce participants to devalue the respective target group (Bourhis et al., 2009). Instead of ‘immigrants’, the term ‘non-locals’ was applied in this study with an explanation as to who this group includes (e.g., migrants, students, and co-workers from a different cultural background than locals). Respondents rated on a 7-point Likert scale to what extent they “*totally agreed*” (7) or “*did not agree at all*” (1) with each of the five acculturation expectations (integrationism, individualism, assimilationism, segregationism and exclusionism; e.g., “Non-locals should not maintain their culture of origin, nor adopt the American culture, because, in any case, there should be less immigration to this country.”). All five acculturation expectations were measured across two life domains: the intermediate private–public domain of culture (5 items), and the public domain of work (5 items). The internal consistencies of the individualism, segregationism, and assimilationism subscales were poor ( $> .50$ ) and for integrationism even questionable ( $< .50$ ; see Table 3.2 in the Result section; George & Mallery, 2003). As pointed out by Bourhis and Montreuil (2010), this may

be due to the two-item limitation per orientation. Thus, results with these subscales will be interpreted with caution.

**Intercultural Sensitivity Index (ISI).** The ISI by Olson and Kroeger (2001) was developed from Bennett's (1993) DMIS, grouping global competencies into stages of intercultural sensitivity. Paige et al. (1999) and Hammer et al. (2003) found higher reliability when the ethnocentric levels of Denial and Defence were combined, and when the ethnorelativistic levels of Acceptance and Adaptation were combined, rather than left as individual constructs. Subsequently, the questions of the Denial and Defence subscales of the ISI were combined to measure the underlying dimension of ethnocentrism (8 items, e.g., "I have intentionally sought to live in a racially or a culturally distinct community.>").

Similarly, the scales of Acceptance and Adaptation were merged to measure ethnorelativism (8 items, e.g., "I believe that my worldview is one of many equally valid worldviews.>"). The following item of the original Defence subscale was excluded as living abroad was not a requirement for survey participation: "I have lived for at least 2 years in another country and believe that American society should embrace the values of this other culture in order to address the problems of contemporary American society". The remaining items were measured with a 5-point Likert scale anchored with "*never describes me*" (1) to "*describes me extremely well*" (5). Principal axis factor analysis (PAF) revealed the emergence of two factors that corresponded with ethnocentrism and ethnorelativism (see Table 3.2 in the Result section for Cronbach's alpha). Together they explained 41% of the variance, and all factor loadings were greater than .35.

### 3.4 Results

#### 3.4.1 Descriptive Statistics

The means, standard deviations, and Pearson's correlations between all continuous variables are presented in Table 3.2. One-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) revealed no

significant differences in participants' national culture maintenance across ethnicities,  $F(2, 215) = .23, p > .05$ . Even when comparing Caucasian participants ( $M = 4.09, SD = .61$ ) with the other ethnicities combined ( $M = 4.10, SD = .63$ ), no significant differences were found for the endorsement of national culture maintenance,  $t(216) = -.12, p > .05$ . Also no significant differences were found when comparing multicultural adaptation across all three ethnicity groups,  $F(2, 215) = 2.02, p > .05$ , and when comparing Caucasian participants ( $M = 3.68, SD = .60$ ) with the other ethnicities combined ( $M = 3.86, SD = .60$ ),  $t(216) = -1.84, p > .05$ .

Accordingly, the following results are reported for the entire sample rather than for each ethnic group. The correlation matrix for all continuous variables revealed a significant, positive association between participants' national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation (see Table 3.2).

### 3.4.2 Model Dimensionality

The EAML conceptualizes locals' acculturation in terms of two dimensions: their national culture maintenance and their multicultural adaptation (Hypothesis 1) which are either independent from each other (i.e., orthogonal) or positively related (i.e., oblique). To test the bidimensionality of the acculturation model with two independent dimensions, I conducted principal axis factoring analysis (PAF) with an orthogonal rotation (varimax). PAF is appropriate when a factor structure has been predicted on the basis of theory (Tabachnik & Fidell, 2007). Three factors emerged based on the eigenvalues (Factor 1 = 36%; Factor 2 = 14%, Factor 3 = 5%), explaining 54.67% of the total variance. Due to the low percentage of explained variance for Factor 3, I inspected the scree plot which identified a two-factor structure. A second test which was constrained to extract two factors explained 48.65% of the total variance (Factor 1 = 29%; Factor 2 = 20%). Because there was a strong, positive correlation between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation (see Table 3.2), I conducted a third PAF with an oblique rotation (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 *Factor Loadings for the Multi-VIA*

Components	NCM	MA
1 I often participate in my American cultural traditions.	<b>.66</b>	-.02
2 I would be willing to marry a person from my American culture.	<b>.75</b>	-.01
3 I enjoy social activities with people from my American culture.	<b>.72</b>	.09
4 I am comfortable working with people of my American culture.	<b>.76</b>	.05
5 I enjoy entertainment (e.g. movies, music) from my American culture.	<b>.73</b>	.04
6 I often behave in ways that are typical of my American culture.	<b>.74</b>	-.16
7 It is important for me to maintain or develop the practices of my American culture.	<b>.68</b>	-.15
8 I believe in the values of my American culture.	<b>.77</b>	-.17
9 I enjoy the jokes and humour of my American culture.	<b>.80</b>	-.05
10 I am interested in having friends from my American culture.	<b>.73</b>	.11
1 I often participate in diverse cultural traditions.	-.21	<b>.71</b>
2 I would be willing to marry a person from a diverse culture.	.07	<b>.72</b>
3 I enjoy social activities with people from diverse cultures.	.11	<b>.70</b>
4 I am comfortable working with people from diverse cultures.	.37	<b>.50</b>
5 I enjoy entertainment (e.g. movies, music) from diverse cultures.	-.05	<b>.50</b>
6 I often behave in ways that are typical of diverse cultures.	-.29	<b>.66</b>
7 It is important for me to maintain or develop the practices of diverse cultures.	-.17	<b>.72</b>
8 I believe in diverse cultural values.	.05	<b>.60</b>
9 I enjoy jokes and humour of diverse cultures.	.13	<b>.51</b>
10 I am interested in having friends from diverse cultures.	.30	<b>.55</b>
EIGENVALUES	7.53	3.21
% OF VARIANCE	35.30	13.34

Factor loadings > .45 in boldface. NCM: National culture maintenance. MA:

Multicultural adaptation.

Table 3.2 Means, Standard Deviations, Alpha Coefficients, and Correlation Matrix

Independent Variables	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	$\alpha$	s	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Multi- 1. NCM	4.09	.62	.91		1							
VIA 2. MA	3.72	.60	.86	<b>.37**</b>	1							
HCAS 3. Integrationism	4.84	1.22	.14	<b>.22**</b>	<b>.23**</b>	1						
4. Individualism	5.18	1.49	.52	<b>.19*</b>	<b>.43**</b>	<b>.46**</b>	1					
5. Assimilationism	2.48	1.28	.54	-.01	<b>-.39**</b>	<b>-.21**</b>	<b>-.40**</b>	1				
6. Segregationism	2.48	1.28	.52	-.08	<b>-.30**</b>	-.10	<b>-.32**</b>	<b>.65**</b>	1			
7. Exclusionism	1.98	1.21	.63	-.13	<b>-.46**</b>	<b>-.46**</b>	<b>-.45**</b>	<b>.65**</b>	<b>.68**</b>	1		
ISI 8. Ethnorelativism	3.66	.68	.84	<b>.22*</b>	<b>.68**</b>	<b>.32**</b>	<b>.50**</b>	<b>-.37**</b>	<b>-.25**</b>	<b>-.41**</b>	1	
9. Ethnocentrism	2.24	.65	.75	-.06	<b>-.30**</b>	<b>-.18*</b>	<b>-.32**</b>	<b>.59**</b>	<b>.58**</b>	<b>.56**</b>	<b>-.28**</b>	1

$p < .01^*$ ;  $p < .001^{**}$ , and in boldface. NCM: National culture maintenance. MA:

Multicultural adaptation.

Again, two dimensions were extracted which explained 48.65% of the total variance. Only items with factor loadings above .45 on their respective subscale were retained. As can be seen in Table 3.1, all items met this criterion, with 10 items loading on the factor representing national culture maintenance (NCM) and 10 items loading on the factor reflecting multicultural adaptation (MA). Cronbach's alphas were respectable for national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation (see Table 3.2). The factor correlation matrix indicated a strong, positive correlation between the two subscales (.44; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). Despite this positive correlation, the scree plot outcome (Stevens, 1992), respectable factor loadings and reliability coefficients (Field, 2009; Stevens, 2002) supported Hypothesis 1: two dimensions emerged, reflecting national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation, and were obliquely rather than orthogonally related.<sup>1</sup>

### 3.4.3 Host Community Acculturation Expectations

Supporting Hypotheses 2a and 2b, multicultural adaptation was positively correlated with integrationism and individualism, and negatively linked with assimilationism, separationism, and exclusionism (see Table 3.2). In line with Hypothesis 3, national culture maintenance was positively associated with integrationism and individualism, whereas no significant relationship was revealed with exclusionism, segregationism and assimilationism. Against my expectations, Fisher's *r*-to-*z* transformation showed that the correlation of integrationism with national culture maintenance did not significantly differ from the correlation of integrationism with multicultural adaptation ( $z = -.01, p > .05$ ). Nonetheless, in line with my assumptions, Fisher's *r*-to-*z* transformation revealed that the correlation of individualism with national culture maintenance was significantly weaker than the correlation of individualism with multicultural adaptation ( $z = -2.77, p < .01$ ).

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<sup>1</sup> To control for ethnic heterogeneity, I conducted another PAF with only the Caucasian group ( $N = 168$ ). Similar to the previous results, two dimensions were extracted with 54.22% of the total variance explained. All factor loadings were above .45, with 10 items loading on national culture maintenance and 10 items loading on multicultural adaptation. Cronbach's alphas were high for both factors ( $\alpha = .91, .87$ , respectively). Again, the two subscales were positively correlated (.38; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007).



#### 3.4.4 Ethnorelativism and Ethnocentrism

Multicultural adaptation was positively correlated with ethnorelativism and negatively correlated with ethnocentrism, supporting Hypotheses 4a and 4b (see Table 3.1). In line with Hypothesis 5, national culture maintenance showed only a positive association with ethnorelativism. Moreover, Fisher's  $r$ -to- $z$  transformation revealed that the correlation of multicultural adaptation with ethnorelativism significantly differed from the correlation of national culture maintenance with ethnorelativism ( $z = 6.49, p < .05$ ).

### 3.5 Discussion

Study 1 tested whether multicultural adaptation can be reconciled with the maintenance of one's national culture. I proposed the Extended Acculturation Model for Locals (EAML), which consists of two underlying dimensions: the degree to which locals maintain their national culture, and the degree to which they adapt towards multiculturalism within their own home country. Findings of Study 1 supported the validity and reliability of this model tested with the Multi-VIA. Indeed, two clear factors emerged, with one representing national culture maintenance, and the other representing multicultural adaptation, supporting Hypothesis 1. In contrast to Berry's (1997) orthogonal acculturation dimensions, a positive, oblique relation was found between the two dimensions in my local sample.

On the one hand, this finding is in line with research on migrants' bidimensional acculturation model which has pointed out that the models' bidimensionality is still given when both dimensions are significantly associated with each other, yet relate to different theoretically linked constructs (discriminant and convergent validity (e.g., Berry et al., 2006a). On the other hand, this positive association may reflect that the expansion of one's mainstream culture through incorporating aspects of other cultures is an inherent part of the

American national culture (e.g., Bourhis et al., 2010), expressed in a more positive rather than orthogonal correlation between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation.

Moreover, multicultural adaptation was positively correlated with integrationism and individualism, and negatively related to exclusionism, assimilationism and segregationism. These findings support the convergent validity of the multicultural adaptation subscale of the Multi-VIA (Hypotheses 2a and 2b). In line with previous research on locals' identification and contact-participation with other cultural groups (El-Geledi & Bourhis, 2012; Montaruli et al., 2011), these results suggest that the rejection of less welcoming acculturation expectations and the simultaneous support of more welcoming expectations are key requirements to achieve multicultural adaptation. Discriminant validity for the national culture maintenance subscale of the Multi-VIA was supported by the non-significant association of national culture maintenance with segregationism, assimilationism and exclusionism. Notably, this finding corresponds to the mixed perception of multiculturalism specifically within the USA rather than representing a general trend in culturally diversifying countries. On the other hand, discriminant validity was supported by the positive, yet weaker association of national culture maintenance with individualism (Hypothesis 3). In fact, although the USA represents an individualistic society which encourages a positive relationship between locals' national culture maintenance and individualism (Bourhis et al., 2010), the findings of Study 1 imply that multicultural adaptation encompasses a stronger tendency to regard others as equal individuals rather than members of different social groups. However, against expectations, integrationism did not significantly differ in its correlations with locals' national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation. This may be due to the low reliability of the measure of integrationism (George & Mallery, 2003) which suggests that the results for integrationism should be interpreted cautiously.

Last, multicultural adaptation was negatively correlated with ethnocentrism and positively associated with ethnorelativism, also supporting the convergent validity of the Multi-VIA (Hypotheses 4a and 4b). Thus, these findings suggest that rejecting ethnocentrism while endorsing ethnorelativism are relevant components of locals' multicultural adaptation. Although national culture maintenance was also positively associated with ethnorelativism, the association between locals' multicultural adaptation with ethnorelativism was significantly stronger (Hypothesis 5). This is in line with the mixed relationship towards multiculturalism in the USA: although multiculturalism is regarded as a core national characteristic, the societal endorsement of individualism counterbalances this perception (Angraini et al., 2014). Overall, because two rather than one factor was extracted in the factor analyses as well as both dimensions expressed different associations with the theoretically linked concepts of acculturation expectations and intercultural sensitivity, these results indicate a bidimensional rather than a unidimensional model to capture locals' acculturation towards multiculturalism.

### **3.6 Study Limitations and Future Directions**

This study was not without limitations. As pointed out in the Materials section, the internal consistencies of all five host community acculturation expectations subscales were rather low (George & Mallery, 2003). Thus, future studies should assess additional domains of host community acculturation expectations (e.g., endogamy/exogamy, religious activity, or language maintenance) alongside the culture and work domains (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004). Although the findings of Study 1 supported a bidimensional acculturation model for locals, its generalizability beyond Western contexts still needs to be explored. For example, literature on migrants' acculturation assessment stresses the universality of some acculturation measures (Huynh, Howell, & Benet-Martínez, 2009), whereas others have been developed for specific cultural groups (Jones & Mortimer, 2014). Because an oblique rather

than orthogonal relation emerged between Americans' national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation in Study 1, Study 2 should examine whether cultural differences moderate this relationship. Nonetheless, the present investigation provided initial support for the construct validity of the EAML. Thus, beyond the existing constructs of acculturation expectations, intergroup ideologies and intercultural competence, the EAML provides a novel way of investigating intergroup relationships in today's plural societies.

#### **4. Study 2: Cross-Cultural Validation of the EAML**

Does the bidimensional acculturation model for locals apply beyond a Western context? Research on migrants' acculturation has shown consistent support for a bidimensional model across different mainstream and heritage cultures (Huynh et al., 2009). Therefore it is likely that the bidimensional structure of the Extended Acculturation Model for Locals (EAML) would emerge across culturally diverse samples (UK, Germany, USA, China, and India). It was unclear, however, if the association between the two constructs (positive, oblique versus orthogonal) would vary across cultures. It was beyond the scope of this present study to explore the reasons why there might be cultural variation in this factor covariance (this was investigated in Study 3 instead). Rather, the goal of Study 2 was to more broadly validate a bidimensional rather than unidimensional EAML (i.e., confirmatory factor analysis; cf., Field, 2009). That is, Study 2 examined (a) whether the two factor structure of the Multi-VIA as found in Study 1 would emerge across cultures, and (b) whether the association between the dimensions would be orthogonal, positive, or negative. Thus, I made the following predictions:

*Hypothesis 1.* Two positively-associated dimensions will emerge in the American sample, and two dimensions will emerge in the Asian and European samples.

For the Asian and European samples, no significant association between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation was predicted as their relationship across cultures was examined on an exploratory basis.

#### **4.1 Convergent and Discriminant Validity: National Group Commitment**

To bolster validity, I further explored linkages between the EAML and the theoretically-related construct of group commitment. According to Social Identity Theory, feelings of belonging and commitment to a social group derive from one's self-categorization as one of its members (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Traditional acculturation research on migrants and immigrant youth stresses that their identification with the heritage culture is associated with feelings of belonging and commitment towards the heritage culture (Ferenczi & Marshall, 2013; Phinney, Berry, Vedder, & Liebkind, 2006). In contrast, assimilated multiculturalists have been found to lack a strong feeling of belonging towards any given cultural context (Benett, 2003; Moore & Barker, 2012). Applied to locals, I therefore expected that national culture maintenance would be strongly and positively linked to locals' feelings of commitment to the national group (i.e., convergent validity), whereas multicultural adaptation would show no such correlation (i.e., discriminant validity of the Multi-VIA, Hypothesis 2).

#### **4.2 Psychological and Sociocultural Adjustment**

Previous research has found that acculturation strategies predict migrants' adjustment to a new culture (Berry et al., 2006b; Shmueli, 2010). Psychological adjustment refers to migrants' coping and mental health, whereas sociocultural adjustment refers to their ability to fit in to the new culture (Searle & Ward, 1990; Ward, & Kennedy, 1999). Study 2 examined parallel processes in *locals* – whether their national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation might be associated with indices of psychological and sociocultural adjustment. I had several bases for formulating Hypothesis 3 – that both national culture maintenance and

multicultural adaptation would be positively associated with life satisfaction, a common index of subjective well-being and psychological adjustment (Chen et al., 2008; Kashdan, Rose, & Fincham, 2004). First, social identity theory suggests that any sort of group association allows individuals to maintain a positive self-image, which in turn enhances subjective well-being (Ferenczi & Marshall, 2013). Second, people who engage in self-expanding activities, such as exploring cultural traditions and practices, also tend to report greater life satisfaction (Kashdan et al., 2004).

Another index of (poor) psychological adjustment is acculturative stress, which refers to the negative physical and psychological outcomes – e.g., anxiety and depression – that may result from experiencing cultural differences (Cho & Haslam, 2010 ;Mejía & McCarthy, 2010). Van Oudenhoven and Ward (2013) speculated that growing cultural diversity may lead some locals to experience acculturative stress within their own community. For example, limited resources and the presence of a salient out-group may result in locals' perception of high intergroup competition and threat, leading to stress and anxiety (Esses, Jackson, Dovidio, & Hodson, 2005; Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Conversely, cultural awareness and sensitivity may reduce intergroup difficulties and stress (Keengwe, 2010; Pasca & Wagner, 2011). Therefore, I proposed the following:

*Hypothesis 4.* Multicultural adaptation will predict less acculturative stress.

Last, migrants who adapt to their new cultural surroundings tend to report greater sociocultural adjustment, i.e., the ability to fit in to a new culture (e.g., Berry & Sabatier, 2011). For example, they demonstrate better work performance and experience less difficulty in daily life situations (Phinney & Ong, 2007), and better intercultural sensitivity and communication competence (Bennett, 2004; Chen & Starosta, 2000). Analogously, I predicted the following:

*Hypothesis 5.* Multicultural adaptation will predict greater intercultural sensitivity.

### 4.3 Method

#### 4.3.1 Participants

Similar to Study 1 (see 3.3.1), individuals had to meet the following requirements to be included in this study: they identified themselves as members of the USA, UK, Germany, India or China; they currently lived in the UK, Germany, USA, China, or India; they were born there as were both of their parents; and they had spent the majority of their lives in that country (at least 60%). This study was conducted in English for all participants. Because English was a second language for the German, Chinese, and Indian samples, British and American participants were also required to have studied a foreign language for at least one year.<sup>2</sup> After removing eight duplicates, the total sample consisted of 619 respondents (41% male, 59% female), including 103 British, 111 Germans, 200 Americans, 101 Chinese, and 104 Indians between the ages of 18 to 71. The participants were well-educated (70% with a qualification higher than A-levels) and from a relatively affluent socio-economic background (40% Student, 50% Employed; see Table 4.1, and Table 4.2).

#### 4.3.2 Procedure

Similar to Study 1 (see 3.3.2), an online version of the survey was developed using the original scales in English. Hyperlinks were created with an online survey-development tool and distributed through Facebook, online forums, and email invitations. To increase the participant number for the US sample, respondents were also recruited via Amazon's

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<sup>2</sup> American and Brits' one-year foreign language studies cannot be equalized with potential bilingualism of my German, Chinese and Indian participants. Yet, I imposed this criterion in an effort to level exposure to diverse cultures across groups; requiring the British and American participants to have some degree of bilingualism might mitigate against the possibility that they would be lower in multicultural adaptation than the German, Chinese, and Indian samples, who had received sufficient exposure to another culture to be able to complete this questionnaire in a second language.

Mechanical Turk and received \$.50 USD for completing the survey. Responses were completely anonymous and voluntary.

### 4.3.3 Materials

The Multi-VIA, used in Study 1, was described earlier (see 3.3.3). Cronbach's alphas for the total sample and each national group indicated high reliability (see Table 4.2).

**Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure - Revised (MEIM-R).** As I was explicitly interested in locals' commitment towards their national group, I only included the MEIM-R's (Phinney & Ong, 2007) ethnic identity commitment subscale. Further, I exchanged the term 'ethnic' with 'national'. The scale consisted of 3 items that were rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from "*strongly disagree*" (1) to "*strongly agree*" (5) (e.g., "I have a strong sense of belonging to my own national group"). PAF found that all items loaded on one underlying factor that accounted for 70% of the total variance. The factor loadings were all greater than .60. This scale revealed high reliability for the total sample as well as for each national group (see Table 4.2).

**Intercultural Sensitivity Scale (ISS).** This 24-item scale, developed by Chen and Starosta (2000), includes five subscales to assess the affective dimension of intercultural competence – that is, intercultural sensitivity including interaction engagement, respect for cultural differences, interaction confidence, interaction enjoyment, and interaction attentiveness (see 1.2.5 Intercultural Competence). Bennett's (1993) assessment of intercultural sensitivity, by contrast, focuses on an individuals' affective, cognitive, and behavioural development from ethnocentrism to ethnorelativism (see 3.2 Convergent and Discriminant Validity: Intercultural Sensitivity). Whilst this distinction was of interest in Study 1 to validate the Multi-VIA subscales (see 3.4.4 Ethnorelativism and Ethnocentrism,), the present study focused solely on the predictive power of locals' multicultural adaptation on intercultural sensitivity endorsement in terms of the affective dimension of intercultural



competence as conceptualized by Chen and Starosta (2000). All statements were measured with a 5-point Likert scale anchored with “*strongly disagree*” (1) and “*strongly agree*” (5) (e.g., “I respect the values of people from different cultures.”). Because the PAF analysis revealed a one-factor solution, explaining a total variance of 33%, I collapsed the subscales into one construct tapping intercultural sensitivity (see Table 4.2 for Cronbach’s alphas for the total sample and each national group).

**Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS).** The SWLS (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985) is a 5-item instrument designed to measure global cognitive judgments of satisfaction with one’s life (e.g., “In most ways my life is close to my ideal”) using a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) Likert scale. Cronbach’s alphas are reported in Table 4.2.

**Riverside Acculturation Stress Inventory (RASI).** Benet-Martínez and Haritatos' (2005) 15-item scale assesses migrants’ difficulties across life domains: language skills, discrimination or prejudice, intercultural relations, cultural isolation, and work challenges (e.g., “I feel that there are not enough people of my own cultural group in my living environment”; and “I feel that my particular cultural practices have caused conflict in my relationships.”). The subscale addressing difficulties with language skills was not included in the present study. This is because locals are defined as members of a high vitality group within this dissertation which enables them to maintain their language within multilinguistic settings (see 1.2.1). Thus, the scale included a total of 12 items which were modified to assess locals’ acculturative stress. PAF indicated that a one-factor solution explained 46% of the total variance. Thus, all subscales were collapsed into one latent variable assessing acculturative stress. The scale showed high reliability for the total sample and each subsample (see Table 4.2).

Table 4.1 *Distribution of Categorical Independent Variables between the Subsamples*

Variables		TOTAL (N = 619)		UK (N = 103)		GE (N = 111)		US (N = 200)		CHN (N = 101)		IND (N = 104)		Chi-Square
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
SEX:	Male	253	40.9	43	41.7	31	27.9	86	43	43	42.6	50	48.1	$x^2 = 10.46, df = 4,$ $p < .05^*$
	Female	366	51.9	60	58.3	80	72.1	114	57	58	57.4	54	51.9	
RELIGION:	Christianity	239	38.6	35	34	76	68.5	114	57	8	7.9	6	5.8	$x^2 = 697.79,$ $df = 16,$ $p < .001^{**}$
	Hinduism	84	13.6	3	2.9	0	0	1	.5	0	0	80	76.9	
	Taoism/Confucianism	34	5.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	34	33.7	0	0	
	Atheist/Agnostic	224	36.2	58	56.3	34	30.6	74	37	52	51.5	6	5.8	
	Other	38	6.1	7	6.8	1	.9	10	5.5	7	6.9	12	11.5	
ETHNICITY:	Caucasian	339	54.8	85	82.5	91	82	160	80	2	2	1	1	$x^2 = 899.85,$ $df = 12,$ $p < .001^{**}$
	South Asian	102	16.5	7	6.8	0	0	3	1.5	4	4	88	84.6	
	East Asian	105	17	0	0	0	0	6	3	90	89.1	9	8.7	
	Other	73	11.8	11	10.7	20	18	31	15.5	5	5	6	5.8	
OCCUPATION:	Student	246	39.7	55	53.4	58	52.3	35	17.5	74	73.3	24	23.1	$x^2 = 128.48,$ $df = 8,$ $p < .001^*$
	Employed	312	50.4	42	40.8	52	46.8	129	64.5	24	23.8	65	62.5	
	Unemployed/Retired	61	9.9	6	5.8	1	.9	36	18	3	3	15	14.4	
EDUCATION:	No qualification	13	2.1	1	1	1	.9	8	4.0	2	2	1	1	$x^2 = 73.51,$ $df = 8,$ $p < .001^{**}$
	A-levels	176	28.4	57	55.3	35	31.5	61	30.5	11	10.9	12	11.5	
	High qualification	430	69.5	45	43.7	75	67.6	131	65.5	88	87.5	91	87.5	

$p < .05^*, p < .001^{**}$ . UK: United Kingdom. GE: Germany. US: United States of America. CHN: China. IND: India.

Table 4.2 Means, Standard Deviations and Alpha Coefficients for Continuous Variables

Variables	TOTAL			UK			GE			US			CHN			IND			F-ratio
	(619)			(N = 103)			(N = 111)			(N = 200)			(N = 101)			(N = 104)			
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	$\alpha$	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	$\alpha$	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	$\alpha$	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	$\alpha$	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	$\alpha$	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	$\alpha$	
Age	28.93	10.09	-	26.72	10.67	-	27.82	8.07	-	33.47	12.23	-	23.93	3.19	-	28.4	7.65	-	20.17**
NCM	3.98	.57	.86	4.03	.56	.86	3.88	.52	.81	4.04	.60	.90	3.82	.58	.87	4.10	.53	.83	5.10**
MA	3.71	.58	.85	3.73	.55	.83	3.89	.40	.73	3.76	.65	.89	3.49	.50	.80	3.60	.65	.87	8.37**
NGC	3.32	.86	.78	3.31	.95	.85	2.98	.87	.81	3.57	.93	.76	3.49	.89	.87	3.64	.94	.88	9.71**
SWL	4.44	1.40	.90	4.31	1.31	.90	4.96	1.29	.88	4.25	1.57	.94	3.94	1.05	.79	4.84	1.29	.88	10.95**
IS	3.79	.48	.89	3.85	.38	.85	3.91	.39	.87	3.88	.56	.93	3.59	.40	.86	3.65	.46	.85	11.023**
AC	2.20	.76	.89	2.00	.72	.87	2.02	.55	.82	1.98	.76	.88	2.59	.56	.82	2.66	.82	.90	27.92**

\*\* $p < .001$ . NCM: National culture maintenance. MA: Multicultural adaptation. NGC: National group commitment. SWL: Satisfaction with life.

IS: Intercultural sensitivity. AC: Acculturative Stress.

## 4.4 Results

### 4.4.1 Descriptive Statistics

Means, standard deviations, and Cronbach's alphas are presented in Table 4.2. To examine all hypotheses, I conducted confirmatory factor analysis and structural equation modelling for the total sample and across continent groups (i.e., multiple-group comparison analysis) in AMOS 18. A confirmatory factor analysis can verify the two factor structure of the Multi-VIA which was revealed in Study 1 (cf., Field, 2009). Structural equation modelling allows to test the associations between independent and dependent variables simultaneously in one comprehensive model rather than multiple regression analyses. Because neither confirmatory factor analysis nor structural equation modelling can be conducted in SPSS 20, AMOS 18 was required for these analyses.

Kline (2005) proposed  $N > 200$  per group to provide sufficient statistical power for structural equation modelling analyses. Thus, to maximise sample sizes, I merged the five countries into three continent groups: North America (USA,  $N = 200$ ), Europe (UK and Germany,  $N = 214$ ), and Asia (China and India,  $N = 205$ ). I based these country combinations on previous research which stresses India and China's tendency to be low in individualism, whereas the UK and Germany tend to be high in individualism (Hofstede, 2001). As reported in Table 4.2, participants differed in their national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation endorsement – that is, Benferoni post-hoc test showed that whilst Germany and the UK did not significantly differ on the predictor variables, the Chinese sample was significantly lower in mainstream culture identification than the Indian sample ( $p < .01$ ). Moreover, a prior hierarchical regression analysis found that my hypotheses held across all five countries (UK, Germany, USA, China, and India) as well as beyond third variables (i.e.,

personality traits).<sup>3</sup> Table 4.3 reports the correlations between all variables across continent groups.

