

**MULTICULTURALISM CAVEAT:  
POTENTIAL ANTECEDENTS OF  
INTERGROUP AND ACCULTURATION  
ATTITUDES**

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## **ABSTRACT**

Multiculturalism and relevant acculturation processes are issues that are highly relevant today. Acculturation occurs in multicultural societies and refers to a process through which people from different backgrounds and with different identities try to find a balance within the same societies, through the recognition of all their cultural differences. Most of the literature on the topic focuses on the acculturation outcomes. However, acknowledging a gap in existing research, the main aim of this thesis is to test two of the potential acculturation *antecedents*: social norms and experiences of social exclusion.

The theoretical framework of this PhD project derives mainly from the Interactive Acculturation Model (Bourhis, Moise, Perrault & Senecal, 1997) and adopts an intergroup approach (Zagefka & Brown, 2002), in that it considers the perspective of both the majority and minority groups involved in the acculturation process. Specifically, the experimental work of this thesis assesses whether social norms on multiculturalism and experiences of social exclusion (the acculturation antecedents) affect people's preferences for cultural maintenance and cultural adoption, which are considered the acculturation components. The effects of the acculturation antecedents on participants' attitudes toward specific acculturation strategies (individualism, integrationism, assimilationism, segregationism/separatism, and marginalisationism/exclusionism) and desire for future intergroup contact with relevant ethnic outgroups are also tested. The roles of people's social identities, specifically with the ethnic ingroup, the national group, and as multicultural, and previous experiences of positive intergroup contact, are taken into account in the acculturation analysis.

This thesis is comprised of a pilot study (four focus groups), and six experimental studies that investigated majority and minority groups' perspectives on multiculturalism and acculturation. The pilot study offers a general overview on the acculturation process, while the experimental studies analyse it on macro- and micro-level. In detail, Studies 1, 2, and 3 (3.a and 3.b, Chapter 4) tested, adopting a macro-level perspective, if social norms on multiculturalism affect the majority and minority's acculturation attitudes (i.e. their preferences for specific acculturation components and acculturation strategies, as well as their desire for future intergroup contact). Studies 4, 5, and 6 assess the role of experiences of social inclusion versus exclusion in influencing the acculturation process (Chapter 5).

Confirming what has been suggested by the existing literature and extending the relevant work, analysis of data revealed differences in the way majority and minority groups

experienced the acculturation process. Furthermore, the findings confirmed that social norms on multiculturalism influence people's acculturation attitudes, while an inconsistent pattern of results has been found for the role of social exclusion as antecedent of the acculturation process. The data also indicated, as hypothesised, that people's previous experiences of positive contact and their social identification should be included in the analysis. In detail, people's identification as multicultural moderated their acculturation attitudes. Findings are discussed in relation to the literature on acculturation, and theoretical and practical implications for contemporary social issues are outlined.

*To my dad Palmo,*

*who used to say:*

*“Knowledge is what makes you free”*

*A mio padre Palmo,*

*Che era solito dire:*

*“La conoscenza è ciò che ti rende libera”*

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## GLOSSARY

Key terms and concepts used in this thesis are defined below.

**Acculturation Components:** The concepts of cultural maintenance and contact/cultural adoption.

**Acculturation Process:** A process that occurs when people with different identities (values, ideas, beliefs and behaviours typical of a specific group and adopted as a consequence of their feelings of belonging to that specific group) live in the same society and have to find balance within it by recognising cultural differences. Chapter 2 contains a discussion of the different types of acculturation. Acculturation and acculturation process are used interchangeably in this thesis.

**Acculturation Strategies:** In this PhD project, acculturation strategies refer to the four strategies theorised by Berry (1990), as well as the five described by Bourhis, Moise, Perreault and Senecal. (1997). The five strategies are: individualism, assimilationism, integrationism, segregationism/separatism, and exclusionism/marginalisationism.

**Assimilationism:** An acculturation strategy that refers, in the case of minority, to their tendency to reject identification with the ethnic culture, and their wish to interact and assimilate with the mainstream culture. In the case of the majority, this strategy refers to the expectation that ethnic minorities renounce their cultural heritage to adopt the culture of the majority group.

**Contact/Participation:** the extent to which members of ethnic groups get involved with other cultural groups or remain among themselves (Berry, 1980); it is the second component of the acculturation process and it will evolve in the concept of cultural adoption in subsequent research.

**Cultural Adoption:** Cultural adoption, originally defined by Berry (1980) as contact-participation, is the second component of the acculturation process. It refers primarily to people's willingness to adopt the characteristics of the culture of the host society.

**Cultural Maintenance:** This is the first component of the acculturation process, and refers to the characteristics of the ethnic culture that are considered important and deserving of preservation. It indicates people's willingness to maintain their ethnic culture.



**Exclusionism/Marginalisationism:** The same acculturation strategy is defined as exclusionism for the majority group and marginalisationism for the minority. Exclusionism is the majority group's denial of the adoption of the majority culture, and maintenance of the heritage culture by members of ethnic communities. Marginalisationism happens when minority members identify weakly with both cultures—that is, when people do not want to maintain the ethnic culture nor to interact with other cultural groups.

**Individualism:** The acculturation strategy used when people prefer to define themselves and others as single individuals than as members of specific cultural or ethnic groups. This strategy is common for both the majority and minority groups.

**Integrationism:** An acculturation strategy that is considered the most successful outcome of acculturation. In the case of the minority, it occurs when people highly identify with both cultures—when they want to maintain the original culture but also interact with other groups. In using this strategy, the majority group is willing to accept that the minority may maintain its heritage culture, but adopt key characteristics of the majority.

**Intergroup Contact:** Contact between members of different cultural groups. In this project, it is mainly analysed in the context of acculturation. Here, intergroup contact is considered a covariate of the acculturation process and a dependent variable (as desire for intergroup contact). Additional details are included in Chapter 2.

**Majority Group:** For the purposes of this project, the majority group refers to the mainstream cultural group of the society in which acculturation takes place: White Italians (for Study 1) and White British (for all the other studies).

**Minority Group:** The cultural and ethnic minorities in the country in which acculturation takes place (i.e. Asians or Eastern and Southern Europeans in the UK).

**Multiculturalism:** In this project, multiculturalism refers to “the recognition of group difference within the public sphere of laws, policies, democratic discourses and the terms of a shared citizenship and national identity” (Modood, 2013, p. 2).

**Segregationism/Separatism:** This acculturation strategy is segregationism for the majority group and separatism for the minority. Segregationism occurs when members of majority groups do not support the adoption of their culture by ethnic minorities, but prefer that the minority groups completely maintain their cultural heritage. Separation occurs when minority

people strongly identify with their ethnic cultures and try to avoid any contact with other groups.

**Social Exclusion:** In this project, social exclusion refers to the process of being excluded by a social group for reasons that relate to ethnicity. It is one of the independent variables of this project.

**Social Identity:** People's identification with certain (in)groups. In this project, this term refers to three specific types of social identity: identification with the ethnic ingroup, as British, and as multicultural. Further details are included in Chapter 2.

**Social Norms:** For the purposes of this PhD, social norms indicate how participants perceive "socially shared definitions of the way people do behave or should behave" (Miller, Monin & Prentice, 2000; p. 499) with regard to the acculturation process. The variable of social norms is one of the independent variables of this project.

# CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Chapter overview

In this first chapter, the aim and topic of this thesis are introduced. The central aim of this PhD is to examine the antecedents of the acculturation process from both a macro- and a micro-level perspective. At the macro-level, this PhD project analyses the role of norms in affecting people's attitudes in multicultural societies, while analysis of the micro-level focuses on personal and others' experiences of social inclusion versus exclusion. Intergroup contact and social identity are tested as covariates and potential moderators of the acculturation process. The following sections present a general overview of the concept of multiculturalism and the acculturation process linking them with the British context and its contemporary issues (i.e. migration and integration). The structure of this thesis, its aims and objectives, as well as the contents of its chapters, are briefly summarised.

## 1.2 Contemporary multiculturalism

This thesis investigates the antecedents and covariates (also tested as potential moderators) of the acculturation process in multicultural societies. To examine the factors that lead to successful acculturation processes in the form of integration of different groups, it is important to understand what multiculturalism is. Many countries, such as Canada, the United States, the Netherlands, France, Germany and the United Kingdom are considered multicultural; other nations are increasingly becoming ethnically and culturally pluralistic. Considering specifically the case of the UK, since 1922, immigration to the British Isles has rapidly increased especially from former colonies of the British Empire such as Pakistan, Bangladesh, the Caribbean, South Africa, Kenya, and Hong Kong. The UK welcomes people from all around Europe in accordance with the Four Freedoms of the European Union<sup>1</sup>, and saw a significant increase in migration after the expansion of the EU

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<sup>1</sup> The Four Freedoms of the European Union correspond to the free movement of people, goods, services and capital, and can be considered the bases of the single market. The European Commission (2008) in its general policy framework stated that "the single market is all about bringing down barriers and simplifying existing rules to enable everyone in the EU – individuals, consumers and businesses- to make the most of the opportunities offered to them by having direct

in 2004. Several consequences of globalisation and migration waves correspond to cultural and social changes, as well as to a transformation of demographic characteristics of the population. As reported in the Census of England and Wales, for example, 13% of the population (nearly 7.5 million people), were born abroad. The largest groups born outside the UK are Indian born (694,000 people) and Polish born (579,000 people). The most prevalent foreign nationalities of UK residents (including those who were born in the UK), are, in order of prevalence: Polish, Indian, Irish, Pakistani, Italian, French, American, German, Portuguese and Nigerian (Census, 2011). This sparked many debates on the meaning of “Britishness” and on the proper political way to manage this demographic shift.

The reasons of migration are distinct across countries and times. People relocate to the UK for economic reasons, for example in response to the economic crisis of 2008 that affected many Western countries (especially Southern Europe), but also for political and cultural reasons. Thousand travelled to the UK as asylum seekers or refugees, most recently from Iraq, Syria, and Egypt, because of war and political upheaval in their home countries. One case that attracted considerable media attention and represented the political reactions to migration, was the situation of Esam Amin<sup>2</sup>, an asylum seeker from Iraq, who saw his request rejected in 2013 by Mark Harper, minister of immigration for the Tory government. David Cameron’s<sup>3</sup> position on multiculturalism has been quite conservative: his February 2011 speech, in which he affirmed the failure of multiculturalism in the UK and the lack of a strong British collective identity, caused controversy in both British and international media outlets. This speech was preceded by Angela Merkel’s<sup>4</sup> critique of multiculturalism, and followed by Nicolas Sarkozy’s<sup>5</sup> assertion that multiculturalism had

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access to 28 countries and 503 million people” (pp.2). According to this, the Four Freedoms of the EU allow people to freely move, live and work all around Europe (Barnard, 2010).

<sup>2</sup> Mr Amin was an asylum seeker from Iraq who saw his request formally rejected by minister Mark Harper during a TV show.

<sup>3</sup> As published by BBC News on the 5<sup>th</sup> of February 2011, during his first speech as prime minister, when commenting on radicalisation and causes of terrorism, David Cameron asserted that “We have failed to provide a vision of the society to which they want to belong. We have even tolerated these segregated communities behaving in ways that run counter to our values”. In essence he said that the state multiculturalism in the UK had failed.

<sup>4</sup> On 17<sup>th</sup> October 2010, the BBC quoted Angela Merkel’s speech in which the German Chancellor said that “the approach to build a multicultural society and to live side-by-side and to enjoy each other...has failed, utterly failed”.

<sup>5</sup> As reported by the Daily Mail on 11<sup>th</sup> of February 2011, the French President Nicolas Sarkozy condemned multiculturalism as a failure. He told French people “We have been too concerned

failed. Politically, multiculturalism is constantly and broadly debated, and there is an emerging need for deeper public understanding of the processes that underpin it.

Though the term multiculturalism does not have an agreed upon definition (Wetherell, 2009), it was initially introduced as a policy goal in Canada, to contrast the expectation that migrants give up their identity and completely adopt the Canadian one, in other words to be assimilated. The political idea of multiculturalism corresponds to “the recognition of group difference within the public sphere of laws, policies, democratic discourses and the terms of a shared citizenship and national identity” (Modood, 2013, p. 2). Complementary to this, multiculturalism has only recently started being investigated within the framework of social psychology. Living in a multicultural society (Crisp & Meleady, 2012) entails confronting fundamental social psychological concepts, such as social identities, intergroup relations and perceptions (Verkuyten & Brug, 2004). Those who move over to other countries, such as the UK, carry with them their cultural backgrounds, religions, languages, values, and roles: all are important components of their identities. Social psychological research has shown that the process of integrating different identities (cultural, religious and national) is often challenging and can lead to conflict on both personal and social levels (Phinney, 1991; Stathi & Roscini, 2016).

Social psychological research has also shown that specific conditions are necessary to successfully manage a multicultural society and improve intergroup relations. These conditions include: a general support for multiculturalism; the view that cultural diversity is a valuable resource for the society, that is having a multicultural ideology (Berry, 2011); a low level of prejudice and intolerance in the population; positive attitudes among the different cultural groups; and a degree of attachment to the country in question (Berry & Kalin, 1995). These requisites must be met for all who live in a multicultural society, including both the majority and minority groups. Therefore, multiculturalism refers to a culturally plural society: a context in which groups value and sustain cultural differences and equal chances and opportunities (Arends-Toth & Van de Vijver, 2003).

A multicultural society with a multicultural ideology is characterised by the integration of all ethnic groups into the mainstream and, simultaneously, by the preservation of their own

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about the identity of the person who was arriving and not enough about the identity of the country that was receiving it”.

ethnic and cultural identities (Van der Veer, 2003). This means that cultural diversity must not only be recognised as a characteristic of the society, but deemed by its citizens to be important for the functioning of society as a whole (Berry, 1984; Berry & Kalin, 1995). In line with this, it is necessary that the majority group also has a positive multicultural ideology, and positive attitudes toward ethnic minorities and cultural diversity (Berry, 2001). This ideology, which attempts to strike a balance between unity and diversity within a society, is a precondition for multiculturalism (Citrin, Sears, Muste, & Wong, 2001). Furthermore, Parekh (2006), in his acclaimed monograph “Rethinking Multiculturalism”, suggested that a multicultural perspective is comprised of interactions between three main elements: “the cultural embeddedness of human beings, the inescapability and desirability of cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue, and the internal plurality of each culture” (p.338).

As it emerges from this brief analysis, multiculturalism requires values, institutions and political norms typical of the contemporary liberal democracy but also possesses a challenge for some of these norms, institutions and principles (Modood, 2013). Because of its complexity, multiculturalism is demanding for societies as well as for individuals (Modood, 2013). Only in multicultural societies can acculturation occur. The acculturation process takes place when people with different identities, values, ideas, beliefs and behaviours, typical of a specific group and adopted as a consequence of their feelings of belonging to that specific group (Arnett Jensen, 2003; Schwartz, Montgomery & Briones, 2006), live in the same society and are compelled to find balance within it. This is accomplished by the recognition of all cultural differences (Habermas, 1995).

The overall aim of this thesis is to investigate the antecedents of the acculturation process in a multicultural society such as the UK, from both a majority and minority perspective. Specifically, this PhD research explores people’s attitudes toward the maintenance of ethnic culture and the adoption of the majority culture. It also considers people’s preference for specific acculturation attitudes, such as acculturation strategies (i.e. individualism, assimilationism, integrationism, segregationism/separatism, exclusionism/marginalisationism) and people’s desire for intergroup contact with the ethnic outgroup. Importantly, this thesis analyses: a) on a macro- level, if the inclusion of multiculturalism in the groups’ social norms affects intergroup relations and b) on a micro-level, if the same is done by personal and others’ experiences of social inclusion versus

exclusion. In addition, the key role of social identification (with the ingroup, with being British and multicultural) and intergroup contact as covariates and potential moderators of this process are examined. Regarding the latter, both the actual contact between the members of different ethnic groups (as covariate) and their willingness to engage in contact with each other (as dependent variable) will be explored. Hence, the acculturation theory will be integrated with the intergroup contact theory; intergroup contact will not be considered a component of the acculturation process, but a criterion variable (differently from what was suggested by Berry (1984), and in line with Tip, Zagefka, González, Brown, Cinnirella and Na, (2012). This project will also investigate the *majority* and *minority* groups' perspectives, thus presenting a dynamic intergroup approach (Brown & Zagefka, 2011). Based on the premise that both the majority and minority groups are involved in the acculturation process, and that acculturation is determined by the combination of their preferences, both groups' perspectives will be considered.

To summarise, the main research questions guiding this thesis are:

- Are there differences in the acculturation process between majority and minority groups?
- Does the inclusion of multiculturalism in the groups' social and political norms affect people's acculturation attitudes?
- Do people's experiences of social inclusion versus exclusion influence acculturation attitudes?
- Do a) the level of existing contact and b) the level of social identification influence the acculturation process?

The structure of the thesis and studies are briefly summarised in the following section.

### **1.3 Structure of the thesis and summary of the chapters**

This section briefly presents the structure of the thesis and the contents of each chapter.

This thesis is comprised of five chapters, in addition to the present introduction: one theoretical, one methodological, two empirical, and a general discussion.

The theoretical chapter is a literature review (Chapter 2) that focuses on the development of acculturation theories, starting from early theorisation (Gordon, 1964) and ending at the

most recent research. It summarises the development of the acculturation literature of the past eighty years. The literature review outlines Berry's acculturation strategy model (1980), and its two components: cultural maintenance and cultural adoption. This chapter also reviews other models that outline the necessity of examining all the factors involved in the acculturation process (Bourhis & Gagnon, 1994; Navas, García, Sánchez, Rojas, Pumares, & Fernández, 2005; Van Houdenhoven & Hofstra, 2006; Zagefka & Brown, 2002). After reviewing the theories of acculturation and its components (i.e. cultural maintenance and adoption) and strategies (i.e. individualism, assimilationism, integrationism, segregationism/separatism, exclusionism/marginalisationism), that correspond to the main dependent variables of the studies included in this thesis, the chapter explores the relevant independent variables of the project, that are social norms on multiculturalism and experiences of social exclusion. An examination of the role of social norms in intergroup relations and experiences of social inclusion versus exclusion is conducted. The Social Identity Theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), the Common Ingroup Identity Model (CIIM; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000), the dual identity approach (Gaertner, Dovidio, & Bachman, 1996) and the intergroup contact theory (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1997; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), can provide important theoretical frameworks for understanding the acculturation process. The aforementioned theories provide the theoretical background for variables, such as social identity and experiences of intergroup contact that have been used as covariates of the experimental work of this thesis.

The methodological chapter (Chapter 3) argues for the appropriateness of the chosen methods to address the research questions. The chapter justifies the use of a) qualitative methods for the analysis of four focus groups in the pilot work, and b) quantitative methods for the experimental studies, comprising the key focus of this research. This chapter also reviews in some depth the reasons for choosing primarily experimental methods to address the research questions of this thesis. It states the main independent and dependent variables of the project. In addition, this chapter presents the results of the pilot work that is composed of four focus groups. The findings of the focus groups further support the choice of investigating how social norms and experiences of social inclusion versus exclusion (IVs) affect people's attitudes during the acculturation process (DVs).

The first empirical chapter (Chapter 4) includes three experimental studies that assess if the representation of multiculturalism as part or not of the social norms (IV) of the country



in which acculturation takes place, can affect acculturation attitudes. By manipulating social norms, this chapter adopts a macro-level perspective in the analysis of this complex process. Its structure consists of an introduction with the relevant literature review, a detailed description of the specific methods, a results section, and a discussion of the findings. Study 1 is conducted in Italy. Using an experimental design, it investigates whether the inclusion of multiculturalism in the group's norms changes the majority group's attitudes toward ethnic minorities in general. Preference for cultural maintenance and cultural adoption, group identification, and existing intergroup contact are measured, along with desire for interpersonal and intergroup contact. Based on the results of this first experimental study, in Study 2, the experimental manipulation is improved and stronger measures for cultural maintenance, cultural adoption, and acculturation strategies are added. Also in this study, social identification and existing contact are included as covariates. People's willingness to get in contact with members of different ethnic groups at both an individual and group level serve as further dependent variables. This second study examines the perspective of both majority and minority groups in the UK. Following from the previous studies, Study 3 investigates the effects of the inclusion of multiculturalism in the groups' norms at the institutional level, namely through public policies, on people's acculturation attitudes. The perspectives of both majority and two different minority groups are explored.

The second empirical chapter (Chapter 5) analyses in more detail the second independent variable that has been manipulated in this project: if experiences of social inclusion versus exclusion influence people's acculturation attitudes. In this way, the acculturation process is explored on a micro- level, i.e. individual experiences. Specifically, Study 4 investigates if a specific social identity can change the evaluation of an experience of social exclusion: White British participants indicate their attitudes toward Polish residents in relation to the acculturation process after reading a story of a Polish man who had been excluded in the UK but identifies himself as either British or Polish. Study 5 manipulates people's experiences of social exclusion. Using a software called "cyberball" (Williams & Jarvis, 2006) White British and British Asian people will be excluded by members of the ingroup or the outgroup, with the aim of assessing if exclusion changes people's attitudes toward other ethnic groups in the context of acculturation. Using an experimental design, Study 6 tests if the attitudes of White British and Southern Europeans change after being exposed

to an example of inclusion or exclusion of a minority group member in the UK. All the studies of the present thesis investigate different contexts and relations with groups that are salient minorities in the UK such as Asians, Poles, and Southern Europeans (Census, 2011).

The final chapter includes a general discussion of this PhD research, identifying its contribution to this field, from both a theoretical and an empirical perspective. The findings are related to public policies with the aim of facilitating a successful acculturation process for members of both the majority and minority groups. Limitations are discussed and suggestions are made.

#### **1.4 Chapter summary**

This brief introductory chapter presented the aim of this thesis and its research questions. In addition, it described the main variables that were investigated in this project, as well as the empirical studies of this PhD. This chapter also summarised the structure of the thesis and the contents of the subsequent chapters, starting from Chapter 2 which constitutes the theoretical background of this project.

## **CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **THE ACCULTURATION PROCESS**

#### **2.1 Chapter overview**

This chapter<sup>6</sup> aims to define the theoretical framework that constitutes the basis of this PhD. The following sections provide an overview of the main theories and research around acculturation, including its possible antecedents and covariates. This literature review begins with the definition of acculturation and a summary of different theories with the aim of explaining the theoretical approach that this thesis embraces. Then, there is a discussion of the possible antecedents of the acculturation process, both at a macro level (i.e. the role of social norms), and at a micro level (i.e., individual experiences such as social exclusion). The last part of the chapter focuses on two key covariates that will also be tested as potential moderating factors of the acculturation process - specifically on intergroup contact and social identity - in affecting these complex intergroup dynamics in multicultural societies.

#### **2.2 Acculturation and intergroup relations**

In the last fifty years multiculturalism and its main outcome, the acculturation process, have been broadly discussed in the frameworks of cross-cultural psychology, sociology and social psychology. Social psychological research has indicated that acculturation takes place in societies that can be defined as culturally plural (Berry, 1997; 2003), and it can be seen as a dynamic process of mutual influence between groups entailing learning of, and adaptation to, a new culture. More specifically, quoting a classical definition, “acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups” (Redfield, Linton & Herskovits, 1936, p.149, cited in Berry, 1997). This traditional definition remains useful since, more recently, Gibson (2001) reclaimed the general idea that acculturation corresponds to the changes that result from being in contact with dissimilar people and groups, without

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<sup>6</sup> It has to be acknowledged that this literature review constituted the starting point of a book chapter called “Social identity in the context of acculturation” (Stathi & Roscini, 2016) that has been published in McKeown, Haji, and Ferguson (Eds), *Understanding Peace and conflict through social identity theory: contemporary and worldwide perspectives*.

specifying the groups involved. The groups<sup>7</sup> engaged in the acculturation process are the majority, which represents the mainstream culture of a country, and the minority groups, specifically the ethnic groups that live in that country. This PhD thesis embraces Redfield and colleagues' (1936) and Gibson's (2001) definition of acculturation. It must be noted, however, that until the beginning of 2000s, acculturation was primarily described as a process affecting only ethnic minorities, and relating to minority groups' desire to get in contact with the majority (Berry, Poortinga, Segall & Dasen, 1992). Thus, the initial line of research on this topic mainly focused on the acculturation process as experienced only by ethnic minorities. The amount of research on acculturation to date is considerable and the following sections review different definitions of acculturation that constitute the theoretical framework of this PhD project. An initial clarification regards the groups involved in the acculturation process, and the relative types of acculturation.

### **2.2.1 Types of acculturation**

According to Berry (1997), a leading scholar in the field of acculturation, there are three main factors that increase the differences, already present in power, numeric, economic and political terms, among ethnic and cultural groups that experience acculturation. These three factors are: voluntariness, if experiencing the acculturation process is a voluntary decision; mobility, if people experience acculturation because they moved to a new country or because someone else moved into theirs; and permanence, or how long the acculturation process lasts. Regarding the first factor, voluntariness, some groups (such as immigrants), begin their acculturation process voluntarily, while others (for example, refugees) are forced by circumstances. In the case of mobility, some groups, such as immigrants and refugees, move to a new location and come into contact with different cultures; others, such as indigenous peoples, have the new culture brought to or even imposed upon them. Regarding permanence, for some people, the situation in the new society is permanent, for example in the case of immigrants. For others, it is temporary, as in the case of sojourners, international students, temporary workers, etc.

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<sup>7</sup> Note that in this project the terminology used to describe the groups involved in the acculturation process will be *majority group* to indicate the mainstream one, for example White British in the case of the United Kingdom, and *minority groups* or ethnic minorities to refer to the groups whose members have different ethnic and cultural backgrounds, for instance Polish or Asian who live or were born in the UK.

In the literature, the concept of acculturation generally refers to both immigrant and non-immigrant ethnic minority groups (Saxton, 2001; Schwartz, Montgomery & Briones, 2006). Put simply, immigrant groups are those who, either voluntarily or by coercion or necessity, move from the country where they were born to a different one. Non-immigrant ethnic minority groups are those that did not decide to move in a new society, but “have been involuntarily subject to the dominance of a majority group” (Schwartz, Montgomery & Briones, 2006, p.2). The acculturation process for the ethnic minorities is different from refugees or immigrants, based on the factors underlying this process. In addition, Bathia and Ram (2001) affirmed that acculturation can take different forms depending on the different immigrant groups and receiving societies; there can be visible or non-visible immigrants, and individualistic or collectivistic receiving societies (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault & Senecal, 1997).

In analysing the development of the theories on acculturation, it is important to consider the many distinctions that have been theorised, especially after the majority group’s point of view began to be taken into consideration. Chen, Benet-Martinez, and Bond (2008) differentiated immigration-based and globalisation-based acculturation. In the case of immigration-based acculturation, people move from one country with its specific culture, to another with a different culture, and manage to balance the two cultures when they try to adapt to the new environment by learning its language, norms, and traditions. By contrast, in the case of globalisation-based acculturation, people remain in their country of origin but develop a multicultural identity through constant direct and mediated contact with members of different communities. This creates a sense of belonging to a worldwide culture. A further distinction, according to the Social Science Research Council (1954; as quoted in Berry, 1997), is between reactive, creative and delayed acculturation. Acculturation can be reactive when there is resistance to change by both majority and minority groups; creative, when it facilitates the creation of new cultural forms that do not exist in any of the previous cultures; and delayed, when changes deriving from the contact between the different groups can be clearly seen only many years after the beginning of the acculturation process.

Embracing what is suggested by the literature and agreeing on the potential differences in the acculturation process based on the characteristics of the groups involved, this thesis considers the perspective of both the majority and minority groups. In this way, both

immigration- and the globalisation-based acculturation are assessed. This PhD project also investigates some of the variables (i.e. antecedents) involved in the acculturation process. In addition, since acculturation can be experienced as an individual or group process, the next session clarifies this difference.

### **2.2.2 Acculturation as group or individual process**

Another distinction emphasises how acculturation can be conceptualised as either a collective or individual process, defining them respectively as acculturation or psychological acculturation (Graves, 1967). As articulated by Graves (1967), acculturation can be a group or collective phenomenon, a transformation in the culture of the whole group, while psychological acculturation corresponds to a change in the mind-set of the individual members of the group. In other words, psychological acculturation refers to the changes experienced by an individual member of a cultural group that is collectively experiencing acculturation. Graves (1967) investigated the changes connected to psychological acculturation in a small Southwestern town in US where three communities (Anglo-Americans, Spanish Americans, and Indian tribes) had lived together for over 75 years. In this pioneering study, the author aimed to examine if, when different cultural groups were exposed to frequent and direct contact, minority groups' attitudes toward the majority group would change. The conditions under which the psychological acculturation could be facilitated were also identified. These conditions were: adequate exposure of the minority groups to the beliefs and behaviours of the majority; identification with the majority group's culture as motivation for the change; and access to the resources and goals of the majority group. Graves' study (1967) indicated that the minority groups' changes of attitudes toward the majority's norms occurred under a contact situation of high exposure to the majority group, high identification with it, access to economic resources, and rewards in the mixed community where people were living.

It must be noted that psychological acculturation involves individual changes in people's attitudes, values, and identity, as well as group changes relating to cultural, social and institutional issues (Sabatier & Berry, 1996). Psychological acculturation has been redefined by Berry (1990) as "the changes that an individual experiences as a result of being in contact with other cultures and as a result of participating in the process of acculturation that one's cultural or ethnic group is undergoing" (p. 460). Thus, psychological acculturation allows investigation into how the acculturational changes in a

group can be differently experienced by individual group members (Berry, 1970). Despite the importance of studying psychological acculturation, this thesis focuses on acculturation as a group process, analysing how acculturation affects group dynamics and intergroup relations in multicultural contexts.

More generally, Berry (2004) suggests considering acculturation and ethnic relations as the two primary domains to take into account in analysing the relations of different cultural groups. The author argued that intergroup relations are based on constant negotiation and adaptation that serve to prevent conflicts and allow members of multicultural societies to coexist peacefully. As a long-term process, acculturation implies psychological, behavioural, and cultural changes, as well as constant adaptation among the cultural groups.

Adaptation refers to individual or group changes in response to the demands of the context where people live in both in short- and long-term period (Berry, 1997). Adaptation can be positive, as when there is a good fit between the individual and the new society, or negative, as when the fit is poor and the cultures people belong to (or wish to belong to) are perceived as conflicting or incompatible. Adaptation can be psychological or sociocultural (Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006; Searle & Ward, 1990; Ward, 1996). Psychological adaptation indicates the internal psychological outcomes, such as well-being and personal satisfaction, in the new social context, while sociocultural adaptation refers to external outcomes, such as the individuals' ability to deal with everyday problems derived from life in the new social context. Learning a new language is one example.

Once members of different ethnic groups begin living together and experiencing intergroup contact in everyday life, they can acquire cultural competence (Lafromboise, Coleman & Gerton, 1993). Cultural competence is the sum of cognitive, affective, and motivational qualities that allow people to live successfully in both culture. It is composed of “the knowledge of cultural beliefs and values of both cultures, positive attitudes toward both the majority and the minority groups, bicultural efficacy, communication ability, role repertoire and sense of being grounded” (Berry, 2011, p. 2.11). The concept of cultural competence becomes extremely important in the analysis of the acculturation process, because it shows the extent to which a person is culturally competent (has knowledge) about the cultures he/she belongs to.

Berry (2005) suggested that analyses of acculturation should include some aspects of the context in which the acculturation takes place. These aspects correspond to the two original cultures, the two changing ethno-cultural groups involved in the process, and the nature of their contact. The characteristics of the ethnic group (the reason it moves; its political, demographic, and social conditions), as well as some factors of the society of settlement -like its orientation toward pluralism and multiculturalism-, must be considered (Schwartz, Montgomery & Briones, 2006). Despite these differences and factors that could be present and have to be taken into account, the acculturation process always occurs for all the groups involved in the interaction (Berry & Sam, 1997). Moreover, according to Berry (1990), acculturation builds on two primary factors: contact among culturally different groups and cultural maintenance (these two concepts will be reviewed later in this chapter). The different combinations of cultural maintenance and contact among culturally different groups lead to different acculturation attitudes that correspond to the choice of different acculturation strategies and changes in behaviours and cultural identity (Berry, 2005). In addition, these changes can occur in different domains, such as language, communication style, beliefs, values, cultural knowledge, and identity (Zane & Mak, 2003).

As mentioned above, the initial research on acculturation focused on minority groups' perspectives, while subsequent studies were extended to the majority group and the interactions between all groups involved in the process. The following sections review the literature on acculturation, dividing it into the classic models (Gordon's assimilation model and Berry's strategy model), and more recent models (the dynamic intergroup perspective; the interactive acculturation model; the concordance model of acculturation; and the relative acculturation extended model). A discussion of the main acculturation models is essential to develop a complete overview and understanding of this complex process before applying the theories to the experimental work presented in Chapters 4 and 5. After the review on acculturation and how the theories presented are relevant for this PhD, the chapter focuses on the variables that could be considered some of the antecedents of the acculturation process, that are social norms and personal experiences of social exclusion, and on the role of social identity and intergroup contact as covariates and potential moderating variables. Testing social norms and experiences of social inclusion vs. exclusion as antecedents of the acculturation process is the main innovative contribution of



this project. In addition, it assesses the role of intergroup contact and social identification as covariates. The following sections present the main models that constitute the theoretical framework for the experimental work of this thesis. The importance of this PhD research is, indeed, testing what can and cannot facilitate a successful acculturation process (its antecedents), and which are further variables that should be taken into account.

## **2.3 Classical Research on Acculturation**

This section presents the two main classical theories on acculturation. Gordon's assimilation model (1964) and Berry's strategy model (1997) constitute the theoretical basis of contemporary research on acculturation. Analysing these two models will allow for a deeper understanding of the research presented in this PhD thesis. The following sections briefly review Gordon's and Berry's models, discussing their strengths and limitations and linking them with newer developments in acculturation research.

### **2.3.1 The Assimilation Model**

Gordon (1964) formulated the unidimensional assimilation model, one of the first theories on the cultural changes experienced by members of ethnic minority groups. According to the author, during their life-time, people who move to a new country and come to be seen as ethnic minorities move along a continuum. At one pole, there is the complete maintenance of the heritage culture; at the other, there is the complete adoption of the host culture, implying a loss of the original culture. At the midpoint of this continuum there is biculturalism, where people who are experiencing acculturation adopt some features of the heritage culture and some of the host culture. Here, biculturalism is considered a temporary phase, since it is suggested that the final outcome of the acculturation process corresponds to the complete adoption of the culture of the country to which people move. In this model, the terms *acculturation* and *assimilation* are interchangeable (Woldemikael, 1987). It is then implied that, in order to be successful in the new society, members of ethnic minority groups must assimilate to the culture of the new country. In his model, Gordon (1971) defined seven types of assimilation: cultural behavioural assimilation (described also as acculturation), which corresponds to the adoption of cultural patterns of the majority group and is the first and simplest to take place; structural assimilation, or becoming part of the institutions of the host society; identificational assimilation, or mainly identifying with the collective identity of the host society; marital assimilation, or

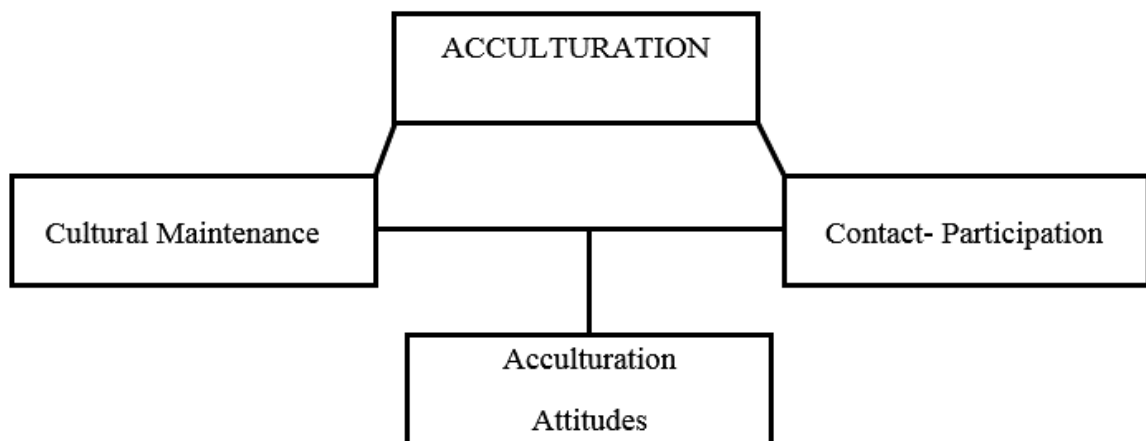
marrying a member of the host society; attitude receptional assimilation, which corresponds to the absence of intergroup prejudice; behavioural receptional assimilation, or the absence of any form of discrimination within the society; and civic assimilation, which occurs where there is no power conflict among the groups. The extent to which these kinds of assimilation are present can vary according to the situation. In addition, the presence of cultural behavioural assimilation (i.e. acculturation) does not necessarily imply the adoption of the other forms of assimilation described above.

This first theoretical model of the acculturation process has numerous limitations. One of the most critical points is that it assumes a sort of hierarchy among cultural groups, where at the top there is the majority group's culture and at the bottom the minority's culture. This hierarchical structure is confirmed by the central tenet that acculturation corresponds to assimilation, and that once people move to a new society they should simply reject their ethnic culture with its norms, values, and traditions in order to adopt the culture of the new society. Rejecting the ethnic culture means losing part of people's identities (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), and this aspect is not considered in the model. Not considering the effects of being assimilated on people's identity is a limitation, since it does not fully consider the acculturation process. Furthermore, none of the possible outcomes of the acculturation process are analysed. Acculturation is merely described as assimilation, and Gordon's unidimensional model does not provide any alternative solutions. The process is described as linear and uninfluenced by any additional variables, such as the differences between cultures, the reasons for moving, or the new social context. Because of its linearity, Gordon's assimilation model is considered unidimensional in the sense that a complex process like the acculturation is reduced to just one dimension, that is the continuum described above. The unidimensional model of acculturation offers an initial but partial and biased perspective of the acculturation process. Some criticisms of Gordon's model have been addressed and revised in Berry's strategy model, as the following section will explain.

### **2.3.2 Berry's Strategy Model**

One of the most influential paradigms of acculturation is Berry's (1990) acculturation strategy model. Especially at the beginning of its theorisation, in this model, acculturation refers mainly to the minority groups' experiences. By this model, in the acculturation process people change because they are influenced by contact with a different culture, as

well as more general acculturative changes experienced by the group they belong to (Berry, 1990). Berry's model is the first bi-dimensional model of acculturation. As distinct from Gordon's (1964), it describes the acculturation process as deriving from the intersection of two components. The author, indeed, suggested that people must deal with two central issues: the extent to which people are willing to identify with the ethnic culture, and the extent to which they want to identify with the mainstream, dominant culture. Berry defined the two components as cultural maintenance that is the cultural identity or characteristics of the ethnic culture that are considered important, and that deserve to be preserved, and contact-participation (which will evolve in the concept of cultural adoption in subsequent research), or the extent to which members of ethnic groups get involved with other cultural groups or remain among themselves (Berry, 1997). The concepts of cultural maintenance and contact refer to the fact that individuals and groups engage in intercultural and intergroup relationships with different degrees of involvement (Berry, 1980).



*Figure 2. 1 Berry's acculturation model.*

Figure 2.1 above present the structure of Berry's acculturation model. Because individuals experience the acculturation process differently, based on negotiating the two central issues of cultural maintenance and contact-participation, Berry (1980) proposed four acculturation attitudes, or strategies. Essentially, these are methods used by individuals to respond to the new and stress-inducing cultural context (Bhatia & Ram, 2001). Originally, Berry defined them as attitudes; however, they are now referred to as strategies, since they

are comprised of both attitudes and behaviours (Berry, 2011). These strategies have different names depending on which group is under scrutiny. Considering the minority's perspective, the four strategies are: a) assimilation, where people do not want to maintain and identify with the ethnic culture and try to interact and assimilate with other cultures; b) integration, where people strongly identify with both cultures, wanting to maintain the original culture but also interact with other groups; c) separation, where people identify mostly with the ethnic culture and try to avoid any contact with the other groups; d) marginalisation, where people weakly identify with both cultures, that is, when people do not want to maintain the ethnic culture nor to interact with other cultural groups (see Table 2.1 similar to Berry & Sebatier, 2010). The integration strategy results in the most positive outcome, based on the fact that embracing this strategy people are highly identified with both cultures in analysis and can maintain their ethnic culture as well as engaging with the mainstream one. The most negative outcome is marginalisation; when individuals have a low level of identification with both cultural groups, they become isolated and they do not feel part of any groups (Berry, 2005). Preferring marginalisation as an acculturation strategy can have detrimental consequences for well-being and self-esteem, due to not feeling part of any groups, as well negative outcomes in the context of intergroup relations.

*Table 2. 1 Berry's acculturation strategies for the minority group.*

The wish to preserve aspects of one's cultural heritage (desire for cultural maintenance)			
The wish to interact with	YES		NO
members of another group	YES	<i>Integration</i>	<i>Assimilation</i>
(desire for contact)	NO	<i>Separation</i>	<i>Marginalisation</i>

Berry (1980), however, suggested the need to use different terms in the analysis of the majority group, specifically when it enforces or constrains certain forms of acculturation for non-dominant groups. This is because it is important to consider that the majority group has enough power in the society to decide how the acculturation process will take place.

Table 2. 2 Berry's acculturation strategies from the majority group's perspective

The wish to preserve aspects of one's cultural heritage (desire for cultural maintenance)			
		YES	NO
The wish to interact with the members of another group (desire for contact)	YES	<i>Mutual accommodation</i>	<i>Melting Pot or Pressure Cooker (when forced)</i>
	NO	<i>Segregation</i>	<i>Marginalisation</i>

As shown in Table 2.2 (similar to Berry & Sebatier, 2010), there is segregation when the dominant society requires the minority group to remain separated; there is a melting pot or pressure cooker (when forced) when the majority chooses to assimilate the minority; marginalisation, when the majority group does not want contact with the minority group and expects the minority group to give up its ethnic culture. To achieve integration, the majority group must be open and inclusive toward the minority that, from its side, has to have a strong desire for contact (Berry, 1991). Thus, in this case, there will be mutual accommodation, that is when both groups accept their respective rights to live as part of different cultures (Berry, 1997). As noted by Berry and Kalin (1995), integration can only be achieved in multicultural societies, and only with some psychological pre-conditions: a multicultural ideology; low levels of racism, prejudice and discrimination; positive attitudes toward the other groups; and strong identification with the society.

As mentioned previously, individuals experience the acculturation process differently. As a result, the outcomes can be either positive or negative. Berry (1992) proposed a distinction between two main outcomes: the first corresponds to behavioural shifts, and the second to acculturative stress. A behavioural shift is composed of three sub-processes: cultural shedding, cultural learning, and cultural conflict (Berry, 2005). The first two processes usually take place in positive situations, when the adjustment of a member of an ethnic group occurs without any particular problems or, if cultural conflict does arise, it can be easily resolved. When, instead, a greater level of cultural conflict is present, acculturative stress results. Acculturative stress is principally the stress experienced by an

individual involved in a troubled acculturation process. These two different outcomes (behavioural shifts and acculturation stress) are present in different levels in the four acculturation strategies outlined above. The fewest behavioural changes occur when people chose the separation strategy, while most result from the assimilation strategy. In the case of acculturative stress, integration can be considered the least stressful choice, while marginalisation the most stressful (Berry, 1992; Rudmin, 2007).

According to the literature reviewed until now, people varied in their attitudes toward these four types of acculturation, and their behaviours varied accordingly. For this reason, research in the context of acculturation generally focused on behavioural acculturation: if and how people acquire the practices of a new culture or lose the practices of the ethnic one. Despite that, in this PhD, the individual outcomes of the acculturation process are not investigated and the attention is on the social outcomes (i.e. desire for more positive intergroup contact), it is important to examine how these outcomes are connected. The acculturation process that leads to the preference for a certain integration strategy goes along with positive outcomes, both on personal and group levels. By contrast, when marginalisation or separation strategies are chosen, negative outcomes, such as acculturative stress on a personal level, or a reduction of intergroup relation on a group level, can occur (Berry, 1992).

Through Berry's model has been tested in different contexts, analysing especially at the beginning the perspectives of the ethnic groups (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Sam & Berry, 2006), and then viewpoints of the majority (Berry, Kalin, & Taylor, 1977), and its validity has been proven, many criticisms have been raised against this bi-dimensional model. Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga and Szapocznik (2010) wrote that the structure of Berry's strategy model needs to be reviewed (De Pilar & Udasco, 2004) to make the cross-cultural comparison easier. Moreover, the model does not consider the characteristics of the groups in analysis (Rudmin, 2003), such as their backgrounds (Cornelious, 2002; Steiner, 2009) or age at the time of migration (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; 2006), or the role of context where acculturation processes take place with socioeconomic status and resources (Rohmann, Piontkowski & van Randenborgh, 2008). Some criticisms of Berry's four-fold model pertain to his conceptualisation of the majority culture as a fixed and homogeneous entity, and the acculturation process as an encounter of only two cultures (Rudmin, 2003; Weinreich, 2009). This limitation is clear, especially

in multicultural societies such as the UK, where there are more than two cultures involved in the acculturation process. In addition, Ghuman (2003) suggested that Berry's model ignores combinations where people who are experiencing acculturation can reject only some aspects of the majority or minority culture.

Recognising the vastly important contribution of Berry's model to the theorisation and analysis of the acculturation process, alternative models have been proposed with the aim of addressing the four-fold model's limitations. The acculturation process, as described until now, seems to be based on two main assumptions: the first is the involvement of key variables, such as values, cultural identity, language, and attitudes, and the second is considering the majority and minority cultures as completely separate and independent (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000). Thus, more recently, several studies on acculturation have emphasised the role of the "receiving society", or the majority group, in the acculturation process. The dynamics and the mutual changes that occur when two cultural groups come into contact with each other should also be analysed, in addition to the intergroup relational outcomes that derive from the combination of minority and majority groups' acculturation orientations (Bourhis et al., 1997). In line with this need, the following section reviews some alternatives to Berry's model that consider both the perspectives of the majority and minority cultural groups involved in the acculturation process, as well as the interactions and dynamics among them. The experimental work of this PhD thesis assesses the acculturation process both from the perspectives of the majority and minority groups. For this reason, it is important to review the acculturation theories that considered all the groups involved in the acculturation process.

## **2.4 Further development of acculturation theory**

### **2.4.1 An intergroup perspective on acculturation: The majority's point of view as the missing link**

Much research on acculturation focuses on the key role of intergroup relations, considering acculturation a dynamic process where the groups involved influence each other over time. In a review of the acculturation literature, Brown and Zagefka (2011) underlined some points that can be useful for further developing this theory. The first point, which is also the basis of the first section of this PhD, relates to the fact that the majority of the research

on acculturation focused on the personal consequences of minority group members (such as their level of well-being or stress) instead of social outcomes (like the consequences of group status) and the intergroup dynamics and relations among minority and majority groups. This does not reflect the interactive and dynamic nature of the acculturation process. In this PhD research, the focus is on acculturation as a group and not as a personal process. The limited attention that has been placed on how and if the acculturation strategies chosen by a group can affect the other group's choice of specific acculturation strategies, is associated with the lack of research on the perspective of the majority group. The issues raised by Brown and Zagefka (2011) can be summarised in five main points: a) the need to consider the consequences of the acculturation process on intergroup relations between majority and minority groups; b) the use of a dynamic approach to understand the impact of one group's choices on the other in other words, that the perception of the outgroup's acculturation preferences can affect the acculturation strategy that is chosen by the ingroup; c) the predictor of consensual or conflicting or problematic relations between the groups involved in the acculturation process is the fit between the two groups' acculturation preferences rather than the choice of one single group; d) more attention on the role of the social context where the acculturation strategies take place, since it can be sympathetic or aversive to the goals of the acculturating groups; and e) to conclude the need to view acculturation as a process and not a fixed state. These issues have been considered in the experimental research of this PhD. The studies presented in the following chapters consider the group outcomes of acculturation and how these complicated processes affect intergroup relations (i.e. more desire for intergroup contact). It also takes into account the role of social norms (Chapter 4): if the acculturation strategies preferred by one of the groups (in this case, the majority) can influence the minority's acculturation choices.

As has been pointed out, members of majority groups also have preferences regarding acculturation strategies (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault & Senecal, 1997; Dinh & Bond, 2008; Van Houdenhoven & Hofstra, 2006; Zagefka & Brown, 2002). Zagefka, González, and Brown (2011) experimentally investigated if the majority group's perception of the acculturation strategies chosen by the minority group could influence participants' (majority group) own preference for a specific acculturation strategy. Integration strategy and intergroup prejudice were tested as moderators of the acculturation strategy's choice.



Examining White British people's preferences and perceptions toward the acculturation attitudes chosen by an ethnic minority group (Pakistanis) in the British context, the authors hypothesised that if White British people perceive a high preference for cultural adoption by the ethnic group, this will lead to a higher support for the integration strategy among White British with lower levels of prejudice compared to those with a higher level of prejudice. The results confirmed the hypotheses, showing that the perception that the minority group is willing to adopt the culture of the majority group increases support for integration among members of the majority group. The level of existing prejudice among the majority group moderates this effect.

To understand the perspective of the majority group in more depth, Zagefka, Brown, Broquard, and Martin (2007) investigated possible predictors and consequences of negative attitudes toward ethnic minority groups by members of the majority groups in Belgium and Turkey. In their model, they considered perceived desire for cultural maintenance, perceived desire for contact, and economic competition as predictors of the majority group's preference for integration, mediated by negative attitudes toward the ethnic minorities. The researchers found that perception of economic competition and minority groups' preference for intergroup contact negatively affected the majority group's attitudes toward ethnic minorities, leading to a reduced preference for integration. The results also suggested that negative attitudes toward ethnic minorities mediate the effect of economic competition and perception of contact on majority group's choice of acculturation strategy. Moreover, a direct effect of perceived preference for cultural maintenance by minority groups was found in the majority group's acculturation preference for integration (Zagefka, et al., 2007).

The acculturation preferences of majority group members have also been tested in Spain, specifically toward Moroccan and Ecuadorian minorities (Lopez-Rodriguez, Zagefka, Navas & Cuadrado, 2013). The results of this study showed that the perception of adoption of Spanish customs by minority groups reduces stereotypes about them. Furthermore, the perception of these two minority groups as threatening was affected by pre-existing stereotypes (Van Oudenhoven, Prins & Buunk, 1998) about Moroccans and Ecuadorians; this perception negatively affected the majority group's preference for cultural maintenance, and positively affected majority's preference for cultural adoption. The studies mentioned above provide two important points for this PhD. The first regards the

importance of considering both the majority and minority perspectives in analysing the acculturation process, and the second relates to the need to analyse it at a macro level, considering the role of social norms. The social norms of a multicultural society might, indeed, influence people's acculturation choices. Analysing the differences between majority and minority groups, as well as the role of social norms, corresponds to two of the research questions of this project.

Zagefka and Brown (2002) focused their research on the relationship between acculturation and intergroup relations. The authors conducted a study in Germany that examined the acculturation strategy preferences of both minority and majority groups. In particular, the study assessed the preferred and perceived acculturation strategies for the minority and majority groups, the relationships between the acculturation strategies, their fit, and the quality of intergroup relations between majority and minority groups. The sample consisted of Germans, Turks, and Aussiedler of Russian-German descent. The authors measured participants' attitudes toward cultural maintenance and contact, perception of discrimination and positive intergroup relations, and ingroup bias. The results relative to the acculturation strategy indicated a general preference by both majority and minority groups for integration. However, the component of the acculturation process that was considered more important was cultural maintenance in the case of the majority group, and contact-participation for the ethnic minorities. A difference was also found in relation to the two ethnic groups: the Turks preferred integration, while the Aussiedlers preferred assimilation and integration. This difference highlighted the importance of considering the minority groups' characteristics, such as their cultural background, when analysing the acculturation process. Relative to the relationship between acculturation strategies and intergroup relations, positive attitudes toward both cultural maintenance and contact were associated with more positive intergroup relations. For instance, integration was most associated with positive relations, and marginalisation with the least positive. Finally, one contribution of this research is that it suggested that the fit among the acculturation strategies preferred by the majority and minority group predicted perceived discrimination, ingroup bias, and intergroup relations. This study by Zagefka and Brown (2002) provided important insights for this PhD, as it focused on both the perspectives of the majority and minority groups, and on their preferences for cultural maintenance and contact (Study 2 and 3 on norms, 5 and 6 on social exclusion). Moreover, inspired by this

research, Study 3 (on the role of public policies on acculturation) aimed to investigate if there are any acculturation differences between the minority groups under analysis.

Highlighting the need to examine both the minority and majority's perspectives in the acculturation strategies, van Oudenhoven et al. (1998) investigated this topic in the Netherlands, a highly multicultural society among Western European countries. In two different studies, the authors investigated the kind of acculturation strategies Moroccan and Turkish minorities preferred, and how the Dutch majority evaluated the different forms of acculturation that these two minority groups may choose. In the first study, the authors examined the responses of Moroccan and Turkish minorities to examples of a fictitious ingroup minority member describing his acculturation strategy. Integration, assimilation, marginalisation, and separation were experimentally manipulated. Participants' feelings, their reactions to the different acculturation strategies, and their level of identification with the person described in the experimental manipulation were measured. The authors hypothesised that Moroccans and Turks would prefer integration and assimilation (that they would like to get in contact with members of the majority group) instead of separation and marginalisation (no contact with the members of the majority group). Accordingly, identification with the person described in the article would be higher, and average preference would be more positive for the first two strategies described, i.e. integration and assimilation, compared to marginalisation and separation. The results showed that both minority groups preferred integration. In the experimental conditions where member of the ingroup showed higher desire for contact with the majority group, as well as high level of preference for cultural maintenance (integration), participants identified themselves with that person more. They had more positive feelings toward him and wanted their ingroup to behave like the person in the article of the experimental manipulation.