To test model fit across the three continent groups, I conducted a multi-group confirmatory factor analysis. Specifically, I tested for several levels of invariance: configural invariance, in which the data reflect the same number of factors across groups and the same items are associated with the same factors; metric invariance, which holds that factor loadings are equivalent across groups; and structural invariance, in which the structural pathways and/or covariances between latent variables are the same across groups (Byrne, 2010; Vandenberg & Lance, 2000). Prior to the analysis, items of the national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation scales were parcelled to increase the stability of the parameter estimates (MacCallum, Widaman, Zhang, & Hong, 1999). I followed a factorial approach to create parcels (Russell, Kahn, Spoth, & Altmaeir, 1998): I first conducted a PAF of the Multi-VIA with promax rotation for the entire sample ( $N = 619$ ). Items with the highest and lowest factor loadings were combined to create five parcels each for the latent variables of national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation. I first tested the measurement model and

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<sup>3</sup> In line with the literature on adaptive personality traits (e.g., Van der Zee & Van Oudenhoven, 2000), I assumed that locals' experience of multiculturalism as either stressful or flourishing may depend on their personality. Individuals who are open to new experiences tend to be willing to try new things and have been found to endorse less outgroup prejudice (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Sibley & Duckitt, 2008). Extroverts are assertive and action oriented, experiencing cultural diversity positively (Ward, Berno, & Main, 2002). These personality traits were measured with the original Berkeley Personality Profile (BPP; Harary & Donahue, 1994). Participants could indicate how much they "*strongly disagree(d)*" (1) and "*strongly agree(d)*" (5) on a 5-point Likert scale with each of the 7 items for extroversion (e.g., "I am outgoing, sociable";  $M = 3.21$ ;  $SD = .76$ ;  $\alpha = .82$ ; for the total sample), and the 7 items for openness (e.g., "I am inventive";  $M = 3.61$ ;  $SD = .58$ ;  $\alpha = .63$ ; for the total sample). First I entered the control variables sex (female = 0; male = 1) and age as well as extroversion, openness to experiences and national commitment in Step 1 of the regression model. Main effects of country (five levels, dummy coded with the US as reference group), national culture maintenance (NCM) and multicultural adaptation (MA) were added in Step 2. Last, four interaction terms for NCM and four for MA with the codes for countries were entered in Step 3. Prior to the analysis, NCM and MA were group-mean centred to mitigate cultural response bias (Fischer, 2004). A significant, positive main effect for NCM on satisfaction with life was revealed in Step 2 (Hypothesis 3). The effect was not moderated by country. Results revealed no support for Hypothesis 4 (i.e., multicultural adaptation was not associated with lower acculturative stress). Last, a strong positive association of MA with intercultural sensitivity emerged in Step 2 (Hypothesis 5). Yet, the regression output of Step 3 showed significant moderation effects of MA by country. Simple slope analysis detected that Americans' MA endorsement was most strongly associated with higher intercultural sensitivity ( $\beta = .59$ ,  $t(192) = 10.10$ ,  $p < .0001$ ), followed by Germany ( $\beta = .52$ ,  $t(103) = 6.33$ ,  $p < .0001$ ), (UK,  $\beta = .50$ ,  $t(95) = 5.26$ ,  $p < .0001$ ), China ( $\beta = .42$ ,  $t(93) = 4.67$ ,  $p < .0001$ ), and India ( $\beta = .30$ ,  $t(96) = 3.34$ ,  $p < .01$ ).

competing structural models for the total sample, followed by multiple-group comparison analysis first of the measurement model followed by the structural pathways.

#### 4.4.2 Measurement Weights and Structural Paths for the Total Sample

Confirmatory factor analysis was used to test the measurement model – that locals' acculturation is better conceptualized as bidimensional (i.e., no correlation or a positive correlation between multicultural adaptation and national culture maintenance) than unidimensional (i.e., one dimension or a negative correlation between multicultural adaptation and national culture maintenance; Hypothesis 1). Because chi-square is sensitive to sample size, alternative indices were used to assess model fit: the comparative fit index (CFI; should be equal to or greater than .90; Hair, Black, Babin, & Anderson, 2010); the root-mean-square error approximation (RMSEA; should be .08 or less; Browne & Cudeck, 1989); and the standardized root-mean-square residual (SRMR; should be .10 or less; Kline, 2005).

I first tested a unidimensional acculturation model for locals by loading all parcels for national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation onto one latent variable. Results of the measurement model revealed a poor fit with the data [ $\chi^2(51) = 841.41, p < .0001, CFI = .84, RMSEA = .16$  (CI: .15, .17), SRMR = .13]. Next, I tested a bidimensional acculturation model for locals with the parcels for national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation loaded onto each respective latent variable which were connected through a structural covariance (see Figure 4.1). This revised measurement model significantly differed from the one-factor model [ $\chi^2\Delta(77) = 111.9, p < .01$ ], and demonstrated better fit with the observed data [ $\chi^2(128) = 729.51, p < .0001, CFI = .91, RMSEA = .09$  (CI: .08, .09), SRMR = .09]. Standardized parameter estimates, factor loadings, and significance levels are reported in Table 4.4; they supported good measurement validity, with all factor loadings greater than the minimum criterion of .60 across continent groups (Garson, 2010).

Table 4.3 *Correlation Matrix of Independent and Control Variables*

		1	2	3	4	5	6	
1. National Culture Maintenance (Multi-VIA)	Total	1						
	North America	UK	1					
		Germany	1					
		Asia	1					
	Asia	China	1					
		India	1					
2. Multicultural Adaptation (Multi-VIA)	Total	<b>.20***</b>	1					
	North America	UK	<b>.36***</b>	1				
		Germany	<b>.25***</b>	1				
		Asia	<b>.33***</b>	1				
	Europe	UK	<b>.23**</b>	1				
		Germany	-.02	1				
		India	.01	1				
3. National Commitment (MEIM-R)	Total	<b>.42***</b>	.00	1				
	North America	UK	<b>.45***</b>	.12	1			
		Germany	<b>.42***</b>	.04	1			
		Asia	<b>.47***</b>	.07	1			
	Europe	UK	<b>.34***</b>	-.02	1			
		Germany	<b>.39***</b>	-.08	1			
		India	<b>.37***</b>	.04	1			
4. Intercultural Sensitivity (ISS)	Total	<b>.14**</b>	<b>.59***</b>	.05	1			
	North America	UK	<b>.25***</b>	<b>.67***</b>	.09	1		
		Germany	.04	<b>.55***</b>	.05	1		
		Asia	.08	<b>.51***</b>	.07	1		
	Europe	UK	.03	<b>.80***</b>	.07	1		
		Germany	.07	<b>.43***</b>	.11	1		
		India	.14	<b>.45***</b>	<b>.29**</b>	1		
5. Acculturative Stress (RASI)	Total	.01	<b>-.11**</b>	<b>.15***</b>	<b>-.67**</b>	1		
	North America	UK	-.04	-.00	.12	<b>-.23**</b>	1	
		Germany	.11	<b>-.15*</b>	<b>.22**</b>	<b>-.24**</b>	1	
		Asia	.13	-.13	<b>.35***</b>	-.19	1	
	Europe	UK	.07	<b>-.19*</b>	.59	<b>-.30**</b>	1	
		Germany	.00	.02	.05	<b>-.46***</b>	1	
		India	-.13	-.18	-.18	<b>-.42***</b>	1	
6. Satisfaction with Life (SWLS)	Total	<b>.18***</b>	<b>.12**</b>	<b>.10*</b>	-.01	-.01	1	
	North America	UK	<b>.20**</b>	.13	.14	-.01	-.01	1
		Germany	<b>.15*</b>	<b>.16*</b>	.08	-.08	-.08	1
		Asia	.11	.03	<b>.20*</b>	.11	.08	1
	Europe	UK	<b>.28***</b>	<b>.25**</b>	.06	<b>.22*</b>	<b>-.30**</b>	1
		Germany	<b>.22**</b>	.07	<b>.16*</b>	.07	.08	1
		India	.08	-.12	.04	-.05	-.07	1
Asia	UK	<b>.19*</b>	.13	<b>.22*</b>	.06	.13	1	
	Germany							
	India							

$p < .05^*$ ;  $p < .01^{**}$ ;  $p < .001^{***}$ , and in boldface.

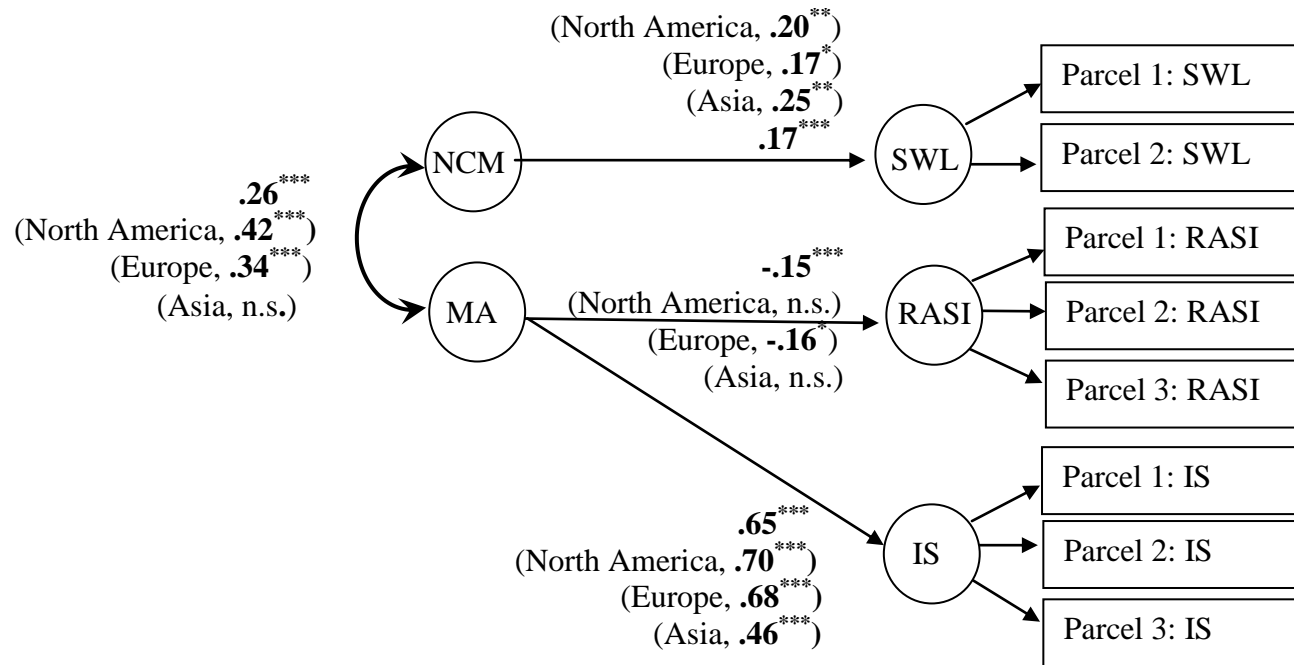


Figure 4.1 *Standardized Structural Path Coefficients and Measurement Weights*

Latent variables include: national culture maintenance (NCM), multicultural adaptation (MA), satisfaction with life (SWL), acculturative stress (RASI), and intercultural sensitivity (IS).  $p < .05^*$ ;  $p < .01^{**}$ ;  $p < .001^{***}$ ; and in boldface.



Importantly, the covariance between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation was significant and positive rather than significant and negative (see Figure 4.1), therefore supporting a bidimensional model of locals' acculturation rather than a unidimensional model across the entire sample. The fully saturated model (i.e., including all paths between latent variables) revealed non-significant structural pathways between national culture maintenance with intercultural sensitivity and acculturative stress as well as between multicultural adaptation and satisfaction with life. A modified model that constrained the non-significant paths to zero did not significantly differ from the initial model [ $\chi^2\Delta(3) = 2.52, p > .05$ ], and provided an adequate fit to the data [ $\chi^2(131) = 732.03, p < .0001, CFI = .91, RMSEA = .09$  (CI: .08, .09), SRMR = .09]. Standardized structural path coefficients and significance values of the final model can be seen in Figure 4.1. In sum, the final model revealed that national culture maintenance was positively associated with life satisfaction (Hypothesis 3) whilst multicultural adaptation was negatively related to acculturative stress (Hypothesis 4) and positively related to intercultural sensitivity (Hypothesis 5).

#### 4.4.3 Multiple-Group Comparison Analysis: Measurement Model

To test whether the final model fit the data similarly for participants across continent groups (Hypothesis 1), I conducted a multiple-group comparison analysis with AMOS 18. I used two indices of metric/structural invariance: the chi-square difference test ( $\chi^{2\Delta}$ ), where non-significant differences indicate invariance (i.e.,  $p > .05$ ); and differences in CFI ( $\Delta CFI$ ), which is less sensitive to sample size than  $\chi^{2\Delta}$ . Meade, Johnson, and Braddy (2006) recommended that  $\Delta CFI$  values equal to or less than -.002 indicate invariance. First, a comparison of the North American and European samples revealed no significant differences in the groups' factor loadings [ $\chi^{2\Delta}(13) = 10.82, p > .05, \Delta CFI = .001$ ], therefore supporting metric invariance (path coefficients for each group are reported in parentheses in Figure 4.1). Furthermore, both groups displayed positive, medium sized correlations between national

culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation. Given equivalent factor loadings, constraining the pathway between these two latent variables to equality resulted in a significant difference in model fit compared to the model in which this covariance was unconstrained ( $\chi^2_{\Delta}(1) = 5.17, p < .05$ ), suggesting that the positive correlation for the two subscales was stronger for the American sample than for the European sample. However,  $\Delta\text{CFI}$  was only  $-.001$ ; because  $\Delta\text{CFI}$  is less sensitive to sample size than  $\chi^2_{\Delta}$ , I prioritized the  $\Delta\text{CFI}$  results and concluded that the model fit was invariant.

North America and Europe significantly differed in their factor loadings from Asia [ $\chi^2_{\Delta}(13) = 29.67, p < .01, \Delta\text{CFI} = -.003$  and  $\chi^2_{\Delta}(13) = 27.11, p < .01, \Delta\text{CFI} = -.004$ , respectively). After constraining all eight factor loadings individually to equality, three parcels were detected that showed non-invariance when comparing Americans and Asians (parcels 4, 5, and 7; see Table 4.4) and two parcels were detected when comparing Europe with Asia (parcels 1 and 7; see Table 4.4). Moreover, the factor loading for parcel 1 on intercultural sensitivity was stronger for the Americans ( $\beta = .90, p < .0001$ ; see Figure 4.1) than for the Asian sample ( $\beta = .82, p < .0001$ ; see Figure 4.1). Considering that configural invariance was supported across continent groups – the same items loaded onto the same factors across groups – this metric non-invariance may be owing to our parcelling method (Meade & Kroustalis, 2006). Moreover, because these invariant parcels did not constitute a large portion of the overall model, partial metric invariance may be assumed and meaningful comparisons can still be made (Byrne, Shavelson, & Muthen, 1989).

In contrast to Europeans and Americans, Asians showed no correlation between the latent variables of national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation (see also Table 4.3). Given equivalent factor loadings, constraining the pathway between the two latent variables to equality resulted in a significant difference in model fit when Asians were compared to Europeans ( $\chi^2_{\Delta}(1) = 7.87, p < .01, \Delta\text{CFI} = -.002$ ) and to North Americans ( $\chi^2_{\Delta}(1)$

= 18.63,  $p < .001$ ,  $\Delta\text{CFI} = -.004$ ). Thus, Asians experienced national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation as orthogonal.

To assess whether our bidimensional model was valid for Caucasian locals and other ethnicities, I tested for configural and metric invariance between Caucasians and any other ethnicities across countries. The analysis revealed a significant difference between groups ( $\chi^2_{\Delta}(13) = 35.89$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\Delta\text{CFI} = -.004$ ), with four parcels displaying non-invariance (parcels 2, 4, 5, and 7; see Table 4.4). Still, all factor loadings indicated the same loading pattern and most parcels loaded invariantly, supporting the validity of our model across ethnic groups (i.e., configural invariance and partial metric invariance; Vandenberg & Lance, 2000).

#### **4.4.4 Multiple-Group Comparison Analysis: Adjustment Outcomes**

In the total sample, national culture maintenance was positively correlated with satisfaction with life (supporting Hypothesis 3), and multicultural adaptation was negatively associated with acculturative stress and positively associated with intercultural sensitivity (supporting Hypotheses 4 and 5, respectively). I next tested for structural invariance. Assuming equivalent factor loadings across groups, a comparison of the North American and European samples revealed no significant differences in the groups' structural path coefficients between national culture maintenance and satisfaction with life, or between multicultural adaptation and intercultural sensitivity and acculturative stress [ $\chi^2_{\Delta}(3) = 3.45$ ,  $p > .05$ ,  $\Delta\text{CFI} = -.001$ ]. These results verified the invariance of the structural pathways in both groups (see Figure 4.1). However, assuming equivalent factor loadings, there was non-invariance in the structural path coefficients between the North American and Asian samples [ $\chi^2_{\Delta}(3) = 29.67$ ,  $p < .01$ ,  $\Delta\text{CFI} = -.002$ ]. This suggests that at least one of the structural path coefficients was not equal across groups.

Table 4.4 *Standardized and Unstandardized Coefficients for the Total and Subsamples*

Observed variable	Latent construct	Total ( <i>N</i> = 619)				North America ( <i>N</i> = 200)				Europe ( <i>N</i> = 214)				Asia ( <i>N</i> = 205)				Caucasian ( <i>N</i> = 339)				Other ( <i>N</i> = 280)			
		$\beta$	B	SE	<i>p</i>	$\beta$	B	SE	<i>p</i>	$\beta$	B	SE	<i>p</i>	$\beta$	B	SE	<i>p</i>	$\beta$	B	SE	<i>p</i>	$\beta$	B	SE	<i>p</i>
Parcel 1	NCM	.75	1.00			.82	1.00			.67	1.00			.72	1.00			.79	1.00			.70	1.00		
Parcel 2	NCM	.75	.87	.05	***	.84	.88	.06	***	.81	1.12	.12	***	.60	.71	.09	***	.80	.91	.06	***	.68	.83	.08	***
Parcel 3	NCM	.733	.99	.06	***	.82	.90	.07	***	.62	1.06	.14	***	.77	1.07	.11	***	.69	.88	.07	***	.77	1.13	.10	***
Parcel 4	NCM	.64	1.04	.07	***	.71	1.05	.10	***	.67	1.26	.15	***	.73	1.08	.12	***	.71	1.12	.09	***	.68	1.10	.11	***
Parcel 5	NCM	.78	.97	.05	***	.84	.82	.06	***	.74	1.12	.12	***	.79	1.05	.10	***	.74	.81	.06	***	.83	1.16	.10	***
Parcel 6	MA	.74	1.00			.82	1.00			.66	1.00			.74	1.00			.75	1.00			.72	1.00		
Parcel 7	MA	.70	.88	.05	***	.71	.74	.07	***	.63	.78	.10	***	.72	1.03	.11	***	.70	.78	.06	***	.75	1.06	.09	***
Parcel 8	MA	.80	.98	.05	***	.85	.95	.07	***	.73	.92	.11	***	.78	1.01	.10	***	.81	.93	.06	***	.78	1.05	.09	***
Parcel 9	MA	.74	1.03	.06	***	.79	.89	.07	***	.62	.81	.11	***	.77	1.22	.12	***	.74	.91	.07	***	.77	1.22	.10	***
Parcel 10	MA	.78	1.04	.06	***	.81	.97	.07	***	.76	1.05	.120	***	.76	1.13	.11	***	.77	.97	.07	***	.76	1.13	.10	***

\*\*\**p* < .0001. NCM: National culture maintenance. MA: Multicultural adaptation.

To locate the source of non-invariance, I constrained several pathways to equality in a step-by-step procedure. The analysis revealed that the path from multicultural adaptation to intercultural sensitivity was not equal [ $\chi^2_{\Delta}(1) = 10.26, p < .01, \Delta CFI = -.002$ ]. Both groups displayed a significant correlation between multicultural adaptation and intercultural sensitivity (see Figure 4.1), but the correlation was stronger for the Americans than for the Asians.<sup>4</sup> Given equivalent factor loadings, the structural path coefficients between Europeans and Asians were invariant [ $\chi^2_{\Delta}(3) = 6.20, p > .05, \Delta CFI = -.001$ ]. Last, given equivalent factor loadings, the structural path coefficients between Caucasians and other ethnicities were invariant [ $\chi^2_{\Delta}(3) = 6.84, p > .05, \Delta CFI = -.001$ ].

#### 4.4.5 Convergent and Discriminant Validity

To support the construct validity of my model (Hypothesis 2), I examined the relationship of the respondents' scores for the national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation scales with the theoretically-related variable of national group commitment. In line with my expectations, national culture maintenance was significantly positively correlated with national group commitment, whereas no association was found between multicultural adaptation and national group commitment in any of the continent groups (see Table 4.3).

### 4.5 Discussion

In the present study, confirmatory factor analysis supported a bidimensional acculturation model for locals across cultures (Hypothesis 1). Adequate model fit and respectable Cronbach's alpha coefficients for the whole sample and each subgroup supported the model's reliability. However, multi-group confirmatory factor analysis detected

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<sup>4</sup> The strong positive association between multicultural adaptation with intercultural sensitivity may be due to a significant overlap of the IS subscale 'Respect for Cultural Diversity' and multicultural adaptation. To test whether my hypothesis holds for intercultural sensitivity with and without its dimension 'Respect for Cultural Diversity', I conducted a hierarchical regression analysis. First I entered the control variables sex, age and country (five levels, dummy coded with the US as reference group). National culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation (MA) were added in Step 2. I found a strong significant main effect for MA on intercultural sensitivity with and without the dimension 'Respect for Cultural Diversity', ( $\beta = .56, t(610) = 16.79, p < .0001, R^2 = .38; \beta = .53, t(610) = 15.75, p < .0001, R^2 = .36$ ; respectively).

differences across continents: there was a positive covariance between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation for the Western groups, but these constructs were not associated for the Asian group, demonstrating orthogonality. Consistent with Hypothesis 2, a strong correlation was observed between national culture maintenance and commitment to one's national group, supporting convergent validity of the Multi-VIA. In line with my assumption that assimilated multiculturalists endorse a detached identity (Bennett, 2004), results showed a non-significant association between multicultural adaptation and national group commitment, indicating discriminant validity of the Multi-VIA. In partial support of Hypothesis 3, national culture maintenance was positively associated with life satisfaction. Indeed, feelings of belonging to a social group (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and engaging in self-expanding activities with this group (Jetten et al., 2014) may enhance the subjective well-being of locals. Contrary to expectations, multicultural adaptation was not significantly associated with life satisfaction; it may be that some locals have positive attitudes towards contact-participation with diverse cultural groups, but do not engage in as many social activities or customs/practices in diverse cultures as they do in the mainstream culture. Therefore, they may have less life satisfaction-enhancing opportunities to engage in self-expanding activities in diverse cultures than in the mainstream culture.

Last, my findings supported the association of multicultural adaptation with locals' greater psychological and sociocultural adjustment within their home country (Hypotheses 4 and 5). Nevertheless, the multi-group comparison analysis revealed that the strong, negative relationship between multicultural adaptation and acculturative stress for the total sample was only significant within the European sample. On the one hand, non-invariance of parcel loadings may account for this finding. On the other hand, this finding may indicate differences in familiarity with multiculturalism across continent groups. Specifically, acculturative stress results from negative experiences due to culture-specific stressors (e.g.,

adapting to new social norms across life domains like education, work, communication and values; Gil, Vega, & Dimas, 1994; Ward & Kennedy, 1999). Yet, research on migrants has shown that acculturation does only result in stress reactions under certain conditions (e.g., cultural distance; Suanet & Van de Vijver, 2009). For locals, one such condition could be familiarity with multiculturalism – that is, European locals (UK and Germany) may be less familiar with multiculturalism within their own home country than North Americans (USA) and Asians (China and India). Indeed, North America represents a historical and present migration country (Zong & Batalova, 2015). Asia consists of intra-state cultural diversity due to indigenous groups and substate nationals (Breully, 2008; see also 1.1.1). Europe, however, has less familiarity with cultural pluralism as a consistent societal feature (Bourhis et al., 2010). Thus, North America or Asia may have revealed no significant association between their multicultural adaptation and acculturative stress because only European locals experience multiculturalism as a stressor.

Most importantly, multicultural adaptation significantly predicted higher sociocultural adjustment in the form of greater intercultural sensitivity (i.e., interaction engagement, respect for cultural differences, interaction confidence, enjoyment, and attentiveness) across all cultural groups. These findings suggest that locals who endorse multicultural adaptation as an acculturation strategy may also be more likely to ‘fit in’ with their culturally diverse society (cf., LaFromboise et al., 1993), enabling a new route towards promoting harmonious intergroup relations and social cohesion.

Overall, Study 2 supported a bidimensional model, suggesting that locals can maintain their national culture whilst simultaneously adapting to the multicultural milieu. Study 2 therefore provided empirical support for the notion that cultural diversity does not necessarily lead to cultural homogenisation or one global culture (Fukuyama, 1992). Thus, to decrease feelings of cultural isolation and threat within one’s own home country (e.g., Plaut,

Garnett, Buffardi, & Sanchez-Burks, 2011), politicians, educators, and the media need to readdress multiculturalism and its influence on the mainstream society by considering both the cultural adaptation of migrants and locals. In fact, the findings of Study 2 revealed that both national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation were associated with positive outcomes.

#### **4.7 Limitations and Future Directions**

There were several limitations of Study 2. First, I expected locals to experience individual-level changes despite their high vitality status within a larger society. The subjective vitality of locals, however, was not explicitly measured in Study 2. Thus, Study 3 should measure locals' subjective group vitality within the larger society (Giles et al., 1977). Second, an orthogonal rather than oblique relation emerged between Asians' national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation. Study 3 should therefore explicitly examine what conditions moderate the relationship between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation. Third, the Multi-VIA was not back-translated into the participants' native language. Having all participants respond to the items in English may have encouraged response and sampling bias, restricting my Chinese, Indian and German samples to bilingual locals only (e.g., Chen, Benet-Martínez, & Ng, 2014). Thus, to collect data from locals who endorse differing levels of multicultural adaptation, future studies should include other criteria such as the quality and frequency of contact with non-local group members. Expanding further, Study 4 should measure alternative indices of adjustment outcomes such as organizational behaviour and identification within multinational corporations in which locals have a high potential to experience daily, first-hand intercultural contact (Caprar, 2011).

Overall, Study 2 confirmed the bidimensionality of the Extended Acculturation Model for Locals (EAML), and thus, supports a new research route to boost locals' sense of 'fitting



in' to today's multicultural societies. Moreover, Study 2 raised two research questions: (a) what conditions moderate the correlation between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation (positive, oblique versus orthogonal) and (b) what other adjustment outcomes are associated with locals' national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation? Therefore Study 3 explored correlational variations of the EAML, whereas Study 4 investigated the model's predictive power.

### **5. Study 3: Exploring Correlational Variations of the EAML**

How locals adapt towards multiculturalism within their home country is a complex process (Jensen, 2003; Vertovec, 2007; Ward, 2008). Specifically, although Studies 1 and 2 supported a bidimensional Extended Acculturation Model for Locals (EAML), they also revealed varying correlations between locals' national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation: these dimensions were either orthogonal or positively obliquely related. Specifically, in both Study 1 and 2, American locals' showed a positive oblique correlation between their acculturation dimensions whereas an orthogonal association was found for an Asian (India and China) sample. Therefore, the purpose of Study 3 was to explore potential moderators of the factor covariance between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation. In particular, Study 3 examined (a) whether the findings of Study 2 could be replicated across an American and Indian sample, and (b) under which conditions the factor covariance between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation was positive oblique or non-significant/orthogonal across cultures. Thus, the first predictions were as follows:

*Hypothesis 1a.* A bidimensional acculturation model consisting of national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation (i.e., latent variables) will reveal a better model fit than a unidimensional acculturation model consisting only of one latent variable.

*Hypothesis 1b.* A bidimensional acculturation model will reveal a better model fit than a unidimensional acculturation model across ethnicities.

*Hypothesis 1c.* National culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation will reveal a significant, positive factor covariance for the American sample and a non-significant factor covariance for the Indian sample.

In the subsequent sections, I will explore three potential moderators of the factor covariance between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation: the degree of multicultural exposure (Allport, 1954); a compartmentalized versus a blended multicultural identity (Amiot, De la Sablonnière, Terry, & Smith, 2007); and an independent versus an interdependent self-construal (Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

### **5.1 Multicultural Exposure**

The non-invariant association between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation may reflect differences in multicultural exposure (e.g., living and/or working in a culturally diverse neighbourhood). Specifically, high multicultural exposure may facilitate compatibility between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation across cultures, resulting in a positive oblique factor covariance. In particular, the Intergroup Contact Hypothesis (Allport, 1954) claims that under certain conditions high intergroup contact will lead to more acceptance of and less prejudice against others. These conditions include equal status and a cooperative relation with acquaintance potential for both sides (cf., Cook, 1985). In line with this assumption stands the Mere Exposure Effect which predicts more positive attitudes towards a group due to repeated exposure that creates familiarity and again potential acquaintance (Miller, 1976; Zajonc, 1968). In their meta-analysis with 713 independent samples across diverse settings (schools, work, experiments), Pettigrew and colleagues (2011) showed that intergroup contact generally relates negatively to prejudice in both non-local and local groups.

Although this effect was even stronger if the conditions outlined by Allport were met, the study still demonstrated that they are not necessary conditions. Indeed, in line with the Mere Exposure Effect (Miller, 1976), Harrison (2012) found that individuals who grew up in multicultural environments reported lower levels of ethnocentrism compared to individuals whose upbringing was in homogenous cultural environments. Lower levels of ethnocentrism, in turn, were associated with positive attitudes towards cultural diversity (Harrison, 2012). Similarly, Christ et al. (2014) revealed across seven multilevel and two longitudinal studies that individuals who experience no direct, face-to-face intergroup contact still report decreased prejudice from living in a multicultural neighbourhood (i.e., passive tolerance). This is because their behaviour was influenced by fellow in-group members who experienced direct positive intergroup contact.

Such differences in multicultural exposure, however, may not be a culture specific but a cross-cultural condition that moderates the covariance between locals' acculturation dimensions. For example, the USA and UK, which are among the top ten worldwide in terms of total international migrants received (Vargas-Silva, 2014; see 1.1.2), expressed a positive oblique factor covariance between the EAML's two dimensions. In turn, China and India, who only recently experienced a rise in international migration (Brookfield, 2012), showed an orthogonal relationship. Yet, although Germany is also in the top ten worldwide for the total number of international migrants received, German participants in Study 2 – unlike the American and British participants – revealed a weakly positive, yet non-significant correlation, therefore suggesting orthogonality between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation. Moreover, although India and China may accommodate only a small ratio of international migrants, both countries consist of numerous indigenous groups (Chi-Ping, 2011; IWGIA, 2011; see 1.1.1). Thus, in opposition to Studies 1 and 2, Study 3

recorded participants' degree of multicultural exposure across cultures, predicting the following:

*Hypothesis 2a.* Living in more highly culturally heterogeneous neighbourhoods will promote a positive oblique factor covariance between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation than living in less culturally diverse neighbourhoods (i.e., encompassing members predominantly of locals' own cultural background).

*Hypothesis 2b.* Working in a more highly culturally diverse environment will foster a positive oblique factor covariance between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation than working in an environment largely consisting of members from locals' own cultural background.