Van Oudenhoven and colleagues (1998) considered it equally important to examine the perspective of Dutch people for two reasons: they represent the majority group within the Netherlands and without their support, the minority groups could not put into practice the integration strategy (Higgins, 1989). Using the same methodology as the first study (see previous paragraph) the authors expected a higher preference by the members of the majority group for the strategy that included contact, since this implies an opening by the

minority group. Regarding the culture, participants were expected to prefer the minority group not to adhere to their ethnic culture, but to attempt to adapt to the Dutch one. In other words, the majority group would prefer integration and assimilation, because they appreciate the immigrants' wish to contact with them. At the same time, marginalisation would be a risk, since they prefer that the minority does not maintain its ethnic culture. From these two studies, it emerged that the minority groups in this context preferred integration as their acculturation strategy, since it allowed them to remain identified with the heritage culture and, at the same time, to retain contact with the majority group. The majority group, instead, supported assimilation, followed closely by integration.

It has been suggested that the degree of compatibility of cultural values, combined with the characteristics of the majority and minority cultures, can influence the successful integration between majority and minority groups. Tip and colleagues (2012) provided an example of this when they tested if the association between the perception of maintenance of the original culture and support for multiculturalism was mediated by the perception of threat for the majority's identity. The authors conducted three studies in the UK, first testing British attitudes toward the Pakistani minority, and then their attitudes toward minority groups in general. In this study, there was no experimental manipulation of people's preference for acculturation attitudes; only the majority group's perception of minority group's acculturation preference was measured, along with support for multiculturalism and perception of threat. The findings suggested that perception of threat mediates the relationship between perceived acculturation preferences by the members of the majority group and their support for multiculturalism. More specifically, members of the majority group considered the minority as more threatening if they perceived that it wanted to maintain its culture of origin. As a result of this, multiculturalism was less supported. If members of the majority group perceived a preference for the adoption of the majority's customs and traditions from the members of the ethnic group, they perceived the minority group as less threatening and supported multiculturalism more. These findings are essential for the first set of experimental studies of this PhD, as they provide evidence for the use of support for multiculturalism as a key variable in the acculturation process (Chapter 4).

The line of research presented in the preceding paragraphs focused on acculturation as a group process, analysing it from the perspectives of both majority and minority groups. These studies represent the theoretical and methodological basis of this PhD project, which investigates the acculturation process using an intergroup perspective via an examination of both the majority and minority points of view. Support for multiculturalism by members of the majority group will be manipulated in this project. The acculturation process is analysed on a macro-level; it tests if, and to what extent, social norms regarding multiculturalism constitute an antecedent of the process (see Chapter 4 for more details). As explained in the introduction and the first part of this review, the presence of a multicultural ideology is essential for a successful acculturation process. Thus, the literature reviewed until now constitutes the basis of two of the research questions of this project that regard the differences between majority and minority groups in the acculturation process and the role of social norms on multiculturalism. As part of the intergroup perspective that has been adopted in this PhD, additional models that take into consideration group-level variables, such as the concordance between the acculturation strategies chosen by the groups, are reviewed in the following section.

#### **2.4.2 The Interactive Acculturation Model**

The research and the theories on acculturation presented in the previous section suggest that to have a complete overview of the process, it is essential to consider the perspectives of both the majority and minority groups. Inspired by the discussion of minority integration policies in the democratic countries of the Western world, and aiming to better understand the interactive relations between minority and majority groups, Bourhis and colleagues (1997) created the Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM). This thesis adopts the IAM, and uses its strategies as a theoretical framework to investigate the acculturation strategies preferred by members of both the majority and minority groups. The IAM is suggested as a predictor of intergroup relations between majority and minority groups the fit between the groups' acculturation preferences in addition to state integration policies. The IAM is an expansion of Berry's strategy model, explained in the previous section. The IAM is built on three main elements: the acculturation orientation adopted by the minority group, the acculturation orientation adopted by the majority toward specific minority groups and interpersonal and intergroup relational outcomes that are the product of combinations of majority and minority acculturation orientations.

With regard to the acculturation components, culture maintenance refers to people's attitudes toward certain cultural practices of their group, while desire for contact-participation refers to their intention to interact with members of the outgroup. Bourhis and colleagues (1997) suggested that the contact-participation dimension should be replaced by culture adoption, which denotes the attitudes toward the outgroup's culture. In this model, preference for cultural maintenance might also be expected to affect intergroup relations. Specifically, considering the minority group's perspective, when preference for cultural maintenance is present, so when members of the ethnic minority prefer to maintain their ethnic culture, they feel less threatened and more accepted by members of the majority group, and they experience less intergroup anxiety (Stephan & Stephan, 1985) and more positive attitudes toward the majority group (Brown & Hewstone, 2005). This is also true for the majority group: when its members have more positive attitudes toward cultural maintenance by the minority group, it is more willing to accept the culture of the minority group and adopt more positive intergroup attitudes. In this last case, however, there is a risk that the preference for cultural maintenance can be transformed into some form of social and cultural discrimination and ghettoization in the most extreme circumstances.

Relative to the minority group's acculturation strategy, there are five different acculturation orientations depending on the group's desire to maintain its heritage culture or adopt the culture of the majority group. These acculturation orientations are similar to Berry's model except in the case of the last combination, where there is low desire to maintain the ethnic culture as well as to adopt the majority' culture (see Table 2.3; similar to Bourhis et al., 1997). In this case, there will be marginalisation (also known as anomie) and individualism. The first refers to cultural alienation and disaffection from both the heritage and majority cultures. Additionally, marginalisation can impact people's self-esteem and hinder the adaptation of the ethnic minority groups to the new society (Giang & Wittig, 2006). In individualism, people are not considered members of cultural groups, but as single individuals.

Table 2. 3 Acculturation orientations of the IAM for the minority groups.

		CULTURAL MAINTENANCE	
		YES	NO
CULTURAL ADOPTION	YES	<i>Integrationism</i>	<i>Assimilationism</i>
	NO	<i>Separationism</i>	<i>Individualism/Marginalisation</i>

The second component of the IAM is the acculturation orientation preferred by the majority group, which may take two forms: a) if the majority group finds it acceptable that the minority maintains its cultural heritage, or b) if it prefers that the minority adopts the culture of the majority group. In other words, these two components are preferences for cultural maintenance and cultural adoption.

Five acculturation strategies derive from the combinations of cultural maintenance and adoption. As shown in Table 2.4 (similar to Bourhis et al., 1997), if there is a preference for both dimensions, the integration orientation will be chosen. This means that the majority group is willing to accept that the minority maintains its heritage culture but adopts key characteristics of the majority. In the case of assimilation, the majority group expects that ethnic minorities renounce their cultural heritage to fully adopt the culture of the majority group. For segregation, the members of majority groups do not support the adoption of their culture by ethnic minorities, but prefer that the minority groups maintain their cultural heritage. This acculturation orientation is associated with the avoidance of cross-cultural contact with minority members, and a preference for keeping the communities separated. In the last case, when there are negative attitudes on both dimensions, there may be two different acculturation orientations. The first is exclusion, which corresponds to the majority group's insistence that ethnic communities do not adopt the majority culture and instead maintain the heritage one. Exclusion is associated with the belief that ethnic minorities can never be part of the society, and should even leave the country. The second orientation is individualism, in which members of the majority group prefer defining themselves and others as single individuals rather than as members of specific cultural or ethnic group. In this case, individual characteristics are considered more important than cultural belonging.

Table 2. 4 Acculturation orientations of the IAM for the majority groups.

		ACCEPTANCE OF CULTURAL MAINTENANCE	
		YES	NO
ACCEPTANCE OF CULTURAL ADOPTION	YES	<i>Integrationism</i>	<i>Assimilationism</i>
	NO	<i>Segregationism</i>	<i>Exclusionism/Individualism</i>

The third component of the IAM corresponds to the combination and relative outcome between the acculturation strategies chosen by the majority and minority groups. There will be concordance when the majority and minority groups agree on the choice of acculturation strategy, and discordance when they do not. The relational outcomes of this interaction, such as intergroup attitudes, stereotypes, discrimination and acculturative stress (Bourhis & Gagnon, 1994) can have three levels of combination: consensual, problematic and conflictual (as reported in Table 2.5). The consensual combination is achieved only if both the minority and majority groups prefer integration, or if both groups simultaneously favour assimilation or individualism. A consensual combination would lead to the lowest amount of acculturative stress, the lowest levels of intergroup tension, the most positive intergroup attitudes, the fewest negative stereotypes, and the lowest levels of discrimination. A problematic combination occurs in the case of partial agreement or disagreement on the acculturation strategy. For example, when the minority favours integration and the majority favours assimilation. It can also emerge when the minority group prefers anomie, or individualism, in a society that supports integration and assimilation. The negative outcomes of troublesome relations include more discriminatory behaviours and negative stereotypes, a reduction of intergroup interactions, and a higher level of acculturative stress for the members of the ethnic community (Bourhis et al., 1997). The conflictual combination outcome occurs when separation and segregation are chosen as acculturation strategies. This outcome can lead to various forms of negative stereotypes, discrimination, and racism, in addition to acculturative stress and intergroup conflict. Table 2.5 summarises the combinations between different acculturation strategies chosen by the majority and minority groups.



*Table 2. 5 Interactions between the acculturation orientations of the host and immigrant groups.*

MAJORITY GROUP	MINORITY GROUP				
	<i>INTEGRATIONISM</i>	<i>ASSIMILATIONISM</i>	<i>SEPARATIONISM</i>	<i>MARGINALISATIONISM</i>	<i>INDIVIDUALISM</i>
<i>INTEGRATIONISM</i>	Consensual	Problematic	Conflictual	Problematic	Problematic
<i>ASSIMILATIONISM</i>	Problematic	Consensual	Conflictual	Problematic	Problematic
<i>SEGREGATIONISM</i>	Conflictual	Conflictual	Conflictual	Conflictual	Conflictual
<i>EXCLUSIONISM</i>	Conflictual	Conflictual	Conflictual	Conflictual	Conflictual
<i>INDIVIDUALISM</i>	Problematic	Problematic	Problematic	Problematic	Consensual

The IAM model has been tested in North America in an investigation of the acculturation attitudes of European Americans, African Americans, Asian Americans, and Hispanic Americans (Bourhis, Barrette, El-Geledi, & Schmidt, 2009). Participants were given two questionnaires and had to choose one of them based on their self-categorisation as members of the majority or ethnic minority group. The measures included preference for the acculturation orientations, both in the public and private domains, ingroup identification, individual network of ethnic contact, cultural pluralism, social dominance orientation, and intergroup attitudes. The results indicated that European Americans, African Americans, and Asian Americans preferred individualism and integrationism as their acculturation strategy, while Hispanic immigrants favoured only individualism. The study also found that the consensual combination was associated with a preference for integration and individualism, while conflicting combinations were associated with assimilation, segregation, separation and exclusion. The best predictors of participants' acculturation orientations were the social dominance orientation, the endorsement of a plural ideology, the quantity of intergroup contact, the perception of threat and their political identification. In line with the study presented above, this PhD adopts the endorsement of a plural ideology (multiculturalism) as an antecedent of acculturation, and the quantity of intergroup contact as covariate.

One of the novel premises of IAM is that it considers the role played by the policies of the country in which acculturation takes place. IAM categorises these policies as *state immigration policies*, which pertain to the kind of ethnic groups accepted in the country based on their number, type, and country of origin, and *state integration policies* which correspond to the policies adopted by the government in order to facilitate the integration of minority groups. State immigration policies are based on external boundaries, such as international frontiers, and relate to the reasons the state accepts these minority groups (e.g. humanitarian motivations, economic or political interests, historical relation with the country), and internal boundaries or rules that dictate who can become a citizen of the country (Helly, 1993, quoted in Bourhis et al., 1997). Consequently, state policies may create categories of minority groups (refugees, temporary workers, foreigners, etc.) that can have an impact on acculturation orientations of both first and second generation ethnic minorities (Van de Vijver, Breugelmans & Schalk-Soekar, 2008).

State integration policies are the conditions created by governmental institutions in order to integrate majority and minority groups. These policies are based on four different ideologies. The first is pluralism, where minority groups are expected to adopt the public values of the host society, such as democracy, and the acceptance of human rights. In this case, the state cannot interfere with the private values of its population, such as freedom of religious and political expression. The second is civic, where the values of the majority group are expected to be adopted only in the public context. The third is assimilation, where, in addition to the adoption of the majority group's values in the public context, the government can interfere with the public manifestation of private values related for example to religion. The final ideology is ethnist, which entails a choice to adopt the majority's culture, both in the private and public contexts.

The ideology of state policies adopted by governments is fundamental to the study of acculturation, since it directly affects the acculturation strategies chosen by majority and minority groups (O'Rourke & Sinnott, 2006). The IAM's novel premise of considering the role of policies in the acculturation process is important for this PhD. The first set of experimental studies examines whether social norms, in the form of public policies (more details in Chapter 4, Study 3) can play a role as antecedents of the acculturation process. This PhD adopts the IAM as a theoretical basis for the experimental work that is included

in this thesis. However, the following two sections include a brief review of the Concordance Model of Acculturation and the Relative Acculturation Extended Model, since their contribution is vital in thorough overview on the development of acculturation theories. The Concordance Model of Acculturation and the Relative Extended Model have not been used as theoretical frameworks for this thesis, but are included in this literature review with the aim of providing a brief excursus of how acculturation research has developed.

### **2.4.3 Concordance Model of Acculturation**

Based on the assumption that the acculturation process involves both majority and minority cultural groups despite that there can be a disparity in terms of social power, Piontkowski, Rohamann and Florack (2002) proposed a different conceptualisation of the combination between the acculturation orientations of groups, theorising the Concordance Model of Acculturation (CMA). The premise of this model compared to the IAM, highlight the need to distinguish if the discordance between the acculturation strategies chosen by different groups is based on their preference for cultural maintenance or adoption. According to the model, culture-problematic discordance occurs when there is no fit on the preference for cultural maintenance, for example when the majority group wants simply for the minority to assimilate, while the minority prefers integration. There is a contact-problematic discordance when the lack of fit relates to contact, for example, when the majority group would like to segregate from the minority, while the minority would prefer integration. The third kind of discordance is conflictual, when the mismatch involves both cultural maintenance and cultural adoption. To summarise, consensuality occurs when there is agreement between the two cultural groups on both acculturation dimensions, a problematic situation when there is no agreement on only one of the two dimensions, and a conflictual situation when there is no agreement on either of the two dimensions.

As distinct from the IAM, Piontkowski et al. (2002) proposed that the combination between one group's desire and the perception of what the other group wants is a better predictor of intergroup outcomes than the combination between of the real attitudes of the two groups. Piontkowski and colleagues (2002) considered the perceived concordance of the acculturation strategies chosen by the cultural groups, and hypothesised that the greater

the mismatch of the acculturation attitudes suggested by the groups, the more the situation would be perceived as threatening. They tested the CMA in German context by measuring German attitudes toward Italian and Polish groups in the country. The findings showed that the main difference between a consensual and conflictual level of concordance regarding the acculturation strategies of the two groups related to the perception of the minority group as either threatening or enriching. Despite that Germans' attitudes toward Italians were more positive than those toward Poles, there were no differences in the relationship between concordance of the acculturation attitudes and perceived threat as a function of the ethnic outgroup.

As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, in order to have a better understanding of the intergroup relations between minority and majority groups in the acculturation process (Piontkowski et al.; 2000), it is important to consider variables such as: the level of identification with the cultural group and relative bias; the perception of similarity among the groups (Hogg, 1992); contact as a way to reduce intergroup conflict (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1971); permeability of the boundaries of the group; sharing common goals; and group's vitality (Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977). In addition to these variables, the CMA suggested that researchers should consider the power disparity between the groups and how they differ in how much they can control the acculturation process. Put simply, the majority group generally has more power than minority groups, since it is more represented in governmental institutions and can then have a greater influence on governmental policies. For this reason, a match between the acculturation strategies the majority group favours and the strategy the minority group would like to adopt is necessary for a peaceful acculturation process.

#### **2.4.4 Relative Acculturation Extended Model**

Berry (1997) asserted that the choice of one of the four acculturation strategies may vary according to the context and ages of the people involved. For example, research by Hurh and Kim (1990) has shown that people endorse different acculturation strategies during the course of their development, based on which is the most useful and satisfactory for any given stage in their lives. In relation to the context, the variation of the acculturation strategy can depend on the context in two different ways. In one case, the choice of one strategy instead of another can be due to the kind of society the individuals live in, whether

it is an explicitly multicultural society that supports integration policies or an assimilationist one. In the latter case, the choice of acculturation strategy depends on the location. In more private contexts, for example when with the ethnic community or at home, people prefer to maintain the ethnic culture. When in public situations, such as at work, people prefer to adopt the culture of the host society. This observation has been developed and extended by Navas and colleagues (2005) with the formulation of the Relative Acculturation Extended Model (REAM). The strength of REAM (Navas et al., 2005) is that it considers the perspectives of both minority and majority groups; differentiates the minority groups based on their country of origin; analyses the influences of variables that can affect (or even predict) the acculturation strategies chosen by the ethnic and the majority groups (Piontkowski, et al., 2000); distinguishes between ideal and real situations, that is, the difference between the acculturation strategy a group would like to adopt from the one it actually adopts; and takes into account the roles of context and domain where acculturation takes place (Arends-Toth & Van De Vijver, 2003).

Furthermore, the REAM states that the acculturation process is characterised by its complexity and relativity. The process is complex because more than one acculturation strategy can be adopted at the same time, and it is also relative since people do not use always the same strategy when they interact with different groups in different domains. The REAM uses the distinction of seven different domains (Leunda, 1996) that range from very material elements to symbolic representations of the world. These domains are: the *political and governmental system* that sets the social order, establishing power relationships, labour and work; *the economic domain*, or customers' habits and monetary transaction; *family*, mainly the reproduction and the transmission of the culture, with its own values and behaviours; the *social domain*, or the social network of relationship outside the family; and the *ideological*, subdivided into religious beliefs and customs, ways of thinking, principles, and values. The categorisation of these domains is also supported by the distinction between "hard and peripheral cores" of a culture (Schnapper, 1988) and between two zones of action: public and private (Berry, & Sam, 1997). Based on these categorisations, domains such as morality, values, beliefs, family, and religion are considered hard cores of a culture, while the others peripheral. The hard cores are more likely to be maintained and related to the private context, while the peripheral ones are more related to the public domains and more likely to be changed. Thus, members of

minority groups are expected to be integrated or even assimilated into the public domains, acquiring the typical behaviours of the majority group whilst maintaining the heritage culture in the private domain. In the private domain, more chances of conflict, as well as a greater disparity between the desired acculturation strategy and the actual choice of it, are expected.

The REAM has been empirically tested, bearing in mind the dynamic nature of multicultural contexts, the constant interactions of majority and minority groups and their characteristics, including stereotypes, prejudices, and cultural distance. In the southeast of Spain, more specifically in Almeria, where there is high immigration rate, Navas and colleagues (2007) considered the majority group and two minorities, Maghrebines and Sub-Saharanans. The authors hypothesised that the acculturation strategies adopted by the minority groups in the real context as well as the ideal one, would be different according to the domains. That is, people would be more willing to adopt integration or even assimilation strategies in public domains, and to maintain their ethnic culture in private domains. There would be similarity in the acculturation strategies that the majority group would prefer to adopt in the public domain (integration and assimilation), while there would be a difference in the private context where the majority group would still prefer assimilation and integration, and the minority would be more willing to choose separation. The last hypothesis also concerns the ethnic origins of the minority groups, expecting differences toward different ethnic groups due to their ethnic and social characteristics, and their historical relationship with Spain. The hypotheses were confirmed: minority groups preferred assimilation in public domains (peripheral cores), separation in private (hard cores), and integration in the social domain. Furthermore, the acculturation strategies preferred by the majority community are similar to the ones chosen by the minority groups in the public and social domains, but not in private, where they prefer assimilation.

#### **2.4.5 Further theoretical considerations and the role of desire for intergroup contact**

The previous sections review the main models of acculturation that have been extensively used to investigate this complex process (Liebkind, 2001). As suggested by recent research (Berry & Sabatier, 2008, 2011; Tip et al., 2012; Van Acker & Vanbeselaere, 2010) and described by Matera, Stefanile and Brown (2012), however, different operationalisations of the acculturation models can lead to different findings. Snauwaert, Soenens, Vanbeselaere, and Boen (2003), for example, found that theorising contact or cultural

adoption as one of the components of the acculturation process causes minority members to adopt different preferences for the acculturation strategies. In addition, minority groups were more willing to have contact with the majority group than adopt their culture (Lewis & Dupuis, 2008; Playford & Safdar, 2007). Considerable research has shown that different theorisation of the acculturation component (if contact or cultural adoption) can change its association with cultural maintenance. For example, a study conducted by Zagefkaet, Brown and González (2009) found a positive correlation between the majority's expectation of contact with the minority group and positive attitudes toward cultural maintenance. By contrast, Meeus, Duriez, Vanbeselaere, Phalet, and Kuppens (2009) found a negative correlation between the majority group's expectation of cultural adoption and their approval for cultural maintenance. With the aim of clarifying this issue, Van Acker and Vanbeselaere (2011) found, when testing Flemish majority members' expectations concerning the Turkish minority, that there was a negative correlation between perceived cultural maintenance and both perceived intercultural contact and perceived cultural adoption. In addition, the authors found that there was a negative relation between support for multiculturalism and cultural maintenance and a positive one between support for multiculturalism and contact/cultural adoption. Similar findings resulted from three studies conducted by Tip and colleagues (2012) with British majority members, in which they also showed that these relations were mediated by identity threat.

According to these considerations, this PhD refers primarily to the IAM as a base theory, but also experimentally considered both contact and cultural adoption as components of the acculturation process. This brief review of the main models of the acculturation process, its components and strategies, defined those factors that constitute the dependent variables of the experimental part of this PhD. In addition, participants' desire for intergroup contact was another dependent variable of this project.

Desire for intergroup contact, or people's willingness to have future experiences of intergroup contact with the members of the ethnic outgroup, is extremely important for the acculturation process. Originally, this variable, in addition to cultural maintenance, was one of the acculturation components (Berry, 1997; Zagefka & Brown, 2002). Matera, Stefanile, and Brown (2011), for example, demonstrated that minority group's desire for contact positively affected the majority's intergroup attitudes. In a follow-up study in 2012, Matera and colleagues compared the effects of conceptualising the acculturation

component (preferred by the minorities) as desire for contact or cultural adoption on majority group's attitudes. The authors found that both conceptualisations positively influenced the majority's attitudes toward minorities.

In this PhD thesis, desire for intergroup contact has been considered a separate dependent variable, since cultural adoption was taken into account as a component of acculturation (Bourhis et al., 1997). The fact that people indicate a higher desire for intergroup contact is a key factor for improving intergroup relations (Husnu & Crisp, 2010) and, thus, also future acculturation attitudes. For this reason, the experimental work of this thesis measures people's desire for intergroup contact, in addition to cultural maintenance and cultural adoption. Research also shows that there is a negative relation between the majority's perception of economic competition and minority groups' desire for intergroup contact, and their negative attitudes toward the ethnic outgroups that are part of the acculturation process (Zagefka et al., 2007). For this reason, this PhD investigates if social norms and experiences of social exclusion can respectively influence, in a positive or negative way respectively, participants' desire for contact on a personal level and their perceptions of ingroup and outgroup desire for intergroup contact with the ethnic outgroup.

The following sections discuss the possible antecedents and covariates of the complex acculturation process. Specifically, social norms and experiences of social exclusion are considered as antecedents of acculturation, while intergroup contact and social identity are considered covariates and potential moderators.

## **2.5 The possible antecedents of the acculturation process**

This section is crux for the aim of this PhD project since it reviews the key antecedents of the acculturation process. Contemporary research has examined the role of gender (Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2010), attachment style (Van Oudenhoven & Hofstra, 2006), perceived differences between majority and minority groups' values (Zhang, Jetten, Iyer & Cui, 2013), and emotions (De Leersnyder, Mesquita & Kim, 2011), on the acculturation process. As underlined in the analysis of Schwartz and colleagues (2006), however, broad areas, such as immigration-acculturation- barriers, the socio-economic disadvantages of some groups, the differences in cultural orientation between majority and minority groups and lack of collective support, still need further investigation. It is also necessary to consider the differences between the ethnic and dominant cultures, in terms of power



(Tadmor & Tetlock, 2006), more or less patriarchal societies, gender roles, and super-ordinate shared (or not) identity.

In their review, Van Oudenhoven, Ward, and Masgoret (2006), emphasised the need to consider two core concepts in the analysis of the acculturation process, namely culture and identity, and to understand the influence of globalisation on the relationships between majority and minority groups. The authors highlighted the differences between cultures, such as language, customs, traditions, shared meanings, and social institutions, to name just a few, and cultural identity that “refers to a sense of pride and belongingness to one’s cultural group” (pp. 647). Regarding the second issue (the influence of globalisation on intergroup relations), it is suggested that the growing numbers of minority groups and new opportunities for contact across different nations can affect relations among cultural groups through so-called transnationalism. Moreover, the demographic changes toward a more heterogeneous composition of the population of a country must be taken into consideration, since they can cause two new outcomes: creolization and pluralism. Creolization is the mix of two or more different cultures, and it can be found mainly in younger generations (Vertovec, 1999), for example, in youth language (ethno-language). The second outcome, pluralism, occurs when there is not a clear majority group in a society where there are multiple cultural groups. Both in the case of creolization and pluralism, it is possible to talk about multicultural society, since there is ethnic and cultural pluralism (Verkuyten & Brug, 2004), as well as the maintenance of different cultural identities (Fowers & Richardson, 1996).

Based on this premise, this thesis aims to assess the attitudinal differences between majority and minority groups that experience the acculturation process in a multicultural society like the UK (with the exception of Study 1). Participants’ ethnicity is one of the main independent variables of the empirical work of this PhD. The perspectives of both the White British and minority communities in the UK, such as Asians and Europeans, are considered. The differences between the majority and minority groups can become more evident in different situations. For example, Verkuyten and Thijs (2002) suggested that people’s support for multiculturalism varies based on group membership, but it generally occurs when it is perceived as advantageous for the ingroup (Berry & Kalin, 1995). General support for multiculturalism is a key variable for obtaining a successful acculturation process (Bruegelmans & Van de Vijver, 2004; Tip et al., 2012).

More acculturation literature focused more on the outcomes than on the antecedents of acculturation. This PhD, instead, prefers investigating the predictors of the acculturation process, both on a group and an individual level. For this reason, the experimental work of this project adopts a macro and micro level of analysis. Aiming to further investigate this aspect and analyse the acculturation process on a macro-level, this thesis assesses if support for multiculturalism through social norms can influence the acculturation process. Social norms constitute the main independent variable of the experimental studies of Chapter 4. In this way, the characteristics of the context in which acculturation takes place, as well as the social characteristics that facilitate positive intergroup interactions, are investigated. In addition, the risk of social exclusion increases when the differences between the ethnic and majority cultures are salient, and when there is neither social nor institutional support that can facilitate a successful acculturation process. This conflict, or separation from the majority society, may lead multicultural people to perceive or experience social exclusion from the mainstream culture. Furthermore, since negative previous experiences or fear of social exclusion may obstruct the integration of multicultural individuals in the new society, and thus negatively influence acculturation, this is worth further analysis (Van Acker & Vandesaere, 2011). The experimental work of Chapter 5 investigates the acculturation process on a micro-level, assessing the role of personal experiences of social exclusion in affecting people's acculturation attitudes.

### **2.5.1 Macro-level: The role of norms in the acculturation process**

Adopting a macro-level perspective in the analysis of multiculturalism and acculturation process allows for a better understanding of the characteristics of the context in which the acculturation process takes place, as well as the conditions necessary for positive interactions among the ethnic groups involved in this process. In order to be defined as multicultural, a society needs to be ethnically and culturally pluralistic (Verkuyten & Brug, 2004). This is a value system that accepts behavioural and cultural differences, and formally supports them through public policies (Dolce, 1973). In addition, multiculturalism can also refer to a demographic characteristic of a society with a multi ethnic composition, public policy that supports cultural diversity and a personal attitude that favours an ethnically heterogeneous composition of the population (Van de Vijver et al., 2008).

It has been suggested that only the combination of some psychological preconditions can lead to a positive acculturation process in the form of integration (Berry & Kalin, 1995). These preconditions include a multicultural ideology (the acceptance of cultural diversity within the society); low levels of prejudice, racism, and exclusion; positive attitudes toward outgroups; and a strong identity. As acculturation occurs when there are interactions between different cultural groups (Gibson, 2001), i.e. intergroup contact, it could be interesting to briefly review the conditions that facilitate successful intergroup contact, with a particular focus on norms. According to Allport's (1954) Contact Hypothesis, these conditions are: equal status between the groups; cooperative intergroup interaction; common goals; and supportive norms. This last condition is extremely relevant for this PhD, not only because supportive norms can facilitate positive intergroup contact, but also because the presence of positive intergroup interactions can support the development of new social norms that favour intergroup acceptance and can be generalised to the entire outgroup (Pettigrew, 1998). This is also supported by empirical studies that have demonstrated that discrimination by the majority group toward the minority occurs primarily when the social norms for appropriate behaviour are ambiguous or weak (Frey & Gaertner, 1986; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005; Saucier, Miller, & Doucet, 2005).

According to Ata, Bastian, and Lusher (2009), and similarly to what Miller, Monin and Prentice (2000) have suggested, social norms may be defined as "socially shared definitions of the way people do behave or should behave" (p. 499). Groups create social norms as standards for how group members should perceive the reality, form attitudes and relate to others (Crandall, Eshleman, & O'Brien, 2002). These attitudes towards the ingroup and the relevant outgroups are learned in intergroup contexts such as the family or the social network (Crandall, Eshleman, & O'Brien, 2002). If someone identifies with a specific group, the group norms shape the majority of his/her social attitudes (Sherif & Sherif, 1953).

The extensive literature on the topic has indicated that social norms are important in explaining how and why intergroup contact reduces prejudice (Hughes, 2007), how these norms predict behaviours (Asch, 1958; Sherif, 1936), and how they have an effect on prejudice and conflict (Crandall & Stangor, 2005). It has also shown that norms may be more powerful than personal beliefs in influencing people's attitudes (Kuran, 1995; Miller et al., 2000; Stangor, Sechrist & Jost, 2001). Research suggest that changing a social norm

about prejudice, that, for example, simply alters the apparent consensus about a group (Stangor, Sechrist, & Jost, 2001), can affect group members' tolerance of prejudice (Blanchard, Crandall, Brigham, & Vaughan, 1994). This indicates that social norms are essential in shaping attitudes and behaviours such as discrimination or expression of hostility (Crandall, Eshleman, & O'Brien, 2002). It could be then interesting extending these findings on the power of social norms in complex intergroup situations such as the acculturation process experienced in multicultural societies.

Research and theories explored the role of social influence deriving from group norms. According to Deutsch and Gerard (1955), there are two forms of social influence: informational and normative. Informational influence corresponds to gaining information from the other group members in uncertain situations, that is when people are not sure about their own perception. Informational influence relates to what the majority of a group does in specific situations, and creates descriptive norms (Cialdini, Kallgren, & Reno, 1991). Descriptive norms indicate what is appropriate and typical, providing evidence of its effectiveness (White, Smith, Terry, Greenslade, & Blake, 2009). Normative influence, instead, relates to the desire to be part of a group, gain acceptance and avoid exclusion from the other group members, and strongly depends from the social pressure perceived within the group. The belief of what people that belong to a group are supposed and expected to do, what sort of attitude and behaviour is prescribed or proscribed in a certain social context, is known as subjective (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975) or injunctive norms (Cialdini, Kallgren, & Reno, 1991). Injunctive norms characterise the perception of "what most people approve or disapprove" (p. 203; Cialdini, Kallgren, & Reno, 1991). Both types of social influence create conformity: normative influence changes individual public attitudes (but not the private ones) and it is defined compliance; informative influence, instead, changes both private and public attitudes and is defined as conversion.

A key point to consider is the relation between the identification with a specific social group and the effectiveness of social influence. The social categorisation theory indicated a theory on social influence, called "referent information influence" based on group membership (Turner, 1991). According to the referent information influence, social influence is mediated by the cognitive process through which people categorise themselves as group members as well as it strongly relates to the affective and emotional aspects of this categorisation, that is the level of identification with the group (Postmes, Spears,

Sakhel, & de Groot, 2009). Following this approach, people vary on the extent to which they strongly identify with the groups they belong to, suggesting that certain sources of normative influence are more important for some members compared to others (White, Smith, Terry, Greensalde, & Blake, 2009). In other words, group norms should strongly impact people's attitudes and behaviours especially for those who highly identify with the group, so the source of the social norms (Terry & Hogg, 1996). This is also confirmed by classical research on the topic indicating that the influence of the "reference group" is effective also in those situations where the group is not physically present (Postmes, Spears, Sakhel, & de Groot, 2009).

Moreover, it is also important to consider that social norms are influenced by media cultures and programs (Ball-Rokeach, Grube, & Rokeach, 1981; Cantril & Allport, 1935), and that mass communication conveys both descriptive and prescriptive norms (Cialdini, Kallgren, & Reno, 1991; Kallgren, Reno, & Cialdini, 2000; Mutz, 1998). It has been shown that media can reduce intergroup prejudice and conflict by changing people's perceptions of social norms (Esse, Veenvliet, Hodson, & Mihic, 2008; Paluk, 2009) and their conformity. The role of media in affecting social norms could be very important in promoting norms that support or not multiculturalism in contemporary society.

Another aspect that must be taken into consideration in this review is that tolerant group norms and intergroup contact relate to the reduction of collective threat (Hewstone et al., 2005; Paolini, Hewstone, Cairns, & Voci, 2004; Pettigrew, Christ, Wagner, & Stellmacher, 2007). The role of perception of threat in affecting intergroup relations is also salient in the acculturation process. Research has suggested that the groups involved in the acculturation process support multiculturalism more if they do not feel threatened by the ethnic outgroup (Ginges & Cairns, 2000; Tip et al., 2012). Bourhis, Montaruli, El-Geledi, Harvey, and Barrette (2010) proposed that the best predictors of participants' acculturation orientations are quantity of intergroup contact, the endorsement of a plural ideology, political orientation (and social dominance orientation), and perception of threat.

The endorsement of a plural and multicultural ideology (Berry, 2011), in addition to a general support for multiculturalism, is also considered a necessary condition in managing a multicultural society and improving intergroup relations. A multicultural society implies, then, the integration, value, and support of cultural differences (Arends-Toth & Van de

Vijver, 2003) that are considered essential for the functioning of the society (Berry & Kalin, 1995; Bruegelmans & Van de Vijver, 2004; Ginges & Cairns, 2000; Tip et al., 2012). In order to do that, the acculturation process in a multicultural society requires social and political norms in support of this plural ideology. At the same time, however, acculturation constitutes a challenge for some of these pre-existing norms (Moddod, 2013).

The considerations deriving from the theories described above, which suggest that social norms affect people's attitudes through social influence (Boyanowsky & Allen, 1973; Kuran, 1995; Miller et al., 2000; Stangor, et al., 2001; Van Knippenberg & Wilke, 1992) and that ingroup norms on appropriate behaviours correlate with support for multiculturalism (Bruegelmans & Van de Vijver, 2004), support the choice of social norms as one of the independent variables tested in this PhD (Bourhis, et al., 2010). The experimental work of Chapter 4 manipulated the social norms regarding multiculturalism, so that they were positive toward multiculturalism (i.e. enrichment) or negative (i.e. threat). Within the same study, social norms in support or against multiculturalism were activated in the experimental condition, while across the three studies of Chapter 4 the source of the norms was manipulated. In this way, social norms were not a simple prime for participants, but they were assessed in relation to the process of social influence. The aim was to investigate if a manipulation of the way multiculturalism is represented in norms (Moddod, 2013) can influence people's acculturation attitudes and their willingness to have intergroup contact with the relevant ethnic outgroups. This approach allows an investigation into the acculturation process from a macro-level perspective, considering if group norms can affect people's attitudes and intergroup relations. This approach is quite novel, because it considers the influence of social norms on acculturation attitudes, thereby integrating the literature on norms and acculturation.

### **2.5.2 Micro-level: The role of individual experiences of social exclusion in the acculturation process**

This thesis also adopts an additional approach in the analysis of the possible antecedents of the acculturation process. This approach occurs on a micro-level, and considers the role of individual experiences of social exclusion in affecting the acculturation process and intergroup relations. The reason for this choice is the strong link between social exclusion and acculturation. Specifically, the literature considers social exclusion a part of the acculturation process (Renzaho, 2009; Van Acker & Vandesaere, 2011). Thus, social

exclusion is defined more as an outcome (i.e. exclusionism/marginalisationism and segregationism/separatism) than predictor of the acculturation process. However, the relation between social exclusion and acculturation is peculiar, and it is worth investigating which of the two occurs first. With this aim, social exclusion has been tested as an antecedent of acculturation. There are, however, further insights to take into account in an analysis of the relationship between social exclusion and acculturation: a) considering social exclusion as different from negative intergroup contact; b) the need to further investigate its effects on the acculturation process; c) a constant and strong presence of social exclusion in people's lives, despite interventions and public policies that try to improve intergroup relations in multicultural societies.

There is no consensus on the definition of social exclusion, nor on the factors responsible for it (Hills, Le Grande, & Piachaud, 2002). According to Power (2000), social exclusion means feeling excluded by the majority group of a society, and not feeling part of the majority group. Similarly, Merry (2005) suggested that "social exclusion typically describes the overall process whereby persons, usually for reasons having to do with race, ethnicity are excluded from the social, cultural, political and economic benefits that accrue to others" (p. 3). Examples of these benefits include housing, employment, and political structures. Williams (2007), instead, considers social exclusion synonymous with rejection and ostracism, defining it as being excluded or isolated via an explicit or implicit expression of dislike (Twenge, Baumeister, Tice & Stucke, 2001). In this PhD, social exclusion is defined as an experience of feeling excluded by a relevant cultural outgroup, mainly for cultural and ethnic reasons, during intergroup interactions.

Social exclusion is highly relevant to the acculturation process. For example, Van Acker and Vanbeselaere (2011) suggested that social exclusion can occur during the acculturation process if the minority groups are perceived as refusing to adopt the majority culture. Wilson (1999), by contrast, showed that in the UK, a high concentration of minority groups in urban areas is related to higher level of social exclusion and racial discrimination. Despite the policy efforts to improve the living conditions of migrant groups, there is still a gap in preventing deliberate social exclusion of minority groups in host countries (Sales & Gregory, 1996). In addition, social exclusion can vary within nations at regional and city levels (Guang, 2005) also relative to the groups in analysis (kind of ethnic minority). According to Zetter and Pearl (2000) there is a close link

between experiences of social exclusion, living in deprived areas, employment, and which minority groups people belong to, for example, whether they are asylum seekers or refugees.

In addition, social exclusion can be perceived as a negative experience deriving from lack of intergroup contact. Intergroup contact can be either a positive or negative experience (Dijker, 1987), and can differently influence intergroup relations. Most of the literature on intergroup contact focuses on contact in all its forms (i.e. direct, extended, and imagined) as a powerful way of improving intergroup relations (Paolini, Harwood & Rubin, 2010; Pettigrew, 2008; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Only recently did the literature start investigating negative experiences of intergroup contact. Even if less frequent, experiences of negative intergroup contact have stronger and more generalisable effects on intergroup relations (Barlow et al., 2012; Dhont & Van Hiel, 2009; Graf, Paolini & Rubin, 2014; Pettigrew, 2008; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011). One of these effects is the increase of group category salience, which emphasises the differences between groups and reduces their commonalities (Paolini et al., 2010). The effects of negative intergroup contact can be extended, then, to the acculturation process. The intergroup contact caveat, that is the disproportion of the effects of positive and negative contact experiences, could potentially occur in the case of experiences of social inclusion versus exclusion. However, can the absence of any form of intergroup contact, in the form of social exclusion, influence the acculturation process? Are its effects different from those of social inclusion? This PhD considers social exclusion (Williams, 1997; 2001) as lack of intergroup contact that occurs in different contexts, institutions, and ethnic and social groups (Gruter & Master, 1986) with long- and short-term negative effects for the people involved (Baumeister & Leary, 1995).

Including a variable such as social exclusion in the analysis of acculturation seems essential (Guang, 2005; Sales & Gregory, 1996; Van Acker & Vandeselaere, 2011; Zetter & Pearl, 2000). Social exclusion is the main independent variable of the empirical work of Chapter 5. Three different studies investigate if being excluded by members of the relevant outgroup can affect people's attitudes in the acculturation process, as well their desire for future interactions. This micro-level approach also allows an investigation into how personal and individual experiences can be generalised and extended to the entire social group involved in the acculturation process. Even though this approach is not completely



novel, for the first time, this PhD research considers social exclusion as an antecedent of acculturation, and its effects on people's acculturation behaviours are investigated.

## **2.6 Additional variables as potential moderating factors of the acculturation process**

The aim of this PhD is to further investigate the acculturation process from a macro- and a micro-level through its antecedents, and this approach is supported by Berry's review (1997). According to the author, acculturation seems to be influenced by many individual-level and group-level factors, in both the society of origin and the society of settlement. At a group level, the author identified factors like political context, economic situation, key demographics of the society of origin, and different kinds of social support in the society of settlement. The individual-level variables that can predict acculturation include: the demographics of the minority group (i.e. ethnicity, age); social and economic status; voluntariness in the migration motivation; and the cultural distance between new and heritage culture.

Based on the need to investigate different variables involved in acculturation, some of the theories on intergroup relations can be useful to understand the dynamics between majority and minority groups involved in the process. Van Oudenhoven et al. (2006) reviewed the social psychological theories that can be interesting for this purpose; these include: the Intergroup Contact theory (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1997); the Similarity-Attraction Hypothesis (Byrne, 1971); the Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979); the Integrated Threat Theory (Stephan & Stephan, 2000); the Instrument Model of Group Conflict (Esses, Dovidio, Jackson & Armstrong, 2001); and the Common Group Identity Model (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). Other factors that can play a role in the acculturation process are, for example, stereotypes (Maisonneuve & Teste, 2007), the perception of the outgroup as threatening (Ward & Masgoret, 2006) and a social dominance orientation (Cohrs & Asbrock, 2009; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Van Oudenhoven & Hofstra, 2006).

Among these theories, and in accordance with the purpose of this PhD, this project investigates two specific variables as potential moderators of the acculturation project. The two variables are experiences of intergroup contact and social identity. The reasons for choosing them will be supported in the following sections. Generally speaking, and as

supported by the literature reviewed in the previous parts of this chapter, intergroup contact is the condition *sine qua non* the acculturation process can take place. There cannot be an acculturation process without intergroup contact. In fact, it has been suggested that having experiences of positive contact would increase the majority group's positive attitudes toward preference for cultural maintenance by the ethnic minorities, as well as support for the integration strategy. Moreover, this project considers the absence of intergroup contact in the form of social rejection and exclusion. In the case of participants' social identity, this variable is considered highly important in influencing intergroup relations, as it constitutes a key part of people's self (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). This project analyses three kinds of social identification: with the ethnic ingroup, with being British, and with being multicultural. The following two sections briefly review theories and research on intergroup contact and social identity in light of the acculturation process.

### **2.6.1 Intergroup contact as part of the acculturation process**

As previously noted, when analysing the link between the acculturation process and intergroup relations, a key factor that needs to be considered is intergroup contact (Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). This is due to its capacity to ameliorate intergroup relations, reduce prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000, 2008) and generate new social norms that support intergroup tolerance (Turner, Hewstone, Voci & Vonofakou, 2008). Initially, contact was identified as one of the two main components of the acculturation process (Berry & Sam, 1997, 2003). Berry (2011) defined contact as “a creative and reactive process, generating new customs and values, and stimulating resistance, rather than simply leading to cultural domination and homogenization” (p. 22). However, Bourhis and colleagues (1997) suggested that the two components of the acculturation process that were identified by Berry could not be combined, since cultural maintenance refers to an attitude toward a culture, while contact refers to an intentional behaviour. For this reason, the concept of cultural adoption replaced contact as one of the core components of the acculturation process. Nevertheless, contact remains a variable that must be analysed in order to understand intergroup relations and the acculturation process (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004; Piontowski, Florack, Hoelker & Obdržálek, 2000).

When Allport (1954) formulated the contact hypothesis as strategy to reduce bias in intergroup relations, he indicated that four pre-requisite conditions need to be present to yield positive effects (i.e. reduction of intergroup bias): the groups in contact must have equal status, common goals, that there is intergroup cooperation, and support from social norms, legislation, and authorities. Allport's model explains when contact reduces prejudice, but not how or why (Pettigrew, 1998). In order to expand the original model, Pettigrew (1997) suggested a longitudinal model that includes three models of generalisation of the contact effect (deategorisation, salient categorisation, and recategorisation), and added friendship as essential pre-requisite in addition to the four suggested by Allport. According to Pettigrew (1998), the three levels of categorisation are salient in the three phases of contact. In early contact, deategorisation of group members is necessary (Brewer & Miller, 1984), this is when people interact as individuals and not as group members. At the second stage, it is useful to have salient categorisation (Hewstone & Brown, 1986) where people who interact are aware of their group memberships. In the last stage, recategorisation comes into play (Gaertner, Mann, Murrell & Dovidio, 1989), and it allows people who interact to perceive themselves as part of an overarching group. In the formulation of the Common Ingroup Identity Model, Gaertner and Dovidio (2000) added a fourth form of categorisation: dual identity. Dual identity includes the original group identities, which should be maintained in addition to having a superordinate identity (Eller & Abrams, 2003; 2004; Gonzalez & Brown, 2006).

A milestone in the research on intergroup contact is the meta-analysis published by Pettigrew and Tropp in 2006. The results of this meta-analysis of 515 studies on intergroup contact confirmed that intergroup contact reduces prejudice, and that its effects are generalisable to the entire outgroup (Hewstone & Brown, 1986). The findings also indicated that intergroup contact is effective in various different contexts, in addition to those that involve racial and ethnic issues. Furthermore, the meta-analysis showed that Allport's conditions (1954) are not essential for reducing prejudice but, when present, the positive effects of contact on prejudice remarkably increase; and confirmed that contact reduces prejudice partly because it reduces intergroup anxiety and threat (Stephan & Stephan, 2000; Paolini, Hewstone, Cairns & Voci, 2004). Considerable research has tested how contact reduces prejudice and facilitates positive attitudes and behaviours toward members of the outgroup (Brown, Maras, Masser, Vivian & Hewstone, 2001). In addition,

direct experiences of contact (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) were found to predict the “desire for contact” acculturation dimension (Binder et al., 2009), one of the dependent variables in this PhD project.

Two other important ways to improve intergroup attitudes are cross-group friendship and extended contact (Turner, Hewstone & Voci, 2007; Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe & Ropp, 1997). Cross-group friendships (Pettigrew, 1997) can reduce prejudice (Turner, Hewstone, Voci, Paolini, & Christ, 2007). In the case of cross-group friendships, research by Verkuyten & Martinovic (2006) also showed that the number of outgroup friends is positively associated with the endorsement of multiculturalism. The extended contact hypothesis states that “knowledge that an ingroup member has a close relationship with an outgroup member can lead to more positive intergroup attitudes” (p.74; Wright et al., 1997), which amounts to knowing someone who has a friend from the outgroup. Extended contact seems to be more affective when people live in segregated areas and have few or no chances for direct contact (Christ et al., 2010). In a longitudinal study with members of the majority group in Chile, Gonzalez, Sirlopú and Kessler (2010) linked extended contact, acculturation preference and ingroup norms. They found that extended contact influenced the perceived ingroup norms that facilitate intergroup contact; subsequently those ingroup norms enhanced the desire for contact and cultural maintenance, reducing intergroup prejudice.

It is, then, important to consider previous experiences of intergroup contact when analysing acculturation issues. Contact theory has been applied to different contexts in which acculturation takes place and in which there are relationships among different ethnic groups, such as Italy (Voci & Hewstone, 2003) and the Netherlands (Van Oudenhoven, Groenewoud & Hewstone, 1996). In line with this, the contact theory has been applied to models of the acculturation process. Originally, intergroup contact was seen as the first of a three stage model of acculturation that included contact, accommodation, and assimilation (Persons, 1987). Based on this model, contact forces people from different cultural groups to find ways to accommodate each other in order to reduce intergroup conflicts (Padilla & Perez, 2003). Then Berry (1997) considered intergroup contact one of the components of acculturation, in addition to cultural maintenance (Berry, & Sam, 1997; 2003). Thus, intergroup contact has always been considered part of the acculturation process (Zick, Wagner, van Dick & Petzel, 2001).

In a 2011 study by Van Acker and Vanbeselaere, the Flemish people's expectations of Turks' acculturation behaviour were investigated, in addition to approval of cultural maintenance and expectations of cultural adoption. Expectations of contact with the majority group were considered a third dimension in the acculturation process. The authors also emphasised the importance of considering the differences between the majority group's experiences of intergroup contact and their perception of minority groups' contact behaviours. The results of the study suggested that majority (Flemish) group's less negative attitudes toward the members of the ethnic group (Turks) were associated with positive experiences of intergroup contact and the perception that Turks wanted to engage in contact with the majority group as well as adopt the majority group's culture. By contrast, the Flemish group's more negative attitudes toward Turks were associated with the majority's perception that the Turks wanted to maintain their ethnic culture. From these results, it can be argued that both increasing opportunities for positive contact in general and also changing the majority's perceptions in order to strengthen their desire to get in contact with the minority group, can affect majority group's attitudes toward acculturation.

In their analysis of the acculturation process in Chile, Gonzalez and colleagues (2010) indicated that intergroup contact is one of the socio-psychological factors (in addition to social identity, intergroup distinctiveness, intergroup anxiety, prejudice, and realistic threat) that are important in predicting intergroup attitudes, and that this produces positive outcomes for both the majority and minority groups. In line with this research, Celeste, Brown, Tip, and Matera (2014) suggested that different processes might operate for intergroup contact in the majority and minority groups. Regarding the minority groups, they seem to have weaker (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005) or null (Binder et al., 2009) contact effects compared to the majority. In addition, there are more chances for the minority to have previous experiences of intergroup contact with the majority than vice-versa (Brown, 2010).

Reviewing the effects of intergroup contact on the acculturation process, it is necessary to also consider negative intergroup contact experiences (Paolini, et al., 2010; Stark, Flache & Veenstra, 2013). The intergroup interactions in everyday multicultural societies could be either positive or negative, causing the need to increase the understanding on the potential causes and effects of the latter (Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2005). Research has shown

than negative contact experiences with specific outgroup members are more easily extended to the whole outgroup than positive experiences of contact, and negative contact is more influential in affecting outgroup attitudes than positive contact (Barlow et al., 2012). This is consistent with what suggested by the social categorisation theory (Turner, et al., 1987); having experiences of negative intergroup contact should increase category salience, since this negative experience is more consistent with people's expectation towards negative outgroups (Paolini, Harwood, & Rubin, 2010; Reynolds, Turner, & Haslam, 2000). There is then the intergroup contact caveat: the improvement of intergroup relations, such as reduction of prejudice, due to positive contact experiences cannot be outweighed by the negative consequences due to the co-occurrent negative contact experiences (Barlow et al., 2012). However, it has also been suggested that people's past experiences of positive contact are more frequent than negative experiences (Barlow et al., 2012; Dhont & Van Hiel, 2009; Pettigrew, 2008; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011). In their analysis of five European nations, Graf, Paolini, and Rubin (2014) concluded that the stronger effects of negative contact are reduced by larger frequencies of positive contact. This difference between the effects of positive and negative intergroup contact on intergroup relations leads to consider if this pattern occurs also when comparing the consequences of experiences of social inclusion vs. exclusion. This is an issue that is analysed in Chapter 5 on the effects of social exclusion vs. inclusion on the acculturation outcomes.

Furthermore, this project considers intergroup contact involved in the acculturation process and tests it as a variable that can potentially contribute to the effects of norms and social exclusion on acculturation outcomes. For this reason, it is important to examine the role of intergroup contact as moderator. For example, intergroup contact may moderate the relationship between group identification and effective intergroup relations (Richter, West, van Dick & Dawson, 2006), the relationship between outgroup friendships and actual level of prejudice (Al Ramiah, Hewstone, Voci, Cairns & Hughes, 2011), and between extended contact and reduction of prejudice (Dhont & van Hiel, 2011). Research has also suggested that intergroup contact positively moderates the effects of extended contact (Christ, et al., 2010), even among children (Cameron, Rutland, Hossain, & Petley, 2011).

In line with what emerged from the above literature, the role of actual contact will be investigated in this project. Quantity and quality of intergroup contact and their interaction,

that is positive contact (Stathi & Crisp, 2010), will be considered a covariate and potential moderator of acculturation attitudes. This will allow an examination of whether having experiences of intergroup contact can influence the relationships between the antecedents and the outcomes of acculturation. In addition, as explained in the previous section, people's desire for intergroup contact will be considered a dependent variable in the experimental work of this project, providing a complete overview of the acculturation outcomes. To sum up, this PhD project will assess if intergroup contact moderates people's attitudes in the acculturation process, as a function of the manipulated independent variable.

### **2.6.2 Identity as part of the acculturation process**

The theories on categorisation and identity offer a relevant framework with which understand the acculturation of majority and minority groups in multicultural contexts. In fact, a close examination of the role of identity and its changes in the acculturation process is essential in order to interpret the intergroup processes in multicultural societies (Stathi & Roscini, 2016). The following paragraphs briefly summarise the main theoretical models of social identity, linking them with the acculturation process and explaining why the studies of this PhD project test identity as a possible moderator of the acculturation process.

The link between identity and acculturation can be approached by an intergroup perspective that integrates the Social Identity Theory (SIT; Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and the Self-Categorisation Theory (SCT; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987). Both SIT and SCT acknowledge the origins of social identity in cognitive and motivational factors, but place different emphasis on them (Hogg, 1996). The focus of these theories is on the collective self, defined in group terms and connected to fellow group members (Brewer & Gardner, 1996; Hogg & Reid, 2006; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). According to SIT, identity derives from the awareness of being part of a social group and social structures such as groups, cultures, and organizations. The extent of identification with the groups guides individual internal structures and processes (Padilla & Perez, 2003; Padilla, 2006) and, thus, collective group membership affects individual thoughts and behaviours (Markus, Kitayama & Heiman, 1996). Two main components of SIT are social categorisation and social comparisons (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). SIT supports that: a) people are motivated to maintain a positive self-concept; b)

their self-concept derives from group identification; c) people create positive social identities by favourably comparing the ingroup to the outgroup (Operario & Fiske, 1999). In other words, SIT suggests that social identity is composed of different forms of group membership, and that people try to obtain and maintain a positive image of themselves through comparisons between their own ingroup and relevant outgroups. This comparison is particularly relevant in multicultural contexts where acculturation takes place.