Instead of the degree to which locals experience multicultural exposure, the factor covariance between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation may be moderated by two forms of a multicultural identity: either in terms of fragmented identities (i.e., multiple cultural identities) or in terms of one blended multicultural identity that encompasses compatible aspects of one's own and other cultures. Thus, the next section will explore this possibility with reference to the Cognitive Developmental Model of Social Identity Integration (CDMSII; Amiot et al., 2007)

## **5.2 Cognitive Developmental Model of Social Identity Integration**

The relationship between locals' national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation may vary due to how they integrate multiple cultures into their self-concept. The CDMSII explains four developmental configurative steps across cultures in the formation of a multicultural identity (Amiot et al., 2007; Yampolsky, Amiot, & De la Sablonnière, 2013). As a neo-Piagetian approach, the self is expected to move from fractionation and differentiation of its components towards increased integration (cf., Yan & Fischer, 2002). To

explain the correlational variation between locals' acculturation dimensions, I focussed on the model's last two steps: compartmentalization and integration.

Compartmentalization involves incorporating multiple cultural identities as equally valid frames of reference to understand the world (Amiot et al., 2007). Yet, these identities are perceived as fundamentally disparate and are kept separate from each other. Fisher (1980) describes such a state as the over-differentiation of self-concepts which enables the individual to think about them only in terms of distinct identities. Thus, one's cultural identities are activated depending on contextual cues (Yampolsky et al., 2013). Bicultural migrants, for example, can frame switch or shift from one set of behaviours and attitudes to another in response to changing cultural cues (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002; Schwartz et al., 2013). The ability to frame-switch further explains life domain-specific variations of migrants' acculturation strategies. That is, migrants prefer heritage culture maintenance within the private/family life sphere and mainstream culture adaptation in the public sphere (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003, 2007). Moreover, frame-switching biculturals endorsed non-conflicting identities in contrast to biculturals who showed no response or contradictory responses to cultural cues (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002). In fact, due to the context dependency of a compartmentalized multicultural psyche, simultaneous identification is not possible, which in turn buffers the recognition of contradictions between endorsed identities (Amiot et al., 2007). In a qualitative study by Moore and Baker (2012), for instance, third culture individuals (i.e., who moved between countries during their developmental years; Pollock & Van Reken, 2009) reported possessing separated, non-conflicting identities. Compartmentalization may not facilitate compatibility between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation, but rather their independent coexistence within the individual, resulting in an orthogonal factor covariance.

Conversely, the CDMSII stage of integration holds that cognitive links are established between these compartmentalized cultural identities to construct one integrated and coherent multicultural identity (Amiot et al., 2007). Thus, the individual recognizes conflicts between different cultural identities and binds them together through emergent attributes – that is, attributes that were not inherently present in the original cultural identities, but which are compatible among them (cf., Hutter & Crisp, 2005). Therefore, this resolution of contradictory cultural identities results in a trans-situational self-concept (Yampolsky et al., 2013). For example, third culture individuals who endorsed one blended multicultural identity indicated that they had integrated different elements from varying cultures to form a stable core identity to which they adhered regardless of contextual cues (Moore & Barker, 2012).

Amiot and colleagues (2007) proposed this integration stage of the CDMSII for migrants rather than locals. Indeed, the latter group may experience less pressure to create emergent attributes to resolve a cultural identity conflict as they receive more support than migrants to maintain their distinctive cultural traits within multilingual settings (Bourhis et al., 2010; see 1.2.1). Nonetheless, Amiot et al. (2007) also suggested that the resolution of cultural identity conflicts may result from creating a meaningful superordinate identity category (e.g., being human). This approach corresponds with the globalization literature which holds that locals are likely to form a global meta-identity in response to growing direct and/or indirect multicultural exposure (Kim, 2008; see 1.2.4). Alternatively, locals' identity conflict resolution may also derive from self-selecting aspects of other cultures (i.e., hybrid-identity; Arnett, 2002; Jensen & Arnett, 2012). In fact, results of Study 1 (see 3.5) suggested that such a personalized multicultural hybrid-identity implies the incorporation of other cultural aspects which are compatible with one's own, resulting in a positive oblique

correlation between locals' national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation. Thus, I expected the following:

*Hypothesis 3.* For participants with one blended multicultural identity, a positive oblique relationship will emerge between their national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation rather than for participants with multiple cultural identities (i.e., tendency towards orthogonality).

In opposition to research on multicultural identity formation, research on self-construals stresses that the development towards a trans-situational self is more likely to occur in individualistic societies (e.g., USA), whereas a relationship- and role-dependent self is dominant in collectivistic societies (e.g., India; Hofstede, 2001; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Thus, the next section will explore whether the correlation between locals' national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation varies due to their endorsed self-construals.

### **5.3 Independent and Interdependent Self-Construals**

The extent to which locals define themselves in terms of their relationships to others may impact the association between their national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation. Individualistic cultures (e.g., USA) foster the accessibility of an independent self-construal (Cross, Hardin, & Gercek-Swing, 2011), in which one's behaviour is organized in primary reference to personal desires and goals. An independent self therefore reflects a bounded, autonomous, and self-contained understanding of the self which is consistent across different social contexts (Cross et al., 2011; De Mooij, 2010). Conversely, collectivistic societies (e.g., India) promote the accessibility to an interdependent self-construal (Mara, DeCicco, & Stroink, 2007; Imada & Yussen, 2012). Such an interdependent self is shaped by interpersonal relationships with one's behaviours and feelings motivated by group goals and desires (Singelis, 1994). Thus, it reflects a flexible and responsive self which adjusts to the given social context to maintain harmony within the group (De Mooij, 2010; Hardin,

Varghese, Tran, & Carlson, 2006). Nonetheless, research stresses the coexistence of these self-construals within the individual across cultures (Kam, Zhou, Zhang, & Ho, 2012).

With regard to locals' acculturation towards multiculturalism, an independent self may then encourage them to adapt to only national culture-compatible aspects of other cultures, resulting in a positive oblique covariance between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation. Conversely, an interdependent self may encourage locals to adapt to diverse cultural aspects that can also be non-compatible with their own national culture, resulting in an orthogonal covariance between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation. This is because an independent self strives for consistency whereas an interdependent self is expected to be inconsistent/flexible (Morling, Kitayama, & Miyamoto, 2002). Indeed, Hardin, Leong and Bhagwat's (2004) factor analyses with data from European American and Asian/Asian Americans revealed behavioural consistency as one underlying factor of an independent self-construal. Similarly, Suh (2002) reported that the consistent expression of inner attributes and attitudes was positively perceived by members only of an individualistic culture which fosters an independent self-construal in opposition to members of a collectivistic culture. Therefore, to maintain attitudinal and behavioural consistency, locals who strongly endorse an independent self-construal may be more likely to adapt to aspects of other cultures that are consistent with their pre-existing (i.e., national) cultural values, attitudes, and behaviours. In contrast, collectivistic societies, which foster an interdependent self-construal, value individuals' flexibility to change behaviours and attitudes to fit the demands, norms and rules associated with the different social situations (Kitayama & Markus, 1998). Thus, the incorporation of any cultural aspect (compatible or not) may allow locals to conform their behaviour to the given intercultural context (e.g., frame-switching; Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martínez, 2000). Therefore I hypothesised the following:



*Hypothesis 4a.* High endorsement of an independent-construal will encourage a positive oblique factor covariance between locals' national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation rather than low endorsement of an independent self-construal.

*Hypothesis 4b.* High endorsement of an interdependent self-construal will promote an orthogonal factor covariance between locals' national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation rather than low endorsement of an interdependent self-construal.

## **5.4 Methods**

### **5.4.1 Participants**

All participants were required to identify as Indian or American, to be born and currently live in the respective country as well as both of their parents and grandparents, they needed to hold the country's citizenship, and have spent the majority of their lives in the respective country (60%; see 3.3.1). Moreover, participants had to experience daily intercultural contact with people from at least two different countries (e.g., a German work colleague and a Brazilian friend). This requirement was included to ensure that all participants have lived and been socialized in their national culture, thus identify as locals, while simultaneously being socialized in multiple other cultural groups. 208 Americans and 272 Indians between 18 to 73 years of age were recruited for the present study (see further Table 5.1, and Table 5.2 for age).

### **5.4.2 Procedure**

Since India is the largest English-speaking country outside of the USA and the UK (as cited in Graddol, 2010), an online version of the survey was developed using the original English questionnaires. A hyperlink to the online survey was distributed through Amazon Mechanical Turk. Data collection was restricted to Americans and Indians and participants received .40 USD for completing the survey (see also 4.3.2). To ensure participants' attentiveness during their survey participation, I included several attention check questions

(i.e., “Which date is today?”). 137 participants in total (USA = 8, India = 129) failed these questions and were removed from further analyses.

### 5.4.3 Materials

**Multi-Vancouver Index of Acculturation (Multi-VIA).** The same scale was applied as described in Study 1 (see 3.3.3), yet using a 9-point Likert scale<sup>5</sup>, ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*). Similar to Study 2, India/USA was included as the national culture for the subscale measuring locals’ national culture maintenance. Internal consistency for both subscales, national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation, are shown in Table 5.2.

**Subjective Vitality Questionnaire (SVQ).** Ehala and Zabrodskaja (2011) introduced the 10-item SVQ to assess locals’ subjective vitality of their own group. Items included “How much is your culture and tradition appreciated in the American/Indian society?” Participants rated each statement on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*the highest possible level of the property*) to 7 (*the total absence of the property*) (e.g., “How much is your culture and tradition appreciated in the American/Indian society?”). For the present study, the scores were reversed coded. Thus, high scores indicate locals’ perceived high group vitality whereas low scores indicate locals’ perceived low group vitality. Cronbach’s alphas were robust for the total sample and each cultural group separately (see Table 5.2).

**Multicultural Exposure.** Respondents were asked how culturally diverse they perceived their own neighbourhood and work environment to be by indicating whether it was comprised of (a) mostly members of one’s own culture, (b) mostly members of multiple other cultures, or (c) other.

**Cultural Identity.** To clarify respondents’ perception of their cultural identity, they indicated if they encompassed (a) two or more distinct/fragmented cultural identities, (b) one

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<sup>5</sup> The Likert scale was changed to decrease potential measurement errors (Finstad, 2010).

blended multicultural identity with aspects of their own and other cultures, or (c) any other identity form (i.e., open-ended question). Because no respondent indicated any other identity form (i.e., c) beyond the options provided (i.e., a and b), the variable indicating any other identity form (i.e., c) was not included in the following analyses. Thus, a dichotomous categorical variable indicated participants' cultural identity as either endorsing (a) multiple distinct cultural identities or (b) one blended multicultural identity.

**Independent and Interdependent Self Scales (IISS).** Lu and Gilmour (2007) developed a 42-item scale to measure independent and interdependent self-construals. Across five independent samples of Chinese and British participants, the IISS showed satisfactory reliability and convergent and divergent validity. There are 21 items in the independence subscale (e.g., "I believe that people should try hard to satisfy their interests") and a further 21 in the interdependence dimension (e.g., "I believe that family is the source of our self"). All statements are rated on a 7-point Likert scale with 1 indicating "*strongly disagree*" and 7 corresponding to "*strongly agree*". Internal consistency was adequate for the total sample and for the American and Indian samples separately (see Table 5.2).

## 5.5 Results

### 5.5.1 Preliminary Analysis

Means, standard deviations, and Pearson's correlations for all the variables are reported in Table 5.2. Americans did not significantly differ from Indians in the endorsement of an independent self-construal. However, Indians scored significantly higher on the subscale measuring the interdependent self-construal than American participants. To ensure that data was collected from locals, participants' subjective group vitality scores were inspected using the scale's midpoint as cut-off criterion (4). All participants across both cultures showed higher scores than the scales midpoint, thus indicating high perceived group vitality (see Table 5.2).

### 5.5.2 Measurement Model for the Total Sample

For confirmatory factor analysis, Kline (2011) recommended that for an acceptable model fit the chi-square statistic should be non-significant. However, this criterion is sensitive to sample size, and thus, not an adequate model fit indicator for the present data. Accordingly, I used the following alternative indices: comparative fit index (CFI) which should be .90 or greater (Kline, 2011); the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) which should be .08 or less (Browne & Cudeck, 1989); and the standardised root mean residual (SRMR) which should be .10 or less (Kline, 2011). I used item parcelling as it requires estimation of fewer parameters and thus results in a more stable model (Little, Cunningham, Shahar, & Widaman, 2002). Using a factorial approach (Russell et al., 1998), I first conducted a principle axis factor analysis (PAF) with promax rotation of the Multi-VIA for the entire sample ( $N = 480$ ). I combined items with the highest and lowest factor loadings of the Multi-VIA to create five parcels each for the latent variables of multicultural adaptation and national culture maintenance.

Using AMOS 20, I first tested a unidimensional acculturation model for locals by loading all parcels for multicultural adaptation and national culture maintenance onto one latent variable. The measurement model for the total sample indicated a poor fit with the data [ $\chi^2(36) = 932.56, p < .0001, CFI = .75, RMSEA = .23$  (CI: .21, .24), SRMR = .13]. Next, a bidimensional acculturation model for locals was tested with the parcels for multicultural adaptation and national culture maintenance loading onto each respective latent variable which were connected through a structural covariance (see Figure 5.1). This bidimensional measurement model significantly differed from the initial model [ $\chi^2\Delta(2) = 735.52, p < .0001$ ], and demonstrated an adequate fit with the observed data [ $\chi^2(34) = 197.04, p < .0001, CFI = .95, RMSEA = .10$  (CI = .09, .11), SRMR = .04]. All of the indicators loaded significantly onto their respective latent variables, indicating that all item parcels reflected their respective

latent variable (see Table 5.3, p. 95). These findings support Hypothesis 1a: a bidimensional rather than a unidimensional acculturation model for locals was revealed.

Moreover, a positive significant factor covariance was detected between locals' multicultural adaptation and national culture maintenance. Therefore multiple-group comparison analyses were conducted next to test the measurement model (a) across culture and ethnicities, (b) across degrees of multicultural exposure, (c) across multicultural identities, and (d) across self-construals.

Figure 5.1 *Measurement model of the Extended Acculturation Model for Locals*

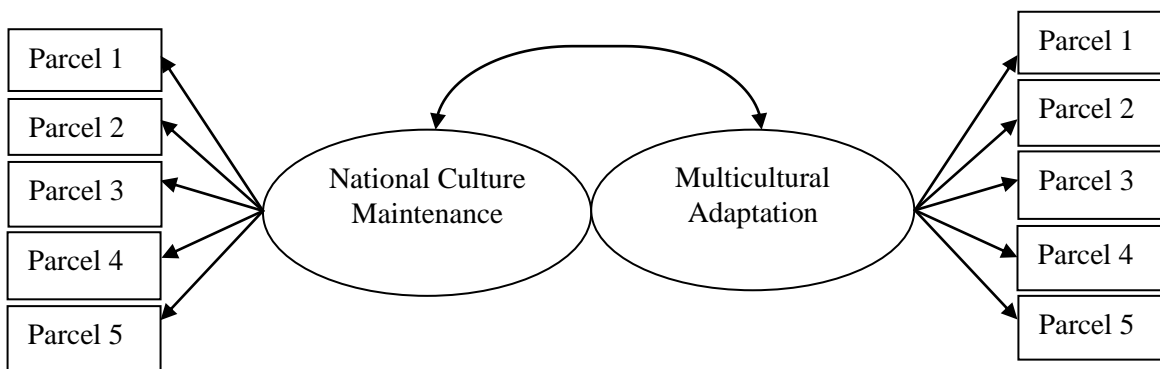


Table 5.1 *Demographics for the Total and Subsamples*

Variables		TOTAL		India ( <i>N</i> = 272)		USA ( <i>N</i> = 208)		Chi-square test
		n	%	n	%	n	%	
Sex	Male	283	59.0	176	64.7	107	51.4	$\chi^2 = 8.57$ , <i>df</i> = 1, <i>p</i> < .01*
	Female	197	41.0	96	35.3	101	48.6	
Ethnicity	Caucasian	155	32.3	4	1.5	151	72.6	$\chi^2 =$ 399.50, <i>df</i> = 4, <i>p</i> < .001**
	South Asian	245	51	242	89	3	1.4	
	African	18	3.8	-	-	18	8.7	
	Hispanic	14	2.9	1	.4	13	6.3	
	Other	48	10	25	9.2	23	11.1	
Occupation	Unemployed	36	7.5	12	4.4	24	11.5	$\chi^2 = 85.53$ , <i>df</i> = 2, <i>p</i> < .001**
	Student	71	14.8	34	12.5	37	17.8	
	Employed	337	70.2	194	71.3	143	68.8	
	Missing	36	7.5	32	11.8	4	1.9	
Education	No qualification	34	7.1	2	.7	32	15.4	$\chi^2 = 85.53$ , <i>df</i> = 2, <i>p</i> < .001**
	A-Levels or equivalent	128	26.7	45	16.5	83	39.9	
	Higher than A-Levels (e.g. Bachelor, Master, etc.)	318	66.3	225	82.7	93	44.7	
Neighbourhood	Mostly Members of the Own Culture	179	37.3	93	35.1	82	41.0	$\chi^2 = 2.01$ , <i>df</i> = 1, <i>p</i> > .05
	Mostly Members of Other Cultures	301	62.7	172	64.9	118	59.0	
Work	Mostly Members of the Own Culture	108	22.5	58	21.3	50	24.0	$\chi^2 = .62$ , <i>df</i> = 1, <i>p</i> > .05 <sup>1</sup>
	Mostly Members of Other Cultures	357	74.4	207	76.1	150	72.1	
	Not Employed	15	3.1	7	2.6	8	3.8	
Multicultural Identity	One/Blended Identity	216	45.0	147	54.0	69	33.2	$\chi^2 = 20.75$ , <i>df</i> = 1, <i>p</i> < .001**
	Multiple Identities	264	55.0	125	46.0	139	66.8	

*p* < .05; *p* < .01 \*; *p* < .001\*\*. <sup>1</sup>Analysis excluded participants who were not employed.

Table 5.2 Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlation Matrix for the Total and Subsamples

Scales	Variables		<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	$\alpha$	<i>t</i> -test ( <i>df</i> = 478)	1	2	3	4	5
Age		Total	30.46	9.16	-						
		India	29.22	7.90	-	$t = 3.42, p < .01^*$					
		USA	32.08	10.38	-						
1 IISS	Independent Self	Total	5.38	.87	.93						
		India	5.37	.85	.93	$t = .52, p > .05$					
		USA	5.41	.90	.93						
2 IISS	Interdependent Self	Total	5.08	1.00	.94		<b>.51**</b>				
		India	5.42	.88	.94	$t = -9.16, p < .001^{**}$	<b>.79**</b>				
		USA	4.64	.99	.92		<b>.29**</b>				
3 Multi-VIA	National Culture Maintenance	Total	7.04	1.32	.92		<b>.57**</b>	<b>.51**</b>			
		India	7.05	1.30	.93	$t = -.24, p > .05$	<b>.70**</b>	<b>.70**</b>			
		USA	7.02	1.35	.92		<b>.42**</b>	<b>.37**</b>			
4 Multi-VIA	Multicultural Adaptation	Total	6.49	1.25	.87		<b>.42**</b>	<b>.35**</b>	<b>.54**</b>		
		India	6.45	1.28	.89	$t = .81, p > .05$	<b>.47**</b>	<b>.45**</b>	<b>.54**</b>		
		USA	6.54	1.22	.87		<b>.35**</b>	<b>.32**</b>	<b>.55**</b>		
5 SEVQ	Group Vitality	Total	4.92	1.51	.95		<b>.24**</b>	.00	<b>.28**</b>	.06	
		India	4.59	1.51	.95	$t = 5.68, p < .001^{**}$	<b>.23**</b>	<b>.25**</b>	<b>.27**</b>	.02	
		USA	5.35	1.40	.95		<b>.26**</b>	.07	<b>.30**</b>	.11	

$p < .001^{**}$  and in boldface.

### 5.5.3 Multiple-Group Comparison: Culture and Ethnicity

First, to control for differences by ethnicities (Hypothesis 1b), I tested for configural and metric invariance between Caucasians and South Asians. Measurement weights were invariant across ethnicity groups [ $\chi^2\Delta(8) = 9.40, p > .05$ ; see Table 5.3]. These results support findings from Study 2: a bidimensional model fits ethnicity does not moderate the factor covariance between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation.

Second, to test Hypothesis 1c which assumed covariance non-invariance across cultures, I first compared measurement variance across the Indian and American samples. Table 5.3 reports parcel loadings and covariance coefficients for both latent variables. Measurement weights were invariant across groups [ $\chi^2\Delta(8) = 13.04, p > .05$ ]. Moreover, the covariance between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation was invariant between the two samples [ $\chi^2\Delta(1) = .07, p > .05$ ]. This was tested by constraining the covariance loading to equality across groups. Thus, these findings oppose my results from Study 2, which had revealed a covariance non-invariance across cultures.

### 5.5.4 Multiple-Group Comparison: Multicultural Exposure

First I tested whether living in more highly culturally heterogeneous neighbourhoods will promote a positive oblique factor covariance between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation (Hypothesis 2a). Thus, multiple-group comparison analysis was conducted across participants living among mostly members of other cultures and those living among mostly members of the own culture. Both measurement weight [ $\chi^2\Delta(8) = 6.55, p > .05$ ] and covariance coefficients [ $\chi^2\Delta(1) = 1.43, p > .05$ ] were invariant across groups. Table 5.4 shows parcel loadings and covariance coefficients across groups.



Table 5.3 Un- and Standardized Coefficients for the Total, Culture, and Ethnicity Samples

Latent Construct	Observed Variable	Total (N = 480)				USA (N = 208)				India (N = 272)				Caucasian (N = 151)				South Asian (N = 245)			
		$\beta$	B	SE	p	$\beta$	B	SE	p	$\beta$	B	SE	p	$\beta$	B	SE	p	$\beta$	B	SE	p
MA	Parcel 1	.80	1.00			.74	1.00			.84	1.00			.74	1.00			.84	1.00		
	Parcel 2	.78	.94	.05	***	.79	1.02	.09	***	.78	.89	.06	***	.84	1.06	.10	***	.79	.91	.06	***
	Parcel 3	.86	1.14	.06	***	.84	1.17	.10	***	.89	1.12	.06	***	.88	1.23	.11	***	.89	1.14	.07	***
	Parcel 4	.65	.95	.06	***	.73	1.12	.11	***	.61	.84	.08	***	.73	1.11	.13	***	.59	.80	.08	***
	Parcel 5	.75	1.00	.06	***	.79	1.19	.11	***	.74	.89	.07	***	.77	1.18	.13	***	.74	.92	.07	***
NCM	Parcel 1	.84	1.00			.83	1.00			.84	1.00			.82	1.00			.85	1.00		
	Parcel 2	.87	1.00	.04	***	.89	1.02	.06	***	.86	.97	.06	***	.88	1.06	.08	***	.86	.98	.06	***
	Parcel 3	.86	.98	.04	***	.87	.96	.06	***	.86	1.00	.06	***	.88	1.00	.08	***	.85	.98	.06	***
	Parcel 4	.88	1.05	.04	***	.87	1.02	.06	***	.89	1.08	.06	***	.87	1.06	.08	***	.90	1.08	.06	***
	Parcel 5	.86	1.01	.04	***	.89	1.04	.06	***	.84	.99	.06	***	.88	1.07	.08	***	.84	.99	.06	***
Covariance		.62	3.65	.37	***	.61	3.28	.53	***	.63	3.91	.52	***	.53	2.54	.52	***	.63	4.00	.56	***

$p < .001$ \*\*\*, and in boldface.

Table 5.4 *Un- and Standardized Coefficients across Levels of Multicultural Exposure*

Latent Construct	Observed Variable	High Multicultural Exposure: Neighbourhood (N = 301)				a	Low Multicultural Exposure: Neighbourhood (N = 179)				High Multicultural Exposure: Work (N = 357)				Low Multicultural Exposure: Work (N = 108)					
		$\beta$	B	SE	p		$\beta$	B	SE	p	a	$\beta$	B	SE	p	a	$\beta$	B	SE	p
		Multicultural Adaptation	Parcel 1	.81	1.00				.78	1.00				.82	1.00				.75	1.00
	Parcel 2	.77	.90	.06	***		.80	.99	.09	***		.76	.88	.06	***		.83	1.09	.13	***
	Parcel 3	.86	1.06	.06	***		.88	1.27	.10	***		.86	1.09	.06	***		.87	1.26	.14	***
	Parcel 4	.66	.96	.08	***		.64	.92	.11	***		.64	.91	.07	***		.66	1.00	.15	***
	Parcel 5	.77	1.00	.07	***		.72	.98	.10	***		.73	.95	.06	***		.82	1.14	.14	***
National Culture	Parcel 1	.84	1.00				.82	1.00				.83	1.00				.84	1.00		
	Parcel 2	.86	1.00	.05	***		.90	.98	.07	***		.85	1.00	.05	***		.91	1.00	.08	***
Maintenance	Parcel 3	.86	.97	.05	***		.86	1.00	.07	***		.86	1.02	.05	***		.88	.95	.08	***
	Parcel 4	.87	1.04	.05	***		.90	1.07	.07	***		.87	1.08	.05	***		.90	1.04	.09	***
	Parcel 5	.85	.99	.05	***		.88	1.02	.07	***		.84	1.03	.05	***		.91	1.00	.08	***
Covariance		.71	4.08	.48	***		.51	3.12	.60	***		.74	4.07	.43	***		.35	2.32	.77	.002

$p < .001$ \*\*\*, and in boldface.

Additionally, non-significant differences were detected for measurement weights [ $\chi^2\Delta(8) = 6.72, p > .05$ ] and covariance between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation [ $\chi^2\Delta(1) = 1.12, p > .05$ ] when comparing locals living in less culturally heterogeneous neighbourhoods in the USA ( $n = 118$ ) and India ( $n = 172$ ). Similarly, Americans ( $n = 82^6$ ) and Indians ( $n = 93^6$ ) living in high culturally diverse neighbourhoods showed measurement [ $\chi^2\Delta(8) = 11.95, p > .05$ ] and covariance invariance [ $\chi^2\Delta(1) = .04, p > .05$ ]. Thus, findings do not support Hypotheses 2a revealing no factor covariance variance depending on locals neighbourhood composition.

Second, it was tested whether working in a more highly culturally diverse environment will promote a positive oblique factor covariance between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation (Hypothesis 2b). 15 participants were unemployed, and thus, excluded from this analysis. Measurement invariance [ $\chi^2\Delta(8) = 3.85, p > .05$ ] was revealed for participants working with mostly members of other cultures and those working mostly with members of their own culture. A comparison of the covariance coefficients by constraining them to equality indicated a tendency towards significance [ $\chi^2\Delta(1) = 3.14, p = .08$ ] (see Table 5.4 for parcel loadings and covariance coefficients).

Furthermore, measurement weight [ $\chi^2\Delta(8) = 8.90, p > .05$ ] and covariance invariance [ $\chi^2\Delta(1) = 1.91, p > .05$ ] were detected between Americans ( $n = 50^1$ ) and Indians ( $n = 58^1$ ) who work in less culturally diverse environments. Also, measurement weight [ $\chi^2\Delta(8) = 10.90, p > .05$ ] and covariance invariance [ $\chi^2\Delta(1) = .11, p > .05$ ] were revealed for Americans ( $n = 150$ ) and Indians ( $n = 207$ ) who work in highly culturally diverse environments. Overall, findings partially support Hypotheses 2b – that is, locals working in a more highly culturally diverse environment show a non-significant, yet tendency towards a positive oblique

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<sup>6</sup> A minimum of 100 participants is required to perform confirmatory factor analysis for the proposed measurement model (see Kline, 2005). Thus, the presented results need to be interpreted with caution.

association between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation rather than those who work in mostly cultural homogenous environments.

### **5.5.5 Multiple-Group Comparison: Multicultural Identities**

The comparison analysis between participants who endorsed one multicultural identity with those holding multiple cultural identities revealed a significant difference in the factor loadings [ $\chi^2\Delta(8) = 16.33, p < .05$ ]. After constraining all factor loadings individually to equality, parcels 2 and 5 of the multicultural adaptation scale showed non-invariance (see Table 5.5). Still, the same loading pattern was revealed, indicating configural measurement invariance (Vandenberg & Lance, 2000). To test whether locals with one multicultural identity also indicate a stronger positive correlation between multicultural adaptation and national culture maintenance than those holding multiple cultural identities (Hypothesis 3), I compared the covariance between the two groups by constraining the covariance pathway to equality. Results showed significant non-invariance [ $\chi^2\Delta(1) = 19.81, p < .001$ ] with participants endorsing one multicultural identity reporting a stronger positive association between the two latent variables than those endorsing multiple cultural identities (see Table 5.5). In contrast, locals holding multiple cultural identities showed a tendency towards orthogonality between the two latent variables.

Table 5.5 Un- and Standardized Coefficients across Multicultural Identities and Self-Construals

Latent Construct	Observed Variable	One Identity (N = 264)				Multiple Identities (N = 216)				High Independent Self (N = 249)				Low Independent Self (N = 231)				High Interdependent Self (N = 245)				Low Interdependent Self (N = 235)			
		$\beta$	B	SE	p	$\beta$	B	SE	p	$\beta$	B	SE	p	$\beta$	B	SE	p	$\beta$	B	SE	p	$\beta$	B	SE	p
MA	Parcel 1	.80	1.00			.80	1.00			.74	1.00			.80	1.00			.78	1.00			.77	1.00		
	Parcel 2	.70	.80	.07	***	.86	1.09	.08	***	.81	1.11	.09	***	.67	.74	.07	***	.82	1.03	.08	***	.68	.82	.08	***
	Parcel 3	.86	1.09	.07	***	.87	1.20	.09	***	.84	1.19	.09	***	.85	1.11	.08	***	.87	1.19	.08	***	.83	1.14	.09	***
	Parcel 4	.68	.91	.08	***	.67	1.04	.10	***	.65	1.12	.11	***	.61	.85	.09	***	.65	1.06	.10	***	.67	.95	.10	***
	Parcel 5	.73	.88	.07	***	.77	1.12	.09	***	.82	1.22	.10	***	.58	.74	.08	***	.72	1.00	.09	***	.70	.92	.09	***
NCM	Parcel 1	.82	1.00			.84	1.00			.76	1.00			.84	1.00			.78	1.00			.82	1.00		
	Parcel 2	.85	.97	.06	***	.88	1.04	.06	***	.86	1.15	.08	***	.82	.86	.06	***	.84	1.11	.08	***	.83	.90	.06	***
	Parcel 3	.88	1.01	.06	***	.81	.96	.06	***	.77	.97	.08	***	.87	.98	.06	***	.81	1.04	.08	***	.85	.96	.06	***
	Parcel 4	.86	1.02	.06	***	.88	1.10	.06	***	.88	1.12	.08	***	.83	.97	.06	***	.88	1.19	.08	***	.83	.96	.06	***
	Parcel 5	.85	.97	.06	***	.87	1.13	.07	***	.86	1.15	.08	***	.82	.92	.06	***	.82	1.17	.09	***	.86	.97	.06	***
Covariance		.89	5.30	.62	***	.39	1.98	.42	***	.41	1.63	.32	***	.67	3.65	.52	***	.46	1.84	.33	***	.65	3.59	.53	***

$p < .001$ \*\*\*, and in boldface.