Based on these principles of the SIT, it is important to clarify the distinction between personal identity and social identity. In detail, while personal identity indicates self-categories that determine a person as “unique” based on his/her similarities or differences with other ingroup members, so other individuals, social identity refers to social categories that are self categories that describe a person in terms of differences and similarities with members of certain social categories (Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McGarty, 1994). Specifically, social identity is defined as the individual’s knowledge that he/she belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of this group membership” (Tajfel, 1972, p. 292). Furthermore, as underlined by Schwartz and colleagues (2006), social identity also refers to the extent to which people identify with an ingroup, favouring it, and distance themselves from the outgroups (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). According to the SIT people adopt a social identity when perceive or think about themselves in terms of “we or us” versus “they or them” and a personal identity in terms of “I”. People would categorise themselves in terms of “I” or “we” based on the relative accessibility of the category and the “fit” between the category and the specific context where they are (the concepts of accessibility and fit are clarified in the following paragraphs; Oakes, Turner, & Haslam, 1991; Turner, et al., 1994).

However, personal identity is connected to group membership. People are thus motivated to create or maintain a positive distinctiveness for their ingroup in comparison to relevant outgroups, in order to sustain their own positive identity and sense of self-worth. In other words, individuals seek to achieve positive self-esteem by positively differentiating their ingroup from a comparison outgroup on some valued dimensions. In the context of acculturation, this comparison can occur, for example, between the majority and minority groups. This quest for positive distinctiveness implies that people’s self-concept is defined in terms of ‘we’ rather than ‘I’ (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). The tendency to maintain ingroup positive distinction should be stronger for people whose self-image is closer to the



prototypical image of their group, and who therefore consider themselves prototypical members of the ingroup. Group members with strong group identification favour their group to a greater extent than group members with low identification. This mechanism is also valid in the international system, where people with a strong national identity try to positively differentiate their nationality from others. Consequently, ethnocentrism could perilously become a consequence of strong social identification (Zagefka & Brown, 2002) and it can become explicit through ingroup favouritism and outgroup derogation.

The extension of SIT, the self-categorisation theory (SCT) developed by Turner and colleagues (1987), further analyses the cognitive factors that facilitate categorisation of oneself as a group member, and provides an explanation for how individuals come to identify and act as a group. Social categorisation is considered a basic social cognitive process that allows people to identify with groups, define themselves and others in group terms and manifest group behaviours (Hogg & Reid, 2006). SCT emphasises the role of social context, arguing that it creates meaningful group boundaries and that social identities are socially construed and situational depending categories (Padilla & Perez, 2003; Turner, et al., 1987), and the validity of group-based perceptions considering the context-driven mechanisms of categorisation (O'Doherty & Lecouteur, 2007). An example of the application of the SCT to the topic of this PhD project could be the fact that during the acculturation process people's ethnicity is considered the salient category that drives people's attitudes and behaviours in that specific intergroup context and interaction.

As mentioned when discussing SIT, a specific categorisation is salient when respecting the principles of accessibility and fit. A category is accessible when it is considered an important and frequent aspect of the self-concept as well as when it is situationally accessible, that is salient in the immediate situation. These accessible categories can respect a structural or normative fit, that is the extent to which they well explain similarities and differences among people, or the normative fit, that is the extent to which the prototypical characteristics of the category fully explain people's behaviours (Hogg & Reid, 2006). The salience of the context is further confirmed by those situations where people show resistance to be categorised as members of specific groups because they consider that membership irrelevant for that specific situation (i.e. ethnicity in a working context; Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999). It is important to mention that

these situational factors and related cognitive processes are the basis for intergroup interactions, such as prejudice and conflict, as well.

SCT suggests that within the categories some members are rated as prototypical. The prototypical attributes and characteristics define one group, distinguishing it from other groups and accentuating intragroup similarities and intergroup differences (Hogg & Reid, 2006). This mechanism respects the so called metacontrast principle and increases the perceived group entitativity that makes a group appear as a distinct entity, homogeneous and with clear boundaries (Hogg & Reid, 2006). Although the prototypicality of a group is context dependant and varies as a function of the social comparative frame, it can, however, risk making category prototype equivalent to stereotypes (Lakoff, 1987). Moreover, one's perceived similarity to the prototypic group member forms and develops social identity (Hogg, 1996; Hogg & Hains, 1996), and group prototypes vary across social settings and contribute to the creation of dynamic identity shifts. SCT can be relevant when analysing the transition process of those who experience acculturation from a categorisation perspective.

There is however the need to consider that in multicultural societies, where the acculturation process takes place, people could identify at the same time with multiple categories, sometimes conflicting. According to SCT, indeed, there is a constant competition between self-categorisation on a group and self-level, and the way people perceive themselves depends on how much they perceive their categorisations as conflicting (Turner, et al., 1994). Building on the metacontrast principle and the context dependence of categories, Turner and colleagues (1994) indicated four forms that regulate the variation of the categories adopt based on the context. These four forms are: a) the salient level of categorisation, that is self in intragroup context and social in intergroup situations; b) the salient level of a categorisation based on content and fit; c) the meaning of the social categorisation as related to the content of the differences between the groups in analysis; d) the variability of the prototypicality of categories' members as function of the context.

Another theoretical model that adopts relevant social categorisations with the aim of reducing intergroup conflict, and that is relevant for studying acculturation, is the Common

Ingroup Identity Model (CIIM; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). This model suggests that through the recategorisation of different social identities into a common one at a superordinate level, more positive attitudes toward previous outgroup members who are now part of the superordinate group can be created. CIIM has been applied to the acculturation model as a way to promote a successful acculturation. This process of recategorisation can be facilitated by emphasising Allport's (1954) conditions for optimal contact for example, equal status and common goals (Gaertner, Rust, Dovidio, Bachman & Anastasio, 1994). Bastian (2012) indicated that promoting a more inclusive superordinate identity and creating the conditions for the integration of different cultural identities can facilitate a successful acculturation process. Following the principles of the model, a superordinate national identity (such as being British or American) can, for example, include all the ethnic subgroups (such as Black British, British Asian and White British). This kind of superordinate identity, in the form of national identity, is one of the three types of social identification tested in the empirical work in Chapters 4 and 5.

The core limit of CIIM is that including all groups into a superordinate group does not allow for recognition of their differences, increasing the risk of colour-blindness. This limit is particularly true for people who strongly identify with their ethnic culture since a superordinate identity may pose a threat for their distinctiveness. Indeed, group identification is a significant moderator of intergroup distinctiveness threats (for meta-analysis, see Jetten, Spears & Manstead, 2001). High identifiers, for example, try to restore the ingroup's distinctiveness after perceiving threats by differentiating from relevant outgroups (Jetten, et al., 2001), and can react with more bias toward the outgroup as a response to strategies designed to increase a common identity (Crisp, Stone & Hall, 2006). In the case of low identifiers, instead, a common identity leads to less bias toward the outgroup (Jetten, Spears & Mastead, 1996). From this analysis, as suggested by Dovidio, Gaertner, Niemann and Snider (2001), it appears that minorities and majorities prefer different recategorisation strategies: dual identity and one-group, respectively.

With the aim of addressing the criticism of CIIM that group members may resist the blurring of boundaries between the groups because of a fear of losing their distinctiveness (Brewer & Miller, 1988) or where the two groups differ in size, power, or status (Brewer & Gaertner, 2001), Gaertner, Dovidio, and Bachman (1996) theorised the *dual identity*

*approach*. They suggested that there is no need for people to renounce their original identities, but rather maintain their superordinate and subgroup identities salient, through a recategorisation approach. This strategy incorporates the mutual intergroup differentiation model (Hewstone & Brown, 1986; Brown & Hewstone, 2005) in the recategorisation approach. This model suggests that in order to generalise positive intergroup attitudes, it is necessary to keep subgroups salient and promote a superordinate identity at the same time. Applying the dual identity approach to the acculturation process, people can maintain the distinctiveness of their cultural and ethnic identity and remain part of a more inclusive one such as a national or state identity.

Linking the concept of social identity and social categorisation to the issue of multiculturalism, Phinney and Alipuria (2006) described multiple social categorisations. When individuals identify with two or more social groups at the same time (these can be national and/or ethnic), integration (a successful acculturation process) is facilitated (Berry, 1997). Multiple social categorisations refer to a situation when an individual is, at the same time, identified with two or more different social groups that can be two nationalities or ethnicities. The main issue in this kind of situation is “integrating or otherwise managing an internal complexity involving two potentially conflicting, often enriching, parts of one’s ethnic, racial, or cultural self” (Phinney & Alipuria, 2006, p.211). Furthermore, Phinney and Alipuria (2006) indicated four methods of identification used by people with multiple ethnicities: a) identifying with just one of the two cultural groups they belong to; b) creating a new category they identify with; c) identifying with both groups and the switch between them; or d) thinking about themselves not as group members, but simply as individuals. Following this approach, this PhD project tested identification as multicultural as a type of social identity that can be a covariate and potential moderator of the acculturation process. It is worth highlighting that the above four identification approaches are in line with the principles of the Interactive Acculturation Model (Bourhis et al., 1997) and its relative acculturation strategies.

A review conducted by Schwartz, Montgomery and Briones (2006) looked into the connection between identity and acculturation, considering the concept of identity as central especially for members of minority groups (see also Bathia & Ram, 2001; Phinney, 2003). The authors hypothesised that identity supports acculturation, and that it helps people by giving them an “anchor” during the period of transition and adaptation that is

typical of the acculturation process. This analysis refers mainly to adolescents and young adults based on the salience of the identity issues at this specific age (Arnett, 2000), and on the fact that adolescents creatively try to form a cultural identity that includes aspects of both cultures, i.e. the heritage and the majority one (Schwartz, 2005). Starting from the concept of social identity, Schwarz and colleagues (2006) suggested that identity is a synthesis of “personal, social and cultural self-conceptions” (Schwartz, 2001). They specified that *personal identity* refers to values, beliefs, and targets that people choose to adopt and maintain. *Social identity* (according to Tajfel, & Turner, 1986) refers to both the group people identify with and how their identification leads them to favour the ingroup. *Cultural identity* is an interface between the individual and cultural context in which the individual lives. Schwartz et al. (2006, p.6) defined cultural identity as “a sense of solidarity with the ideals of a given cultural group and to the attitudes, beliefs and behaviours manifested toward one’s own (and other) cultural group as a result of this solidarity”. Moreover, the authors specified that the changes typical of the acculturation process, such as the adoption of a specific language or core beliefs, are also changes in people’s cultural identity. Consequently, it is suggested that “adaptive identity” is composed of a coherent personal identity (Schwartz, 2001) and a coherent social identity (Brown, 2000). Having an adaptive identity allows people to deal with the changes deriving from the acculturation process by maintaining internal consistency and positive feelings toward the groups they identify with.

An important form of identity that links to the acculturation process is ethnic identity (Schwartz, Zamboanga & Hernandez, 2007). Generally speaking, this is a subjective experience of heritage culture retention (Roberts, Phinney, Mase, Chen, Roberts & Romero, 1999), but Phinney (1990) originally defined it as the extent to which people have explored what their ethnicity means to them (exploration) and how they positively view their ethnic group (affirmation; Phinney & Ong, 2007). The importance of having an ethnic identity is demonstrated by the fact that it relates to many positive outcomes, such as self-esteem (Umaña-Taylor, Gonzales-Backen & Guimond, 2009), and subjective well-being (Rivas-Drake, Hughes & Way, 2009). It may also be protective against delinquency (Bruce & Waelde, 2008), drug and alcohol use (Marsiglia, Kulis, Hecht, & Sills, 2004), and sexual risk taking (Beadnell et al., 2003). The concept of ethnic

identity is the first kind of identity tested as a covariate and potential moderator in the empirical work of this project.

The link between social identification and multiculturalism can be investigated from another perspective, by considering the endorsement of multiculturalism as a form of collective action to contrast negative group identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In the case of minority groups, ingroup identification is positively associated with the endorsement of multiculturalism, differently from the majority group (Verkuyten & Brug, 2004). Minority group members can also have a strong ingroup identification instead of a dual identity where multiculturalism is not supported, and a strong dis-identification with the national identity (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007) that can have negative consequences for sociocultural adjustment (Ogbu, 1993). Furthermore, if minority groups perceived that they are rejected by the majority, they tend to have a stronger identification with the ingroup that leads to less commitment to the nation-state (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). High ethnic identification among majority groups is associated with a weaker endorsement of multiculturalism (Verkuyten & Brug, 2004). Furthermore, members of majority groups are often focused on the threatening aspects of multiculturalism (Van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998), protecting their ingroup's interests and status (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002). In addition, low identifiers with their ingroup generally prefer individualism as an acculturation strategy, and this is negatively related to the endorsement of multiculturalism (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006; Martinovic & Verkuyten, 2012).

Hence, in line with the research reviewed above, the acculturation process and the changes in cultural identity may also vary depending on the degree of similarity between the heritage and majority culture (Rudmin, 2003), possible experiences of discrimination (Brown, 2000), the support for maintaining the heritage culture by the host society (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001) and the flexibility of the cultural identity (Arnett Jensen, 2003). Martinovic and Verkuyten (2012), for example, investigated how ingroup norms, religious identification, and perceived discrimination can affect the identification of Turkish Muslims with the culture of the countries in which they live (in the case of this study, Germany and the Netherlands). The results suggested that if members of the ethnic group perceived that they were discriminated against by the majority group and pressured by their ingroup members to maintain the tradition of the ethnic culture, they were more

willing to strongly identify with their ethnic group and less with the majority culture. In addition, the study showed a positive correlation between the identification with the religious group and perceived discrimination, and a strong negative correlation between identification with the religious group and identification with the host country only for those who perceive Western and Islamic values as incompatible.

According to the literature reviewed so far, social identity is crucial in the acculturation process. For this reason, and in line with what has been suggested by previous research, three types of social identity, i.e. identification with the ingroup (ethnic identity), with being British (common ingroup identity) and with being multicultural (multiple social identity), are included in the studies of this PhD project as variables that can potentially influence the acculturation process. Previous studies, have shown, for example, that a strong ethnic identity is associated with a frequent use of social support in the case of minority discrimination (Yoo & Lee, 2005), and that social identity moderates an ingroup's distinctiveness and threats (Jetten, et al., 2001), the effects of identification (James & Greenberg, 1989; Van Knippenberg & Ellemers, 2003) and the effectiveness of leadership (Van Knippenberg, Van Knippenberg, De Cremer & Hogg, 2005).

With the aim of providing a full overview of the role of identity in the acculturation process, it is worth reviewing another line of research specifically, what happens to those people who try to integrate their different identities when they belong to more than one cultural group. The Bicultural Identity Integration theory (BII; Haritatos & Benet-Martinez, 2002) offers a good theoretical background for this purpose. Biculturalism refers to the acculturation process that involves individuals who are members of two cultures (Cameron & Lalonde, 1994), to the synthesis of the cultural and social norms of different cultures into a single repertoire (Rotheram-Borus, 1993), or to people's ability to change their behaviours, norms, and cultural schemas to fit into their context at a particular moment of their lives (Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martinez, 2000). Bicultural people are those who define themselves as members of two different cultures (Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2007). The concept of BII (Benet-Martinez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002) investigates the acculturation process through social identification.

This construct refers to individual differences in the perception and management of people's dual identities. BII indicates the extent to which multiple cultural identities are perceived as compatible or in opposition to each other by bicultural people (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005), on a continuum where compatibility and incompatibility are placed at the opposite poles (Cheng, Lee, & Benet-Martínez, 2006). Bicultural individuals vary on the level of their BII. People with a high level of BII identify with both cultures and see them as complementary; they tend to view themselves as part of a sort of third combined culture (Benet-Martinez et al., 2002). However, individuals with low levels of BII may identify with both cultures, but prefer to keep them separate; they perceive tension between the cultures, and their incompatibility is a source of internal conflict. In other words, people who have high levels of identity integration can be easily identified with both cultures simultaneously, while those who have low levels of identity integration can identify just with each cultural group at a given time and depending on the context, but they cannot identify with both at the same time (Cheng, Sanchez-Burks & Lee, 2008). Benet-Martinez and Haritatos, (2005) distinguish two different components of BII. *Cultural distance* is “the degree of dissociation or compartmentalization versus overlap perceived between the two cultural orientations”, and *cultural conflict* is “the degree of tension or clash versus harmony perceived between the two cultures” (see also Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2007, p. 108). Benet-Martinez and Haritatos (2005) linked the two components to other concepts of the acculturation process: cultural distance, or compartmentalisation, seems to be linked to the notion of “cultural identity alternation vs. fusion” (LaFromboise, et al., 1993), while they associate cultural conflict with identity confusion (Baumeister, 1986) or role conflict (Goode, 1960). This theory confirms how identity can be puzzling.

Acculturation, indeed, implies a reference to people's identity complexity. Roccas and Brewer (2002) defined social identity complexity as “an individual's subjective representation of the interrelationships among his or her multiple group identities” (p. 1) referring to the perceived overlap among the different group membership. A more simplified identity corresponds to a high overlap among the different identities that converges in a single ingroup identification, while a more complex identity occurs when there is no overlap but the recognition of different group memberships. In the theorisation of identity complexity, these authors reviewed four forms of biculturalism relevant to the



acculturation process: *hyphenated identities*, *cultural dominance*, *compartmentalization* and *integrated biculturalism*, as way to manage different and sometimes conflicting group memberships. In the case of hyphenated identities, there is a form of blended bicultural identity (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997) where the ingroup is defined in terms of sharing the same ethnic heritage and the residence is a specific host society. In the case of cultural dominance, one of the two identities becomes subordinate to the other: if the identification with the dominant culture is stronger than the ethnic one, there is assimilation; separation occurs in the opposite case (Berry, 1990). Compartmentalisation refers to the alternations of the different cultural identities based on the context or their relevance. Finally, integrated biculturalism or intercultural identity indicates a combination and integration of the different identities (Sussman, 2000).

From the brief review on the identity theories presented in the previous paragraphs, it seems clear that social identity is a key factor in the acculturation process, especially for minority groups. Minority group members who have recently arrived in a new country are not always free to pursue the acculturation strategy they prefer (Berry, 1997): the majority's expectations of minority's acculturation attitudes can interfere with the minority's actual acculturation choices (Taft, 1977), including the adoption of the identity of the host country (Padilla & Perez, 2003). In the case that the majority group does not positively recognise the social identity of the minorities, Tajfel (1978) indicated three positive alternatives: a) the minority can give up their ethnic groups and reduce their level of ethnic identification; b) they can rethink their minority identity accepting or justifying the negative stigma associated with it; or c) they can engage in social actions to promote changes both inside and outside their group. Thus, based on all these theoretical considerations, this PhD project tests the role of different forms of social identity, i.e. with the ethnic group, with a national group and with being multicultural, as covariates and potential moderators of the acculturation process. Specifically, strong identifications are expected to moderate the endorsement of the acculturation components and strategies that lead to a successful acculturation process. In addition, with the aim of having a complete overview, also the construct of BII has been tested in this project (see Study 1).

## **2.7 Chapter summary**

The literature review of this chapter offers an overview of the research that tested multiculturalism, intergroup relations and acculturation both from the perspectives of the majority and minority groups across the world, and the possible variables involved. Starting from the definition of acculturation (Graves, 1967; Redfield, Linton & Herskovits, 1936) and the analysis of the early research on this process (Berry, 1990; Gordon, 1964), this chapter critically examined the development of the acculturation literature until the most recent theories (Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Navas et al., 2005; Piontkowski et al., 2002). In addition, it critically stated why it is important to investigate the potential antecedents of the acculturation process both on a macro-level, considering the role of social norms, and on a micro-level, taking into account experiences of social exclusion. The last part of the chapter, instead, suggested the need to consider as intergroup contact and social identification as covariates and potential moderators, supporting this choice with a brief review of the extensive literature on these two areas (Allport, 1954; Peetigrew & Tropp, 2006; Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

This chapter provides the theoretical background that has led to the research questions of this PhD. The theoretical framework offered by Van Oudenhoven et al. (1998) and Zagefka and Brown (2002) is adopted with the aim to extend the understanding of the majority group's perspective on the acculturation process and how this compares with the minority's. The differences between majority and minority groups in the acculturation process are investigated both in the pilot (focus groups), and in the experimental studies. Supported by the Interactive Acculturation Model (Bourhis et al., 1997), which was reviewed in this chapter, the first experimental part of this PhD project aims to understand and consider the role of the multicultural ideology and institutional policies of a country in which the acculturation process takes place. The ideologies and policies, through social norms, can affect the acculturation strategies chosen by both the majority and minority groups (O'Rourke & Sinnott, 2006). Specifically, the perception of multiculturalism as endorsed or not by the norms of the country where the acculturation process occurs is experimentally manipulated in order to address this research question (Chapter 4). The literature on the role of experiences of social exclusion (Williams, 2007) offers support for the empirical work presented in Chapter 5, where experiences of social exclusion are experimentally manipulated with the aim of understanding if they can affect people's

attitudes in the acculturation process. After considering the potential antecedents of the acculturation process across all experimental studies, and inspired by the contact theory (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) and the SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), this PhD considers these two variables as covariates and moderators of the acculturation process.

The main theoretical contribution of this PhD project is its investigation of the role of the antecedents of acculturation (social norms and social exclusion), as the acculturation literature to date primarily examined acculturation outcomes. Theoretically, another key contribution of this thesis is testing intergroup contact as covariate of acculturation, and not as a component of it. In addition, the empirical works of this project aim to extend the understanding of social identity, and especially of identification as a multicultural person, in the acculturation process. To conclude, the main predictions are that positive social norms regarding multiculturalism will positively affect acculturation, while experiences of social exclusion will negatively influence it. In addition, intergroup contact and social identity (in the forms of identification with the ingroup, with being British, and multicultural) are expected to be part of the acculturation process, and to potentially direct the relationships between the variables that are considered in this PhD as predictors and outcomes of acculturation.

## **CHAPTER 3. GENERAL METHODOLOGY**

### **3.1 Chapter overview**

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the general methodology for the empirical work of this thesis. Specific methods and predictions for each of the six studies are further discussed in the relevant chapters (4 and 5). The principal aim of the thesis is to explore the possible antecedents of the acculturation process on both a micro and macro levels of analysis, investigating specifically if social norms on multiculturalism and experiences of social exclusion affect the acculturation process. The theoretical underpinnings of this aim point to the complexity of the acculturation process, and the need to investigate the phenomena from the perspective of both majority and minority groups. In order to do this, the following research questions are addressed:

- 1) Does the inclusion of multiculturalism in social and political norms affect people's acculturation attitudes?
- 2) Can people's experiences of social inclusion vs. exclusion influence the acculturation process?
- 3) Are there differences in the acculturation process between majority and minority groups, as a function of norms and social exclusion?
- 4) Does a) the level of existing intergroup contact and b) social identification moderate the acculturation process?

Six main quantitative studies with an experimental design were carried out. The studies were informed by pilot work in the form of focus groups, which were used to explore constructs underlying the thesis. Findings from this pilot work are summarised at the end of this chapter. A correlational study was also conducted to confirm the relationships among the variables tested in the experimental work of Chapters 5 and 4. Findings from the pilot and correlational study are referred to in Chapters 4 and 5, and can be found in full in Annex C.

### **3.2 Design**

Both qualitative and quantitative methods were utilised in this project. The use of qualitative methods as pilot allowed a general investigation of the variables involved in the acculturation process, while the quantitative methods allowed for testing hypotheses, and observing the cause-effect relationships among these variables. The results from the

qualitative studies were used to improve the planning, understanding and interpretation of the quantitative studies that relate to the main methodology of this thesis. As suggested by Arnett Jensen (2003), when studying acculturation and cultural identity issues, the use of different methodologies is essential in capturing different cultural concepts, and at the same time, the different meanings these concepts can have across cultures. More than one method was adopted, with the aim of maximising ecological validity and cultural sensitivity (Briggs, 1986). In the analysis of a complex process like acculturation, it helps to provide different perspectives on globalisation and multiculturalism.

In line with Creswell and Plano Clark's (2007) suggestions, four factors were taken into consideration when choosing the appropriate methodologies and research design for the studies of this thesis: a) the level of interactions between the different methods (qualitative and quantitative); b) which one is considered the principal methodology; c) timetable of the studies; and d) the appropriate mixing procedure. Applying these considerations to the present project, the two methodologies are completely independent; priority was given to the quantitative method, and the qualitative method has a secondary role. Both methods began at the same time although the quantitative part lasted longer, due to having to design and implement the experimental studies. Because of these choices, the design of this PhD mixes the *concurrent embedded* and the *convergent parallel design*.

From the convergent parallel design, this PhD operates under the assumption that both quantitative and qualitative methods should be used to assess the same research questions. From the concurrent embedded design, the studies embrace the idea that quantitative methodology should form the primary methodology, while the qualitative method should be embedded or nested in the quantitative one (Creswell, Fetters, Plano Clark & Morales, 2009). The concurrent embedded design and the convergent parallel design share the characteristic that the two methods are used at the same time, and that the data are collected and analysed separately, using typical quantitative and qualitative procedures (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007). The results of the qualitative data are used to improve the design of the following quantitative experiments, as well as the interpretation and understanding of the quantitative results. In line with this idea, the epistemological paradigm and the assumptions of the design of this project are mainly positivist since, as already explained, experimental methods have a primary role.

As noted above, the work of this thesis mainly involves quantitative methods in a series of studies, which adopted between group designs. The six experimental studies investigated the perspectives of both majority and minority groups in the UK, primarily using a 2(experimental conditions) x 2(ethnicity of the group in analysis) design. Figure 3:1 below shows the overall design of the empirical work mapped against the research questions being addressed. The focus groups simply provided insights and guidelines for the quantitative methods. They provided additional information beyond what was suggested by the theories on the topic, and allowed for the exploration of new aspects of this process (Krueger, 1994). The experimental studies clarified the relationship among key variables involved in the acculturation process.

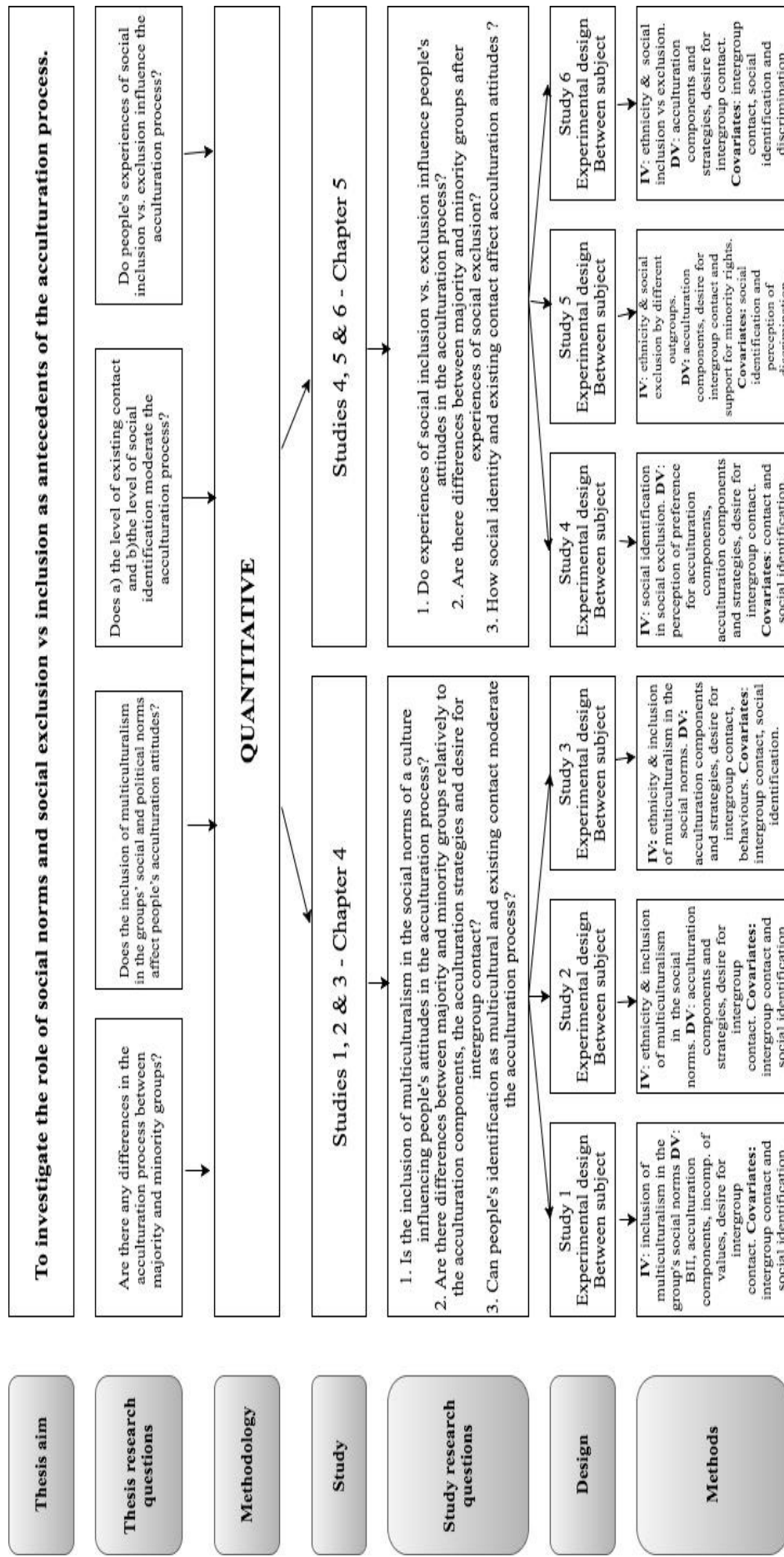


Figure 3. 1 <sup>8</sup>Thesis map on how the studies of this thesis meet the research questions

<sup>8</sup> As explained in this methodological chapter, qualitative methods, in the form of focus groups, were used as a pilot study of this PhD research. Since the qualitative part of this project constitutes only the pilot study, it was not included in the map of the thesis, but is presented in this chapter.

### **3.3 Procedure, materials and measures**

The main work underpinning this PhD project adopts a positivist approach and predominantly utilises quantitative methods to carry out research on the acculturation process and intergroup relations. These topics have been empirically investigated using different designs, such as correlational (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005; Downie, Koestner, ElGeledi, & Cree, 2004; Mok, Morris, Benet-Martinez, & Karakitapogli-Aygun, 2007; Tip, et al., 2012; Zagefka, et al., 2007), meta-analytical (Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013), longitudinal (Zagefka, et al., 2009) and experimental (Cheng, et al., 2006; Ross, Xun & Wilson, 2002). Six experimental studies, informed by a qualitative pilot study, were designed with the aim of analysing and establishing cause-effect relationships across the variables involved in the acculturation process (Breakwell, Hammond, Fife-Schaw & Smith, 2006).

Every study of this PhD used between-subjects or independent group design, where participants were randomly assigned to one of the experimental conditions. The dependent variables of this project were investigated using explicit measures and self-reports. Each study has a specific methodology that is described in detail in the relevant empirical chapters. The following sections briefly review some examples of experimental manipulations adopted in acculturations studies, in addition to a general overview of participants, designs, methods, and procedure of the experimental work of this PhD thesis.

#### **3.3.1 Examples of experimental manipulations**

One interesting line of experimental studies about the acculturation process manipulated the acculturation strategy preferred by the members of the ethnic group in order to test how this would affect majority and minority groups' attitudes. Using a classic manipulation with vignettes, in two separate studies Van Oudenhoven, et al. (1998) investigated, for example, majority and minority groups' reactions toward the adoption of the four acculturation strategies by members of the minority group. Participants, who were from either the Dutch majority or Turkish and Moroccan minorities, were asked to read a fake newspaper article where a member of the two minority communities described his or her life in the Netherlands using one of the acculturation strategies. In the first study, where participants were Turkish or Moroccan, after reading the scenario, they indicated how much they identify with the person in the article and their affective and normative reactions. In other words, they noted how they felt about the person in the article, and whether they thought that their ingroup should behave



like the character. The results suggested that both Moroccans and Turks identified more with the character that chose the integration strategy, and had more positive affective and normative responses toward him/her. In the second study, the majority group indicated that ethnic minorities should behave like the character, and participants' affective and normative reactions were measured. The findings showed that participants had more positive attitudes toward integration and assimilation, and that they believed the strategy that was preferred the most by ethnic minorities was separation. Studies 1, 2, 3 on norms (see Chapter 4) and 4 on experiences of social exclusion (see Chapter 5) of this PhD project adopt similar vignettes to create the experimental conditions.

The use of vignettes to create the experimental conditions was developed in the adoption of videos in a study by Zagefka, Tip, Gonzalez, Brown and Cinnirella (2012). In this study, the authors investigated whether experimentally manipulating the acculturation strategies preferred by ethnic minority members affects majority members' own acculturation preferences. The sample was composed of White British people who were randomly assigned to one of the experimental conditions. Participants were asked to watch a video in which members of the minority group, specifically Pakistanis who had been living in the UK for a long time, described their life. In the integration condition, the actors stated that they wanted to keep their Pakistani culture alive and, at the same time, get involved in British culture. In the assimilation condition, they stated that they did not want to maintain the Pakistani culture but to wholly adopt the British one. In the separation condition, they stated that they wanted to maintain the Pakistani culture and not get involved in British culture. In the control condition, the people in the video discussed a topic unrelated to acculturation issues. The results indicated that economic competition and perception of minority's preference for cultural maintenance negatively influence the majority's preference for integrationism, differently from the perception of minority's preference for contact. Inspired by this study, Study 6 on experiences of social exclusion and acculturation (see Chapter 5) of this PhD project employs a video to create the experimental conditions.

In addition to videos and vignettes, different methods have been used to experimentally investigate intergroup relations. For example, one line of research analyses the role of experiences of social exclusion in group dynamics. It has to be noted that perceived or actual social exclusion can represent a threat to identity, and implies that the society, or the main culture, devalues their group (Jetten, Branscombe, Schmitt & Spears, 2001). Several

experimental paradigms study exclusion. The main examples are: ball tossing (Williams, 1997) and its virtual equivalent, cyberball (Williams, Cheung & Choi, 2000) and, recalling a past experience of exclusion, the life alone paradigm (Twenge, et al., 2001; for a complete review see Williams, 2007). Specifically, in the ball tossing game and cyberball (William & Jarvis, 2006), participants are asked to play a ball game with confederates (or virtual and ad hoc participants). Participants can throw the ball to the other players, but at a certain point they will not receive the ball anymore and they will be excluded by the others. Cyberball has been used in this project (see Study 5 in Chapter 5) to manipulate participants' experiences of social exclusion on the basis of ethnicity. In the other two paradigms to manipulate social exclusion, participants are asked to describe previous personal experiences of exclusion (recalling a part experience of exclusion), or will be given a prognosis that they will live a "life alone" based on some answers to a questionnaire.

To investigate the acculturation process and answer the research questions mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, this PhD project has been inspired by the examples of research reported above. It includes three main empirical parts: the first is the exploratory-pilot; the second investigates whether the inclusion of multiculturalism in the norms affects acculturation (macro-level); and the third examines whether experiences of social exclusion influence acculturation in multicultural contexts (micro-level). At the end of this chapter, the four focus groups are presented with the aim of providing a general overview on the acculturation process and the variables involved in it. The second empirical part (Chapter 4) is comprised of three experimental studies that use vignettes to manipulate the independent variables. The third empirical part (Chapter 5) adopts vignettes, cyberball, and videos to investigate the role of social exclusion as an antecedent of acculturation. The following section briefly reviews the structure of the quantitative studies of this thesis.

### **3.3.2 Participants**

As explained in the theoretical review of this thesis, in order to enhance the understanding of the acculturation process and its antecedents, it is essential to further investigate the perspective of the majority group as well as the point of view of the ethnic minorities involved. To achieve this goal, the quantitative studies of this project adopt both perspectives; members of both the majority and minority groups were recruited. The samples of the first three experimental studies on social norms (details in Chapter 4) are composed of White Italians (Study 1); White British and people from different ethnic minorities who live in the

UK (Study 2); and White British, Polish, and Asian people who live in the UK (Study 3). White British (Study 4), White British and Asians (Study 5), and White British and Southern Europeans in the UK (Study 6) formed the samples of the studies on social exclusion. In total, the six quantitative studies of this thesis have a sample of 650 participants.

### **3.3.3 Design**

Figure 3.1 at the beginning of this chapter shows the structure of this PhD, and how the different studies and methodologies aim to answer the research questions. With the exception of Studies 1 and 4, the studies presented in the following chapters have a 2(condition) x 2(ethnicity) design. All were conducted between subjects. In addition, participants were randomly assigned to one of the experimental conditions. Further details on the design are reported in the specific section pertaining to each study.

### **3.3.4 Procedure**

All of the experimental studies used a similar procedure. After reading the information sheet and signing the consent form, participants were asked to answer some demographic questions. They were randomly assigned to one of the experimental conditions, and then they completed scales that investigated the dependent variables and covariates. More details are given in the procedure sections of the following chapters.

### **3.3.5 Measures**

#### **3.3.5.1 Independent variables**

The main focus of this PhD is on the possible antecedents of acculturation. Therefore, the independent variables of the studies are the representation of multiculturalism in social norms, experiences of social exclusion, and group (minority or majority) membership. In the three studies of Chapter 4 (Studies 1, 2, and 3), the main independent variable is the endorsement of multiculturalism in the norms of the social context. In one condition it was presented as an enrichment for the country where acculturation takes place; in the other it was threatened as a threat for the nation and its population. This independent variable has been manipulated through the use of data from the Italian Census 2011 (Study 1), a fake research conducted by the BBC in collaboration with the Office for the National Statistics (Study 2), and a report about integration policies taken from the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX; Study 3; Kauff, Asbrock, Thörner & Wagner, 2013). Chapter 5 focuses on the

second main independent variable, which is social exclusion. This variable was manipulated in Study 4 through ad hoc vignettes, where a member of the Polish minority was excluded while identifying or not with the British culture. In Study 5, it was manipulated through an online ball-tossing game called *cyberball* (Williams, et al., 2000), and in Study 6 through a video (see also Zagefka, et al., 2012) in which a member of the ethnic minority, who in reality was a confederate, described his experience of social exclusion. The third important independent variable of this PhD is participants' ethnicity: whether participants are members of the majority or minority groups.

### **3.3.5.2 Dependent variables**

Regardless the specific structure of each experimental study, the main dependent variables are participants' attitudes toward the components of the acculturation process, namely cultural maintenance and contact/cultural adoption (Lopez-Rodriguez, et al., 2014; Zagefka & Brown, 2002; Zagefka, et al., 2012), the acculturation strategies (Bourhis, et al., 2009; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001; 2004), desire for intergroup contact on a personal level, and perception of an in-group's and outgroup's desire for intergroup contact. The main covariates are participants' existing experiences of intergroup contact (Stathi & Crisp, 2010; Voci & Hewstone, 2003), their social identification with their ethnic ingroup, with British culture in general, and with being multicultural. Further details on the scales included are presented in the relevant section of each study.

### **3.3.6 Additional methodological considerations**

There are some additional methodological issues relative to participants' recruitment and measures that must be considered for the quantitative part of this PhD project. One relates to the recruitment method of the studies: most participants were recruited online when they filled in an online questionnaire developed by Qualtrics. Another issue is the fact that only explicit measures and self-reports were used, increased the risk of social desirability. Nevertheless, scales used in previously published research have been adopted to measure variables such as participants' attitudes toward cultural maintenance and, cultural adoption (Brown & Zagefka, 2011), their preference for an acculturation strategy, their willingness to get in contact with the outgroup, their experiences of social exclusion and intergroup contact, their level of prejudice, their behaviours, and their level of social identification with relevant social groups. A further methodological issue to be specified is that, in this PhD, Berry's acculturation dimensions (1997) have been conceptualised as cultural maintenance and

cultural adoption, as suggested by Bourhis and colleagues (1997), and not as cultural maintenance and contact, as originally conceptualised. Participants' existing experience of intergroup contact (as criterion) and participants' desire for contact with the outgroup (as dependent variable) have also been measured (Brown & Zagefka, 2011).

### **3.4 Pilot work: focus groups.**

The pilot work of this PhD is composed of four focus groups. The focus group method can be considered a "discussion based-interview" that produces qualitative data from the interactions among the members of a group (Breakwell, et al., 2006, p. 276). Focus groups facilitate the investigation of social interactions, taking into account many different perspectives (Wilkinson, 2003). Krueger (1994) summarises the characteristics of a focus group in this way: "1) people, 2) assembled in a series of groups, 3) possess certain characteristics, and 4) provide data, 5) of a qualitative nature, 6) in a focused discussion" (p. 16). The adoption of focus group as method of research is commonly used and tested in different fields because of its established efficacy (Breakwell, et al., 2006; Merton & Kendall, 1946; Ragazzoni, Tangolo & Zotti, 2004; Wilkinson, 1998). Four main criteria make focus groups effective in investigating theme: a) *range*: the focus group must discuss as many relevant issues as possible; b) *specificity*: the focus group session must produce specific and focused data; c) *depth*: the focus group must explore people's thoughts in depth; and d) *personal context*: the focus group must emphasise participants' personal experiences (Mazzara, 2002; Merton, Fiske & Curtis, 1956). The following paragraphs briefly summarise the methodological choices of the focus groups conducted in this PhD.

The first methodological choice in conducting the focus group regards the moderator. This is an active member-researcher (Adler & Adler, 1994), since she/he facilitates the interactions among participants. The facilitator's style for the focus group of this thesis, fell in the middle of a continuum where on one side her role was very minimal, without interfering in the interactions and dynamics of the group, and on the other she was very active and directive (Mazzara, 2002; Morgan, 1988). According to the situation, she either asked specific questions, guiding participants toward specific aspects of the acculturation process, or remained silent, letting them freely interact with one another and follow the natural flow of the conversation.

While the focus groups in this PhD are only a supplementary research technique to the quantitative methods, they used the theories reviewed in the previous chapter as guidelines to investigate issues relevant to the acculturation process with the aim of increasing the understanding of complex topics such as multiculturalism and intergroup relations. The moderator carefully phrased the questions to be asked during the focus group sessions in order to investigate gaps or unclear points that emerged from the literature review. Open and semi-structured questions (Breakwell, et al., 2006; Merton & Kendall, 1946) were asked in the focus groups of this project with the aim of creating a context where participants could feel free to express their opinions and thoughts about the acculturation process. Moreover, based on when the questions were asked and what their purpose was, this project used *opening, introductory, transition, key* and *ending questions*, according to the classification suggested by Krueger (1994). Consequentially, the agenda of the four focus groups had a bottleneck structure, starting with more general questions on the topic until the formulation of more specific ones.

Another methodological issue that arises when planning a focus group relates to participants' characteristics: how many subjects should participate, if they should know each other before the session, and whether the group should be homogeneous or heterogeneous (Mazzara, 2002; Morgan, 1988; Wilkinson, 2003). Between six and eight participants were recruited for each focus group session. For some, fewer people actually participated. Moreover, since participants were students recruited through the University of Greenwich, they tended to know each other prior to the focus group, and they easily interacted with one another. Homogeneous focus groups were conducted using the majority or minority membership as criterion. Two focus groups were run with members of ethnic communities who live in the UK, divided also by gender, since this variable could affect the extent to which people feel free to express the issues connected to their personal acculturation process. The other two were conducted with members of the majority group in the UK: White British.

The last methodological consideration is about the analysis of the qualitative data produced by the focus groups. In this PhD, following the participants' given consent, the sessions were recorded to produce audio files in addition to the researcher's notes taken during and after the sessions. After the sessions, the audio files were transcribed for the analysis, and the researcher began familiarising herself with the complexity of the data. Among different techniques such as content and discursive analysis, interpretative phenomenological analysis

or those associated with the grounded theory, the researcher chose thematic analysis to investigate the contents of the focus groups of this research. Thematic analysis, a process of encoding qualitative data, is a technique adopted in psychology, sociology, anthropology, political sciences, and economics, among others (Boyatzis, 1998; Crabtree & Miller, 1992), thanks to its great flexibility (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

A theme is defined as a “pattern found in information that at minimum describes and organises the possible observations and at maximum interpret aspects of the phenomenon” (Boyatzis, 1998, p. 4). Themes correspond to an aspect that is relevant and essential for the research questions. To identify a theme, two approaches can be used (Braun & Clarke, 2006): the first is the *inductive* or *bottom up* approach (Frith & Gleeson, 2004), the second is the *theoretical* or *top down* approach (Boyatzis, 1998). In this project, a top down approach has been adopted, since the analysis of the qualitative data has been driven by the theories on the acculturation process and the other relevant variables. A theme can also be *semantic* or *manifest*, when it is clearly stated in the data, or *latent*, when it can be identified between the lines, beyond the semantic meaning of the words (Braun & Clarke, 2006). A code is a constituent element of a theme and, according to Boyatzis (1998), is defined as “the most basic segment or element of the raw data or information that can be assessed in a meaningful way regarding the phenomenon” (p. 63).

Always considering the idea that the analysis of qualitative data is a recursive process, in the thematic analysis of the four focus groups of this project, the six phases suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006) are followed. The first phase is becoming familiar with the data, through the transcription process and repeated reading (Lapadat & Lindsay, 1999; Riessman, 1993), while the second phase consists of the generation of initial codes (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Tuckett, 2005). Since this project is theory driven, the data is analysed in attempt to answer specific research questions. The third phase of the thematic analysis searches for patterns, trying to merge the different codes into broader themes (Patton, 1990). The fourth phase is the review of the themes, and the fifth is defining and naming them. The last stage is writing the report. Despite the strengths of a thematic analysis, it is a complex process; sometimes themes are not properly defined, or they overlap too much with each other. In addition, the themes may correspond to the research questions, but not to the theory or to the claims that are made (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

### **3.4.1 Introduction and aim of the focus groups**

The qualitative research of this PhD project aimed to investigate the main factors that influence the acculturation process. Four focus groups were conducted at the University of Greenwich. The aim of the focus groups was to understand and define some of the main topics that have been discussed in the literature about multiculturalism, and which constitute the principal variables under investigation in this PhD project. In order to reach this goal, a thematic analysis has been conducted on the contents of the four focus groups. Based on the literature around multiculturalism, acculturation, identity, intergroup contact, and social exclusion, the focus group discussion was designed to gather information from students about the following:

1. Understanding how people who moved to the UK many years ago, or who were born in the UK but came from a different ethnic background, define themselves in terms of nationality and ethnicity and discover the groups with which they identify most.
2. Assessing if and how intergroup contact occurs in the UK context, and how this affects acculturation
3. Understanding the role of social norms in affecting people's acculturation attitudes.
4. Assessing if participants have ever perceived social exclusion due to their ethnicity.

As mentioned in the previous section, the chosen approach takes into account not only the fact that the themes emerged from the data (Rubin & Rubin, 1995), but also the active role of the researcher in this process, as she actively selected and identified themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Fine, 2002). The criterion that has been adopted in this thematic analysis in order to identify a theme is if it describes something important in relation to the research questions (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This criterion suggests that the thematic analysis conducted for these focus groups was theory-driven, following a top-down approach (Boyatzis, 1998). Moreover, the themes have been identified on a latent and interpretative level (Boyatzis, 1998), going beyond semantic meanings in order to examine the ideas, concepts, ideologies, and theories that have shaped them. Both broad and narrower research questions have been used. The principle that guided the thematic analysis was to find repeated patterns of meanings across the entire dataset, using the six phases suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006).



With the aim presented above and following the described procedure, the four focus groups provide a pilot and exploratory overview of the main variables involved in the acculturation process and on the differences between majority and minority groups.

### **3.4.2 Method**

#### **3.4.2.1 Ethical Issues**

Through all the phases of the four focus groups, ethical issues have been taken into account. The projects received ethical approval from the University of Greenwich Research Ethics Committee, and complied with the British Psychology Society guidelines. Specifically:

- Anonymity and confidentiality of the data were guaranteed, since the data were transcribed in an anonymous way and the consent forms were kept locked in a separate location. Participants were also asked to respect the confidentiality of the research.
- Participants were informed about the purpose of the study from the beginning, and they were asked to sign a consent form where they agreed to take part in the study on voluntary basis and to be recorded.
- Participants were free to withdraw from the focus group at any point and without giving a reason, and were not required to answer questions or discuss a topic if they felt uncomfortable or distressed.
- At the end of the focus group participants were given a debrief form where the details of the University counselling service (in the event of distress caused by the focus group) were provided.

#### **3.4.2.2 Participants**

Participants were recruited through the University of Greenwich research participation system in exchange for research credits. All participants were first year students at the Department of Psychology, Social Work and Counselling at the University of Greenwich. The main recruiting criterion was participants' ethnicity specifically, their membership in the majority group (White British) or an ethnic minority group present in the UK. The total sample of the four focus groups was composed of 17 students; of these, 12 were female and five were male. Their age range was between 18 and 54 years old, but not every participant disclosed this information. Six people were White British, so members of the majority

group, and 11 had different ethnic backgrounds: ethnically, they were from Nigeria, Bangladesh, India, Jamaica, South Arabia and Egypt. Members of the minority group belonged to both first and second generation immigrants. Table 3.1 reports participants' gender and ethnicity.

*Table 3. 1 Participants of the focus groups.*

		<b>Ethnicity</b>		
		<i>Majority Group</i>	<i>Minority Group</i>	<i>Total</i>
<b>Gender</b>	<i>Female</i>	5	7	12
	<i>Male</i>	1	4	5
	<i>Total</i>	6	11	17

### **3.4.2.3 Procedure**

The focus groups took place in one of the laboratories of the Department, at specified time and date and each lasted one hour. After welcoming participants, the researcher read the information sheet and the consent form that was then signed. Participants were also informed that the focus group session would be recorded, and the researcher discussed the ethical issues summarised in the previous section. The session started with an icebreaker in which participants were asked to introduce themselves and give some information about their age, ethnic background, and place of birth or when they moved to the UK. Although the researcher's questions followed the flow of the focus group, she originally had a set of topics to cover were somewhat different for the majority and minority groups. The focus groups were conducted separately for the majority and minority groups. Their structure and the guidelines for the questions were almost the same, but adjusted and rephrased for the groups in analysis. The main points covered by the questions were personal information and identity processes, values, social relationships, social exclusion and institutional support. Appendix A reports the specific questions asked to the minority groups while Appendix B outlines those used for the majority group. During the transcription process, participants' names were omitted and substituted by numbers. The four focus groups have been combined in a single thematic analysis. The results of the thematic analysis are reported in the following section.

### 3.4.3 Results

From the thematic analysis of the four focus groups, common themes between majority and minority groups emerged. The main themes that emerged are shown below and elaborated upon in the subsequent sections. The same themes have been identified across majority and minority groups and the specific theme sections report the differences between the groups.

The themes are:

1. The process of defining themselves in terms of nationality, ethnicity and identity.
2. Experiences of intergroup contact in a multicultural context.
3. Preferences for acculturation strategies.
4. The role of social norms in shaping intergroup relations.
5. Awareness of possible segregation and exclusion.

#### **3.4.3.1 The process of defining themselves in terms of nationality, ethnicity and identity.**

The literature on multiple identities in multicultural contexts suggests how complex identity processes can be for those who belong to different cultural groups and must constantly redefine their identity (Haritatos & Benet-Martinez, 2002; Schwartz, Montgomery & Briones, 2006; Stathi & Roscini, 2016). This theme is organised into codes, such as identity, nationality, ethnicity, multiple labels, and social networks, all used by participants to define what identity means for them. For this first theme, significant and interesting differences emerged between the majority and minority groups.

In the case of members of ethnic minority groups in the UK, they immediately noted that identity is different from nationality, and independently introduced the concept of identity as connected to nationality and ethnicity issues:

P14(F,-): *“I would call myself as British because I was born here, but then like my ethnicity and my religion would be from India ... but I was born here and that is my nationality. Does it make sense?”*

They also stated that they had difficulty identifying with a specific group since this can be a way to isolate oneself:

P9 (M, 34): *“I do not actually say (that I belong) to any particular groups; if you do that, you isolate yourself, you shut down opportunities.”*

Members of the ethnic minority groups, both males and female, had particular difficulties defining themselves simply as British. They preferred to describe their identities by mentioning every culture they belonged to.

P13(F,19): *“I am British Asian, it is fine for me. I do not see a problem.”*

Many participants, indeed, favoured the use of labels that include both cultures they are part of, since this can be a way to remember who they are and to be recognised by the majority group. Participants emphasised how these double labels (for example, British Asian) help them maintain and demonstrate their identity.

P11(F,30): *“And also, you know when you put your nationality, British Asian and stuff like that, it says some cultures and some religions, people are different, are treated different, but not in a bad way, for example Muslim girls... things point what they are, and their needs of that person.”*

One of the participants' stories can be considered the emblem of multiculturalism. This participant noted that his identity could not be summarised using a single label based on his life experiences, and discussed how these have shaped his identity:

P7 (M, 45): *“If I think back, my dad is from the United States even though he is Nigerian, he went to the United States when he was 18. So, from 86 I have been in the States to 2004, when my dad was in the army when they relocated him to Germany. So, my first international contact, again when I introduce myself internationally which you still perceive when I talk, I say I am an American, you know apart from the origins in Nigeria and also I became German, I can speak and write in German. I have been living in Germany for eight years... When I speak German, I feel German, you know and now Britain for 14 years... Now it is Britain, so I have that culture in me and in America, we lived in New York and then we moved to Texas so that Hispanic things is also there, so when I see a Hispanic person I identify with them.”*

*That's my sister, my friend, my brother, so when it comes to the boundaries of cultures, limitation is not a good thing, you know, because we are all here today and we can be in Australia tomorrow, if we are restricted, you know how can we perceive ourselves into relationships, you know that if that question was asked to me, if I want to be one or the other, I say what, I am African, I am European and I am an American."*

Participants affirmed that their social network was structured to maintain a link with their ethnic culture in a different cultural context (the UK), and to reinforce the identification with their ethnic group. It appears that people's social network, as well as their group identification, is influenced by their area of residence. If they lived in segregated areas, they were even more willing to identify with their ethnic group, compared to those who lived in ethnically mixed areas. Greater London is very interesting from this point of view, since it contains segregated areas, such as East London, as well as mixed areas.