Moreover, measurement weight [ $\chi^2\Delta(8) = 12.63, p > .05$ ] and covariance invariance [ $\chi^2\Delta(1) = .51, p > .05$ ] was found when comparing locals who held one multicultural identity across the American ( $n = 139$ ) and Indian ( $n = 125$ ) sample. Non-significant differences were also found in measurement weights [ $\chi^2\Delta(8) = 12.65, p > .05$ ] and covariance [ $\chi^2\Delta(1) = .79, p > .05$ ] when comparing locals who reported endorsing multiple cultural identities from the USA ( $n = 69^7$ ) with India ( $n = 147$ ). In sum, findings supported Hypotheses 3 with locals endorsing one multicultural identity showing a stronger positive correlation between multicultural adaptation and national culture maintenance than those endorsing multiple cultural identities, who showed an orthogonal association.

### 5.5.6 Multiple-Group Comparison: Self-Construals

Given that both self-construals were measured in form of continuous variables, hierarchical regression analysis was conducted before running multiple group comparison analyses. In Step 1, culture (USA = 1, India = -1), independent and interdependent self-construals as well as multicultural adaptation were entered to test their predictive power on national culture maintenance. Four interaction terms were added in Step 2: multicultural adaptation  $\times$  independent self; multicultural adaptation  $\times$  interdependent self; as well as independent self  $\times$  culture and interdependent self  $\times$  culture. To mitigate cultural response bias, both self-construals and multicultural adaptation were group-mean centred prior to the analysis (Fischer, 2004). Last, the triple interaction terms multicultural adaptation  $\times$  independent self  $\times$  culture and multicultural adaptation  $\times$  interdependent self  $\times$  culture were entered in Step 3.

No significant main effect was found for culture. Both an independent and interdependent self-construal positively related to national culture maintenance in Step 1 ( $\beta = .30, t(475) = 7.18, p < .001$ ;  $\beta = .25, t(475) = 6.23, p < .001$ ; respectively). The effect was not

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<sup>7</sup> A minimum of 100 participants is required to perform confirmatory factor analysis for the proposed measurement model (see Kline, 2005). Thus, the presented results need to be interpreted with caution.

moderated by country. Also multicultural adaptation revealed a positive association with national culture maintenance in Step 1 ( $\beta = .32, t(475) = 8.59, p < .001; R^2 = .48$ ). In line with Hypothesis 4a, the effect was moderated by an independent self-construal in Step 2. To decompose this interaction, Aiken and West's (1991) procedure was used to test the simple slopes of multicultural adaptation when an independent self was low (1 *SD* below the mean) and high (1 *SD* above the mean). Locals' multicultural adaptation revealed a stronger, positive association with respondents' national culture maintenance when independent self endorsement was low ( $\beta = .51, t(474) = 9.28, p < .0001$ ), in comparison to when their independent self endorsement was high ( $\beta = .24, t(474) = 5.36, p < .0001$ ). Against my expectations (Hypothesis 4b), no moderation by an interdependent self was found for the association between multicultural adaptation and national culture maintenance. Thus, these findings partially support Hypothesis 4a, yet in a different direction than predicted: low rather than high endorsement of an independent self promotes a positive oblique factor covariance between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation.

Testing moderation effects via regression analysis, however, can only assess how the predictor variable associates with the dependent variable across levels of the moderator variable (i.e., testing only for one-way associations and one level of invariance). In opposition, multiple-group comparison analysis considers a bidirectional association between the latent variables national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation and tests for several levels of invariance simultaneously – that is, configural invariance, in which the data reflect the same number of factors across groups and the same items are associated with the same factors; metric invariance, which holds that factor loadings are equivalent across groups; and structural invariance, in which the structural pathways and/or covariances between latent variables are the same across groups (Vandenberg & Lance, 2000). Considering that the overall goal of Study 3 was to investigate the psychometric

properties of the Multi-VIA (see xxx), it was necessary to test for configural, metric and structural invariance across the potential moderator of independent and interdependent self-construals.

To conduct multiple-group comparison analysis between self-construals, the two continuous self-construal variables were split and crossed to create two nominal variables. Different methods have been suggested to select a cut-off criterion for a data split (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2006b; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999). To achieve adequate sample sizes for group comparisons, I split the data via the culturally standardized means for both self-construals (see Table 5.5). One nominal independent self-construal variable was created including two categories: (a) locals with a mean score equal or higher than the standardized cultural average in an independent self-construal coded 1 ( $n = 249$ , 52% of the total sample), and (b) locals with scores lower than the culturally standardized mean coded 2 ( $n = 231$ , 48% of the total sample). Similarly, a nominal interdependent self-construal variable was created consisting of locals with a mean score equal or higher than the standardized cultural average in an interdependent self-construal coded 1 ( $n = 245$ , 51% of the total sample), and locals with scores lower than the culturally standardized mean coded 2 ( $n = 235$ , 49% of the total sample).

To test whether high endorsement of an independent self promotes a positive oblique factor covariance between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation rather than low independent self-construal endorsement (Hypothesis 4a), multiple-group comparison factor analysis was conducted. Results showed significant differences in measurement weights across the two groups [ $\chi^2\Delta(8) = 36.59$ ,  $p < .001$ ]. Parcel 5 of the multicultural adaptation scale and Parcels 2 and 4 of the national culture maintenance scale indicated non-invariance after constraining all factor loadings individually to equality. Nevertheless, factor loadings remained adequate and significant (i.e., configural measurement



invariance; Vandenberg & Lance, 2000; see Table 5.5). According to Hypothesis 4a, non-invariance was detected for the covariance between the two latent variables [ $\chi^2\Delta(1) = 11.65, p < .001$ ], however, not in the predicted direction: low endorsement of an independent self fostered a positive oblique factor covariance between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation rather than high independent self endorsement.

Next, I examined whether high endorsement of an interdependent self promotes an orthogonal/non-significant factor covariance between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation rather than low interdependent self endorsement (Hypothesis 4b). Results revealed measurement weights invariance [ $\chi^2\Delta(8) = 11.19, p > .05$ ]. In line with Hypothesis 4b, the two groups did significantly differ in their covariance between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation [ $\chi^2\Delta(1) = 8.48, p = .004$ ] in the predicted direction: high endorsement of an interdependent self mitigated a positive oblique factor covariance between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation rather than low interdependent self endorsement (see Table 5.5).

## 5.6 Discussion

Study 3 tested the conditions under which the association of multicultural adaptation and national culture maintenance was positive or non-significant. Therefore, I aimed to shed light on locals' different pathways of becoming and being multicultural in times of rising multiculturalism (Ward, 2008). First, Study 3 replicated Study 2 by finding support for a bidimensional rather than a unidimensional acculturation model for locals in the total sample (Hypothesis 1a) and across ethnicities (Caucasian versus South Asian, Hypothesis 1b). In contrast to Study 2 and Hypothesis 1c, however, the positive correlation between locals' acculturation dimensions was also invariant across cultures (India versus USA). This finding may indicate that cross-cultural conditions may foster or mitigate the positive correlation of

multicultural adaptation and national culture maintenance rather than culture specific conditions.

Locals' degree of multicultural exposure was found to be one potential moderator of the association between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation (Hypothesis 2). Specifically, working in a more diverse environment rather than culturally homogenous showed a marginally significant tendency to foster a positive oblique rather than orthogonal correlation between locals' acculturation dimensions. In line with the Intergroup Contact Hypothesis (Allport, 1954), this may indicate that high exposure to other cultural groups at one's work place fosters the compatibility between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation. This moderation effect was found for locals' cultural work place composition rather than their neighbourhood potentially because intergroup contacts at work are more likely to happen between individuals of equal status (e.g., academic) and with the necessity to create a cooperative relationship (e.g., team projects; Pettigrew et al., 2011). Both equal status and the aim to create cooperative relations are considered to foster familiarity with the other culture (cf., Cook, 1985).

Additionally, whether locals' endorse multiple cultural identities or one blended multicultural identity was found to be another moderator of the correlation between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation (Hypothesis 3). Indeed, both Indian and American locals with one, blended/integrated multicultural identity indicated a stronger positive, oblique correlation between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation than those endorsing multiple/compartimentalized cultural identities. In line with the CDMSII (Amiot et al., 2007), such locals may be more likely to express a trans-situational identity created through either self-selecting aspects of other cultures that are compatible to their own (cf., hybrid-identity; Arnett, 2002) or by creating a superordinate self-concept (cf., global meta-identity, Kim, 2015). Meanwhile, these findings may indicate

that locals who tend towards a less positive/orthogonal association between their acculturation dimensions are more likely to perform cultural frame-switching in response to given cultural cues (cf., Schwartz et al., 2013) as well as to express functional specialisation of their acculturation strategies (cf., Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2007).

Last, self-construal endorsement was found to moderate the relationship between locals' national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation (Hypothesis 4). In line with my expectations, high interdependent self endorsement decreased the positive correlation between locals' acculturation dimensions. This corresponds to the assumption that the interdependent self is more likely to incorporate any cultural aspect (compatible or not) which promotes a tendency towards orthogonality between locals' acculturation dimensions. This orthogonality enables the individual to maintain behavioural and attitudinal flexibility to fit and function across different social situations with different associated norms (i.e., frame-switching; Hong et al., 2000; Kitayama & Markus, 1998).

Against my expectations, however, high independent self endorsement also decreased rather than fostered the positive association between locals' national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation. These findings may refer to differences in cultural embeddedness. For example, individualistic cultures foster the endorsement of an independent self-construal and collectivistic societies promote the endorsement of an interdependent self-construal (e.g., Imada & Yussen, 2012). Thus, high self-construal endorsement implies linkages to specific cultural frames of reference to understand the world. High endorsement of both selves is associated with high and orthogonally related heritage culture maintenance and host culture adaptation for migrants (Ryder et al., 2000; Shim, Freund, Stopsack, Kämmerer, & Barnow, 2014). Yet, Bennett (2004, 2013) suggested that multiculturalists may be detached from any specific cultural framework to create a personal 'third culture'. Analogously, less endorsement of both culturally embedded self construals may foster the compatibility

between maintaining aspects of one's national culture and incorporating aspects of other cultures, resulting in a positive oblique correlation between locals' acculturation dimensions.

In sum, the findings of Study 3 suggested that multicultural adaptation and national culture maintenance may be considered as two distinct constructs which can be positively oblique or orthogonally associated across cultures and ethnicities. Moreover, findings indicate that the correlation of these acculturation dimensions is more likely to be positive rather than orthogonal when locals work in culturally diverse rather than homogenous environments, endorse one blended multicultural identity rather than multiple cultural identities, and indicate low rather than high independent and/or interdependent self-construal endorsement.

### **5.7 Limitations and Future Research**

The following limitations need to be considered when evaluating the present findings. First, assessing participants' cultural identity configuration stage via a self-reported single item measure may be of limited reliability and validity (Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994). Instead, Yampolsky et al. (2013) proposed open-ended questions to assess the relationships between individuals' cultural identities (e.g., "Do you prefer to consider each cultural identity as being very distinct and separate from each other?", compartmentalization; "Do you feel that you can identify yourself, for example, as a 'global citizen' (...)?", integration; p. 6). Instead of open-ended questions, participants could rank their agreement with each statement on a Likert scale, with the highest score indicating the dominant multicultural identity configuration stage for each individual. Second, in line with Amiot et al. (2007), I argued that individuals who endorse compartmentalized cultural identities experience them as separate from but not contradictory to each other. Future research, however, should go beyond this theoretical argumentation by including the Bicultural Identity Integration Scale (BIIS-1;

Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005) to test locals' perception of the cultural distance and conflict between their national culture and their multicultural orientation.

Third, the present study focussed on the compartmentalization and integration stage of the CDMII to explain differences in structural covariance between locals' acculturation dimensions. However, future research should focus on its developmental nature, using a longitudinal rather than a cross-sectional research design. Such research could then address all four intra-individual developmental stages – anticipatory categorization to categorization as developmental steps prior to compartmentalization and integration (Amiot et al., 2007) – and their potential impact on the association between locals' acculturation dimensions. Anticipatory categorization takes place before an individual experiences face-to-face multicultural exposure, and thus, may be of interest for globalization-based acculturation research (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012). Categorization like compartmentalization and integration, however, takes place when individuals are directly exposed to a multicultural environment. It implies individuals' tendency to culturally assimilate (e.g., locals adapt to multiculturalism while rejecting one's national culture) or separate (e.g., locals maintain their national culture while rejecting multicultural adaptation). This may shed further light on locals' cultural orientation and identity formation in today's growing multicultural societies.

Nonetheless, by exploring what conditions moderate the correlation between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation (positive, oblique versus orthogonal), Study 3 extended findings of Study 2. In particular, the present study provides the first empirical investigation of locals' acculturation that assesses two routes for how to become and be multicultural: the formation of a blended, global-meta identity predicated on a strong positive correlation between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation; or the incorporation of multiple compartmentalized cultural identities undergirded by a less positive or orthogonal correlation between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation.

Then, taken findings from Studies 1, 2 and 3 together, the first overarching goal of the present dissertation was successfully explored (see 1.3) – that is, the EAML, based on Berry’s (1997) bidimensional framework, represents one reliable and valid way of assessing locals’ acculturation within their own home country. In line with the overarching dissertation goals, Study 4 focused on the predictive power of the EAML. Specifically, Study 2 already revealed that locals’ national culture maintenance is positively related to subjective well-being, whereas multicultural adaptation predicted less acculturative stress and more intercultural sensitivity (see Chapter 4). Beyond such traditional adjustment outcome variables, I was interested whether locals’ acculturation dimensions relate to their organizational behaviours. As indicated by the present Study 3, locals experience high multicultural exposure at their work place (see 1.1.1; Finaccord, 2014). Thus, how local employees acculturate towards multiculturalism is of particular interest within occupational and organizational psychology (Gibson & McDaniel, 2010). Therefore Study 4 examined potential associations between local employees’ acculturation dimensions and their organizational behaviours.

#### **6. Study 4: Asian Local Employees’ Acculturation towards a Multicultural Work Environment**

*“One must first understand the self in order to understand the other.”*  
Confucius (551 BC - 479 BC)

In international business, must we first understand the local employee in order to understand the expatriate (i.e., temporary or permanent non-local assignees)? Consistent with the sharp rise in the international assignee population, and the growing interest in international assignment success, most research has focused on the cultural adaptation of expatriates rather than locals (Brookfield, 2012; Cheema, 2012; Tung & Kim, 2013; Van Zolingen, Essers, & Vermeer, 2012). Yet whether multinational corporations accomplish their objectives (i.e., organizational effectiveness; Bluedorn, 1980; Cameron, 2013) depends not only on expatriates but also on local employees (Russell & Aquino-Russell, 2013). Thus

far, international assignment research has paid little attention to Confucius's suggestion – that is, how do locals *themselves* adapt towards a multicultural work environment? In the following sections, I first review literature that reflects on the shift from expatriates to local employees' acculturation in organizational research, and then go on to consider local employees' national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation towards a culturally diverse work environment and their potential to promote organizational behaviour and identification.

### **6.1 From Expatriates to Local Employees' Cultural Adaptation**

Cultural adaptation has been variously conceptualized. Within occupational and organisational psychology, it is often referred to as cross-cultural competence – skills, knowledge, and attitudes that foster intercultural communication (Deardorff, 2006); as adaptive personality traits such as cultural empathy and open-mindedness (Van der Zee, Van Oudenhoven, Ponterotto, & Fietzer, 2013); and as intercultural intelligence (Ang et al., 2006) or sensitivity (Bennett, 1993, 2013; see 1.2.5). More generally, cultural adaptation indicates a process towards and/or state of psychological adjustment (e.g., emotions), sociocultural adjustment (e.g., behaviour), and work adjustment (e.g., task performance) in a new cultural context (Aycan & Berry, 1996; Searle & Ward, 1990).

Researchers have argued that local employees' attitudes play a critical role in expatriates' cultural adaptation, which may further influence their organizational effectiveness (Arman & Aycan, 2013; Mezas & Scandura, 2005; Toh & DeNisi, 2003, 2007). Within cross-cultural psychology, Bourhis and colleagues (1997; see also Bourhis & Dayan, 2004; Bourhis & Montreuil, 2010) have shown that locals' acculturation expectations – their preferred acculturation strategy migrants should adapt to (see 1.2.3) – promotes or hinders migrants' cultural adaptation towards the mainstream society. Within the organizational context, if a local employee prefers the expatriate to adapt towards the mainstream culture,

but the expatriate does not share this preference, they are more likely to experience poorer intergroup work relations (Oerlemans & Peeters, 2010). On the other hand, by offering both role information and social support, locals may promote expatriates' cultural adaptation and/or assignment success (Bruning, Sonpar, & Wang, 2012). In general, organizational research stresses local employees impact on expatriates' cultural adaptation, and consequently, their organizational effectiveness in terms of knowledge sharing (Massingham, 2010), team participation (Zhang & Begley, 2011), and career development (Vo, 2009).

The degree of cultural distance between expatriates and local employees represents a well-known predictor for locals' attitudes towards expatriates as well as expatriates' degree of cultural adaptation. Greater cultural distance between an expatriate's heritage culture and the culture endorsed by local employees mitigates expatriates' adaptation and, in turn, may hamper behaviours that benefit the organization (Pichler, Varma, & Budhwar, 2012; Selmer & Luring, 2009; Shenkar, 2001). Accordingly, Western assignees tend to find countries high in cultural distance such as China and India as the most challenging destinations (Cartus, 2012). As such, scholars have suggested that organizations only send employees abroad who are culturally similar to the host country (e.g., Haas & Nüesch, 2012; Pichler et al., 2012). However, the limitations of this strategy are apparent, if one considers the challenges of assessing cultural similarity (e.g., Gelfand et al., 2011; Schwartz, 2006). Moreover, the organizational benefits of a multicultural work environment originate from the intercultural contact between culturally diverse rather than similar individuals (Fitzsimmons, Miska, & Stahl, 2011; Jehn & Bezrukova, 2004; Mannix & Neale, 2005; Richard, 2000). Last, research results on the impact of cultural distance on expatriates' cultural adaptation as well as on local employees' attitudes towards expatriates are inconsistent, often revealing no differences between a cultural dissimilar or similar organizational context (Reus & Lamont, 2009; Selmer & Luring, 2009).



Although these approaches have stressed the pivotal role of local employees on expatriates' cultural adaptation and organizational effectiveness, their underlying motive remains the same – that is, to assess how local employees' attitudes and behaviours influence expatriates' acculturation, but not how expatriates influence local employees (Takeuchi, 2010). Yet, local employees' cultural adaptation to the cultures endorsed by expatriates may explain inconsistent findings on cultural distance as mentioned above. Thus, the following section will outline that (a) local employees can adapt towards a culturally different work environment (e.g., culturally diverse colleagues, clients, customers, or suppliers) and (b) how this process can be explained with the Extended Acculturation Model of Locals which basis on Berry's (1997) bidimensional model of acculturation.

## **6.2 Local Employees' Multicultural Adaptation and National Culture Maintenance**

The limited existing research on local employees' cultural adaptation towards a culturally different work environment supports their experience of individual-level changes similar to expatriates. For example, Selmer and De Leon (1993, 1996, 2002) operationalized the concept of 'work values' to assess local employees' adaptation towards expatriates. Work values refer to work related norms, beliefs and behaviours which often reflect the national culture of the parent company's country of residence (Laurent, 1986; Morgan, 2001; Wanous, 1980). Employees are expected to adapt to and integrate such values into their own identity (i.e., organizational acculturation; Van Maanen & Schein, 1979; You, 2001). In fact, local employees who worked for subsidiaries of a Swedish parent company in Thailand, Singapore, and Hong Kong adopted work values from Swedish expatriates who were assigned from the Swedish parent company (e.g., value little tension and stress on the job; Selmer & De Leon, 1993). Similarly, You (2001) reported that local employees at American based management contract chain hotels in Korea adapted some American cultural features (e.g., decrease in power distance).

Moreover, organizational research indicates that local employees' cultural adaptation towards their culturally different work environment reflects Berry's (1997) bidimensional acculturation model. For example, Caprar's (2011) reported that local employees working in subsidiaries of American multinational corporations in Romania endorsed different cultural profiles – that is, the infatuated-, converted-, conflicted-, reconciled-, or estranged employee. These profiles correspond with Berry's (1997) four-fold paradigm of acculturation strategies which basis on a bidimensional acculturation model: infatuated and converted local employees assimilated towards the American organizational culture carried by American expatriates; conflicted local employees expressed marginalization; reconciled local employees integrated, reporting high endorsement of their local national culture as well as the American organizational culture; and estranged local employees had separated from the American organizational culture, resulting in their resignation from the company. Taken together, research stresses that local employees – just like expatriates – may adapt towards another culture which dominates their work environment based on Berry's (1997) bidimensional model of acculturation.

Additionally, local employees may experience cultural adaptation not just towards a different monocultural work environment, but towards a multicultural work environment. For example, organizational cultures of joint ventures depend on local and foreign employees' degree of national culture endorsement (Brannen, 2009; Salk & Shenkar, 2001) in association with their relative position of power within the joint venture (Brannen & Salk, 2000). Consequently, some organizational cultures reflect a combination of multiple cultures, which the local employee is expected to adapt to (Brannen, 1998). This argument is further supported by Darawong and Igel (2012) who found that local employees adapt to multiple cultures endorsed by expatriates when they experience regular contact and shared work goals.

Taken together, the outlined research indicates local employees' multicultural adaptation due to consistent direct contact with a culturally diverse work environment.

The above reviewed research, however, is not without limitations. First, most of these studies did not explicitly draw on Berry's (1997) well established bidimensional model of acculturation. Second, to my knowledge there is no quantitative investigation of local employees' acculturation strategies towards their own national culture and a multicultural work environment. The Extended Acculturation Model for Locals (EAML), on the other hand, provides a theoretical framework based on Berry's (1997) bidimensional acculturation model to investigate local employees' multicultural adaptation and national culture maintenance. Indeed, Studies 1, 2, and 3 of the present dissertation revealed substantial support for this bidimensional approach. Moreover, applied within occupational settings, this model may provide a clearer understanding of associations between local employees' acculturation strategies and their organizational effectiveness. Therefore, the present Study 4 investigated the relationships of local employees' multicultural adaptation and national culture maintenance with their organizational citizenship behaviours and organizational identification.

### **6.3 Organizational Citizenship Behaviours**

Due to the challenges of multicultural work environments for employees (e.g., cross-cultural communication), organizations may become more dependent on individuals who are willing to go beyond their formal job tasks. Indeed, such extra-role behaviour aids in organizational effectiveness (Morrison, 1994). Organizational citizenship behaviour (OCB), the best known type of extra-role behaviour (Bateman & Organ, 1983), is comprised of five indices: altruism, conscientiousness, sportsmanship, courtesy, and civic virtue. Based on this conceptualization, Williams and Anderson (1991) demonstrated that respondents distinguish

between two types of OCBs: citizenship behaviours benefiting the organization (OCBs-O) and citizenship behaviours benefiting specific individuals (OCBs-I).

Although considerable research has examined the antecedents of OCBs (Bateman & Organ, 1983; Organ, Podsakoff, & MacKenzie, 2006; Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Paine & Bachrach, 2000; Shaw, Dinnen, Fang, & Vellella, 2009), no study up until now has examined local employees' multicultural adaptation as a predictor. In a related vein, researchers found that local employees in India and China showed more supportive behaviour towards foreign assignees if they perceived these expatriates as culturally similar to themselves (Pichler et al., 2012; Varma, Pichler, Budhwar, & Kupferer, 2012). Arguably, such supportive behaviour may be classified as organizational citizenship behaviour because local employees were not rewarded or trained for its demonstration.

Taking the EAML into account, the question arises: does locals' multicultural adaptation promote extra-role behaviour in a multicultural work environment? Study 1 of the present dissertation demonstrated that multicultural adaptation is positively associated with an ethnorelative worldview (see 3.5), which refers to the experience of cultural empathy – temporarily changing one's cultural frame of reference to another (Bennett, 2004). Empathy in general has been linked with a variety of outcomes that are theoretically related to OCBs (e.g., higher levels of cooperation in social dilemmas, and better functioning in interpersonal relationships; Batson & Moran, 1999; Davis & Oathout, 1992). More recently, Joireman, Daniels, George-Falvy, and Kamdra (2006) found that empathic employees are more likely to express organizational citizenship behaviours. In line with these findings, I expected the following:

*Hypothesis 1.* Multicultural adaptation will predict higher levels of organizational citizenship behaviour directed towards (a) the organization, and (b) co-workers.

#### **6.4 Organizational Identification**

The last two decades have witnessed a surge in organizational identification (OI) research due to its association with positive employee and organizational outcomes (e.g., low turnover intention; Ashforth, Harrison, & Corley, 2008; Brown, 2006; Ravasi & Phillips, 2011; Riketta, 2005). The concept of OI is based on a social identity perspective (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Haslam, 2004). Individuals' social identity describes their perceived membership in a relevant social group which gives them a sense of who they are (Tajfel, 1978). An organization may act as a social category that people can identify with (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Hogg & Terry, 2000). This sense of belonging to an organization can be experienced either cognitively (e.g., feeling part of the organization; Elsbach, 1999), emotionally (e.g., pride in membership; O'Reilly & Chatman, 1986), or both (Van Dick, 2001). Nevertheless, to my knowledge, no study to date has investigated local employees' multicultural adaptation as a predictor of organizational identification.

Whether multicultural work environments help or hinder organizational identification is a topic of debate in the occupational psychology literature. On the one hand, Roth and Kostova (2003) have argued that the heterogeneity of multinational corporations makes it difficult for shared norms and values to emerge, and thus, for organizational identification to develop. This assumption is based on two theoretical positions. First, the social categorization perspective (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) posits that if people perceive themselves to be different from one another, then categorization into different cultural groups within a culturally heterogeneous team is likely to occur (Van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007). Second, similarities among people are theorized to result in social attraction (Byrne, 1971). Therefore, similarity between the self and the group in homogeneous settings is assumed to lead to greater identification with the team and more organizational effectiveness than team heterogeneity (Haslam, 2004; Williams & O'Reilly, 1998).

Conversely, some researchers have introduced the idea of multiple OIs (e.g., Pratt & Foreman, 2000; Vora & Kostova, 2007). This position is supported across several domains: dual identification with a work group and the organization as a whole (Christ, Van Dick, Wagner, & Stellmacher, 2003), county and state offices (Scott, 1997), as well as contract workers with their employer and client (George & Chattopadhyay, 2005). Moreover, Reade (2001) found that local managers in Pakistan drew a distinction between their local subsidiary and the global organization, as reflected in their separate group identifications. Thus, whereas national culture maintenance may promote local employees' identification with their local branch, multicultural adaptation may strengthen their likelihood of identifying with their organization on a more global level. As mentioned earlier, multicultural adaptation is positively related to ethnorelativism (see also 3.2), which entails not only cultural empathy, but also the experience of cultural relativity (i.e., my culture is one among many). This may encourage the inclusion of other cultural perspectives into one's own cultural identity (Bennett, 2004). Thus, to the extent that local employees are high in multicultural adaptation, they are likely to identify strongly with organizations that provide a multicultural work environment. Last, the EAML has been found to be a bidimensional acculturation model for locals (see 3.5, and 4.5). Thus, it is likely that both constructs – national culture maintenance as well as multicultural adaptation – are independently associated with OI. Specifically, I predicted the following:

*Hypothesis 2.* National culture maintenance will be positively linked to organizational identification.

*Hypothesis 3.* Multicultural adaptation will be positively linked to organizational identification.

### 6.5 The Present Study

The present study sought to fill existing research gaps by (a) weaving together occupational psychology with acculturation theory to explore local employees' multicultural adaptation; (b) adding to the growing body of literature on organizational behaviour by identifying locals' multicultural adaptation and national culture maintenance as antecedents of OCBs and OI; and (c) exploring these relationships in two growing world economies, China and India. I focused on these two countries for several reasons. First, in line with the World Bank's (2013) prediction that China and India will play an ever-increasing role in the world economy, they are among the expected top emerging assignee locations with China closely followed by India (Brookfield, 2012). For European manufacturing enterprises, China is the most important sourcing destination; the European service industry, on the other hand, is showing a growing tendency towards India (Eurostat, 2013). These enterprises clearly preferred to insource their business functions abroad (60-80 %) as it allows full control over production or service within their own enterprise group. Thus, understanding and managing a multicultural work environment – including the workforce, clients, customers, and suppliers – is becoming a necessity for international business in Asia.

Finally, it deserves mention that China and India show similarities on a variety of cultural dimensions. For example, both have been found to be highly collectivistic (Hofstede, 2001), hierarchy-oriented (Schwartz, 2006), and culturally 'tight' (i.e., they have many strong norms and a low tolerance for deviant behaviour; Gelfand et al., 2011). Thus, I expected multicultural adaptation and national culture maintenance to have similar relationships with OCBs and organizational identification in both China and India.

## 6.6 Method

### 6.6.1 Participants

To qualify for this study, participants were required to identify as Indian or Chinese; to have been born in India or China, as were both of their parents; they were also required to have lived most of their lives (at least 60%) in either country and to be currently living there (see 3.3.1). To ensure participants' exposure to a multicultural work environment, all respondents were required to be in daily contact with either culturally diverse co-workers, subordinates, superiors or customers and clients at their work place. By doing so, I ensured a similar frequency of intercultural contact across groups. Data was collected from 57 Chinese (60% female) and 54 Indian (24% female) employees. Almost all participants had advanced education (i.e., B.A. and above, 96%) and were in a managerial position in business administration, project and general management, sales, marketing, human resources, or other areas within the service sector. Participants' ages ranged from 22 to 54 years ( $M = 33.81$ ,  $SD = 8.40$ ) for the total sample; the Indian group was slightly older ( $M = 36.07$ ,  $SD = 9.54$ ) than the Chinese group ( $M = 31.67$ ,  $SD = 6.55$ ),  $t(109) = 2.85$ ,  $p < .01$ ). Respondents' ethnic identity corresponded with their cultural group (China, 91% East Asian; India, 74% South Asian and 13% Mixed Ethnicity). Respondents were from 18 different enterprises across the manufacturing and service industry.

### 6.6.2 Procedure

To collect data from each country, two online versions of the survey were developed using the original scales in English. Hyperlinks were created with an online survey-development tool and distributed via email circulation and social networking websites to individual employees of diverse domestic or foreign international operating corporations in both countries. With the aim of collecting data across industry sectors, participants were asked to distribute the survey amongst colleagues who fulfilled the participation criteria.