P13(F,19): *"I mean, you know for me because I have been lived in East London for like seven years now, the people that I have around are mainly Asians anyway, you do not really care about White people in the area where I live... Because I am around Asian I would feel more comfortable to identify myself as with Asian, and be around Asians as well, rather than others, but I am okay with other people. I think based on what I am used to I am comfortable with Asian people."*

It emerged that the social context in which the participants lived strongly affected their identification with specific social groups, as well as their intergroup attitudes. Minority groups, for example, seemed to identify with one of the groups they belonged according to the context. Especially those who were born in the UK and fused double labels in their self-definition were especially likely to switch between them based on the situation. This process confirms research (see Acculturation Extended Model; Navas et al., 2005) that suggests taking into consideration the role of context, and of how people culturally change as a function of a private (e.g. at home) or public (e.g. school) situations.

P13(F,19): *"I kind of separate my ethnic from British... 'cause where I am around my family... I am more focused on my ethnicity, and like I am more Asian around them."*

When members of the majority group in the UK (White British), were asked to define the concept of identity, different reactions were observed. British identity was linked to certain traditions, being born in the UK, the adoption of the British culture, the food, and the loss of the “English” identity. In all cases, however, the concept of identity seemed to be shaped by different personal experiences. A White British participant, for example, expressed her opinion about the concept of identity in a way that was very similar to the members of the minority groups. The reason for this can be found in the events of her life:

P5 (F,-): *“I am not sure if I feel that I particularly belong to any group. I have been moving around a lot in my life, lived in a number of very different and contrasting countries, in cultures including Hong Kong in Asia... Hmm, obviously, I would say with being White, because I am White, and maybe very traditional, because this is the way I have been grown up. But I feel attached to a number of groups and it more depends on people and individuals.”*

As explained above, many White British linked the concept of identity to:

a) Traditions:

P1 (F, 26): *“Hmm it is just, it is not about colour, it is just about traditions.”*

b) Being born in the UK and adoption of the British culture:

P1 (F, 26): *“Hmm, the first thing I was thinking was being born in Britain, but then, again, there are some cultures that really adopt the all British kind of... Hmm, they are more British than us sometimes. Some cultures come over here and they love British, they just adopt it more than people who live here or were born here sometimes, depending on the cultures.”*

c) Food:

P3 (F, 24): *“It’s the tea!”*

P1 (F, 26): *“I do love food, and it represents culture, culture it’s food.”*

d) Being English:

P2 (F, 50): *“See, it is different for me... because when I grew up, hmm, I was grown as English, if somebody asked me which nationality are you, I said English. On the application form, on the passport, whatever you were doing, you declare yourself as*

*English, so to me British, this merges with Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, to me what British was, it was a collection of those countries, working together as one, but you still capture the English identity, and in some ways, you know, obviously you got the Welsh with their own identities, with Scottish language and Irish and English have... You have these four countries which now are together, but they all have their own identities.”*

Context appears to be fundamental in the way it shapes the majority group’s attitudes toward multiculturalism in general. For example, one of the older White British participants frequently mentioned that the context where she grew up was different nowadays and that it influenced her attitudes.

P5 (F, -) *“I imagine it must depend on where you live. Because there are communities within the UK where there are very old fashion English values and presumably they still exist, but spreading them out in such a small country it changes it.”*

It can be deduced, then, that members of the majority and minority groups have different attitudes around the concept of identity. While those with an ethnic background preferred to adopt a more inclusive identity or considered people simply as individuals, regardless of their origins, people from the majority group, instead, described identity in a more symbolic way. In addition, some members of the majority group did not completely embrace multiculturalism, and considered it a threat for the British identity with relative intergroup tension. Different participants, from both the majority and minority groups, suggested that in a multicultural society is important to find a link that connects everyone despite their origins:

P7(M,45): *“[Identity is] a final common ground that bonds us, so identity is quite an ambiguously and a really good thing. It is how you feel, how you want to be accepted.”*

P1 (F,26): *“Living in London it is quite difficult, I think to have a full identity, there is so much multiculturalism in any way in London. You kind of melt all together as a group.”*

P6(M,-): *“Regards the other cultures, I think we are going to find a common ground with any other group if we look in the right direction.”*

### **3.4.3.2 Experiences of intergroup contact in multicultural context**

Another theme that emerged from the thematic analysis of the focus groups was experiences of intergroup contact. This theme was present in most of the participants' statements since intergroup contact is the base of intergroup interaction, and is the condition *sine qua non* the acculturation process can occur. Members of both the majority and minority groups, indeed, affirmed that they constantly experienced intergroup contact especially in a multicultural context such as London.

Specifically, one minority group member stated that in the area she came from, different ethnic groups have the chance to interact and "mix".

P15(F,21): *"Where I came from there is a lot of mix, you know, Indians, Pakistanis, Black, White, actually quite mix and to be honest I do not actually have Somalian friends and most of my friends are just mixed we are all... Some of them have parents that are actually from different places as well. For me, I would say everything is mixed."*

Within the majority, intergroup contact can be considered a positive or negative experience.

For example, some members noted that being with another ethnic group is positive, and often allows for the creation of a single group of friends where communalities are more important than differences.

P3 (F,24): *"I have always been that way, I love being with different friends, Asian friends, we go out as a group and I think that we are all different, but I like that, and that makes me happy."*

P3 (F,24): *"I feel it is weird, because you guys are talking about people who come over here, but when you talk about ethnic minorities I kind of think about my friends, but I think of them as British even if they can be classified as ethnic minorities... I guess when you say ethnic minorities I know they have a different culture possibly, but they carry quite a lot the same values and the same things like me."*

Other members of the majority group did not view intergroup contact as a positive experience, especially when comparing London with the rest of the UK, and questioned the benefits of multiculturalism.



P2 (F,50): *“I mean it is only 45% of White British in London now and it really does irritate me when I am on the bus and you got someone yelling, with different names... Oh, just stop... but other than that, you know I love to go somewhere where it looks like England, you know, maybe a little village with ducks, I do not know, really.”*

P5 (F, -): *“London seems more multicultural than before.”*

P1 (F, 26): *“I think it shows that Britain as a whole, I think we are welcoming and maybe we are becoming too welcoming, in the sense that we may not have enough room for everyone.”*

### **3.4.3.3 Preferences for acculturation strategies**

From the thematic analyses of the focus groups, the acculturation strategies identified by classic theory (Bourhis et al., 1997) immediately emerged when the groups discussed how different cultures live (or should live) together. When members of the minority groups believed that there had been a major improvement in the UK in its acceptance of other cultures, they suggested that other improvements could be made, especially from an institutional and governmental perspective.

P10 (M,19): *“But even in the British culture there was a progress, they are trying to change that [rejection of the other culture], and I do not think they see it as they are trying to impose to other cultures.”*

P7(M,45): *“It is a general imposition. It is not like they separate the society, the legislation are made in that way. They do not say, ‘Okay’, we have that minority and they put them in that area, they do not talk to each other.”*

P7(M,45): *“What Italy is doing happened here long time ago, when they accepted you as British but they still considered you as migrant, so you need to take certain aspects to become British or Italian.”*

Participants from the majority group differentiated the acculturation strategies to adopt as a function of the ethnic minorities. When asked to identify the ethnic groups that can be considered socially relevant in the UK, they had a well-defined idea of the acculturation strategies these groups adopt. It is interesting to note that, although participants were not

aware of the literature on acculturation strategies, they pointed to the acculturation strategies suggested by the main theoretical models.

P1 (F,26): *“I personally think about different Black cultures like Jamaicans, Africans, etc. They are one of those cultures who have been around in Britain the longest apart from Indians and Pakistani descends, they have been around quite a while, I think they have been integrated slightly more, hmm, even neighbourly. I think if you have a Black person at your side you probably talk to them more than let’s say to a Muslim person at your side.”*

P4 (F,31): *“I think also the Indian Sikh, the religion group. They give their children English name so they can integrate more in the society, hmm, also they work hard, they are like doctors and you know.”*

P2 (F,50): *“I think the Jewish people have done really well, when I was tax manager, 95% were my clients were Jewish and their partners were Jewish and listening to their stories they are just totally integrated in the society in the space of one generation it was totally integration...”*

Example of integration:

P2 (F,50): *“I think a lot of Europeans and people who come over are really keen to integrate. I think a lot of them have a quite good English and they are always keen to prove it... You know, I think in a way you have got people who come here and are integrated, I think there is one thing actually and it’s employment and I think that helps, really it sort of helps to integrate people in the society.”*

Example of separation:

P1 (F,26): *“But with integration, I do not agree that most cultures who come here are fully integrated, I think they are isolated in their own section of Britain, and, hmm, East London is predominantly I would say Asian and there is China Town... And I do not know where the other areas are. I know that there is a Jewish area in London, and I do not know if it is the government, the housing put them in an area where they feel like, more, hmm, less isolated... So I do not know if it is a positive thing that they are in their own area or not.”*

Example of assimilation:

P1(F,26): *“It should be made very clear to them what the British culture is, what are and not necessarily say you have to change, but this is the choice you have, this is what we do, you can maintain your values and your culture as long as it does not hurt yourself and others in your culture and have certain rules like again, like women and men are treated equally in England or Britain and when they come here they will be British citizens, so this is one of the role sort of things, a positive role not.”*

P2 (F,50): *“I think people have to take responsibility for themselves and I think if you are going to come to another country whether is Australia, or, something from wherever to come here, you need to have a smile on your face and you have to do it, you have a lot of enthusiasm and need to be willing and hoping to really you know to give it a go, and it has to come from them, we, there is nothing we can do to change their behaviours at the point where they arrive, we cannot make them more willing to learn this and that, it is going to be within them, they are going to come and they are going to.”*

One participant, for example, identified individualism as a possible method of improving intergroup relations:

P5(F,-): *“I would say education in school, the more children grow up together, the less they will see the differences and they will see each other as individual.”*

#### **3.4.3.4 Role of social norms in shaping intergroup relations**

The role of norms in intergroup relations (and, consequentially, in acculturation) is an interesting theme for this PhD project, and was spontaneously raised by participants during the focus groups. Participants from both the majority and minority groups emphasised that media create social norms that can affect people’s interactions in a multicultural context:

P1(F, 26): *“Like I said, it is about media. I think, they are discriminated even before we get an opinion, our opinions are shaped and formed by not just the media, but like we get feed of information from different people, different things. That’s what shapes our ideas.”*

P1 (F,26): *“I still think the media play a big role in how people not necessarily do not like that culture, I think they are scared to talk to one to another, I think because of the preconception over here, the negative think constantly. I do not think it is all negative, you know, but this thing, it is seen in this way sometimes.”*

One member of the majority group affirmed that social media constructs the phenomenon of being excluded for ethnic reason as reality:

P6 (M,-): *“In my experience, they [experiences of exclusion] are only in television, for some reason they have all this negative representation of England. I have seen it, they psychologically reinforce this, while in the public community I have seen by myself, people change their ideas, and talk about different ways of coming together.”*

In addition, participants stated that not only media, but also politicians somehow create norms on multiculturalism. For example, as a member of the majority group stated:

P2 (F,50): *“When I was growing up it was very much English culture, and it became, somewhere down the line, it was the politicians they blew the boundaries, and there were certain points when you have to be British, it was supposed to embrace all those things, multiculturalism and cosmopolitans, especially if you lived in London.”*

### **3.4.3.5 Awareness of possible segregation and exclusion**

When the topics of segregation and social exclusion were discussed there were discordant opinions. Some of the participants from the minority groups stated that White British sometimes exclude them, while others said that this was not the case. The role of context was again highlighted, since the perception of being excluded appeared to relate to where people lived (for example, in a more or less segregated area of London), and to people’s internal disposition, that is, how people perceive what others say to them. Above all, it seems that people from the minority groups are all aware of being possible targets of social exclusion. Minority members stated that they tried to avoid situations where they might be “victims” of exclusion, or, if they cannot (for example, when they are travelling), they justified them.

P12 (F,-): *“I think there is a closure... I think there is. I think, hmm, maybe there is, because hmm. When you say hello to your neighbour, that’s about it.”*

P13 (F,19): *“I think it depends on where you live, because, as I said, I live in East London, and I am used to being with Asian, but when I was younger I did have different types of friends as well. So if you live in an area where is populated by specific ethnicity, then, yeah, you will be just around those kind of people, but if you are with the mixed different people it is different then, because you start learning other people’s cultures and stuff.”*

P13 (F, 19): *“For me, I have never had like any kind of discrimination toward me... But I think, I have always been kind of aware of that kind of stuff. In the sense that when I am in certain areas, like Essex for example. I have been told not to go outside, not to be around at night time, not to be around certain areas, because there has been like, you people have spoken about racism in that specific areas so like... I have been aware but I have never personally experienced it.”*

This attitude can lead to a justification of the system, even if this is not completely fair toward its citizens.

P14 (F,-): *“My dad he was Taliban, so kind of, it just means that we have to go through a bit more security, when we go to the airport, just because of what happened, but there is nothing wrong with it because we understand they have to do their job, so it is not a problem, it just means that we have to spend a little bit more time in cues.”*

The majority of participants said that feeling excluded was mainly a question of personal perception. According to these subjects, the same attitudes or behaviours may or may not be perceived as discriminatory.

P13 (F, 19): *“I think it depends on the way you like to take what people say as well ‘cause some people would take some words or some stuff that people say like offensive whereas others they just say ok, they do not mean it that way so it depends on how you kind of perceive the stuff that you hear”.*

P13 (F, 19): *“I know that some people get offended for that kind of stuff, but if you look at it in a certain way, you kind of understand why they do it.”*

P9 (M, 34): *“I am going to say something, perception, that’s the thing, perception. It is what we experience.”*

#### **3.4.4 Discussion**

As it emerged from the thematic analysis, participants raised some key themes on multiculturalism, acculturation, and identity. As pilot research, the focus groups allowed an initial overview of identity processes during acculturation, as well as the main variables involved in its dynamics. Overall, participants were interested in the topic. After the first 10 minutes, they started interacting with each other, sometimes interrupting one another. During the interactions, when participants agreed on a particular point, they supported each other with additional examples. In the case of disagreement, they attempted to explain their points of view. The researcher was necessary to introduce some of the topics, and to ask for more detail about the participants’ responses.

The thematic analysis identified five different themes linked to identity, intergroup contact, acculturation strategies, social norms and risk of social exclusion. The thematic analysis conducted on these four focus groups shows the potential of adopting qualitative methods when investigating complex topics like the acculturation process, despite some criticism on the validity and generalisability of this methodology. As already mentioned, the four focus groups included members of both majority and minority groups who lived in the UK. Despite some differences in the perception of some issues, like identity, for example the identified themes were similar.

This qualitative part of the PhD project confirmed the need to further investigate the differences between majority and minority groups, their attitudes toward specific acculturation strategies, the role of norms in shaping their behaviours, and how identity, contact and social exclusion are linked to the acculturation process. The minority groups defined identity (theme 1) as shaped by the different cultures they belonged to (i.e. British and ethnic culture), and suggested that people should be considered more as single individuals than as members of a specific ethnic group. By contrast, White British participants talked about what it means to be British and English, and expressed their fear of

losing Britishness as a consequence of multiculturalism. Regarding intergroup contact (theme 2), both majority and minority members talked about their positive and negative experiences, and stated that it was impossible to not have contact in a multicultural context such as the UK. In the case of acculturation strategies (theme 3), minority members stated their opinion that there is not a real integration in the UK, but, separation. The majority group members, on the other hand described their perception of the acculturation strategies adopted by the minority, sometimes conflating integration with assimilation. Both majority and minority groups noted that their attitudes, behaviours, and perceptions in multicultural contexts are shaped by social norms deriving from media and politicians (theme 4), and that being socially excluded and discriminated is a possibility for the minority groups (theme 5).

As the main aim of this PhD project is to investigate the antecedents of the acculturation process, i.e. the role of norms (macro-level) and experiences of social exclusion (micro-level), in a multicultural society such as the United Kingdom, the focus groups were conducted to qualitative explore some differences between majority and minority groups and the possible links among variables that were identified in the literature as outcomes, antecedents and moderators of the acculturation process. In addition, the results of the focus groups facilitated the planning and interpretation of the experimental studies.

### **3.5 Chapter summary**

The purpose of this chapter was to provide the rationale for the methodology employed and to present the design of the thesis and its relation to the research questions. Common features across studies were also provided. Specific study information is presented in the chapters where study findings are reported. Different methods adopted are justified and pilot work that informed decision making in respect dependent and independent variables is summarised. Where relevant, findings from these focus groups are also included in the chapters reporting the six studies.

Based on the literature (Chapter 2) and on the result of this pilot work, the focus of the experimental studies of the following chapters is on two specific antecedents of the acculturation process. The first, which offers an analysis of the acculturation process on a macro-level, is the role of social norms (Bourhis, Barrette, El-Geledi & Schmidt, 2009) in affecting people's attitudes in the acculturation process. The statements of those who took part in the focus groups strongly support this need. In addition, research investigated how the

support for multiculturalism varies among the target groups (Arends-Toth, & Van de Vijver, 2003; Verkuyten & Brug, 2004), can have different effects based on the policy of the country (Guimond et al., 2013), as well as how ingroup norms affect people's attitudes (Boyanowsky & Allen, 1973; Van Knippenberg & Wilke, 1992) and support for multiculturalism (Breugelmans & Van de Vijver, 2004). With this aim, Chapter 4 includes three experimental studies where the social norms on multiculturalism are manipulated to see if they influence people's attitudes in acculturation.

The second variable that is tested as a possible antecedent of the acculturation process and which allows its analysis on a micro-level is participants' experiences of social exclusion and discrimination. The results of the focus groups suggest that discrimination, and social exclusion generally, is a reality in a multicultural society such as the UK. The literature on discrimination (Brown, 2000; Williams, 2007) and general social exclusion (Guang, 2005; Sales & Gregory, 1996; Van Acker & Vandeselaere, 2011; Zetter & Pearl, 2000) comprises the theoretical background of this analysis. For these reasons, the three studies of Chapter 5 manipulate participants' experiences of social exclusion and assess if they affect people's acculturation attitudes.

The pilot studies of this chapter also highlight the key role of two other variables in the acculturation process: social identity and previous experiences of intergroup contact. In the case of social identity, the focus groups show not only the complexity of this concept, but also how its definition and perception can vary as a consequence of experiencing the acculturation process (Zane, & Mak, 2003). Three different types of social identities will be tested: with the ethnic ingroup (Schwartz, Zamboanga & Hernandez, 2007), with a common superordinate identity, or being British (Bastian, 2012; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000), and with a multiple identity, or being multicultural (Phinney & Alipuria, 2006). The literature on the importance of social identity is vast (Benet-Martinez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002; Gaertner, & Dovidio, 2000; Haritatos & Benet-Martinez, 2002; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and supports using the concept of social identity as a key moderator of the acculturation process in the experimental studies of the following chapters.

The second variable that constitutes a key covariate of the acculturation process across all the experimental studies of this PhD project is having had previous experiences of positive intergroup contact. The results of the focus group suggested that having experiences of



intergroup contact can change people's attitudes toward the ethnic outgroup. These results are strongly supported by the literature on the power of intergroup contact (Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). For this reason, having experiences of positive intergroup contact have been used in the experimental studies as possible moderators.

The findings of the focus groups suggested that the characteristics of the groups in focus should be considered. From the focus groups, for example, it appeared that, despite some commonalities, members of different ethnic groups have different experiences in the acculturation process. Also, members of the majority group, had a different perception of the extent to which different ethnic groups are integrated or not in the society based on their origins, traditions and other characteristics. This result is clearly supported by the literature on the acculturation process (Berry & Sam, 1997; Schwartz, Montgomery & Briones, 2006) and used to plan the structure of the experimental studies. In all the experimental studies of both Chapters 4 and 5, different ethnic groups have been considered based on their demographic presence, history and present influence in the United Kingdom. For example, Asians, an established community in the UK, as well as Poles and Southern Europeans, have been included in the experimental studies of this project based not only on the current demographic data of the UK population, but also on the different social and political relations that these ethnic groups have with White British people.

## CHAPTER 4

### SOCIAL NORMS ON MULTICULTURALISM AND ACCULTURATION.

#### 4.1 Chapter overview

Based on the exploratory research conducted via the focus groups (Chapter 3) as well as the literature on acculturation (Chapter 2), the three experimental studies of the present chapter broadly aim to investigate the relationship between the inclusion of multiculturalism in the group norms of the country where the acculturation takes place, whether it is considered an enrichment or as a threat to the country, and people's acculturation attitudes. As shown in Figure 4.1, one of the main research questions of this chapter regards assessing the differences between how majority and minority groups experience acculturation. The experimental studies of this chapter<sup>9</sup> aim to examine if social norms on multiculturalism affect people's acculturation attitudes, thus the role of what is considered in this PhD project one of the potential antecedents of the acculturation process. In addition, experiences of intergroup contact and the endorsement of a specific social identity (i.e. ingroup, British, or multicultural) are tested as variables that can influence or even moderate acculturation.

Three experimental studies test if manipulating the favourable or unfavourable endorsement of multiculturalism by the ingroup norms, will affect people's acculturation. Study 1 starts the investigation analysing the majority group's attitudes, i.e. preference for cultural maintenance and adoption. Study 2 extends this investigation considering the perspectives of majority and minority groups in general (Bourhis et al., 1997; Piontkowski et al., 2002), in addition to including the five acculturation strategies proposed by the Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001; literature review for further details on this model). Studies 3.a and 3.b test the acculturation process with a consideration of the majority group and specific minorities (Asians for Study 3.a and Poles for Study 3.b). Different sources are adopted to create the experimental manipulation of multiculturalism as enrichment or threat for the country. Study 1 uses data from the Census 2011; Study 2 summarises an -alleged- study conducted by the BBC in collaboration with the Office for National Statistics; and Studies 3.a and 3.b use a report from the Migrant Integration Policy

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<sup>9</sup> Please note that Study 1 and Study 2 of this chapter are part of a paper in preparation on the role of social norms on multiculturalism in affecting people's acculturation attitudes.

Index. Before the presentation of the three studies included in this chapter, however, it is necessary to discuss few issues regarding the acculturation process in general, the characteristics of the people involved in it, the nature of multiculturalism, and its inclusion in the group norms, as well as additional variables implicated in this process, such as intergroup contact and social identity.

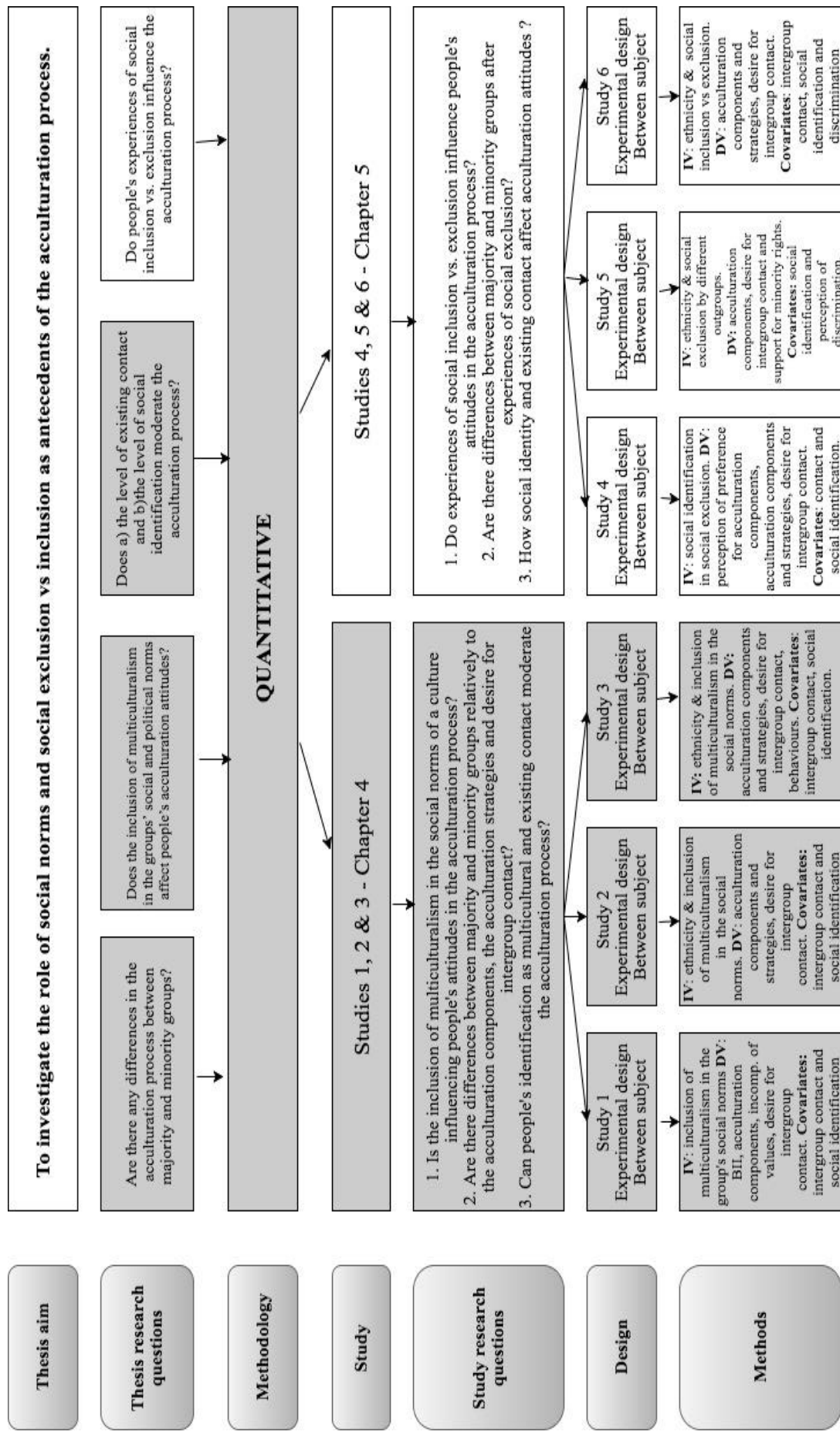


Figure 4. 1 Chapter map on how the studies on social norms meet the research questions.

## 4.2 Introduction

The research on acculturation and the factors involved in it is noteworthy, especially within the framework of social psychology. Initially, the focus was mainly on the acculturation process as experienced by members of ethnic minorities. As explained in detail in the literature review (Chapter 2), Berry (1980) identified two dimensions of the acculturation process and four acculturation strategies that can be used by members of ethnic groups in order to deal with the cultural challenges they experience. The two dimensions that have been identified as relevant for the choice of acculturation strategy are: a) people's desire to maintain their own culture, and b) their desire to have contact with the culture of the majority group. This second dimension, however, has been more recently replaced by the term "cultural adoption" (Bourhis et al., 1997), which measures people's desire to adopt the culture of the country in which they live. These two key components and the chosen acculturation strategies are the main outcomes explored in the studies of this chapter.