### 6.6.3 Materials

The Multi-VIA was described in Study 1 (see 3.3.3; 5-point Likert scale). For the subscale measuring locals' national culture maintenance, India/China was included as the national cultures. Internal consistency for the national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation subscales are reported in Table 6.1.

**Organizational Citizenship Behaviour.** I used a refined and shortened version of the Organizational Citizenship Checklist questionnaire which consisted of 23 of the original 36 items (Fox, Spector, Goh, Bruursema, & Kessler, 2012). Participants were asked to respond to each item on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (“*never*”) to 5 (“*every day*”). Separate subscale scores were computed that reflect acts directed towards the organization that benefit the organization (OCB-O; 15 items) and acts directed towards co-workers that help with work-related issues (OCB-I; 8 items). Examples of items are “I volunteered for extra work assignments” (OCB-O) and “I gave a written or verbal recommendation for a co-worker” (OCB-I). Internal consistency was respectable for both subscales (see Table 6.1).

**Organizational Identification.** Organizational identification (OI) was measured with 6 items (Mael, 1988). Participants rate on a 5-point Likert scale (1 - “*strongly disagree*” to 5 - “*strongly agree*”) their agreement with statements such as, “When someone criticizes my corporation, it feels like a personal insult.” Cronbach’s alpha coefficients demonstrated good measurement reliability (see Table 6.1).

## 6.7 Results

### 6.7.1 Preliminary Analysis

Table 6.1 presents means, standard deviations, alpha coefficients, and correlations for all continuous variables. A linear regression analysis with gender (male = -1; female = 1) and age as predictor variables revealed no main effects on OCB-O and OCB-I. However, age was significantly associated with OI ( $\beta = .42$ ,  $t(108) = 3.96$ ,  $p < .0001$ ), and was therefore

included as a control variable in the regression models. Of note, the Indian sample was significantly higher than the Chinese sample in multicultural adaptation ( $t(109) = 4.50, p < .001$ ), national culture maintenance ( $t(109) = 4.28, p < .001$ ), OCB-I ( $t(109) = 2.05, p < .05$ ), and OI ( $t(109) = 2.51, p < .05$ ).

### **6.7.2 Tests of Hypotheses**

I entered age, country, national cultural maintenance, and multicultural adaptation in Step 1 of the hierarchical regression model (see Table 6.2). Country was effect coded (-1 for India and 1 for China). I expected the associations of national cultural maintenance and multicultural adaptation with the outcome variables to be similar in both countries; to test this expectation I included national cultural maintenance  $\times$  country and multicultural adaptation  $\times$  country in Step 2. Prior to the analysis, I group-mean centred both continuous predictor variables to mitigate cultural response bias (Fischer, 2004).

Table 6.1 *Correlation Matrix of Continuous Variables*

Variables		<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	$\alpha$	1	2	3	4
1. MA	TOTAL	3.66	.47	.78				
	India	3.75	.43	.70				
	China	3.57	.48	.83				
2. NCM	TOTAL	4.00	.58	.89	<b>.46***</b>			
	India	4.11	.51	.82	-.10			
	China	3.90	.63	.92	<b>.68***</b>			
3. OI	TOTAL	3.92	.60	.82	<b>.28**</b>	<b>.38***</b>		
	India	4.06	.63	.80	.17	<b>.36**</b>		
	China	3.78	.54	.84	.26	<b>.29*</b>		
4. OCB-O	TOTAL	2.82	.60	.85	<b>.34***</b>	<b>.26*</b>	<b>.19*</b>	
	India	2.91	.61	.86	.25	.25	<b>.31*</b>	
	China	2.75	.57	.86	<b>.37**</b>	.21	-.01	
5. OCB-I	TOTAL	2.91	.69	.83	<b>.31**</b>	<b>.23*</b>	<b>.28**</b>	<b>.53***</b>
	India	3.05	.74	.83	.24	.15	<b>.34*</b>	<b>.49***</b>
	China	2.79	.62	.83	<b>.30*</b>	.20	.13	<b>.54***</b>

MA: Multicultural adaptation; NCM: National culture maintenance; OI: Organizational identification; OCB-O: Organizational citizenship behaviour benefiting the organization; OCB-I: Organizational citizenship behaviour benefitting the individual co-worker.  $p < .05^*$ ;  $p < .01^{**}$ ;  $p < .001^{***}$ , and in boldface.

Table 6.2 *Regression Coefficients for Main Effects and Interactions*

	OCB-O				OCB-I				OI				
	<i>df</i>	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
<i>Step 1</i>	106	.14				.12				.24			
AGE			.12	1.21	.23	.12	1.24	.22	.30	3.34	<b>.00</b> <sup>***</sup>		
COUNTRY			.06	.57	.57	-.03	-.28	.78	.00	.02	.99		
NCM			.11	1.00	.32	.06	.53	.60	.21	2.10	<b>.04</b> <sup>*</sup>		
MA			.31	2.89	<b>.01</b> <sup>**</sup>	.28	2.55	<b>.01</b> <sup>*</sup>	.19	1.88	<b>.06</b> <sup>†</sup>		
<i>Step 2</i>	104	.17				.13				.27			
NCM × COUNTRY			-.71	-1.87	.06	-.41	-1.06	.29	-.55	-1.54	.13		
MA × COUNTRY			.17	.44	.66	-.02	-.06	.96	-.18	-.52	.61		

NCM: National culture maintenance; MA: Multicultural adaptation. <sup>†</sup> Tendency towards significance;  $p < .05^*$ ;  $p < .01^{**}$ ;  $p < .001^{***}$  and in boldface.

Supporting Hypothesis 1a, locals who were higher in multicultural adaptation were more likely to express extra-role behaviour to the benefit of their organisation (OCB-O). Importantly, this association was not moderated by culture (i.e., the interaction of multicultural adaptation  $\times$  country was not significant). The regression analysis detected that the interaction of national cultural maintenance with country was a marginally significant predictor of OCB-O, but the simple slopes were not significant. Confirming Hypothesis 1b, multicultural adaptation significantly predicted local employees' extra-role behaviour directed to co-workers (OCB-I). This main effect was also not moderated by culture. Finally, the regression models revealed support for Hypothesis 2 and partially for Hypothesis 3 – that is, national culture maintenance was positively associated with organizational identification whereas multicultural adaptation showed a trend towards a significant positive association. Note, age also significantly and positively predicted organization identification.

To ensure adequate statistical power for my regression model, and thus my results, I conducted a post hoc power analysis using the software package, G\*Power (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007). With a sample size of 111, a 6 predictor variable equation was used as a baseline. Effect sizes for OCB-O ( $f^2 = .20$ ), OCB-I ( $f^2 = .16$ ), and OI ( $f^2 = .37$ ) were determined via the reported  $R^2$  values for Step 2 in the regression model. The alpha level for all three power analyses was  $p < .05$ . Results indicated that there was an adequate power to detect obtained effects for the overall regression in prediction of all three outcome variables (.95, .87, 1.00; respectively)

## 6.8 Discussion

This study demonstrated the theoretical and practical benefits of Confucius's advice applied to international business: understanding local employees may enable us to further understand the experience of expatriates. As expected, local employees' multicultural adaptation predicted greater OCBs to the benefit of both the enterprise (OCB-O) and co-

workers (OCB-I). Moreover, multicultural adaptation and national culture maintenance predicted stronger organizational identification. None of these main effects were moderated by culture, suggesting that locals' response to diversity in their work environment may have similar organizational benefits in China and India. Next, I discuss the theoretical and practical implications of these findings.

### **6.8.1 Theoretical Implications**

My results supported the Extended Acculturation Model for Locals, as the multicultural adaptation of Chinese and Indian employees was related to the extent to which they expressed organizational citizenship behaviours (OCBs). This finding is important for OCB research as I am not aware of any published study that has established this association in two Asian countries. Moreover, these results are in line with my assumption that multicultural adaptation entails higher empathy, which has been found to encourage employees' organizational citizenship behaviours in general (Joireman et al., 2006). Furthermore, these findings suggest that multicultural adaptation similar to cultural similarity predicts locals' supportive interpersonal behaviour towards expatriates (Pichler et al., 2012; Toh & DeNisi, 2007).

Partially in line with my expectations, national culture maintenance was positively associated with organizational identification whilst multicultural adaptation showed a tendency towards significance (Hypotheses 2 and 3, respectively). These results relate to the theory of multiple organizational identifications on different levels (Vora & Kostova, 2007). Specifically, my findings suggest that local employees strong in national culture maintenance may regard their branch as nested within their mainstream culture. However, their multicultural adaptation may strengthen their likelihood of identifying with their organization as a multicultural entity. These findings also support the argument that organizational identities are formed as a combinative construal of both internal (e.g., firm history, co-

workers) and external (e.g., stakeholders) aspects (Martin, Johnson, & French, 2011). Indeed, participants' multicultural work environment in the current study consisted of international co-workers (internal) as well as suppliers and customers (external).

A final theoretical implication of my findings concerns the generalizability of the EAML in different cultures. While past research has highlighted cultural similarities between China and India, such as emphases on collectivism and respect for authority (Hofstede, 2001), their many cultural differences suggested I examine whether my model was similarly applicable in these two cultural contexts. That country did not moderate the main effects of multicultural adaptation or national culture maintenance suggests that my results were stable across the two Asian countries, lending support to the generality of my theoretical model.

### **6.8.2 Practical Implications**

Considering the growing role of India and China in the world economy, domestic as well as multinational corporations can benefit from my findings. Indeed, my results suggest that instead of sending expatriates abroad who are culturally similar to the host country (Pichler et al., 2012; Varma et al., 2012), organizations could also focus on promoting local employees' multicultural adaptation. In particular, Human Resource Management should take steps to enhance local employees' feelings of 'home' and 'fitting in' to a culturally diverse work environment. For example, high social support, cultural knowledge, and degree of contact are well-known antecedents for expatriates' cultural adaptation (Ward, 1996, Hogan & Goodson, 1990), and could be easily adapted for locals. Specifically, the intercultural training models provided for expatriates (e.g., Cheema, 2012; Cooke, 2009) should be considered for local employees before or during the interaction with foreign co-workers, customers, or suppliers. Moreover, this training could be supported through encouraging locals' second language acquisition; such proficiency is the first step in learning skills in a new cultural environment, thereby promoting biculturalism (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos,

2005; Ward & Kennedy, 1993). In line with Pichler et al. (2012), I also suggest that expatriates could be assigned to local ‘mentors.’ Beyond its positive effect on expatriates’ cultural adaptation, such exposure and interaction may also encourage local employees’ multicultural adaptation. Indeed, the familiarity principle (Zajonc, 1968, 2001) suggests that the more often a person is seen, the more pleasing and likeable that person appears to be.

Additionally, inclusive leadership may further promote locals’ multicultural adaptation. For example, a recent study by Russell and Aquino-Russell (2013) revealed that local employees working in a foreign subsidiary felt respected or disrespected depending on their foreign leader’s management style. Experiencing a lack of respect by foreign managers can negatively impact local employees’ attitudes towards foreign assignees, their productivity and, in turn, the overall effectiveness of their organization (Carr, McWha, MacLachlan, & Furnham, 2010; Russell & Aquino-Russell, 2013). Multinational corporations are therefore advised to implement inclusive leadership styles consisting of two goals (Bilimoria, 2012; Ferdman & Deane, 2013): to authentically value all employees for their skills and contributions, and to actively create a high-engagement corporate culture by encouraging the input and initiative of all employees.

## **6.9 Limitations and Future Directions**

In spite of the strength of these findings, Study 3 is not without limitations. First, the participants were generally well-educated managers, and the results may not be generalizable to all levels of Indian and Chinese employees working in a multicultural environment. Second, I did not measure the type and quality of local employees’ intercultural contact. Rather, I addressed multicultural work environments including local employees’ daily contact with members of their own organization – international co-workers and supervisors – as well as clients, customers, and suppliers who belonged to external companies. Third, I did not make an explicit distinction between local and global organizational identification (Reade,



2001). Fourth, I did not measure leadership style, even though leadership within organizational contexts is pivotal in shaping followers' organizational citizenship behaviours (e.g., Biswas, 2010) and organizational identities (e.g., Avolio, Walumbwa, & Weber, 2009). Thus, the main effects of multicultural adaptation as well as national culture maintenance on both outcome variables may be moderated through different leadership styles (e.g., inclusive leadership versus non-inclusive). Last, Fischer, Ferreira, Assmar, Redford, and Harb (2005) emphasized that employees are nested in at least two levels – individual (e.g., beliefs, and values) and organizational (e.g., corporate culture) – which would require hierarchical linear modelling. Nevertheless, my limited quantity of organizational groups (less than 20) did not allow for such a multilevel analysis.

Taken together, future research should improve on these limitations by recruiting a larger sample of participants from diverse educational backgrounds and with specified international contact across organizational levels. Considering the growing importance of virtual assignments within international business (i.e., an employer lives and interacts in one culture, yet works together mainly with people from another culture via Skype, email, etc.; Ferreira, de Lima & da Costa, 2012; Holtbruegge & Schillo, 2008), it may be of future interest to distinguish the type of intercultural contact (face-to-face vs. virtual) in association with local employees' degree of multicultural adaptation. Moreover, to explore the multiplicity of organizational identifications, one would do well to test the predictive power of multicultural adaptation and national culture maintenance on local employees' identification with the local subsidiary versus the global organization (Reade, 2001; Vora & Kostova, 2007). Moreover, to explain cross-cultural differences in extra-role behaviour, researchers need to consider employees' embeddedness in individual, organizational, and national levels of analysis, employing a multilevel framework to explain potential mediation effects through organizational practices (e.g., Fischer et al., 2005).

Overall, due to their expanding roles in the world economy, China and India will likely experience sharp rises in their foreign assignee populations. To bolster the organizational effectiveness of multinational corporations in both countries, I suggest that the multicultural adaptation of local employees be sought and integrated at every opportunity. In fact, the dependency of expatriates' cultural adaptation on local employees' supportive attitudes and behaviour underscores the importance of Confucius's suggestion: in international business, we must first understand the local employee in order to understand the expatriate. Accordingly, Study 4 extended findings of Study 2, fulfilling the second overarching goal of the present dissertation – that is, the EAML's dimensions revealed significant associations with diverse adjustment outcomes (see 1.3). To address the third dissertation goal, Study 5 explored potential predictors of locals' national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation.

### **7. Study 5: Predictors of Locals' Acculturation: Cultural Values, Pro-Diversity Beliefs, and Intergroup Threats**

What we value inspires our attitudes and behaviours toward others (Schwartz, 2012; Smith & Schwartz, 1997). Schwartz (1994) defined cultural values as guiding principles in life which vary in importance on an individual and/or societal level. Ten individual-level values, organized in a circumplex according to their conflictual or compatible relations, can be further classified along two higher-order dimensions (Sapientza et al., 2010). For example, conservation values emphasize the preservation of existing societal norms, whereas its opponent openness to change embraces change and novelty (Schwartz, 2012). The present study examined the implications of locals' values for their multicultural adaptation and national culture maintenance. That locals high in conservation values are more likely to endorse xenophobic tendencies and authoritarian ideologies may mean that they are more receptive to far-right political parties (e.g., United Kingdom Independence Party;

Leimgruber, 2011; Schwartz, 1996; Strauss, Sawyerr, & Oke, 2008). Such parties reject the accommodation of multiculturalism (i.e., cultural diversity within nation states) because it implies changes to existing social and economic norms, and is therefore in opposition to conservation values (Rattansi, 2011; Sparrow, 2014). Accordingly, far-right parties often play up multiculturalism as a cultural and/or economic threat, thereby fostering more negative attitudes towards migrants among some locals (e.g., Defend Our Colours; Front National, 2010; Stephan, Ybarra, & Morrison, 2009).

As such, the present study sought to examine whether priming certain values might moderate the relationship between locals' individually-endorsed higher-order values (conservation and openness to change) with their national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation. Thus, locals' future behaviours and attitudes toward others was of interest, resulting in the assessment of their acculturation strategy intentions rather than their current status. In particular, previous experimental research across organizational (e.g., Van Knippenberg & Haslam, 2003), educational (e.g., Brown, 2004) and social psychology (e.g., Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2014) has tested whether multicultural messages affect locals' pro- or anti-multicultural attitudes and behaviours. Pro-diversity belief messages, in particular, stress the benefits of diversity (Van Knippenberg, Haslam, & Platow, 2007), representing the counterpart to intergroup threat (Ginges & Cairns, 2000). Moreover, linkages between such multicultural messages and intergroup relationships are mediated by intergroup threats (e.g., Kauff & Wagner, 2012). To my knowledge, however, research on multicultural messages has not examined the moderating role of values across individuals and between cultures. Yet, societal value preference has been found to increase or decrease associations between locals' individually-endorsed values with multicultural attitudes depending on the compatibility or contradiction between individual-societal value preference (e.g., Arikan & Bloom, 2012).

Thus, I proposed that the relationship between locals' personal values (individual-level) and their national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation intentions depend on whether a pro-diversity belief message is compatible with values endorsed on a societal-level. To test for this moderating role of societal-level values, I collected data from the USA, representing a society that prefers openness to change values, and India, representing a society that prefers conservation values (e.g., Schwartz, Lehmann, & Roccas, 1999). In line with previous research, I also examined whether the value-outcome effects were mediated by intergroup threats (i.e., symbolic and realistic; Stephan et al., 2009) as well as whether the proposed mediation model was further moderated by pro-diversity belief primes and societal-level culture. How basic human values relate to locals' tendencies towards multicultural adaptation and national culture maintenance will be described in the next section.

### **7.1 Conservation and Openness to Change: Individual- and Societal-Level**

Schwartz (1994) identified two oppositional higher order value dimensions (Sapienza, et al., 2010; Schwartz, 1994): conservation (tradition, conformity, and security) versus openness to change (stimulation and self-direction); and self-transcendence (universalism and benevolence) versus self-enhancement (power, and achievement). I focused on the dimension of conservation versus openness to change on an individual-level, which contrasts, respectively, values stressing self-restriction, commitment to traditions, and safety of society with those emphasising independent thought and novelty-seeking. Research suggests that openness to change promotes pro-diversity attitudes and behaviours whereas conservation discourages these attitudes and behaviours (e.g., Sagiv & Schwartz, 1995; Sapienza et al., 2010; Saroglou, Lamkaddem, Pachterbeke, & Buxant, 2010). Using secondary data from the Eurobarometer 2000, Leong (2008) found that high endorsement of stimulation (an openness value) predicted more favourable perceptions of immigrants, whereas security (a conservation value) fostered more negative attitudes. Beyond multicultural attitudes, Strauss

and colleagues (2008) investigated the influence of values on universal-diverse orientation (UDO, Miville et al., 1999). UDO represents attitudes towards a range of diversity concepts (e.g., ethnicity, gender, or disabilities) across three components (Miville et al., 1999; Singley & Sedlacek, 2009): cognitive appreciation of similarities and differences; feeling comfortable with differences; and seeking contact with diverse others. Strauss and colleagues (2008) reported that British locals high in conservation endorsed less UDO. Sawyerr, Strauss, and Yan (2005) supported these findings vice-versa: American business students high in openness to change endorsed high UDO. Notably, no association was found for conservation. However, with data from a large German sample, Cohrs, Moschner, Maes and Kielmann (2005) identified conservation values as the motivational basis for right-wing authoritarianism, which is a key predictor of prejudice (Altemeyer, 1998). In sum, the following was expected on an individual-level:

*Hypothesis 1a.* Individual-level openness to change will be positively associated with locals' multicultural adaptation intentions as the value stresses interest in novelties.

*Hypothesis 1b.* Individual-level conservation will be negatively associated with locals' multicultural adaptation intentions as it stresses adherence to traditions.

*Hypothesis 1c.* Individual-level conservation will be positively associated with locals' intentions to maintain their national culture.

The research reviewed thus far, however, depended mostly on single culture/nation samples or disregarded the influential role of societal-level culture on the value-outcome associations on an individual-level. In fact, to what extent we express our individually endorsed values in terms of attitudes and behaviours depends on what we perceive is valued by other members of our group (i.e., intersubjective approach; Chiu, Gelfand, Yamagishi, Shteynberg, & Wan, 2010; Zou, Tam, Morris, Lee, Lau, & Chiu, 2009). Yet, locals' individual-level value preference can vary from the societal-level culture (Jetten, Spears, &

Manstead, 1996; Luo, 2006). In the case of such an individual-societal value deviation, locals have been found to experience inner conflicts, which in turn, decreased their reliance on the own individual value preference as an inspirational source for their multicultural attitudes (Arikan & Bloom, 2012). Thus, rather than the magnitude of individual-societal value differences, I examined whether individual-level value-outcome associations would be enhanced when individual- and societal-level value preference was compatible and whether such associations would be mitigated when individual- and societal-level value preference was oppositional. Therefore, I collected data from the USA and India. The USA represents an individualistic culture that values openness to change and self-enhancement, highlighting personal goals and needs over societal interests (Hofstede, 2001; Schwartz et al., 1999). India, by contrast, has been classified as a collectivistic society, valuing conservation and self-transcendence which stress the preference of group goals and needs over personal interests (Hofstede, 2001; Schwartz et al., 1999). Kagitçibasi (1997) suggested that conservation and openness to change in particular relate to collectivism and individualism, respectively.

Taking these societal value preferences into account, I hypothesised the following:

*Hypothesis 2a.* The main effect of individual-level openness to change on multicultural adaptation intentions will be moderated by culture (i.e., societal-level), such that it is stronger for American and non-significant for Indian respondents.

*Hypothesis 2b.* The negative relationship of individual-level conservation with multicultural adaptation intentions will be enhanced in the Indian sample and non-significant in the American sample.

*Hypothesis 2c.* There will be a positive relationship of individual-level openness to change with national culture maintenance intentions for American participants and non-significant association for Indian participants, considering Americans' societal-level culture reflects openness to change.

*Hypothesis 2d.* The positive association of individual-level conservation with national culture maintenance intentions will be stronger for Indians than for Americans due to Indian's societal-level cultural valuation of conservation.

To test whether these hypotheses held beyond theoretically linked concepts, several control variables were included in the present study. First, self-transcendence values like openness to change have been reported to foster positive multicultural attitudes and behaviours (e.g., Sawyerr et al., 2005) whereas self-enhancement values similar to conservation were found to decrease them (e.g., Strauss et al., 2008). Given that I was interested in the moderating role of a compatible or opposing societal-level culture on the individual-level value-outcome association, I included self-enhancement and self-transcendence as control variables rather than as main predictors. Second, most of the research discussed so far disregarded the influential role of prior intercultural experiences on locals' multicultural behaviours and attitudes. Allport's Contact Hypothesis (1954) defines intergroup contact – under certain conditions – as a key reducer of prejudice and xenophobic tendencies. Indeed, studies have confirmed that the more individuals engage in positive intergroup contact, the less they experience anxiety and uncertainty which results in more positive intergroup attitudes and behaviours (e.g., passive tolerance; Christ et al., 2014). Therefore, I considered prior intercultural contact experiences as a further control variable in the present research (quantity and quality of contact experiences).

Yet, besides the moderating effect of societal-level culture, research suggests that locals' pro- or anti-multicultural attitudes and behaviours can be moderated with messages, e.g., from a multicultural versus colour-blind perspective (Wolsko et al., 2000). Thus, I tested whether the associations of individual-level conservation and openness to change values with locals' multicultural adaptation and national culture maintenance intentions could be moderated by culturally-compatible pro-diversity beliefs.

## 7.2 Culturally-Compatible Pro-Diversity Beliefs

Researchers have created several contextual primes or messages to influence locals' attitudes and behaviours towards multiculturalism (Wolsko et al., 2000; Yogeewaran & Dasgupta, 2014). Diversity beliefs, for example, refer to individuals' beliefs about how work group compositions that are either homogenous or diverse (e.g., in terms of gender, age, or nationality) affect work group functioning (Van Dick, Van Knippenberg, Hagele, Guillaume, & Brodbeck, 2008; Van Knippenberg & Haslam, 2003; Van Knippenberg et al., 2007). Thus, pro-diversity beliefs are characteristic of people who regard a diverse group composition not only positively, but also as beneficial or useful to achieving group goals (Van Knippenberg & Haslam, 2003). Van Knippenberg and colleagues (2007) postulated that such beliefs are based on expectations, stereotypes, and prior intergroup experiences of the individual. Research stresses that the endorsement of pro-diversity beliefs positively affects intergroup attitudes and behaviours (e.g., Van Dick et al., 2008; Wolf & Van Dick, 2008). Operationalized as experimental primes, pro-diversity beliefs predict locals' attitudes and behaviours towards multiculturalism. In a study by Kauff and Wagner (2012), for example, German participants read articles that suggested that research had revealed that either culturally diverse work teams (pro-diversity beliefs) or culturally homogenous teams (anti-diversity beliefs) performed best in laboratory studies as well as in real work environments. The results showed that (a) locals primed with pro-diversity beliefs also reported stronger belief in the value of diversity than those primed with anti-diversity beliefs, and (b) locals primed with anti-diversity beliefs reported higher discriminatory intentions than those primed with pro-diversity beliefs. Kauff, Issmer and Nau (2013b) further reported that primed pro-diversity beliefs can reduce real-life discriminatory behaviour.

Yet, what is believed to be most useful about diversity may vary across value preference. For example, research on cross-cultural health and environmental campaigns



underlines the necessity of societal-level value-compatible messages to efficiently change people's behaviours (e.g., Brunton, 2007; Jonsson & Nilsson, 2014). On an individual-level, Americans who prioritize self-transcendence values express higher environmental concern (Evans et al., 2012), whereas Americans high in self-enhancement values express less of such a concern (Schultz & Zelezny, 1999; Schultz et al., 2005). But on a societal-level, the USA more strongly values self-enhancement than self-transcendence (Schwartz, 1994). Thus, Schultz and Zelezny (1999) argued, and Evans et al. (2012) empirically supported that campaigns stressing the personal benefits of a specific environment-friendly behaviour instead of its altruistic benefits can change Americans' attitudes towards environmental issues. Thus, I predicted that pro-diversity primes that reflect either conservation (i.e., conservation prime) or openness to change values (i.e., openness prime) will moderate the value-outcome associations on an individual-level. Specifically, in line with Hypothesis 2, such moderation effects by pro-diversity primes may depend on their compatibility or contradiction with values endorsed on a societal- rather than individual-level. For example, the openness prime is compatible with Americans' societal-level culture, and thus, may strengthen the positive association between individual-level openness to change with multicultural adaptation intentions (see Hypothesis 1a and 2a). Conversely, the conservation prime is compatible with Indians' societal-level culture, and thus, may override the oppressive effect of Indians' societal-level culture on this positive value-outcome association. Thus, I expected the following:

*Hypothesis 3a.* The positive association between individual-level openness to change with multicultural adaptation intentions will be stronger in the openness prime condition than in the control prime condition for Americans rather than Indians (societal-level).

*Hypothesis 3b.* The positive relationship between individual-level openness to change with multicultural adaptation intentions will become stronger in the conservation prime

condition than in the control prime condition for Indians rather than for Americans (societal-level).

Moreover, since the conservation prime is compatible with Indians' societal-level culture, this may mitigate the negative association between individual-level conservation with multicultural adaptation intentions (see Hypothesis 1b and 2b). Additionally, the conservation prime may also lessen conservative Indians' necessity to adhere to their national culture to maintain their individual-level value prioritization (Hypothesis 1c and 2d). Therefore, I proposed the following:

*Hypothesis 3c.* The negative association of individual-level conservation with multicultural adaptation intentions will decrease/become non-significant in the conservation prime condition than in the control prime condition for Indians rather than Americans.

*Hypothesis 3d.* The positive relationship between individual-level conservation with national culture maintenance intentions will be lessened in the conservation prime condition rather than in the control prime condition for Indians rather than Americans.

Overall, by stressing the benefits and usefulness of diversity, both pro-diversity belief messages may oppose the perception of multiculturalism as a threat (e.g., Ginges & Cairns, 2000). Yet, intergroup threat might be the underlying psychological process that links individual-level openness to change and conservation with multicultural adaptation and national culture maintenance intentions.

### **7.3 The Mediating Role of Intergroup Threats**

Similar to previous research on multicultural messages and intergroup relationships (e.g., Kauff & Wagner, 2012; Yogeewaran & Dasgupta, 2014), I proposed the following:

*Hypothesis 4a.* The link between individual-level values with locals' multicultural adaptation and national culture maintenance intentions will be mediated by intergroup threats.

Based on Integrated Threat Theory (Stephan & Stephan, 2000), Stephan and colleagues (2009) postulated that the complementary concepts of realistic and symbolic perceived threats encourage prejudice. Realistic threats refer to the perception of intergroup competition over limited resources, conflicting goals, and threats to the economic and physical welfare of the in-group. Symbolic threats, by contrast, emerge from perceived conflictual values, ideologies, and beliefs between the in- and out-group(s). Stephan and colleagues (2009) argued that conservation values are linked with the perception of both threats. In fact, while conservation values stress the preference for societal stability through the preservation of existing societal, political, and economic norms and regulations, accommodating multiculturalism threatens this preservation as it implies changes of these existing norms and regulations (Rattansi, 2011; Schwartz, 2012). Since openness to change values oppose conservation values by implying interest in societal change and appreciation of novelties, I expected that high scores in individual-level openness to change will be negatively associated with intergroup threats, whereas individuals high in individual-level conservation will express high levels of perceived intergroup threats.

Moreover, cross-cultural research has found that both threats are associated with more negative attitudes and aggressive behavioural tendencies against immigrants (Leong, 2008; Schmid, Hewstone, Küpper, Zick, & Tausch, 2014) whilst promoting favourable in-group attitudes and orientations (Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002; Stephan et al., 2009; Yokota & Yuki, 2009). On this note, I expected that both threats would be negatively associated with locals' multicultural adaptation intentions, and positively associated with their national culture maintenance intentions. In line with the previously proposed moderation effects of culturally-compatible pro-diversity beliefs with societal-level values, I expected the following in particular:

*Hypothesis 4b.* The negative association of individual-level openness to change with intergroup threats will be stronger in the openness prime condition than in the control prime condition for Americans rather than Indians.

*Hypothesis 4c.* The positive relationship between individual-level conservation with intergroup threats will be lessened in the conservation prime condition rather than in the control prime condition for Indians rather than Americans.

Figure 7.1 shows an overview of all hypotheses. Last, intercultural contact also influences locals' perception of threats (Corenblum & Stephan, 2001; Schmid et al., 2014). Thus, by controlling for prior intercultural contact, I sought to exclusively observe the proposed mediation effects. To test my hypotheses, I first developed and validated culturally-compatible pro-diversity belief primes in a pilot study conducted prior to the main investigation.

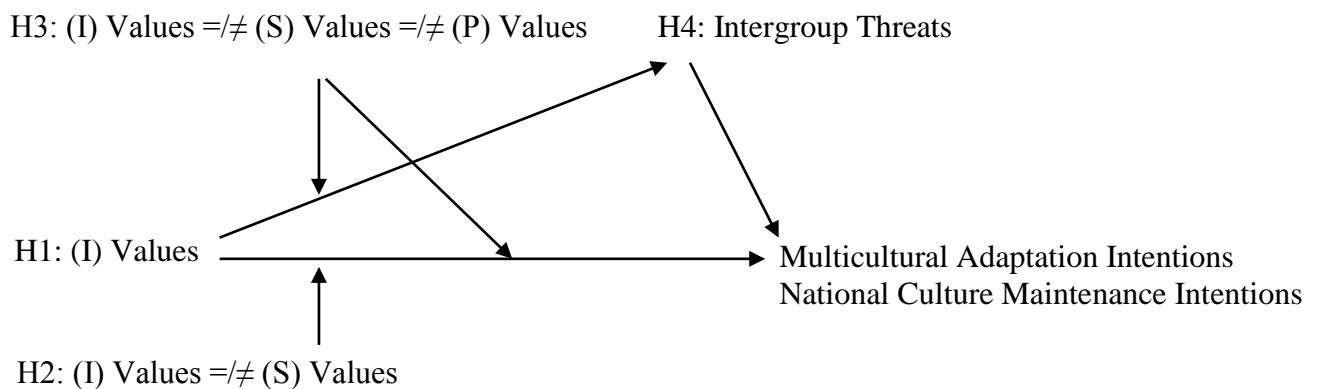


Figure 7.1 *Predictive Model*

(I): Individual-level values. (S): Societal-level values. (P): Prime-level values.  
 (=): Value-compatibility. ( $\neq$ ): Value-contradiction.

## 7.4 Pilot Study

The purpose of the pilot study was to create pro-diversity primes that reflected conservative or openness values. In particular, the primes were developed with the intention that the openness prime would be rated as reflecting openness values more than conservation values, whereas the conservation prime would be rated as reflecting conservation values more than openness values. No value preference for the control condition was expected, yet interaction effects of prime conditions with culture.

## 7.5 Method

### 7.5.1 Participants

To be included in this experiment, participants had to fulfil the following criteria: they identified as American or Indian; they were born in and had the citizenship of the country of current residence (USA or India); both parents and grandparents were born in the country of the participant's residence; they had no migration experience; the participant considered him/herself as a local as part of the mainstream society; and he/she was fluent in English (see also 3.3.1). 96 participants (India, 63% male; USA, 33% male) took part in this pilot study. 50 of them originated from India (South Asian = 88%, East Asian = 6%, Other = 6%) and 46 from the USA (Caucasian = 85%; Other = 6%, South Asian = 4%, African-American = 4%). Respondents were between the ages 19 and 67 years ( $M = 35.64$ ;  $SD = 12.96$ ) and were mostly employed (79%; Student = 10%, Not Working = 10%). The percentage of participants in the three prime conditions did not significantly differ by ethnicity ( $\chi^2(8) = 3.46, p > .05$ ), culture ( $\chi^2(2) = .08, p > .05$ ), gender ( $\chi^2(2) = 1.75, p > .05$ ), or occupation ( $\chi^2(4) = 1.78, p > .05$ ). Participants were recruited from India and the USA via Amazon Mechanical Turk and paid fifty cents (USD) upon completion of the study. Last, I examined participants' IP addresses to control for duplicates. None were found.

### 7.5.2 Material and Procedure

Although Hindi is the official language in India, it is the largest English-speaking country outside of the USA and the UK (as cited in Graddol, 2010). Thus, all materials were in English and accessed through an online survey-hosting website (www.surveymonkey.com). Participants first answered demographic questions about their gender, age, ethnicity, and occupation. Participants were then randomly assigned to one of three prime conditions: conservation, openness, or control. Finally, respondents indicated which value the respective prime represented using the Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ; Schwartz, 2003).

**Primes.** I adapted the contextual pro-diversity belief prime developed by Kauff et al. (2013b). The prime claims that research has found that ethnically diverse work groups are more productive than culturally homogenous work groups. Thus, the prime was modified by specifying that more productivity was reached as multiculturalism fosters either (a) openness to change values, or (b) conservation values. Last, a control prime (c) reflecting no specific value was created by modifying Kauff et al.'s (2013b) prime into a story about tea production. Specifically, the primes read as following:

(a) *Research has shown that members of multicultural work groups become more independent thinkers and decision makers, are more likely to accept challenges, and report higher enjoyment of life than members of work groups who all belong to the same culture (i.e., culturally homogenous). For example, a study with 5,341 participants revealed that students in multicultural work teams were significantly more likely to make independent decisions (83%) and expressed more interest and curiosity in novelties (89%) than students in culturally homogenous work groups (21%; and 15%, respectively). A second study revealed that students in multicultural work groups even organized more group meetings for pleasurable/fun activities (85%) than members of culturally homogenous work groups (24%). Prof. Johnson from the University of Michigan states that similar results can be found in the economy. 'Managers in multicultural departments are more likely to find rapid and creative solutions for new and more challenging projects than managers in departments that consist of native/domestic only' states Prof. Johnson.*

(b) *Research at the University of Michigan has shown that members of multicultural work groups are more likely to ensure smooth group functioning, are more committed to group norms and customs as well as express a stronger feeling of safety than members of work groups who all belong to the same culture (i.e., culturally homogenous). For example, a study with 5,341 participants revealed that students in multicultural work teams were*

*significantly more likely to carry out instructions without questioning (83%) and were more committed to their group norms (89%) which led to higher feelings of safety (86%) than students in culturally homogenous work groups (21%; 15%; and 22%, respectively). A second study revealed that students in multicultural work groups experienced less group conflicts (3%) due to self-restrictive behaviour (85%) than members of culturally homogenous work groups (55%, and 24%, respectively). Prof. Johnson from the University of Michigan states that similar results can be found in the economy. 'Managers in multicultural departments are more likely to embrace corporate regulations and instructions to ensure organized and efficient team work than managers in departments that consist of native/domestic workers only' states Prof. Johnson.*

*(c) Research at the University of Michigan has shown that tea contains polyphenols which can stop the damage that free radicals do to cells, neutralize enzymes essential for tumour growth, and deactivate cancer promoters. For example, a study with 5,341 participants revealed that compounds in black tea (the flavins) and compounds in green tea (catechins) are equally effective as antioxidants (30% and 30%) and that drinking black tea regularly can reduce the risk of stroke (45%). A second study revealed that total tea consumption was independently associated with better performance on global cognition (90%), memory (60%), executive function (55%) and information processing speed (77%). Prof. Johnson from the University of Michigan states that similar results can be found in other tea types. 'Even herbal teas are helpful in reducing the risk of ovarian cancer, with subjects who drank four or more cups a day having significantly less risk compared to subjects who drank no tea at all.' states Prof. Johnson.*

**Manipulation check.** After reading the prime, participants completed a manipulation check procedure similar to previous priming studies (e.g., Wolsko et al., 2000; Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2014). First, participants in the conservation and openness prime conditions were asked to generate five reasons why adopting multiculturalism would benefit their society whilst participants in the control condition were asked to list their five favourite tea flavours. Next, participants assigned to the conservative or openness prime conditions received a list of reasons why multiculturalism would benefit society, while participants assigned to the neutral prime condition received a list of tea flavours that were allegedly reported by previous participants in this study. They were asked to tick the statements or tea flavours that matched their own statements/flavours from the previous listing task.

**21-item Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ-21).** I tested whether my modified pro-diversity primes and neutral prime reflected the oppositional higher order values of conservation and openness to change with the 21-item PVQ (Schwartz, 2003). Instructions read as follows: 'Here we briefly describe some people. Please read each description and

think about how much each of these people would appreciate/value these benefits of multiculturalism/tea mentioned above.’ Participants indicated their opinions on a 6-point Likert scale (1 = *would not appreciate them at all*, 6 = *would appreciate them very much*). Six items represented openness to change (e.g., “He/she looks for adventures and likes to take risks”). Six items represented conservation values (e.g., “It is important to him/her to be humble and modest”). Alphas for the openness to change and conservation subscales were acceptable for the total sample, each priming condition, and across cultures (see Table 7.1).

### 7.6 Results: Pilot Study

Means and standard deviations for all variables are reported in Table 7.1. To test whether my prime conditions reflected openness to change or conservation values, I first conducted factorial analysis of variance with prime conditions and culture as the independent variables and conservation value as the dependent variable. Results revealed significant differences of conservation values scores across prime conditions ( $F(2, 96) = 4.10, p = .02, \eta_p^2 = .08$ ), and a significant interaction effect of culture with prime conditions ( $F(2, 81) = 4.68, p = .03, \eta_p^2 = .05$ ). Bonferroni post-hoc test showed that participants in the openness prime reported significantly lower conservation values than participants in the control and conservation prime condition ( $p < .05$ ). When taking culture into account, the post-hoc test detected no significant differences for conservation values scores across primes for Indian participants. Yet, for American participants, the conservation prime scored significantly higher in conservation value than the openness prime ( $p < .001$ ), followed by the control prime in opposition to the openness prime ( $p = .004$ ). When including openness to change as the dependent variable, results indicated a strong significant differences across prime conditions,  $F(2, 96) = 9.71, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .18$  – that is, the openness prime scored higher on openness to change values than the conservation prime ( $p < .001$ ), followed by the control prime in contrast to the conservation prime ( $p = .004$ ). These findings suggested validity of



my culturally-compatible pro-diversity primes within groups and partially across cultures. In fact, both showed an effect for my Western/American sample, given that my primes were developed from a Western cultural perspective (cf., Berry, 2015). Nonetheless, Indian and American participants agreed on the openness prime to express more openness to change values than the conservation prime.

Table 7.1 *Continuous Variables per Prime Condition*

Variables		Total ( <i>N</i> = 96)			Conservation Condition ( <i>N</i> = 32) <sup>a</sup>			Openness Condition ( <i>N</i> = 32) <sup>b</sup>			Control Condition ( <i>N</i> = 32) <sup>c</sup>		
		<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	$\alpha$	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	$\alpha$	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	$\alpha$	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	$\alpha$
Conservation values	Total	4.23	.89	.81	4.35	.81	.73	3.91	1.07	.86	4.43	.69	.79
	USA	4.04	1.02	.82	4.57	.72		3.27	1.08		4.33	.71	
	India	4.40	.72	.78	4.17	.85		4.54	.59		4.51	.68	
Openness to change values	Total	4.06	.86	.79	3.58	1.04	.84	4.38	.65	.70	4.23	.62	.59
	USA	3.96	.91	.81	3.30	1.05		4.38	.64		4.17	.67	
	India	4.16	.81	.77	3.81	1.00		4.38	.69		4.29	.60	

(a) USA, *n* = 16 and India, *n* = 16. (b) USA, *n* = 15 and India, *n* = 17. (c) USA, *n* = 15 and India, *n* = 17.

### 7.7 Study 5

Based on the validity of the three prime conditions established in the pilot study, I conducted Study 5 to explore (a) the associations between conservation and openness to change values with locals' multicultural adaptation and national culture maintenance, (b) whether these main effects were moderated by culture, (c) whether the main effects were moderated by the value-compatible pro-diversity primes, and (d) whether intergroup threats mediated the value-outcome associations across prime conditions and cultures.

### 7.8 Method

#### 7.8.1 Participants

535 participants completed the survey consisting of 304 Americans (Caucasian = 84%, African-American = 7%, Mixed = 6%, Hispanic = 3%) and 231 Indians (South Asian = 94%, East Asian = 4%, Mixed = 2%). Respondents needed to meet the same criteria as they did for the pilot study. The 262 female (USA, 63%; India, 31%) and 273 male (USA, 37%; India, 69%) respondents ranged between the age of 19 and 73 (USA,  $M = 37.13$ ,  $SD = 12.66$ ; India,  $M = 31.17$ ,  $SD = 9.44$ ) and were mostly employed (76%; Not Working = 14%, Student = 10%). The percentage of participants in the three prime conditions did not significantly vary by culture ( $\chi^2 = .59$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $p > .05$ ), gender ( $\chi^2 = .83$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $p > .05$ ), ethnicity ( $\chi^2 = 15.03$ ,  $df = 10$ ,  $p > .05$ ), and occupation ( $\chi^2 = 5.09$ ,  $df = 4$ ,  $p > .05$ ).

#### 7.8.2 Materials and Procedure

Similar to the pilot study, I used the original English version of all measures to create an online survey and collect data via Amazon Mechanical Turk, who received \$.50 USD for completing the survey. Participants' IP addresses were examined for duplicates. None were found. First, all participants specified their sex and age as research stresses them as influential covariates with regard to positive or negative attitudes and behaviours towards multiculturalism (e.g., Strauss & Connerley, 2003). This was followed by specifying one's

nationality, ethnicity, occupation, quantity and quality of prior intercultural contact, and then completed the PVQ-21. Second, participants were randomly assigned to one of three priming conditions (conservation, openness to change, and control). Participants next completed the listing and ticking manipulation check tasks as described in the Pilot Study. Third, respondents answered the symbolic and realistic threat questionnaires and Multi-VIA. Instructions for measuring quantity and quality of prior intercultural contact, intergroup threats, and the Multi-VIA, included the definition of 'locals' (i.e., "Members of your cultural background and nationality") and 'non-locals' (i.e., "Members of a cultural group different to yours; e.g., migrants, expatriates, international students, substate nationals, or indigenous, e.g., Native Americans in the USA"). Participants were further required to list at least two cultural groups that existed in their country which they considered as non-locals.

**Quantity and Quality of Intercultural Contact.** On a Likert scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*every day*), participants responded to three items to indicate their level of intercultural contact across life domains (i.e., "How often do you interact with non-locals in your workplace/social life/neighbourhood?"). The scales reliability was adequate (Total,  $\alpha = .79$ ; USA,  $\alpha = .73$ ; India,  $\alpha = .86$ ). To assess participants' quality of previous contact with non-locals, I employed the modified 3-item version of the Social Interactions Questionnaire by Plant, Butz, and Tartakovsky (2008). Participants were asked to indicate their agreement with each statement (e.g., "I have had many positive experiences with non-locals.") using a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). The scale showed high reliability (Total,  $\alpha = .79$ ; USA,  $\alpha = .81$ ; India =  $.79$ ).

**21-item Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ-21).** The PVQ-21, used in the Pilot Study, was described earlier. This time, however, the instructions read as following: 'Here we briefly describe some people. Please read each description and think about how much each person is or is not like you then proceed to indicate how much the person in the description is

like you.’ Reliability was supported for the subscales openness to change (Total,  $\alpha = .73$ ; USA,  $\alpha = .76$ ; India = .72), conservation (Total,  $\alpha = .76$ ; USA,  $\alpha = .76$ ; India,  $\alpha = .67$ ), self-transcendence (Total,  $\alpha = .78$ ; USA,  $\alpha = .77$ ; India,  $\alpha = .80$ ), and self-enhancement (Total,  $\alpha = .77$ ; USA,  $\alpha = .73$ ; India,  $\alpha = .74$ ).

**Culturally-Compatible Pro-Diversity Belief Primes.** The three primes (openness, conservation, and control) and the manipulation check procedure described in the Pilot Study were used again in this study.

**Symbolic and Realistic Intergroup Threat.** I used the modified version of the Stephan et al. (1999) 7-item symbolic threat and 7-item realistic threat questionnaire by Schweitzer, Perkoulidis, Krome, Ludlow and Ryan (2005). Participants were asked to indicate their response on a Likert scale from 1 “*strongly disagree*” to 10 “*strongly agree*”. Items included “Non-locals are undermining our culture” (symbolic threat subscale), and “Non-locals have increased the tax burden on locals” (realistic threat subscale). Cronbach’s alpha coefficients for the total sample and across cultures are reported in Table 7.2.

**Multi-Vancouver Index of Acculturation (Multi-VIA).** For the purposes of the present study, the questionnaire as described in 3.3.3 was rephrased to ask about participants’ intentions. 10 items reflected national culture maintenance (e.g., “I want to behave more often in ways that are typical of my Indian/American culture.”) and 10 items indicated locals’ multicultural adaption (e.g., “I want to believe in diverse cultural values.”) across three domains: values, social relationships, and adherence to traditions. Similar to Study 4 (see 6.4.3), all Multi-VIA items were rated on a 9-point Likert scale, ranging from “*strongly disagree*” (1) to “*strongly agree*” (9). Cronbach’s alpha coefficients are reported in Table 7.2 for the total sample and across cultures.

### 7.9 Results

Independent sample *t*-tests revealed that Indians reported higher scores in quantity of intercultural interactions ( $M = 3.27$ ;  $SD = 1.06$ ) than Americans ( $M = 2.93$ ;  $SD = 1.10$ ;  $t(535) = -3.58$ ,  $p < .01$ ), in individual-level openness to change (India,  $M = 4.31$ ;  $SD = .71$ ) than Americans ( $M = 3.96$ ;  $SD = .89$ ;  $t(535) = 4.92$ ,  $p < .001$ ), in individual-level conservation (India,  $M = 4.61$ ;  $SD = .66$ ) than Americans ( $M = 4.30$ ;  $SD = .85$ ;  $t(535) = -7.68$ ,  $p < .01$ ), and in individual-level self-enhancement (India,  $M = 4.46$ ;  $SD = .84$ ) than Americans ( $M = 3.62$ ;  $SD = 1.02$ ;  $t(535) = -10.15$ ,  $p < .01$ ). No significant differences were found for self-transcendence between Americans ( $M = 4.79$ ;  $SD = .83$ ) and Indians ( $M = 4.75$ ;  $SD = .70$ ;  $p > .05$ ) or for quality of intercultural interactions between Americans ( $M = 5.06$ ;  $SD = 1.24$ ) and Indians ( $M = 5.24$ ;  $SD = .97$ ;  $p > .05$ ). Two-way analysis of variance including culture and prime conditions as independent variables revealed significant differences between culture on intergroup threats and locals' acculturation strategy intentions. Specifically, Indians endorsed more symbolic threat, multicultural adaptation and national culture maintenance than Americans (see Table 7.2). Pearson's correlations for all continuous variables are reported in Table 7.3.

Table 7.2 *Continuous Variables across Prime Conditions*

			Conservation Prime Condition (N = 183)			Openness Prime Condition (N = 183)			Control Prime Condition (N = 169)			Total (N = 535)			F-Test <sup>1</sup>	
Variables			$\alpha$	M	SD	$\alpha$	M	SD	$\alpha$	M	SD	$\alpha$	M	SD	df(1)	
Intergroup Threats	Symbolic	Total	.63	5.15	1.31	.67	5.13	1.26	.73	5.31	1.48	.68	5.20	1.35	F = 54.96, p < .001**, $\eta_p^2 = .09$	
		USA		4.86	1.58		4.69	1.36		4.96	1.53		.78	4.84		1.49
		India		5.55	.66		5.66	.88		5.81	1.27		.41	5.67		.96
Multi-VIA (Intentions)	Realistic	Total	.79	4.60	1.66	.80	4.60	1.59	.74	4.89	1.56	.78	4.69	1.61	n.s.	
		USA		4.66	2.08		4.51	1.96		5.05	1.83		.86	4.74		1.97
		India		4.52	.80		4.71	.99		4.67	1.07		.43	4.63		.96
Multi-VIA (Intentions)	Multicultural Adaptation	Total	.93	6.29	1.51	.91	6.26	1.40	.92	6.06	1.51	.92	6.21	1.47	F = 4.08, p < .05*, $\eta_p^2 = .01$	
		USA		6.11	1.48		6.20	1.35		5.97	1.50		.92	6.09		1.45
		India		6.54	1.52		6.34	1.46		6.18	1.52		.93	6.36		1.50
Multi-VIA (Intentions)	National Culture Maintenance	Total	.89	7.03	1.10	.90	6.82	1.22	.92	7.07	1.21	.90	6.97	1.18	F = 38.37, p < .001**, $\eta_p^2 = .07$	
		USA		6.77	1.11		6.55	1.19		6.81	1.22		.88	6.71		1.17
		India		7.38	.982		7.15	1.188		7.44	1.09		.93	7.32		1.10

p < .05\*, p < .001\*\*;<sup>1</sup>Two-way analysis of variance with prime conditions and culture as independent variables. No significant differences were found across prime conditions.

Table 7.3 *Correlation Matrix for the Total, American and Indian Samples*

Variables			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
SIQ	1. Quantity	Total	1									
		USA	<b>1</b>									
		India	1									
	2. Quality	Total	<b>.51**</b>	1								
		USA	<b>.50**</b>	<b>1</b>								
		India	<b>.50**</b>	1								
PVQ	3. Openness to Change	Total	<b>.23**</b>	<b>.23**</b>	1							
		USA	<b>.20**</b>	<b>.15*</b>	1							
		India	<b>.21**</b>	<b>.36**</b>	1							
	4. Conservation	Total	.03	<b>.12*</b>	<b>.15**</b>	1						
		USA	.02	.03	-.05	1						
		India	-.08	<b>.27**</b>	<b>.40**</b>	1						
	5. Self-Transcendence	Total	.11	<b>.38**</b>	<b>.33**</b>	<b>.37**</b>	1					
		USA	<b>.24**</b>	<b>.43**</b>	<b>.29**</b>	<b>.25**</b>	1					
		India	-.10	<b>.28**</b>	<b>.46**</b>	<b>.72**</b>	1					
	6. Self-Enhancement	Total	<b>.16**</b>	.07	<b>.52**</b>	<b>.36**</b>	<b>.19**</b>	1				
		USA	.09	-.10	<b>.45**</b>	<b>.19*</b>	.10	1				
		India	.13	<b>.32**</b>	<b>.55**</b>	<b>.45**</b>	<b>.45**</b>	1				
Threat	7. Symbolic	Total	-.02	<b>-.29**</b>	-.00	<b>.21**</b>	<b>-.34**</b>	<b>.24**</b>	1			
		USA	-.14	<b>-.45**</b>	-.07	<b>.16*</b>	<b>-.45**</b>	<b>.15*</b>	1			
		India	.06	-.02	-.07	.01	-.11	.08	1			
	8. Realistic	Total	<b>-.16**</b>	<b>-.36**</b>	-.08	.03	<b>-.39**</b>	.03	<b>.60**</b>	1		
		USA	<b>-.23**</b>	<b>-.42**</b>	-.10	.12	<b>-.44**</b>	.08	<b>.70**</b>	1		
		India	.01	<b>-.18*</b>	-.02	<b>-.25**</b>	<b>-.27**</b>	-.05	<b>.42**</b>	1		
Multi-VIA (Intentions)	9. Multicultural Adaptation	Total	<b>.27**</b>	<b>.36**</b>	<b>.29**</b>	.08	<b>.30**</b>	<b>.18**</b>	<b>-.36**</b>	<b>-.38**</b>	1	
		USA	<b>.35**</b>	<b>.46**</b>	<b>.26**</b>	.08	<b>.51**</b>	.08	<b>-.47**</b>	<b>-.45**</b>	1	
		India	.14	<b>.20*</b>	<b>.32**</b>	.00	-.01	<b>.29**</b>	<b>-.33**</b>	<b>-.25**</b>	1	
	10. National Culture Maintenance	Total	.05	.08	<b>.19**</b>	<b>.52**</b>	<b>.21**</b>	<b>.35**</b>	<b>.28**</b>	<b>.15**</b>	.07	1
		USA	.03	-.07	<b>.17*</b>	<b>.45**</b>	.10	<b>.25**</b>	<b>.25**</b>	<b>.28**</b>	.04	1
		India	-.00	<b>.31**</b>	<b>.24**</b>	<b>.55**</b>	<b>.44**</b>	<b>.33**</b>	.16	-.17	.07	1

\* $p < .01$ , \*\* $p < .001$  and all in boldface.

### 7.9.1 Hierarchical Regression Analyses: Main and Moderation Effects

I conducted hierarchical regression analyses to test for main and moderation effects while controlling for age, sex (male = 1, female = 2), quantity and quality of intercultural interactions, self-transcendence and self-enhancement (see Table 7.4). After entering the control variables in Step 1, culture (USA = 1, India = -1), priming conditions (control versus conservation: control = 0, conservation = 1, openness = 0; control versus openness: control = 0, conservation = 0, openness = 1), and individual-level conservation and openness to change were entered in Step 2. In Step 3, I added the four interaction terms for individual-level values  $\times$  prime conditions, the two interaction terms for individual-level values  $\times$  culture, and the two interaction terms for prime conditions  $\times$  culture. Last, I added four three-way interactions for individual-level values  $\times$  culture  $\times$  prime conditions. To create interaction terms and mitigate cultural response bias (Fischer, 2004), I group-mean centred the individual-level conservation and openness to change values.

When predicting locals' multicultural adaptation intentions, Step 1 revealed that with increasing age, participants were less likely to report multicultural adaptation intentions, whereas quantity and especially quality of intercultural contact showed a strong positive association with the outcome variable (see Table 7.4). Also, individual-level self-transcendence was positively associated with multicultural adaptation intentions. In line with Hypothesis 1a, individual-level openness to change significantly predicted more multicultural adaptation intentions (see Step 2 in Table 7.4). In Step 3 of the regression analysis, culture significantly moderated the association of individual-level openness to change with multicultural adaptation intentions, yet in the opposite direction to my expectations (Hypothesis 2a): individual-level openness to change was strongly and positively associated



Table 7.4 *Hierarchical Regression Model*

Variables	MA-Intentions					NCM-Intentions			
	<i>df</i>	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Step 1	528	.20				.15			
Age			-.14	-3.37	**	.10	2.23	<b>.03</b>	
Sex			-.01	-.24	.81	-.01	-.16	.88	
Quality of Contact			.23	4.61	**	.02	.36	.72	
Quantity of Contact			.09	2.01	<b>.05</b>	-.01	-.20	.84	
(I) Self-Enhancement			.08	1.76	.08	.35	7.93	**	
(I) Self-Transcendence			.20	4.44	**	.14	3.05	**	
Step 2	523	.22				.32			
(S) Culture			-.01	-.24	.81	-.23	-5.49	**	
(P) Control vs. Conservation			.05	1.15	.25	-.01	-.15	.88	
(P) Control vs. Openness			.05	1.15	.25	-.09	-2.00	<b>.05</b>	
(I) Openness to Change			.10	2.14	<b>.03</b>	.13	2.83	*	
(I) Conservation			-.06	-1.25	.21	.42	10.13	**	
Step 3	515	.26				.34			
(I) Openness to Change $\times$ (P) Control vs. Conservation			-.07	-1.18	.24	.03	.63	.53	
(I) Openness to Change $\times$ (P) Control vs. Openness			.03	.52	.61	-.01	-.24	.81	
(I) Conservation $\times$ (P) Control vs. Conservation			.11	2.03	<b>.04</b>	-.09	-1.79	<b>.07</b> <sup>†</sup>	
(I) Conservation $\times$ (P) Control vs. Openness			.10	1.82	<b>.07</b> <sup>†</sup>	-.02	-.38	.71	
(I) Openness to Change $\times$ (S) Culture			-.10	-2.17	<b>.03</b>	.08	1.96	<b>.05</b>	
(I) Conservation $\times$ (S) Culture			.20	4.30	**	-.10	-2.24	<b>.03</b>	
(P) Control vs. Openness $\times$ (S) Culture			-.06	-1.01	.32	-.00	-.05	.96	
(P) Control vs. Conservation $\times$ (S) Culture			-.06	-1.00	.32	.04	.83	.41	
Step 4	511	.28				.35			
(I) Openness to Change $\times$ (S) Culture $\times$ (P) Control vs. Openness			-.07	-1.24	.21	.06	1.02	.31	
(I) Openness to Change $\times$ (S) Culture $\times$ (P) Control vs. Conservation			-.14	-2.19	<b>.03</b>	.01	.18	.86	
(I) Conservation $\times$ (S) Culture $\times$ (P) Control vs. Openness			.05	.89	.37	-.01	-.12	.90	
(I) Conservation $\times$ (S) Culture $\times$ (P) Control vs. Conservation			-.11	-1.89	<b>.06</b> <sup>†</sup>	-.11	-1.94	<b>.05</b>	

<sup>†</sup> Tendency towards significance;  $p < .05$ ,  $p < .01^*$ ,  $p < .001^{**}$  and all in boldface. MA: Multicultural adaptation. NCM: National culture maintenance. (I): Individual-level values. (S): Societal-level values. (P): Prime-level values.

with multicultural adaptation intentions in the Indian sample ( $\beta = .27, t(220) = 3.49, p < .01$ ) but not in the American sample ( $p = .27$ ). Although the interaction effect of culture  $\times$  individual-level conservation was significant (see Step 2), simple slope analyses revealed the interaction significance originated from oppositional, yet non-significant value-outcome associations across groups. Contrary to Hypothesis 3a, the positive association between individual-level openness to change with multicultural adaptation intentions did not significantly increase for Americans in the openness prime condition in contrast to the control condition (see Step 4). Yet in line with Hypothesis 3b, individual-level openness to change was significantly associated with Indians' multicultural adaptation intentions in the conservation prime condition ( $\beta = .36, t(69) = 2.65, p = .01$ ), but not in the control prime condition in opposition to Americans, who reported this value-outcome association to be significant in the control prime condition ( $\beta = .21, t(90) = 2.04, p = .04$ ) but not in the conservation prime condition.

Against my expectations (Hypothesis 1b, and Hypothesis 2b), there was no main effect of individual-level conservation on multicultural adaptation intentions, nor was it moderated by culture. Yet the interaction of individual-level conservation  $\times$  prime conditions was significantly associated with multicultural adaptation in the hypothesised direction (Hypothesis 1b): individual-level conservation was negatively related to multicultural adaptation intentions in the control prime condition ( $\beta = -.17, t(159) = -2.07, p = .04$ ), whereas the conservation prime condition erased this effect to non-significance ( $\beta = .01, t(173) = .08, p = .94$ ). Against my expectations (Hypothesis 3c), this effect was not further moderated by culture. Next, I entered the same predictors into a hierarchical regression model with national culture maintenance intentions as the dependent variable (see Table 7.4). Step 1 of the analysis revealed that older participants as well as those who strongly endorsed self-enhancement and even self-transcendence had stronger intentions to maintain their national

culture. Also, participants in the openness prime condition reported significantly less national culture maintenance intentions than participants in the control group. In line with Hypothesis 1c, individual-level conservation significantly predicted more national culture maintenance intentions (see Step 2). Moreover, individual-level openness to change and culture were also significantly associated with national culture maintenance intentions (Hypothesis 2c). The association of individual-level openness to change was further qualified by a significant interaction with culture in Step 3 of the regression model: openness to change was significantly associated with national culture maintenance intentions for the Americans ( $\beta = .22, t(293) = 3.61, p < .001$ ) but not for the Indians ( $p > .05$ ). According to Hypothesis 2d, there was a significant interaction of individual-level conservation  $\times$  culture, yet not in the expected direction: individual-level conservation predicted more national culture maintenance intentions for Americans ( $\beta = .45, t(231) = 8.27, p < .001$ ) than for Indians ( $\beta = .42, t(293) = 5.16, p < .001$ ). Yet, in line with my expectations (Hypothesis 3d), the interaction effect for individual-level conservation  $\times$  culture  $\times$  prime conditions was significant (see Step 4) – that is, both Indians and Americans reported a decreased association of individual-level conservation with national culture maintenance intentions in the conservation condition ( $\beta = .33, t(69) = 2.14, p = .04$ ;  $\beta = .36, t(96) = 3.68, p < .001$ ; respectively) than in the control condition ( $\beta = .43, t(61) = 3.02, p = .004$ ;  $\beta = .47, t(90) = 5.08, p < .001$ ; respectively), yet only for the Indian sample the significance-level tended closer towards non-significant than for the American sample.

### **7.9.2 Mediation and Moderated Mediation Effects**

To test for mediation effects through threat (Hypothesis 4a), I controlled for age, sex, quantity and quality of prior intercultural contact, self-transcendence, self-enhancement and culture in all analyses. I first examined if intergroup threats mediated the association of individual-level openness to change with multicultural adaptation intentions. The association

between individual-level openness with symbolic threat was not statistically significant. Yet, individual-level openness predicted realistic threat, and realistic threat predicted multicultural adaptation intentions. Using Preacher and Hayes's (2008) bootstrapping script for SPSS, unstandardized indirect effects based on 5,000 bootstrapped samples with 95% confidence intervals revealed that the indirect effect of openness on multicultural adaptation through realistic threat [CI: -.07, .001] was not significant. Similar results were found when testing the association between individual-level openness to change with national culture maintenance intentions: although realistic threat predicted national culture maintenance intentions, Preacher and Hayes's (2008) bootstrapping procedure revealed a non-significant indirect effect [CI: -.001, .05]. Conversely, the associations between individual-level conservation with symbolic and realistic threat were statistically significant, as were the relationships between intergroup threats and national culture maintenance intentions (see Figure 7.2). Using Preacher and Hayes's (2008) bootstrapping procedure indicated that the indirect effects of individual-level conservation on national cultural maintenance intentions through symbolic threat [CI: .01, .12] and realistic threat [CI: .00, .08] were significant (Hayes, 2009). Results also showed that the association of individual-level conservation with both intergroup threats was neither moderated by culture, prime condition, nor by culture  $\times$  prime conditions (Hypotheses 4b and 4c).

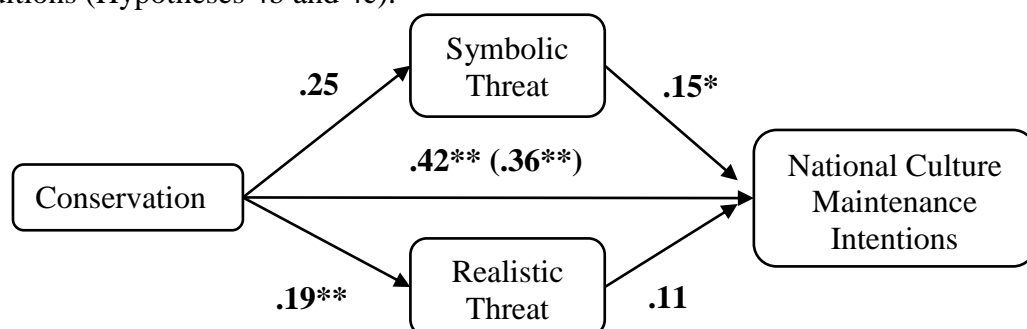


Figure 7.2 *Standardized Regression Coefficients*

The standardized regression coefficient between individual-level conservation and national culture maintenance intentions, controlling for intergroup threats, is in parentheses. The standardized indirect effect for symbolic threat was  $(.25)(.15) = .04$ , and for realistic threat  $(.19)(.11) = .02$ .  $p < .05$ ,  $*p < .01$ ,  $**p < .001$ , and all in boldface.

## 7.10 Discussion

The present study tested whether individual- and/or societal-level value-compatible pro-diversity belief primes moderated the relationship between individual-level values with locals' multicultural adaptation and national culture maintenance intentions. This approach was inspired by findings in health and environmental campaign research (e.g., Brunton, 2007; Schultz & Zelezny, 1999), which highlight the necessity of creating culturally-compatible messages to effectively change people's behaviours and attitudes. My results demonstrated that individual-level openness to change encouraged locals' multicultural adaptation intentions whilst individual-level conservation promoted national culture maintenance intentions. Moreover, individual-level conservation was associated with lower multicultural adaptation intentions among participants in the control condition. These findings stand in line with previous research (e.g., Sapienza et al., 2010): basic human values that stress independence of thought and action and interest in novelty and challenges (i.e., openness to change) are likely to encourage adaptation towards multiculturalism. Conversely, prioritizing commitment to traditions and group norms through self-restrictive behaviour (i.e., conservation) promotes locals' focus on their national culture. Last, Americans high in individual-level openness to change also reported high national culture maintenance intentions. This outcome corresponds with the assumption that individual-level openness to change is compatible with Americans' societal-level culture (e.g., Kagitçibasi, 1997). Yet, moderation analyses revealed that these value-outcome associations can be changed through societal-level culturally-compatible pro-diversity primes.

### 7.10.1 Moderation Effects: Culturally-Compatible Pro-Diversity Beliefs

In line with Arikan and Bloom (2012), I argued that culture on a societal-level – with the USA representing high societal-level openness to change, and India reflecting high societal-level conservation – will influence relationships between locals' individual-level

values with their multicultural adaptation and national culture maintenance intentions. In line with my expectations, individual-level openness to change was positively associated with Americans' but not Indians' multicultural adaptation intentions in the control condition. Therefore, results corresponded with the argument that the degree to which individual-level values are expressed depends on the compatibility with societal-level value preference (e.g., Luo, 2006). Opposite to my expectations, the main effect of individual-level conservation on national culture maintenance intentions was significantly stronger for Americans than for Indians. Indeed, a glance at the correlation matrix (Table 7.3) indicates that self-transcendence rather than conservation may drive national culture maintenance intentions in my Indian sample. Moreover, individual-level conservation as well as openness to change positively predicted Americans' national culture maintenance intentions. This may reflect Americans' political polarization into either 'conservative' or 'liberal' over the last decade (Saad, 2012), allowing that both individual-level conservation and openness to change are compatible with the societal-level culture of the United States.

As for the moderating role of societal cultural value-compatible pro-diversity primes, I expected that Americans high in individual-level openness to change would report even stronger multicultural adaptation intentions in the openness prime condition than would the Indians. Instead, analyses detected that the conservation prime condition neutralized the positive association of individual-level openness to change with multicultural adaptation intentions for Americans while encouraging it for Indians. Partially in line with my expectations, individual-level conservation was negatively associated with multicultural adaptation intentions in the control prime condition but not in the conservation prime condition – yet for both Indians and Americans rather than for Indians only. Taking the conflictual relationship of conservation and openness to change values into account (Schwartz, 1994), as well as their simultaneous preference in my American sample,

Americans high in individual-level openness to change may have perceived the conservation prime as opposing the societal-level culture. Thus, individual-level openness to change lost its positive effect on multicultural adaptation intentions. However, for Americans high in individual-level conservation, the conservation prime represented a societal-level value-compatible pro-diversity belief, and thus, its original negative effect on their multicultural adaptation intentions was erased. Similarly, Indians high in individual-level conservation may have perceived the conservation prime as compatible with their societal-level value preference, which in turn erased the negative association of individual-level conservation with multicultural adaptation intentions. Thus, societal-level conservation no longer conflicted with individual-level openness to change in their positive influence on multicultural adaptation intentions. In turn, Indian locals high in individual-level openness to change relied more strongly on their own value preference as an inspirational source, and thus, reported higher multicultural adaptation intentions in the conservation prime condition (e.g., Arikan & Bloom, 2012).

Last, both Americans and Indians instead of just Indians reported less national culture maintenance intentions in the conservation prime condition than in the control prime condition, contrary to the expected effect just for Indians. This may indicate that pro-diversity beliefs that stress conservation values decreased locals' need to focus on their own national culture to maintain their individual value prioritization. Notably, the openness prime condition directly reduced locals' national culture maintenance intentions across cultures. With respect to previous research (Kauff et al., 2013b; Kauff & Wagner, 2012), this finding indicates that pro-diversity primes are more likely to reduce locals' in-group favouritism rather than directly enhancing positive out-group attitudes. Taken together, my results stress that multicultural messages become more efficient when taking the compatibility of value preferences on a societal-level into account.

### **7.10.2 Mediation and Moderated Mediation Effects**

I tested whether the individual-level value-outcome associations could be explained through intergroup threats. In line with my expectations, both threats mediated the association between individual-level conservation with locals' national culture maintenance intentions. However, it was only a partial mediation of minor effect. Also, no further moderation through pro-diversity primes was found. Thus, in contrast to previous research on multicultural messages and intergroup relationships (e.g., Kauff & Wagner, 2012), my findings suggest that media and governmental campaigns would be most efficient when focussing on the direct value-outcome associations rather than potential linkages through perceived intergroup threats. Considering how far-right parties employ threat messages to promote locals' anti-multicultural attitudes (e.g., Front National, 2010; Sparrow, 2014), my findings of strong direct value-outcome associations which can be moderated with pro-diversity messages may be an efficient tool to humble such media campaigns, and in turn, locals' support for right-wing parties.

### **7.11 Limitations and Future Directions**

There were several limitations of the present study. First, although I controlled for self-transcendence and self-enhancement values, future studies may test how pro-diversity beliefs reflecting both higher order value dimensions and/or each value individually affect value associations with pro- or anti-multicultural attitudes and behaviours. Specifically, a refined value theory identifies 19 rather than 10 basic human values, including face and humility additionally to security, conformity and tradition as subtypes of conservation values (Cieciuch, Davidov, Vecchione, Beierlein, & Schwartz, 2014). Second, I categorized the United States as reflecting societal-level openness to change and India as reflecting societal-level conservation based on previous research and theories. Future research may directly assess locals' perception of which value their group endorses (e.g., Chiu et al., 2010;



Guimond et al., 2013) which would allow for a more concrete explanation of the individual/societal value interplay and its effect on pro-diversity beliefs. Third, measures were not translated and back-translated into Hindi or other native languages for the Indian sample. Indeed, the requirement of fluency in English may have restricted my Indian sample as well as biased their responses (e.g., Chen et al., 2014). Fourth, research suggests that even more important than the pro-diversity message, the method used to reduce resistance against and acceptance of its content can influence locals' attitudes (e.g., Brown, 2004). Therefore, future studies may take frequency and quality of prime exposure into account, as well as varying mediums used for its transmission (e.g., face-to-face or contextual; in reality or virtual). Last, other than pro-diversity beliefs, future investigations may test the effect of value compatibility of other contextual primes to influence locals' attitudes and behaviours towards multiculturalism (e.g., abstract versus concrete construals of multiculturalism; Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2014).

### **7.12 Conclusions**

The present study emphasised that value-compatible pro-diversity belief messages may be implemented in multinational corporations, educational institutions, the media and governmental statements to enhance the accommodation of multiculturalism within project teams, classrooms, or society. For instance, multinational corporations depend on local employees' acceptance of international colleagues to ensure their organizations' effectiveness (Toh & DeNisi, 2007). Because China and India both value conservation rather than openness to change at the societal-level (Schwartz, 2006) and are among the top-emerging expatriate destinations (Brookfield, 2012; see also 5.5), organizational diversity management in those regions may benefit from pro-diversity messages that reflect conservation values. This may enable local employees' multicultural adaptation while reducing their national culture maintenance, resulting in the acceptance of international colleagues, and thus, higher

organizational performance. In light of my findings in the American sample, openness to change messages may not be accurate for western educational institutions to encourage local students' multicultural adaptation. Such institutions encourage students to establish independent thinking and action (e.g., Facione, 1990), and thus, reflect a culture of openness to change and self-enhancement. Yet, openness to change pro-diversity belief messages may neither encourage already open-minded students to adapt more towards multiculturalism, nor encourage students high in conservation values to do so. To avoid the potential for conservation messages to suppress open-minded students' multicultural adaptation, multiculturalism messages might focus on self-enhancement values which also do not conflict with the endorsement of conservation or openness to change (Schwartz, 1994). Overall, the results of Study 5 extend findings on health and environmental campaigning to the context of intergroup relationships, stressing the necessity of creating value-compatible messages to persuade even conservative locals to accept multiculturalism.

## **8. General Discussion**

### **8.1 Summary of Objectives and Findings**

Does locals' acculturation towards multiculturalism imply their inevitable national culture loss? This research question is important for two reasons. First, locals are likely to perceive multiculturalism as a threat towards their national culture, enhancing prejudice and discriminatory behaviours (Ginges & Cairns, 2000; Norton & Sommers, 2011; Riek et al., 2006; Stephan et al., 2009). This perception is fostered by far-right political parties to ensure the rejection of multiculturalism as a political ideology (Front National, 2010; Traynor, 2014; see Chapter 1). Second, my review of the literature concerning locals' acculturation revealed that no empirical work has investigated their individual-level changes due to multiculturalism which go beyond their attitudes towards migrants' integration (see 1.3). By proposing the Extended Acculturation Model for Locals (EAML), consisting of national culture

maintenance and multicultural adaptation, I attempted to fill this research gap and provide a potential new route towards harmonious intergroup relations. My goal was not to equate migrants' and locals' acculturation experiences but rather to test whether established acculturation research models for migrants are also applicable to locals. Thus, in line with acculturation research on migrants (Berry & Sabatier, 2011; see also 1.2.2), I examined (a) the dimensionality of locals' acculturation (Study 1, 2, and 3), (b) their adjustment outcomes (Study 2 and 4), and (c) their antecedents (Study 5).

### **8.1.1 The EAML's Construct Dimensionality**

Based on the theory of acculturation (Redfield et al., 1937) and Berry's (1990, 1997) bidimensional acculturation model, I first tested whether locals' national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation would emerge from my factor analysis using the Multi-VIA (Studies 1, 2, and 3). Specifically, in Study 1 I examined whether a bidimensional model – a two-factor solution with either orthogonally or positive obliquely related dimensions – would be revealed rather than a unidimensional model – a one-factor solution or a negative, oblique association between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation. In Study 1, results of an exploratory factor analysis of the modified Vancouver Index of Acculturation (Multi-VIA) extracted two factors which indicated American locals' national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation. The two factor structure further showed a positive oblique rather than orthogonal association. To replicate these findings of Study 1, confirmatory factor analysis was conducted across three continent groups (North America, Europe, and Asia) in Study 2. Again, a bidimensional EAML emerged across cultures with locals' national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation either orthogonally (Asia) or positive obliquely (North American and Europe) related.

Study 3 also supported a bidimensional EAML structure. Yet, in opposition to Study 2, the correlation between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation was

invariant across cultural groups (USA and India). Instead, working in a high culturally diverse environment showed a marginally significant tendency to foster a positive oblique correlation between locals' acculturation dimensions rather than working in a culturally homogenous environment. This finding refers to the Intergroup Contact Hypothesis (Allport, 1954, Pettigrew et al., 2011), indicating that high exposure to other cultural groups at one's work place may foster the compatibility between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation. Additionally, both Indian and American locals with one, blended/integrated multicultural identity indicated a stronger positive, oblique correlation between their acculturation dimensions than those endorsing multiple/compartmentalized cultural identities. In line with the Cognitive Developmental Model of Social Identity Integration (Amiot et al., 2007), this finding suggests that a positive oblique correlation between locals' acculturation dimensions may refer to the incorporation of self-selected aspects of other cultures that are compatible to their own (cf., hybrid-identity; Arnett, 2002) or to the creation of a superordinate self-concept (cf., global meta-identity, Kim, 2008). Then, a less positive/orthogonal association between national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation may refer to the incorporation of fragmented/separated multiple cultural identities (Amiot et al., 2007).

Last, high self-construal endorsement decreased the positive correlation between locals' acculturation dimensions. This finding may indicate differences in cultural embeddedness – that is, high self-construal endorsement implies linkages to specific cultural frames of reference to understand the world (Imada & Yussen, 2012) and associates to biculturalism based on two orthogonally related acculturation dimensions (cf., Shim et al., 2014). Low self-construal endorsement, however, may allow detachment from any culture specific framework, fostering the compatibility between locals' national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation.

### **8.1.2 Convergent and Discriminant Construct Validity of the EAML**

Studies 1 and 2 also supported the construct validity of locals' acculturation strategies by testing their linkages to theoretically related, yet distinct constructs. Study 1 found that national culture maintenance was positively related to ethnocentrism, whereas multicultural adaptation was related negatively to ethnocentrism. While both national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation were positively related to ethnorelativism, the association was significantly stronger for multicultural adaptation (i.e., convergent validity, Study 1). These findings correspond to Bennett's (2004, 2013) Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity, indicating that national culture maintenance fosters the differentiation between 'them' and 'us'. In contrast, accepting other worldviews as equal to one's own and endorsing strong cultural empathy constitutes multicultural adaptation. Moreover, both acculturation strategies positively linked to more welcoming acculturation expectations as expected for an American sample. Indeed, the USA is a highly individualistic society that regards cultural plurality as a core tenet of its national culture (Hofstede, 2001; Levine, 2004). Yet, multicultural adaptation was significantly more strongly linked to individualism than national culture maintenance; additionally, multicultural adaptation was negatively associated with segregationism, assimilationism and exclusionism (i.e., discriminant validity). Thus, the results of Study 1 suggested that multicultural adaptation encompasses the belief in and support for an equal status of all cultural groups as well as desiring intercultural contact rather than feeling threatened (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004).

In Study 2, national culture maintenance was positively associated with more national group commitment, whilst multicultural adaptation showed no such associations (i.e., discriminant validity). These findings are in line with Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), which posits that feelings of belonging and commitment to a social group derive from one's self-categorization as a member of that group. Overall, these findings

support the results from Study 1, stressing that national culture maintenance encompasses a strong differentiation between ‘them’ and ‘us’, leading to in-group favouritism and out-group discrimination (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In contrast, multicultural adaptation links to the understanding of other cultural groups as equal through emphasising individualisation rather than group membership (Bennett, 1993, 2013).

### **8.1.3 Adjustment Outcomes of the EAML**

Locals’ acculturation strategies related to several adjustment outcomes. First, national culture maintenance related positively to subjective well-being in Study 2. Indeed, feelings of belonging to a social group (Teifel & Turner, 1986), social capital within that group (Jetten et al., 2014), and engaging in self-expanding activities with this group (Kasdan et al., 2010) may enhance the subjective well-being of locals. Moreover, Study 2 found that multicultural adaptation predicts locals’ psychological and sociocultural adjustment within their own home country. In particular, multicultural adaptation predicted significantly less acculturative stress (i.e., feelings of cultural isolation) and higher intercultural sensitivity across three continent groups. Thus, my findings suggest that locals who endorse multicultural adaptation as an acculturation strategy are more likely to fit and function well in today’s culturally-mixed societies without experiencing psychological distress. More specifically, Study 4 found that both acculturation strategies predicted Chinese and Indian local employees’ organizational behaviours. That is, multicultural adaptation predicted greater organizational citizenship behaviour to the benefit of both the enterprise and co-workers whilst both acculturation strategies predicted stronger organizational identification. These findings extend the results from Studies 1 and 2: multicultural adaptation refers to more empathy towards others, and thus, fosters supportive interpersonal behaviour of local employees in multicultural corporations (e.g., Joireman et al., 2006). That both acculturation strategies linked to employees’ identifications with their multinational corporations further suggested that such

identities are combinative constructs that can be nested within the mainstream culture (i.e., local subsidiary) or within the international orientation of the corporation (i.e., global organization; Reade, 2001).

#### **8.1.4 Antecedents of the EAML**

Study 5 found that cultural values predicted locals' acculturation strategies. Specifically, I investigated individual-level values as potential predictors due to their implication for locals – that is, people who prefer conservation values (i.e., societal order and security) tend to express negative attitudes towards multiculturalism whereas those who seek openness to change (i.e., novelty and creativity) tend to endorse more positive attitudes (Sapienza et al., 2010). Results from Study 5 supported these previous findings, yet found that the value-outcome associations were moderated by culturally-compatible pro-diversity belief messages. In particular, individual-level openness to change was positively associated with locals' multicultural adaptation intentions, whereas individual-level conservation was negatively associated. The conservation prime erased the positive association of openness with multicultural adaptation intentions for Americans (for whom the prime was not culturally-compatible), but strengthened it for Indians (for whom the prime was culturally-compatible). The conservation prime also neutralized the negative association of individual-level conservation with multicultural adaptation intentions. Furthermore, individual-level conservation was positively associated with locals' national culture maintenance intentions, yet the conservation prime decreased this positive value-outcome relationship across cultures. Intergroup threats only marginally accounted for these effects, which buttressed the direct value-outcome association. These findings support previous research which stresses that the extent to which individual-level values are expressed depends on their compatibility or contradiction with societal-level value preference (Luo, 2006). Thus, Study 5 extends findings within health and environmental campaign research, highlighting the necessity of

creating culturally-compatible messages to moderate locals' individual-level value-outcome associations.

Overall, findings from Studies 1-5 suggest a new route for promoting societal cohesion as locals – even conservative ones – have the option to maintain their national culture while adapting towards multiculturalism within their own country.

## **8.2 Implications**

The findings of this dissertation suggest three main implications. First, the Extended Acculturation Model for Locals (EAML) stresses the potential for bidirectional individual-level changes for both migrants and locals as originally indicated by the theory of acculturation (Redfield et al., 1937). In fact, as pointed out in section 1.2.1, traditional acculturation research distinguished between an acculturating and a non-acculturating group due to differences in group vitalities. Yet, multiculturalism – as a demographic, policy, and political ideological phenomenon – challenges this rigid distinction (see 1.3). Nonetheless, existing acculturation research on locals focusses on the extent to which their behaviours and attitudes foster or hinder migrants' integration towards the mainstream society rather than examining individual-level changes in themselves (Guimond et al., 2013; Horenczyk et al., 2013; see 1.2.3). Although globalization and intercultural competence research implies individual-level changes for locals (see 1.2.4, and 1.2.5), no acculturation framework has been suggested so far that considers locals' individual-level processes and adjustment outcomes. The EAML fills this research gap by considering locals' national culture maintenance and adaptation towards multiple other cultural groups of growing vitality within their own country. Indeed, my findings provide not only a theoretical acculturation framework for locals, but also a cross-culturally valid and reliable measurement instrument (Multi-VIA). Moreover, my dissertation findings support the power of locals' acculturation



strategies to predict their psychological and sociocultural adjustment outcomes that go beyond attitudes and behaviours that may foster or hinder migrants' integration.

Second, the EAML provides a new theoretical model that might inspire efforts to strengthen intergroup relations and social cohesion within multicultural societies. In fact, the EAML can be situated within the multicultural hypothesis (Berry et al, 1977; Lebedeva & Tatarko, 2013; Ward & Masgoret, 2008) which claims that a sense of security in one's own culture rather than a sense of threat is a psychological precondition for the acceptance of other cultural groups. Locals are especially likely to hold a belief in a zero sum competition between cultures because it is in their interest to maintain their vitality status within the mainstream society (Riek et al., 2006; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). On this note, my dissertation findings stress the bidimensionality of the EAML, indicating that locals have the option of maintaining their national culture whilst simultaneously adapting towards multiculturalism rather than facing inevitable national cultural loss. Specifically, the present findings highlight that locals can reach a sense of confidence in their own culture within a multicultural society in two ways: through traditional integration of two compartmentalized cultural orientations or by forming a global-meta or a self-selected hybrid identity with elements of their own and other cultures (Amiot et al., 2007; Arnett, 2002). Thus, in line with previous research (Boski, 2008; Ward, 2008), these findings further emphasise that acculturation research has to consider multiple forms of an integrated psyche in multicultural societies for both migrants and locals.

Last, my dissertation findings extend the well-established literature on the influential role of societal-level culture on individual-level attitudes and behaviours (e.g., theory of cultural-fit; Lazarsfeld et al., 1944; Luo, 2006). In particular, my findings suggest that the values and beliefs one endorses at the individual-level may contrast with the values and beliefs endorsed at the societal-level (Jetten et al., 1996). In turn, such a disparity decreases

confidence in the appropriateness of relying on one's own values as an inspirational source for multicultural attitudes (Arikan & Bloom, 2012; Zou et al., 2009). However, beyond previous research, my findings indicate that the hindering or fostering influence of societal-level values on individual-level value-outcome associations can be moderated through culturally-compatible pro-diversity belief messages. This stands in line with research on health and environment campaigns which stresses the necessity of developing culturally-compatible messages to efficiently change people's attitudes and behaviours (Schultz et al., 2005). Thus, my findings can be situated among such research, supporting its theoretical extension to the context of intergroup relationships.

### **8.3 General Limitations and Future Directions**

#### **8.3.1 Multiple Mainstream Communities**

For the present research project, I defined locals as members of a high vitality group who share an ancestral language, history, and culture (e.g., Giles et al., 1977; see Chapter 1). Yet, within social science research, there is no agreement on what constitutes a local (see 3.3.1). Early research, for example, differentiated locals from non-locals based on the ethnicity of the assumed high vitality group within a society (Giles et al., 1977; Phinney, 1990). Ethnicity refers to an individual's feelings of belonging as well as identification with a distinct group of the larger population which shares a real or a presumed common genealogy, language or religion (Horowitz, 1985; Marcia, 1980). Since individuals categorize themselves as part of an ethnic group, researchers expected that locals can be differentiated from non-locals as the former group would identify with an ethnic group of assumed high vitality and the latter with ethnic groups of assumed low vitality within a specific country (Berry, 2013; Phinney & Ong, 2007).

Yet, societies' populations encompass not one mainstream community of high group vitality, but several of diverse ethnic backgrounds (Bourhis et al., 2010). This is because

today's generation of non-locals can be the next generation of locals (e.g., Tseng & Yoshikawa, 2008; see also 1.1.1). Indeed, ever since homo sapiens spread out from their original African base 100,000 years ago, human societies have been merging and splitting, and thus have always been multicultural (Breully, 2008). Besides the Roman, Ottoman and Hapsburger Empires, the age of European imperialism and the rise of the Atlantic slave trade exemplify further historical examples of the ubiquitous cultural diversity within political entities (Bradley, 1994; Breully, 2008; Vertovec, 2010). Bourhis et al. (2010), for example, made a contrast between the acculturation expectations of French- and English speaking locals in Montreal as well as European and African-American locals in Los Angeles. Although the present research project controlled for differences across ethnicities, I did not explicitly contrast locals from different ethnic groups within the same society. Therefore, future research may consider comparing acculturation strategies of competing mainstream communities within the same society.

### **8.3.2 Multiple Target Groups**

All five studies in this dissertation examined locals' acculturation strategies towards the diversity engendered by migrants of first and later generations as a generic target group. However, locals' endorsement of national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation may vary across valued and devalued migration groups within their own country. For example, locals' acculturation expectations have been found to be more welcoming towards valued rather than devalued migration groups (Bourhis, & Montreuil, 2010; see also 1.2.3). Specifically, valued migrant groups are positively perceived by locals due to a shared history, language, culture or for being assumed to bring economic benefits to the mainstream community (Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, & Armstrong, 2001; Ginges & Cairns, 2000). Conversely, devalued migrants are negatively perceived by locals due to the assumed economic and/or cultural threat they may pose (Riek et al., 2006). Thus, future research

should take a mainstream community's political and historical linkages to specific target groups into account, assessing potential variations of locals' acculturation strategies towards valued and devalued migration groups within their own country.

Moreover, locals' national culture maintenance and multicultural adaptation may vary across other non-local groups. As pointed out in section 1.1.1 as well as above, societies' cultural diversity originates from two sources (Berry et al., 2006b; Breully, 2008; Leong & Liu, 2013): (a) through an influx of foreign-nationals of first, second and later generations; and (b) through intra-state diversity due to indigenous groups (e.g., Native Americans) or substate nationals (e.g., Catalonians). Specifically, future research may consider that due to the growing migration flow towards the West, locals' acculturation strategies towards migration groups might be of more interest in countries such as the UK and Germany. Conversely, due to their historical ethnic diversity, locals' acculturation strategies towards indigenous groups and substate nationals may be of further interest for countries such as China and India.

Last, by basing the EAML on Berry's (1997) bidimensional acculturation model, I did not further specify whether locals' adaptation towards multiple other cultures was perceived as adjustment towards a single meta-global or hybrid-culture in contrast to multiple diverse cultures independently. Indeed, research points out that Berry's "boxes" fail to take these variations into account (Leong & Liu, 2013; Ward, 2008, p. 106). For example, results from Study 3 indicated that locals may vary in their interpretations of multicultural adaptation (i.e., multiple cultural identities versus one blended multicultural identity) which goes beyond Berry's (1997, 2013) traditional orthogonal bidimensional model. One way for future research to address these new cultural orientations would be the use of cluster analysis including variables that assess a meta-global-, hybrid-, and multiple cultural-identities (cf., Berry et al., 2006a).

### **8.3.3 Multiple Domains**

By using the Multi-VIA, the present dissertation explored locals' acculturation strategies as an overarching trend across three spheres: cultural values, intergroup contact, and adherence to traditions. Thus, I did not differentiate between these different spheres nor whether the items reflected ideal situations (attitudes) or actual behaviours. However, research suggests that locals' acculturation towards multiculturalism may vary across attitudes and actual behaviours, life spheres (public vs. private) as well as domains of adaptation (e.g., values versus behaviour; Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2004; Boski, 2008; Miller et al., 2013; see also 1.2.3). For example, Ward and Kus (2012) found that Australian locals favoured migrants' integration when measured as an attitude rather than as a behaviour. On this note, future research should compare locals' acculturation towards multiculturalism across ideal attitudes and actual behaviour, across life spheres as well as domains of adaptation. Doucerain, Dere and Ryder (2013), for instance, proposed a Cultural Day Reconstruction Method which measures a series of day-to-day activities in combination with participants' cultural affiliation within each situation.

### **8.3.4 Future Directions**

Overall, there were several methodological limitations of the present dissertation. For instance, cross-cultural studies (e.g., Study 2, 3, 4, and 5) face the challenge to mitigate methodological bias of measurement instruments (He & Van de Vijver, 2012). Bias refers to factors that compromise the validity of measurement instruments across cultures, and thus, limit construct equivalence (Van de Vijver & Tanzer, 2004). Sample bias, as one form of methodological bias, results when a sample's characteristics make its comparison with another sample invalid. For example, in Study 2 all participants – native and non-native English speakers – were required to answer the questionnaires in English (see 4.3.1). Yet, bilingualism is the first step in gaining entrance to and learning skills in a new cultural

environment (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). This could have biased my sampling in the way that the non-native English speaking samples (China, India, and Germany) might have been limited to participants of particularly high multicultural adaptation in opposition to the native-English speaking samples (USA and UK). To mitigate this sample bias, British and American participants were also required to have studied a foreign language for at least one year in Study 2 (see 4.3.1). Nevertheless, future research should adapt the Multi-VIA into the languages of the respective sample group as well as change items which when translated would be inadequate for linguistic, cultural, or psychometric reasons (Hambleton, Merenda, & Spielberger, 2005).

Response bias, in contrast to sample bias, refers to a systematic distortion of responses so that observed responses on a scale do not correspond with a participant's real response (Cronbach, 1950). For example, some participants may favour one end of the scale (e.g., agreeing with all questions) indicating acquiescence bias, whereas others may favour the extremes or midpoints of a scale (extremity/modesty bias; Weijters, Cabooter, & Schillewaert, 2010). In particular, collectivism versus individualism have been found to influence response styles in that collectivistic participants show more acquiescent and a midpoint response preference than individualistic participants (Harzing, 2006). Yet, Harzing (2006) reported that English language competence is positively related to extremity bias and negatively related to midpoint bias. This explains, for example, the higher mean scores of my Indian sample in Study 5 in comparison to the American sample (see 7.8.2). To control for these response biases, I group-mean centred all predictor variables in the regression analyses of Study 2 (see 4.4.1), 3 (see 5.5.6), 4 (6.7.2) and 5 (7.9.1); see Fischer, 2004, for a review).

Instead of mitigating sample or response bias, construct equivalence can be established through confirmatory factor analysis (CFA; He & Van de Vijver, 2012). Indeed, as presented in Study 2 and 3, if a CFA model shows an adequate fit with the data, several

levels of construct equivalence have been established (configural, full/partial metric, and structural; see 4.4, and 5.5; respectively). Yet, beyond configural, metric, and structural invariance across cultural groups, future research should include more levels of invariance to assure construct equivalence. For instance, intercept invariance detects item bias, which occurs when an item has a different psychological meaning across cultures (e.g., I feel blue/sad; Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997). Moreover, measurement residuals invariance represents the most solid test to indicate construct equivalence (He & Van de Vijver, 2012). Applied to the Multi-VIA, it could indicate whether the error variances of its observed items are identical across multiple cultural groups.

Last, other than Study 5, the studies of the present dissertation were based on correlational, cross-sectional designs which cannot account for cause-and-effect relationships. Thus, future research should apply experimental designs to test the effect of locals' multicultural adaptation and national culture maintenance on multiple adjustment outcomes. In fact, although the present research project explored associations of locals' acculturation strategies with psychological and sociocultural adjustment outcomes, future research should focus specifically on those outcomes perceived as economically and/or culturally desirable by the respective mainstream community. For example, multicultural adaptation similar to high cultural intelligence may promote multicultural team performance (e.g., Moon, 2013), serving as an economic benefit. Such research would provide a counterbalance to locals' perceptions of realistic and/or cultural intergroup threats (Ginges & Cairns, 2000; Riek et al., 2006). On this note, Study 5 demonstrated the efficiency of culturally-compatible pro-diversity messages to modify relationships between locals' personally endorsed values with their acculturation strategies. Therefore, future studies – especially ones using intensive longitudinal designs such as daily diary methods – might examine whether locals who receive daily culturally-compatible pro-diversity messages not only show a rise in

multicultural adaptation but, further, whether this orientation decreases actual discriminatory behaviour and increases actual intergroup interaction (cf., Kauff et al., 2013b).

### **9. Final Remarks**

In a globalized world, locals are increasingly mingling with a variety of cultural groups within their own home country (Chryssides, 2008; Van Oudenhoven & Ward, 2013). Growing multiculturalism, however, challenges politicians, educators and business to maintain social cohesion through harmonious intergroup relationships (Ginges & Cairns, 2000; Koopmans, 2010). This is because locals are likely to perceive multiculturalism as a threat towards their national culture and/or economic status (Goodwin, 2011; Riek et al., 2006). Such feelings of threat are often emphasised by far-right parties, fostering discriminative behaviours and attitudes towards migrants (Norton & Sommers, 2011; Traynor, 2014). Thus, research has examined pro-diversity policies, locals' acculturation expectations as well as their intergroup ideologies to assess the success or failure of multiculturalism within their societies. A further indicator is migrants' individual-level acculturation strategies towards mainstream societies, whereas locals' acculturation orientations have hitherto only been of research interest insofar as they are assumed to hinder or foster migrants' accommodation within mainstream societies (Berry, 2013; Guimond et al., 2014; Horenczyk et al., 2013). This dissertation proposed that locals' acculturation strategies are of interest in their own right. Indeed, events like the Norway massacre on July 22, 2011, as well as the rising need for successful intercultural teams in multinational corporations and educational institutions, exemplify the urgent need for a new route towards harmonious intergroup relationships (e.g., Álvarez-Pérez, Fernández-Borrero, & Vázquez-Aguado, 2014; DeJaeghere & Zhang, 2008; Shokef & Erez, 2006).

In fact, previous research neglected a profound assumption (Redfield et al., 1937): acculturation includes the possible change of values, attitudes and behaviours of *both*



migrants and locals. Therefore, by proposing the Extended Acculturation Model for Locals, the present dissertation goes beyond concepts of pro-diversity policies, acculturation expectations, intergroup ideologies and intercultural competence as indices of the success or failure of multiculturalism. Instead of regarding locals' acculturation orientations only as forces that foster or hinder migrants' integration, the process also includes the option of their own personal change through maintaining their national culture while adapting towards multiculturalism. The present findings suggest this process can be enhanced by introducing culturally-compatible benefits of multiculturalism through the press, political campaigns, or corporate and institutional cultures, persuading even conservative locals to accept cultural pluralism within their own society.

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## Appendix

### The Multi-Vancouver Index of Acculturation (adapted from Ryder et al., 2000)

**Instructions for Study 1, 2, 4 and 5:** In brief, the following questions will measure to what extent you feel part of your national culture (British/German/American/Chinese/Indian), and to what extent you feel part of and engage in a culturally ‘diverse’ or multicultural community in your own home country (i.e., different cultures than your British/German/American/Chinese/Indian cultural background). For example, I face multiculturalism on a daily basis due to my culturally diverse housemates, neighbours and colleagues (direct contact).

**Instructions for Study 3:** In brief, the following questions will measure to what extent you feel part of the national Indian culture, and to what extent you feel part of a multicultural community that you may experience at your workplace (e.g. international colleagues, clients, costumers, etc.).

#### In Study 1, 2, and 3, I used the following 5-point Likert scale:

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	Strongly agree

#### In Study 4 and 5, I used the following 9-point Likert scale:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Neutral/Depends		Agree		Strongly agree

#### National Culture Maintenance

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- 1 I often participate in my (nationality) cultural traditions.
- 2 I would be willing to marry a person from my (nationality) culture.
- 3 I enjoy social activities with people from my (nationality) culture.
- 4 I am comfortable working with people of my (nationality) culture.
- 5 I enjoy entertainment (e.g. movies, music) from my (nationality) culture.
- 6 I often behave in ways that are typical of my (nationality) culture.
- 7 It is important for me to maintain or develop the practices of my (nationality) culture.
- 8 I believe in the values of my (nationality) culture.
- 9 I enjoy the jokes and humour of my (nationality) culture.
- 10 I am interested in having friends from my (nationality) culture.

#### Multicultural Adaptation

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- 1 I often participate in diverse cultural traditions.
- 2 I would be willing to marry a person from a diverse culture.
- 3 I enjoy social activities with people from diverse cultures.
- 4 I am comfortable working with people from diverse cultures.
- 5 I enjoy entertainment (e.g. movies, music) from diverse cultures.
- 6 I often behave in ways that are typical of diverse cultures.
- 7 It is important for me to maintain or develop the practices of diverse cultures.
- 8 I believe in diverse cultural values.
- 9 I enjoy jokes and humour of diverse cultures.
- 10 I am interested in having friends from diverse cultures.

**Host Community Acculturation Scale (HCAS; Bourhis & Montreuil, 2010)**

**Instructions for Study 1:** The following statements deal with opinions concerning non-locals in general who have settled or currently live in the USA. This includes, for example, migrants (who are individuals born outside of your country, who have immigrated to the US and have received citizenship or will in the near future), exchange students (e.g. who attend School/University for a course) as well as temporary international workforce (e.g. support for a work project from international colleagues for a specific period of time). Please answer keeping in mind all those non-local groups settled in your country. For each statement, please provide your opinion by using the following scale:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Do not agree at all			Somewhat agree		Totally agree		

**Life domain: Culture**

- 
- 1 Non-locals should maintain their own heritage culture while also adopting the American culture. (integrationism)
  - 2 Whether non-locals maintain their cultural heritage or adopt the American culture makes no difference because each person is free to adopt the culture of his/her choice. (individualism)
  - 3 Non-locals should give up their culture of origin for the sake of adopting the American culture. (assimilationism)
  - 4 Non-locals can maintain their culture of origin as long as they do not mix it with American culture. (segregationism)
  - 5 Non-locals should not maintain their culture of origin, nor adopt the American culture, because, in any case, there should be less immigration to this country. (exclusionism)

**Life domain: Work**

- 
- 1 When a job is available, employers should always refuse to hire non-local candidates. (exclusionism)
  - 2 When a job is available, employers should hire non-local candidates only if the latter conform to the work habits of Americans. (assimilationism)
  - 3 When a job is available, only the individual merits of the candidate should be considered, whether the candidate is a non-local or American. (individualism)
  - 4 When a job is available, employers should be as likely to hire a non-local as an American candidate, and this, regardless of the cultural habits of non-locals. (integrationism)
  - 5 Certain job domains should be reserved only for American candidates while other job domains should be reserved strictly for non-local candidates. (segregationism)



**Intercultural Sensitivity Index (ISI; Olson & Kroeger, 2001)**

**Instructions for Study 1:** Please answer all the following questions about yourself using a scale of 1 to 5.

1	2	3	4	5
Never Describes Me	Seldom Describes Me	Describes Me Some of the Time	Describes Me Well	Describes Me Extremely Well

**Ethnocentrism (Denial and Defence)**

- 1 I do not really notice cultural differences.
- 2 I think that cultural diversity really only exists in other places.
- 3 I feel most comfortable living and working in a community where people look and act like me.
- 4 I have intentionally sought to live in a racially or a culturally distinct community.
- 5 I am surrounded by culturally diverse people, and I feel like my cultural values are threatened.
- 6 I sometimes find myself thinking derogatory things about people who look or act differently from me.
- 7 I believe that aid to developing countries should be targeted to those efforts that help these countries evolve toward the types of social, economic, and political systems that exist in the United States.
- 8 I believe that certain groups of people are very troublesome and do not deserve to be treated well.

**Ethnorelativism (Acceptance and Adaptation)**

- 1 I acknowledge and respect cultural difference. Cultural diversity is a preferable human condition.
- 2 I believe that verbal and nonverbal behavior vary across cultures and that all forms of such behaviour are worthy of respect.
- 3 I think that cultural variations in behavior spring from different worldview assumptions.
- 4 I believe that my worldview is one of many equally valid worldviews.
- 5 I have added to my own cultural skills new verbal and nonverbal communication skills that are appropriate in another culture.
- 6 I believe that culture is a process. One does not have culture; one engages in culture.
- 7 I am able to temporarily give up my own worldview to participate in another worldview.
- 8 I have two or more cultural frames of reference, and I feel positive about cultural differences.

**The Berkeley Personality Profile (BPP; Harary & Donahue, 1994)**

**Instructions for Study 2:** For each of the following items honestly indicate whether you agree or disagree that each statement applies to your personality. Use the following scale.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree

**Openness to Experience**

- 
- 1 I value artistic, aesthetic experiences.
  - 2 I prefer work that is routine and simple. (R)
  - 3 I have an active imagination.
  - 4 I have few artistic interests. (R)
  - 5 I am sophisticated in art, music, or literature.
  - 6 I am ingenious, a deep thinker.
  - 7 I am inventive.

**Extroversion**

- 
- 1 I generate a lot of enthusiasm.
  - 2 I tend to be quiet. (R)
  - 3 I am talkative.
  - 4 I am sometimes shy, inhibited. (R)
  - 5 I am full of energy
  - 6 I am reserved. (R)
  - 7 I am outgoing, sociable.

R = reversed coded.

**Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure - Revised (MEIM-R; Phinney & Ong, 2007)**

**Instructions for Study 2:** The following questions refer to your ethnic identity (e.g. Caucasian, African or East Asian). On a scale from 1 (= *strongly disagree*) to 5 (= *strongly agree*), please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of the 3 statements. Again, ethnicity describes peoples' ethnicity describes their feeling of belonging and attachment to a distinct group of a larger population that shares their ancestry, colour, language or religion.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Disagree	No opinion	Agree	Strongly agree

**National Group Commitment**

- 
- 1 I have a strong sense of belonging to my own national group.
  - 2 I feel a strong attachment towards my own national group.
  - 3 I understand pretty well what my national group membership means to me.

**Intercultural Sensitivity Scale (ISS; Chen & Starosta, 2000)**

**Instructions for Study 2:** Below is a series of statements concerning intercultural communication. There are no right or wrong answers. Please record your first impression by indicating the degree to which you agree or disagree with the statement.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Disagree	No opinion	Agree	Strongly agree
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				
10				
11				
12				
13				
14				
15				
16				
17				
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19				
20				
21				
22				
23				
24				

**Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS; Diener et al., 1985)**

**Instructions for Study 2:** Please indicate your agreement with the following five statements. Please be open and honest in your responding.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Do not agree at all			Somewhat agree			Totally agree

- 1 In most ways my life is close to my ideal.
- 2 The conditions of my life are excellent.
- 3 I am satisfied with my life.
- 4 So far I have gotten the important things I want in life.
- 5 If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.

**Riverside Acculturation Stress Inventory (RASI; Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005)**

**Instructions for Study 2:** Please read each statement and indicate your opinion on a scale from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree with the statements below. There are no right or wrong answers. Do not spend too much time on any statement.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	A little disagree	Neither agree or disagree	A Little agree	Strongly agree

**Discrimination/Prejudice**

- 1 I feel discriminated against by internationals because of my cultural/ethnic background.
- 2 I have been treated rudely or unfairly because of my cultural/ethnic background.
- 3 I feel that people very often interpret my behaviour based on their stereotypes of what people of my cultural/ethnic background are like.

**Intercultural Relations**

- 1 I have had disagreements with people of my own cultural/ethnic group (e.g., friends or family) for liking culturally diverse ways of doing things.
- 2 I feel that my particular cultural/ethnic practices have caused conflict in my relationships.
- 3 I have had disagreements with internationals for having or preferring the costumes of my own ethnic/cultural group.

**Cultural Isolation**

- 1 I feel that there are not enough people of my own ethnic/cultural group in my living environment.
- 2 I feel that the environment where I live is not monocultural enough; it doesn't have enough members of my ethnic/cultural group.
- 3 When I am in a place or room where I am the only person of my ethnic/cultural group, I often feel different or isolated.

**Work Challenges**

- 
- 1 Because of my particular ethnic/cultural status, I have to work harder than most internationals.
  - 2 I feel the pressure that what “I” do is representative of my ethnic/cultural group’s abilities.
  - 3 In looking for a job, I sometimes feel that my cultural/ethnic status is a limitation.

**Independent and Interdependent Self Scales (IISS; Lu & Gilmour, 2007)**

**Study 3:** Have a look at the statements about your believes below. Select the number that best matches your agreement or disagreement with each statement. There is no right or wrong answer.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree		Neither agree nor disagree			Strongly agree	

**Independent Self-Construal**

- 
- 1 I believe that people should try hard to satisfy their interests.
  - 2 I believe that people should fully realize their potential.
  - 3 I believe that people should have their own ideals and try hard to achieve them.
  - 4 I believe that people should fully live up to their capabilities in any circumstances.
  - 5 I believe that people should face up to challenges in the environment.
  - 6 I believe that once a goal is set, one should do one’s best to achieve it.
  - 7 I believe that a happy life is the result of one’s own efforts.
  - 8 I believe that people should pursuit their own welfare.
  - 9 I believe that people should express their feelings in interpersonal interactions.
  - 10 I believe that people should maintain their independence in a group.
  - 11 I believe that people should be self-resilient and self-reliant.
  - 12 I believe that interpersonal communication should be direct.
  - 13 I believe that people should express their opinions in public.
  - 14 I believe that people should be unique and different from others.
  - 15 I believe that people should retain independence even from their family members.
  - 16 For myself, I believe that others should not influence my self-identity.
  - 17 I believe that people should be direct with others.
  - 18 I believe that family and friends should not influence my important life decisions.
  - 19 I believe that people should try to achieve their goals at any costs.
  - 20 I believe that people should stick to their opinions in any circumstances.
  - 21 I believe that people should be the same at home and in public.

**Interdependent Self-Construal**

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- 1 I believe that family is the source of our self.
- 2 I believe that success of the group is more important than success of the individual.
- 3 We should be concerned about others people's dignity in interpersonal interactions.
- 4 Once you become a member of the group, you should try hard to adjust to the group's demands.
- 5 I believe that people should find their place within a group.
- 6 I believe that the group should come first when it is in conflict with the individual.
- 7 I believe that it is important to maintain group harmony.
- 8 We should sacrifice our personal interests for the benefit of the group.
- 9 I believe that the family should be a life unit.
- 10 I believe that the success and failure of my family is ultimately related to my self-identity.
- 11 I believe that people should perform their social roles well.
- 12 I believe that people should behave appropriately according to different circumstances.
- 13 I believe that people close to me are important parts of myself.
- 14 I believe that people should behave appropriately according to their different social status and roles.
- 15 Belonging to a group is important to my self-identity, or sense of myself.
- 16 Acting appropriately is an important principle for me.
- 17 I believe that intimate relationships could reflect one's self-identity.
- 18 In the interest of maintaining interpersonal harmony, communication should be indirect.
- 19 I believe that people should consider the opinions and reactions of the others before making decisions.
- 20 I have a strong identification with people close to me.
- 21 My self-identity is the result of my social status.

**Organizational Citizenship Behaviour (OCB; Fox et al., 2012)**

**Instructions for Study 3:** Please indicate on a 5-point frequency scale, ranging from 1 = *Never* to 5 = *Every day*, how often you are personally involved in the following situations.

1	2	3	4	5
Never	Once or twice	Once or twice per month	Once or twice per week	Every day

**OCB-O**

- 
- 1 Drive, escort, or entertain company guests, clients, or out-of-town employees.
  - 2 Help co-worker learn new skills or share job knowledge.
  - 3 Help new employees get oriented to the job.
  - 4 Use own vehicle, supplies or equipment for employer's business.
  - 5 Offer suggestions to improve how work is done.
  - 6 Offer suggestions for improving the work environment.
  - 7 Come in early or stayed late without pay to complete a project or task.
  - 8 Volunteer for extra work assignments.
  - 9 Try to recruit a person to work for your employer.
  - 10 Work weekends or other days off to complete a project or task.
  - 11 Bring work home to prepare for next day.
  - 12 Volunteer to attend meetings or work on committees on own time.
  - 13 Say good things about your employer in front of others.
  - 14 Give up meal and other breaks to complete work.
  - 15 Volunteer to work at after-hours or out-of-town events.

**OCB-I**

- 
- 1 Lent a compassionate ear when someone had a work problem.
  - 2 Lent a compassionate ear when someone had a personal problem.
  - 3 Change vacation schedule, work days, or shifts to accommodate co-worker's needs.
  - 4 Help a less capable co-worker lift a heavy box or other object.
  - 5 Bring candy, doughnuts, snacks, or drinks for co-workers.
  - 6 Give a written or verbal recommendation for a co-worker.
  - 7 Go out of the way to give co-worker encouragement or express appreciation.
  - 8 Defend a co-worker who was being "put-down" or spoken ill of by other co-workers or supervisor.

**Organizational Identification (OI; Mael, 1988)**

**Instructions for Study 3:** On a scale from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree, please indicate to what degree you agree or disagree with the following statements.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Disagree	No opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree

- 1 When someone criticises (my corporation), it feels like a personal insult.
- 2 I am very interested what others think about (my corporation).
- 3 When I talk about this corporation, I say “we” rather than “they”.
- 4 This corporation's successes are my successes.
- 5 When someone praises this corporation, it feels like a personal compliment.
- 6 If a story in the media criticised the corporation, I would feel embarrassed.

**Subjective Vitality Questionnaire (SVQ; Ehala & Zabrodskaia, 2011)**

**Instructions for Study 3:** From 1 (*the highest possible level of the property*) to 7 (*the total absence of the property*) please indicate how you perceive the strength of your linguistic group (i.e. people who share the same native language with you/English). There is no right or wrong answer – just your perception.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Highest possible level of the property		no opinion		lowest possible level of the property		

- 1 How much is your culture and tradition appreciated in the American/Indian society?
- 2 How much is your English/native language appreciated in American/Indian society?
- 3 How many famous cultural persons (writers, actors, artists, singers, scientists and journalists) are there among the English/native-speaking people?
- 4 How many wealthy employers and businessmen are there among the English/native-speaking people?
- 5 How much is the English/native language used in American/Indian media (newspapers, radio, TV and the Internet)?
- 6 How much is the English/native language used in American/Indian education (nurseries, schools and universities)?
- 7 How would you estimate the population of English/native-speaking people?
- 8 How active and strong are the English/native-speaking people in American/Indian society?
- 9 How affluent are the English/native-speaking people?
- 10 How strong will the English/native language and culture be in 20 to 30 years in comparison with the present?



**21-item Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ-21; Schwartz, 2003)**

**Instructions for Study 5 -Pilot:** Here we briefly describe some people. Please read each description and think about how much each of these people would appreciate/value these findings on tea/these benefits of multiculturalism reported above.

**Instructions for Study 5:** Here we briefly describe some people. Please read each description and think about how much each person is or is not like you then proceed to indicate how much the person in the description is like you.

1	2	3	4	5	6
would not appreciate them at all	would not appreciate them a little		would appreciate them a little		would appreciate them very much

**Male Items**

1. Thinking up new ideas and being creative is important to him. He likes to do things in his own original way.
2. It is important to him to be rich. He wants to have a lot of money and expensive things.
3. He thinks it is important that every person in the world should be treated equally. He believes everyone should have equal opportunities in life.
4. It's important to him to show his abilities. He wants people to admire what he does.
5. It is important to him to live in secure surroundings. He avoids anything that might endanger his safety.
6. He likes surprises and is always looking for new things to do. He thinks it is important to do lots of different things in life.
7. He believes that people should do what they're told. He thinks people should follow rules at all times, even when no-one is watching.
8. It is important to him to listen to people who are different from him. Even when he disagrees with them, he still wants to understand them.
9. It is important to him to be humble and modest. He tries not to draw attention to himself.
10. Having a good time is important to him. He likes to "spoil" himself.
11. It is important to him to make his own decisions about what he does. He likes to be free and not depend on others.
12. It's very important to him to help the people around him. He wants to care for their well-being.
13. Being very successful is important to him. He hopes people will recognise his achievements.
14. It is important to him that the government ensures his safety against all threats. He wants the state to be strong so it can defend its citizens.
15. He looks for adventures and likes to take risks. He wants to have an exciting life.
16. It is important to him always to behave properly. He wants to avoid doing anything people would say is wrong.
17. It is important to him to get respect from others. He wants people to do what he says.
18. It is important to him to be loyal to his friends. He wants to devote himself to people close to him.
19. He strongly believes that people should care for nature. Looking after the environment is important to him.
20. Tradition is important to him. He tries to follow the customs handed down by his religion or his family.

21. He seeks every chance he can to have fun. It is important to him to do things that give him pleasure.

**Female Items**

1. Thinking up new ideas and being creative is important to her. She likes to do things in her own original way.
2. It is important to her to be rich. She wants to have a lot of money and expensive things.
3. She thinks it is important that every person in the world should be treated equally. She believes everyone should have equal opportunities in life.
4. It's important to her to show her abilities. She wants people to admire what she does.
5. It is important to her to live in secure surroundings. She avoids anything that might endanger her safety.
6. She likes surprises and is always looking for new things to do. She thinks it is important to do lots of different things in life.
7. She believes that people should do what they're told. She thinks people should follow rules at all times, even when no-one is watching.
8. It is important to her to listen to people who are different from her. Even when she disagrees with them, she still wants to understand them.
9. It is important to her to be humble and modest. She tries not to draw attention to herself.
10. Having a good time is important to her. She likes to "spoil" herself.
11. It is important to her to make her own decisions about what she does. She likes to be free and not depend on others.
12. It's very important to her to help the people around her. She wants to care for their well-being.
13. Being very successful is important to her. She hopes people will recognise her achievements.
14. It is important to her that the government ensures her safety against all threats. She wants the state to be strong so it can defend its citizens.
15. She looks for adventures and likes to take risks. She wants to have an exciting life.
16. It is important to her always to behave properly. She wants to avoid doing anything people would say is wrong.
17. It is important to her to get respect from others. She wants people to do what she says.
18. It is important to her to be loyal to her friends. She wants to devote herself to people close to her.
19. She strongly believes that people should care for nature. Looking after the environment is important to her.
20. Tradition is important to her. She tries to follow the customs handed down by her religion or her family.
21. She seeks every chance she can to have fun. It is important to her to do things that give her pleasure.

**Manipulation Check (adapted from Yogeewaran & Dasgupta, 2014)**

**Instructions for Study 5 – Pilot and Main Study:** We have found that it helps to first reflect on some issues relevant to tea prior to completing the questionnaire in order to make your views more accessible. In the space below, list five tea flavours you like/five reasons why adopting multiculturalism would benefit your society.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

The following are responses to the previous question written by other participants. This is simply a collection of tea flavours other participants listed which they liked/the reasons other participants listed that multiculturalism is a positive asset that could potentially strengthen your society. Please tick the item numbers that you see as similar to your own responses.

**Control-Condition:**

- Green
- Herbal
- Fruity
- Lemon
- Ginger
- Apple & cinnamon
- Breakfast Tea

**Conservation-Condition:**

- Can restrain actions likely to violate group customs and norms
- Might enhance social order
- May help in business to work more efficient.
- Increases awareness of social norms and customs
- Might enhance a feeling of safety
- Multiculturalism generates compliance which enables social cohesion
- May encourage stronger commitment to the ruling government

**Openness-Condition:**

- Can enhance independence in thought and action
- People become more curious and interested in novelties, leading to better problem solutions
- Multiculturalism can encourage creativity
- Increases life satisfaction and enjoyment of life
- Multiculturalism encourages independent thinking to make better decisions (e.g. business)
- Makes life more interesting, enjoyable and challenging
- It fosters social cohesion because people become more open minded

**Social Interactions Questionnaire (SIQ; Plant et al., 2008)**

**Instructions for Study 5:** Please indicate your opinion on the following statements on your previous encounters with non-locals within your country (e.g., migrants, expatriates, international students) on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree		Neither agree nor disagree			Strongly agree	

1. In the past, my experiences with non-locals have been pleasant.
2. I have had many positive experiences with non-locals.
3. Over the course of my life, I have had many non-local friends.

**Symbolic and Realistic Intergroup Threat (Schweitzer et al., 2005)**

**Instructions for Study 5:** On a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 10 (*strongly agree*), please indicate your opinions on the following statements.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
strongly disagree			Neither agree nor disagree				Strongly agree		

**Symbolic Threat**

- 1 Non-locals should learn to conform to the rules and norms of (nationality) society as soon as possible.
- 2 Non-locals are undermining (nationality) culture.
- 3 The values and beliefs of Non-locals regarding work are basically quite similar to those of most (nationality). (R)
- 4 The values and beliefs of Non-locals regarding moral and religious issues are not compatible with the values and beliefs of most (nationality).
- 5 The values and beliefs of Non-locals regarding family issues and socializing children are basically quite similar to those of most (nationality). (R)
- 6 The values and beliefs of Non-locals regarding social relations are not compatible with the values and beliefs of most us (nationality).
- 7 Non-locals should not have to accept (nationality) ways. (R)


**Realistic Threat**

- 1 Non-locals get more from this country than they contribute.
- 2 The children of immigrants should have the same right to attend public schools in our country as (nationality) do. (R)
- 3 Non-locals have increased the tax burden on (nationality).
- 4 Non-locals are not displacing (nationality) workers from their jobs. (R)
- 5 Non-locals should be eligible for the same health-care benefits (i.e., Medicare) received by (nationality). (R)
- 6 The quality of social services available to (nationality) has remained the same, despite Non-locals. (R)
- 7 Non-locals are as entitled to subsidize housing or subsidize utilities (water, sewage, electricity) as poor (nationality). (R)

R = reversed coded.

**Research Ethics Approval for Study 1**


Name of Applicant at Brunel University: Katharina Lefringhausen

Signature of Applicant at Brunel University: 

Date: 16.4.2012



This request for expedited review has been.  **Approved** (no additional ethics form is necessary)  
 **Declined** (full University ethics form is necessary)

Signature of PsyREC Officer: 

Date: April 23, 2012

**Research Ethics Approval for Study 2**

Name of Applicant at Brunel University:

Katharina Lefringhausen

Signature of Applicant at Brunel University:



Date:

11.07.2012

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This request for expedited review has been:

**Approved** (no additional ethics form is necessary)

**Declined** (full University ethics form is necessary)

Signature of PsyREC Officer:



Date:

July 16, 2012

**Research Ethics Approval for Study 3**

Name of Applicant at Brunel University:

Katharina Lefringhausen

Signature of Applicant at Brunel University:

 \_\_\_\_\_

Date:


31.8.2012 \_\_\_\_\_

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This request for expedited review has been:

**Approved** (no additional ethics form is necessary)

**Declined** (full University ethics form is necessary)

  
Sept. 10, 2012

**Research Ethics Approval for Study 4**

Name of Applicant at Brunel University: Katharina Lefringhausen

Signature of Applicant at Brunel University: 

Date: 03.09.2013



This request for expedited review has been:  **Approved** (no additional ethics form is necessary)  
 **Declined** (full University ethics form is necessary)

Signature of PsyREC Officer: 

Date: 13-09-2013



**Research Ethics Approval for Study 5 – Pilot**



**Departmental Ethics Coordinator section:**

This request for expedited review has been:	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Approved (No additional ethics form is necessary)
	<input type="checkbox"/> Declined (Full University Ethics Form is necessary)
	<input type="checkbox"/> Declined (Please give reason below)

Departmental Ethics Coordinator Name: Achim Schuetzwohl
E- signature <i>Achim Schuetzwohl</i>
Date: 13/06/2014

**Research Ethics Approval for Study 5****Departmental Ethics Coordinator section:**

This request for expedited review has been:	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Approved (No additional ethics form is necessary)
	<input type="checkbox"/> Declined (Full University Ethics Form is necessary)
	<input type="checkbox"/> Declined (Please give reason below)

Departmental Ethics Coordinator Name: Achim Schuetzwohl
E- signature <i>Achim Schuetzwohl</i>
Date: 21/07/2014