Berry's model and the studies based on it had one significant limitation: they have focused on the acculturation process as only members of ethnic minorities experienced it. As it has been clearly highlighted by Bourhis and colleagues (1997), as well as by Zagefka and Brown (2002), it is of critical importance to also consider the perspective of the majority group in order to have a complete understanding of the acculturation dynamics. The majority group can strongly impact the outcomes of acculturation. For example, a study conducted by Zagefka et al. (2007) tested majority members' negative attitudes (if the minority groups exploit social services and threaten social security, for example) toward ethnic minorities in Belgium and in Turkey, and showed an indirect effect of economic competition and preference for contact (as acculturation dimension) on the majority group's acculturation preference, mediated by negative attitudes. These findings have practical and political implications for globalisation, demographic changes and cross-cultural interactions. Based on this consideration, in the first study of this project only the majority groups' attitudes toward ethnic minorities have been examined. In Study 2 and Study 3, the perspectives of both the majority and minority groups have been considered (Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998). Furthermore, it is important to note that despite initial evidence by Zagefka and colleagues (2012) on majority group's attitudes toward cultural maintenance and cultural adoption, and the majority's preference for the acculturation strategies in the UK context, there is still a need to delve deeper into the role of the majority culture and the context where the

acculturation takes place. For this reason, the studies of this chapter always include the majority groups and were conducted not only in the UK, but also in a new multicultural context: Italy.

One important factor to consider in the analysis of the acculturation process is the context in which acculturation takes place. Countries such as the UK are considered multicultural, since they are marked by ethnic and cultural pluralism (Verkuyten & Brug, 2004): the maintenance of different cultural identities within the same society (Fowers & Richardson, 1996). According to Van de Vijver, Breugelmans, and Schalk-Soekar (2008), multiculturalism refers to three main features: as a demographic, to the poly-ethnic composition of the society; as a policy, to the support of cultural diversity; and as an attitude, to the personal support of a culturally heterogeneous composition of the population. Multiculturalism can also be seen as a value system that recognises behavioural differences with the need to be formalised and supported by public policies (Dolce, 1973). More broadly, Berry and Kalin (1995) suggested that groups support multiculturalism more if they perceive that it is advantageous for themselves. Experimentally manipulating multiculturalism, the studies of this chapter consider it both a demographic feature (see Study 1), as a personal attitude in support of diversity (see Study 2), as well as a policy (Studies 3.a and 3.b).

In addition, majority and minority groups can differently experience acculturation and multiculturalism. The majority group, for example, may prefer that minorities adopt the dominant culture (Arends-Toth & Van de Vijver, 2003), while the minority may strongly support the recognition of cultural diversity (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002). Research has shown that, in general, ethnic minority groups endorse multiculturalism more than the majority (Arends-Toth & Van de Vijver, 2003; Verkuyten & Brug, 2004). In an experimental study, Verkuyten (2005) made multicultural vs. assimilation ideology salient in different conditions. The results on group evaluation were similar for the groups in analysis: the majority group indicated less positive outgroup evaluation in the assimilation condition compared to the multicultural condition, while the minority showed more positive ingroup evaluation in the multicultural condition compared to the assimilation condition. These results indicate that multiculturalism is mainly related to the evaluation of the ethnic minorities; this idea has been supported by further research (Pfafferott & Brown, 2006). Similarly, a study by Tip and colleagues (2012) demonstrated that members of the majority group expressed support for multiculturalism if they did not feel threatened by minority groups (i.e. if they perceived

members of the minority groups as less willing to maintain their ethnic culture), and if they perceived the ethnic groups as willing to adopt the majority's culture.

However, the majority group's support for multiculturalism is unclear, as demonstrated by Ginges and Cairns (2000). The authors suggested that the majority group considers multiculturalism both as a way to enrich the country and a threat to the status quo (the unity and the stability of the nation). Based on this, it is worth testing a key question: if people perceive multiculturalism as supported by their ingroup, endorsed by the ingroup norms, will they have more positive attitudes toward the minority groups? Given the role of ingroup norms in affecting people's attitudes (Allport, 1954; 1958; Boyanowsky & Allen, 1973; Van Knippenberg & Wilke, 1992), norms can provide a framework for understanding of the acculturation process.

#### **4.2.1 Role of norms in the acculturation process**

According to Hogg and Reid (2006), "norms are shared patterns of thought, feeling and behaviour, and in groups, what people do and say communicates information about norms and is itself configured by norms and by normative concerns" (p.8). Norms can, indeed, influence people's attitudes more than personal beliefs (Kuran, 1995; Miller et al., 2000; Stangor, Sechrist & Jost, 2001), affect their behaviours (Asch, 1958; Sherif, 1936) and affect prejudice and conflict (Crandall & Stangor, 2005), through social influence. In a study by Breugelmans and Van de Vijver (2004), ingroup norms about which behaviours are considered appropriate in the society correlated with support for multiculturalism. The authors found that Dutch people, the majority group, preferred that the minority groups assimilate instead of integrate in the society. The results showed that, despite that the majority accepted cultural plurality and favoured equal opportunities for all groups, Dutch people did not view multiculturalism as favourable for Dutch society as a whole. Following this, the aim of this chapter is to explore whether perceiving the context and culture of a society as supportive to the acculturation process and multiculturalism can affect people's attitudes toward ethnic outgroups. In other words, it is important to investigate if the way multiculturalism is represented (Moodod, 2013), as positively endorsed or not by the ingroup norms, can influence acculturation and intergroup relations in a culturally diverse context.

With the aim of manipulating the representation of multiculturalism as part of the norms of the country in which the acculturation process takes place, this project varies the source of the

norms. The experimental manipulation was not a prime, but an activation of the social norms and its deriving social influence on the topic of multiculturalism. This key distinction derives from the fact that the source of the social norms was mentioned, thus across the study participants participants' identification with the reference group could vary and consequentially the deriving effects based on social influence. In line with the Yale attitude change approach (Hovland, Janis & Kelley, 1953) in persuasive communication and attitude change, the three studies of this chapter stress the importance of the source of the message. Hovland and colleagues (1953) identified three components of persuasive communication: the source of the message (or the communicator), the message (or communication), and the audience. Although research on human rights from a legal perspective links acculturation to persuasive communication (Bates, 2014; Goodman & Jinks, 2004), in this project, only the source of the message that depicts multiculturalism as positive or negative for the country has been manipulated. In Study 1, the communicator was not mentioned. In Study 2, it was a recognised and official source of communication, i.e. the BBC and the Office for National Statistics. In Study 3, it was institutional, i.e. the MIPEX report on public policies. The manipulation of the source of the message across the three studies of this chapter allows a better understanding of the effects of social influence and social norms on multiculturalism based on the social categorisation and the referent information influence theory (Turner, 1991). Research on social norms and social influence based on this approach indicated that the effectiveness of these norms vary based on the extent to which people identify with the reference group (Postmes, et al., 2009; White, et al., 2009; Terry & Hogg, 1996), that in the case of this project could be the source of the message.

#### **4.2.2 Intergroup contact, identity and acculturation.**

Due to the complexity of the acculturation process, additional variables of intergroup relations need to be taken into account. For example, Brown and Zagefka (2011) highlighted the contribution of a fundamental variable for intergroup relations: intergroup contact (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998; Wright et al., 1997). Since intergroup contact, both direct and extended, is considered a powerful way to reduce prejudice and improve relations among different groups (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000; 2008) and is implicated in the generation of new social norms that support intergroup tolerance (Turner, et al., 2008), research has shown that it might relate to the acculturation process. Direct contact was found to be a good predictor of the "desire for contact" acculturation dimension (Binder et al., 2009). Extended contact



(Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997) or knowing that a member of the ingroup has outgroup friends, relates to the majority group's acculturation preference and ingroup norms (Gonzalez, Sirlopu, & Kessler, 2010). The authors found that extended contact influenced perceived ingroup norms that facilitate intergroup contact. Subsequently, those ingroup norms enhanced the desire for contact and cultural maintenance, and, consequentially, reduced intergroup prejudice. Furthermore, Verkuyten and Martinovic (2006) suggested that the more outgroup friends one has, the higher the endorsement of multiculturalism. In line with the above, the role of contact will be investigated in this project. The interaction between quantity and quality of intergroup contact, that is positive contact (Stathi & Crisp, 2010), will be considered as a covariate and potential moderator of acculturation attitudes, while people's desire for future intergroup contact on personal and group levels will be considered one of the dependent variables. Depending on how positive and frequent past and intergroup contact is, people's acculturation attitudes and their desire for future intergroup contact would change.

The literature review in Chapter 2 highlighted the importance of people's identity in the acculturation process (Stathi & Roscini, 2016); specifically, it explored the link between identity and multiculturalism. This link between multiculturalism and social identity is strong: the endorsement of multiculturalism is a collective way to contrast negative group identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Verkuyten and Brug (2004) demonstrated that in the case of minority groups, ingroup identification is positively associated with the endorsement of multiculturalism, while the opposite is true for members of the majority group. The members of the majority group usually focus on the threatening and negative features of multiculturalism (Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998), and the higher identifiers especially try to protect their ingroup's interests and status (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002). It has also been suggested that minority groups can have a strong ingroup identification instead of a dual identity in a context where multiculturalism is not supported (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). In line with this, it has also been suggested that lower identifiers with the ingroup prefer individualism as an acculturation strategy. This is negatively related to the endorsement of multiculturalism (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006). Based on this consideration, the experimental studies of this project test three different kinds of social identification: identification with the ethnic ingroup (Study 3) identification with the national ingroup, (being Italian in Study 1 and British in Studies 2, and 3); and identification with being

multicultural (Study 1, 2 and 3). All the three types of tested social identity derive from different theoretical models. Specifically, identification with the ingroup is the extent to which participants identify with their ethnic group (Schwartz, et al., 2007). Identification as British (or Italian), instead, refers to a superordinate identity, i.e. national, which includes different ethnic groups on a superordinate level (Common Ingroup Identity Model, CIIM; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). The third, identification as multicultural, is a multiple identity that allows people to identify with different groups at the same time (Phinney & Alipuria, 2006).

There is also another line of research that investigates social identification in the context of acculturation. Research has focused on the identity integration of bicultural people (Haritatos & Benet-Marintez, 2002) investigating how people who define themselves as multicultural perceive the cultures they belong to as compatible or in opposition to each other (Cheng et al., 2006). Moore and Barker (2012) even defined people who have unique and multicultural identities that integrate the different aspects of the ethnic and mainstream culture as third culture individuals. Most of the studies on this topic have investigated the cognitive aspects of being part of different cultures (Benet-Martinez, Lee & Leu, 2006; Crisp & Turner, 2011; Ross, et al., 2002) as well as the personality traits and other antecedents that predict the integration of the multiple identities (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005; Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2007) and the outcomes of the integration (Chen, Benet-Martínez, Wu, Lam, & Bond., 2013). However, if and how majority members perceive the identities of the minority groups as integrated or conflicting has not been examined. For this reason, in this research the Bicultural Identity Integration (BII) scale has been adapted to measure how members of the majority group *perceive* members of minority groups' identities as compatible or in opposition to each other (Study 1).

## **4.3 Study 1**

### **4.3.1 Aims and Hypotheses**

The aim of the present study is to investigate if social norms on multiculturalism affect people's acculturation attitudes in Italy. After a brief overview of the Italian context, the following sections present the study.

Italy can be considered a relative new and interesting multicultural context due to the continuous demographic changes of its population. This country is often the first landing place in Europe for migrants, generally from North Africa, who crossed the Mediterranean Sea in response to wars, poverty, or other unsafe conditions. For these people, the Italian coasts symbolise safety and a first step in their new life in Western countries. For some migrants, Italy represents a temporary place before moving to other, wealthier European countries such as Germany. Other migrants choose Italy as their new permanent home. Several migration waves changed the demographics of the Italian population. As reported by the Italian Census of 2011, considering only foreign citizens who live in Italy (those who do not possess Italian citizenship, excluding those who have double citizenship), their number has tripled in the last 10 years, with a growth of 201.8% from 1.300.000 citizens in 2001 to more than 4 million in 2011. According to the Census of 2011, 35% of them live in Northwest Italy, 27% in the Northeast, 24% in the centre and 13% in the South. As a result, the debate on multiculturalism is becoming more and more central in Italy, raising a big and opposing discussion both in media and in politics.

As a consequence of these demographic changes, the debate on multiculturalism concerns White Italians' reaction to this cultural diversity, and how they perceive acculturation. It seems clear that in such contexts, White Italian people, called "old Italians" in the public debate, constantly interact with people from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds, namely the "new Italians". According to Chen, Benet-Martinez, and Bond (2008), White Italian people experience *globalisation-based acculturation*: they are influenced by other cultures, and change some of their cultural patterns simply by remaining in their own country. This first study aims to investigate the majority group's acculturation attitudes that is White Italians, toward members of ethnic minorities.

Specifically, the present study aims to assess if manipulating the description of multiculturalism as part of Italian culture would affect Italians' attitudes toward cultural maintenance and cultural adoption, their desire for intergroup contact, or their perception of the ingroup's and outgroup's desire for it. Four conditions are created: positive, negative, neutral and control (more details in the method section). The focus is mainly on the comparison between the positive and the negative condition. Participants' level of identification with being Italian and multicultural, as well as their positive experiences of intergroup contact, are considered as further independent variables involved in the

acculturation process. The main hypothesis is that when multiculturalism is endorsed by the norms of the country and represents a richness for it (positive condition), people would express more positive attitudes toward members of ethnic minorities (i.e. higher preference for cultural maintenance, cultural adoption and desire for intergroup contact) compared to when multiculturalism is not endorsed by the Italian culture and represents harm (negative condition). Specifically:

- a) Italians will perceive the identities of members of ethnic minority groups as more integrated (higher level of BII) when multiculturalism is described as part of the Italian culture (positive condition), compared to when it is not (negative condition).
- b) Higher preference for cultural maintenance is expected in the positive condition (when multiculturalism is considered as part of Italian culture) compared to the negative condition; and higher preference for cultural adoption when multiculturalism is not endorsed by Italian culture (negative condition) compared to when it is (positive condition).
- c) Higher level of desire for intergroup contact, both on a personal and group level (ingroup and outgroup) is expected in the positive condition compared to the negative condition.

## **4.3.2 Method**

### **4.3.2.1 Participants and Design**

This study has a between-subjects design with four conditions: positive, negative, neutral, and control (further details below). The sample is composed of 117 White Italians who were recruited through the University of Padova and snowballing. Of the 117 who completed the study online, 29 were males and 88 were females, with a mean age of 23.46 years ( $SD=5.27$ ). Participants were randomly assigned to one of the four experimental conditions: 31 to the positive condition, 31 to the negative, 25 to the neutral and 30 to the control. Participants' political orientations were measured on a seven-point Likert scale, where 1 indicated left-oriented and 7 right-oriented. The sample was quite liberal, and its mean ( $M=3.42$ ,  $SD=1.33$ ) is significantly below the mid-point of the scale,  $t(116)=-4.68$ ,  $p<.001$ .

#### 4.3.2.2 Procedure

This experiment<sup>10</sup> was conducted online using Qualtrics, and tested whether the description of multiculturalism as a positive part of society affected people's attitudes toward different acculturation strategies and desire for intergroup contact. After the information sheet and consent form, participants were asked to read a short article and complete the questionnaire. As mentioned above, they were randomly assigned to one of four conditions where the content of the article was manipulated accordingly to include (positive condition) or not (negative condition) multiculturalism in the group norms, simply referring to multiculturalism with no valence (neutral condition) or not referring to it at all (control condition). In the first three conditions, the data from the Census of 2011 were reported and then commented upon differently, while in the control condition, there was no reference to multiculturalism. The content of the four conditions is below (the content was in Italian and has been translated for this thesis).

##### 1) Positive condition

*“According to the Census 2011 (ISTAT data), foreign citizens (namely with a different ethnic background) who live in Italy tripled in the last 10 years, with a growth of 201.8%. They mainly live in the North of the country (62.5%), in the Centre (24%) and only a small percentage in the South (13.5%). The regions with the highest rate of foreign citizens are mainly Lombardy, Veneto and Emilia Romagna. The mean age is 31.1 years old. These data demonstrate a change in the ethnicity of the Italian population toward a more multicultural composition. Thus, the data suggest that Italy can be considered a great example of a multicultural state. In such a diverse context, people with different ethnic backgrounds positively and constantly interact, integrating different cultures and traditions. Moreover, this diversity represents an invaluable resource and richness for the country, since such a multiethnic population can contribute to the growth of the Italian economy and to the creation of an enhanced Italian culture.”*

##### 2) Negative condition

*“According to the Census 2011 (ISTAT data), foreign citizens (namely with a different ethnic background) who live in Italy tripled in the last 10 years, with a growth of 201.8%. They mainly live in the North of the country (62.5%), in the Centre (24%)*

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<sup>10</sup> It was conducted in Italian language.

*and only a small percentage in the South (13.5%). The regions with the highest rate of foreign citizens are mainly Lombardy, Veneto and Emilia Romagna. The mean age is 31.1 years old. These data demonstrate a change in the ethnicity of the Italian population toward a more multicultural composition. Despite the data, Italy cannot be considered a multicultural state. In such a diverse context, it is very difficult to have positive interactions with people from different ethnic backgrounds and then the integration of different cultures and traditions is not feasible. Moreover, this diversity represents a harm for the country since such a multi-ethnic population can cause a problem to the Italian economy and to the Italian culture.”*

3) Neutral condition

*“According to the Census 2011 (ISTAT data), foreign citizens (namely with a different ethnic background) who live in Italy tripled in the last 10 years, with a growth of 201.8%. They mainly live in the North of the country (62.5%), in the Centre (24%) and only a small percentage in the South (13.5%). The regions with the highest rate of foreign citizens are mainly Lombardy, Veneto and Emilia Romagna. The mean age is 31.1 years old. These data demonstrate a change in the ethnicity of the Italian population toward a more multicultural composition.”*

4) Control condition

*“Italy is one of the world’s biggest tourist destinations, attracting people not only from Europe but also from all around the world. Italy is rich in historic monuments, royal palaces and some of the world’s top museums, as well as beautiful countryside, coastlines and interesting cultural events. Some of the most famous attractions are the “Colosseum” in Rome, the “Duomo” in Milan, the “Ponte Vecchio and the Uffizi” in Florence. Tourism is also important because it contributes to the economic growth of the country and to an increase of the national richness.”*

After reading the article, participants were asked to answer a manipulation check item. They answered the question, “According to your opinion, how positively is multiculturalism represented in this article?” using a seven-point Likert scale, demographic questions, and then the dependent and moderating variables.

#### **4.3.2.3 Measures**

All variables were measured on a seven-point Likert scale, with higher values indicating greater agreement with the items.

#### 4.3.2.3.1 Dependent Variables

*Bicultural Identity Integration Scale (BII)*. The BII scale (Benet-Martínez, 2003; Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005) was adapted to the Italian context for the purpose of this study. The scale has eight items, but some were excluded because the scale had a low level of reliability (see details below). The original scale was used to examine bicultural people's identity integration, for this study, and the items had been modified to measure the majority group's perceptions of bicultural people's identity integration. Referring to the ethnic minorities, examples of items are: "They are conflicted between the British and their ethnic background's ways of doing things", and "They feel part of a combined culture". The reliability of the scale is very low ( $\alpha=.32$ ), and also excluded one item<sup>11</sup>. It is, thus, unreliable; for this reason, results will not be discussed (but will be reported in the tables). In addition, according to the literature, the BII scale is formed of two different components: cultural distance and cultural conflict. In this study, the reliability for both was acceptable, excluding one item<sup>12</sup>  $\alpha$  cultural distance=.53;  $\alpha$  cultural conflict=.79 excluding one item<sup>13</sup>. Based on their reliability, only the results for cultural conflict and cultural distance are discussed in the following sections.

*Cultural maintenance and cultural adoption*. According to Lopez-Rodriguez, Zagefka, Navas, and Cuadrado (2014), participants' preference for ethnic minorities' original culture maintenance is investigated with the following item "To what extent do you want people with a different ethnic background who live in Italy to maintain the customs of their original culture?" Preference for the adoption of the host culture is measured with the following item: "To what extent do you want people with a different ethnic background to adopt the customs of the Italian culture?".

*Incompatibility of values*. Two items were used to measure participants' perception of incompatibility of values between Italian and other ethnic cultures. These were: "Italian values and norms are contradictory to other ethnic cultures", and "Other ethnic cultures and Italian ways of life are incompatible",  $r=.35$ ,  $p<.001$ .

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<sup>11</sup> The excluded item is "They are simply people with a different ethnic background who live in Italy".

<sup>12</sup> The excluded item for cultural distance is "They are conflicted between the British and their ethnic background's ways of doing things."

<sup>13</sup> The excluded item for cultural conflict is "They feel like someone who is moving between two cultures".

*Desire for intergroup contact - self.* Two items measure participants' desire for intergroup contact on a self-level. The two questions were: "Are you interested in meeting people from a different ethnic background to yours?", and "Would you like to spend more time with people from a different ethnic background to yours?",  $r=.87, p<.001$ .

*Desire for intergroup contact - ingroup.* Two items investigated participants' perception of ingroups' desire for intergroup contact. These were: "To what extent do you think that White Italians want to interact with people who are NOT from their ethnic group" and "To what extent do you think that White Italians are interested in interacting with people who are NOT from their ethnic group?",  $r=.66, p<.001$ .

*Desire for intergroup contact – outgroup.* Two items, "To what extent do you think that people with different ethnic backgrounds want to interact with White Italians?" and "To what extent do you think that people with different ethnic background are interested in interacting with White Italians?", investigate participants' perceptions of ethnic minorities' desire for contact with the majority group,  $r=.89, p<.001$ .

#### **4.3.2.3.2 Covariates**

*Quantity of intergroup contact.* Two items, adapted from Voci and Hewstone (2003), measure quantity of intergroup contact. These were: "How many people who are not White Italians do you know?", and "In everyday life, how frequently do you interact with people who are not White Italians?",  $r=.70, p<.001$ .

*Quality of intergroup contact.* Participants were asked to characterise the contact they have with outgroup members on a scale of two pairs of adjectives (superficial /deep and unpleasant/pleasant),  $r=.64, p<.001$ . In addition, a variable called *positive contact* was computed as interaction term between quantity and quality of contact (Stathi & Crisp, 2010) with the aim of obtaining a single index of positive and frequent contact.

*Social identification - national.* One question measured participants' identification with their own culture. The item was: "How much do you identify with being Italian?"

*Social identification - multicultural.* One item measured participants' identification with more than one culture, or being multicultural. The item was: "How much do you identify with being multicultural?"



### 4.3.3 Results and Discussion

#### 4.3.3.1 Preliminary Analysis

##### 4.3.3.1.1 Manipulation Check

A one-way ANOVA was used to check if the experimental manipulation was successful. A main effect was found,  $F(3,113) = 29.32, p < .001$ . As shown in Figure 4.2, participants who were assigned to the positive condition affirmed that in the article they read, multiculturalism was presented more positively ( $M=5.85, SD=1.23$ ) compared to the negative ( $M=2.53, SD=1.39$ ), neutral ( $M=4.14, SD=1.14$ ) and control ( $M=4.38, SD=1.72$ ) conditions.

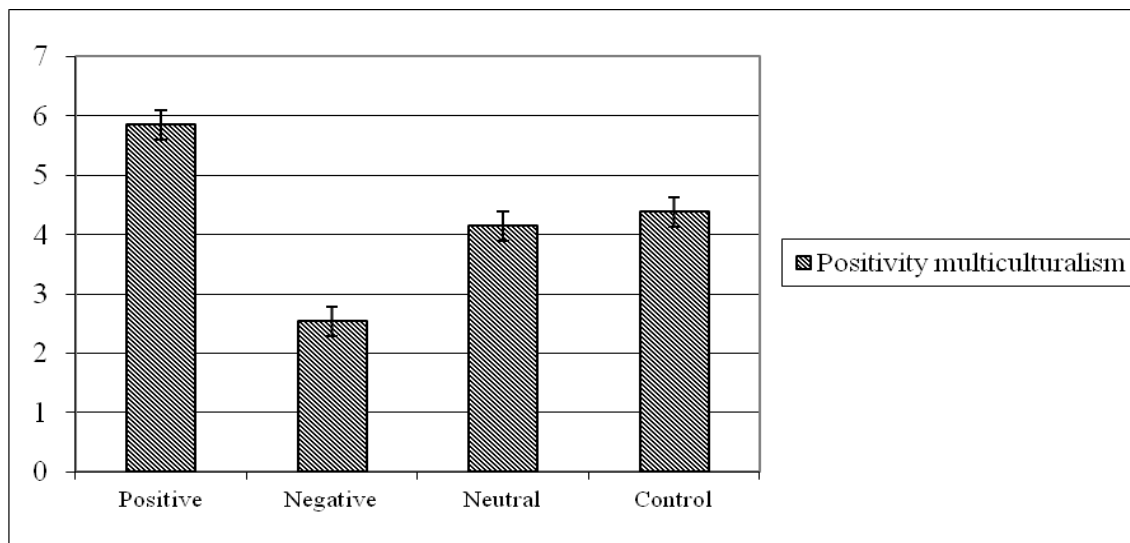


Figure 4. 2 Manipulation check for the four experimental conditions.

Note: All differences across the four conditions (except for neutral and control) are statistically significant (Sidak post-hoc,  $p < .001$ ).

##### 4.3.3.1.2 Covariates

Following previous literature, three covariates have been included in this study. These are participants' experiences of positive contact, and the extent to which they identify with being Italian and multicultural. In order to test the ANCOVA assumption of the independence of the covariate and the experimental manipulation, a one-way ANOVA was performed. The results indicated that none of the covariates (positive contact,  $F(3, 112) = .89, p > .05$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .02$ ; identification with Italian,  $F(3,112) = .96, p > .05, \eta^2 = .02$ ; identification as multicultural,  $F(3,112) = 1.26, p > .05, \eta^2 = .03$ ) significantly varied based on the manipulation. Thus, the assumption was not violated.

### **5.3.3.2 Main analyses: ANCOVAs**

A one-way ANCOVA tested if the dependent variables namely, participants' attitudes toward cultural maintenance and adoption, their desire for intergroup contact on personal and group levels, and their perception of values' incompatibility, while controlling for the three covariates described above, are affected by the experimental conditions. The principle of the ANCOVA is to statistically control for the effects of the covariate, which is another variable that can influence the process, in order to examine whether the means of a continuous dependent variable are equal across the levels of the categorical independent variable (which corresponds to the four experimental conditions in this study). In order to do that, in the ANCOVA, the means of the DV were adjusted to what they would have been if all groups were equal on the covariate. Running an ANCOVA the within-group error variance can be reduced and confounds eliminated (Field, 2010). More specifically, the variables controlled for here were positive contact, identification as British, and identification as multicultural. In addition, in order to avoid a Type 1 error, since there were specific hypotheses that compared one specific condition to all the others, the differences across the experimental conditions were calculated through Contrasts, using the positive condition as comparison. These were: Contrast 1: positive vs. negative; Contrast 2: positive vs. neutral; Contrast 3: positive vs. control. The results of the ANCOVA have been presented per dependent variable, as a function of the condition. In addition, Table 4.1 summarises how participants scored on the different dependent variables, while Table 4.2 reports the results of the ANCOVA (see Appendix D for additional details).

Table 4. 1 Descriptive statistics for the dependent variables.

<i>Dependent Variable</i>	<i>Condition</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>
<i>Cultural maintenance</i>	<i>Positive</i>	4.86	1.02
	<i>Negative</i>	4.14	1.43
	<i>Neutral</i>	4.73	1.60
	<i>Control</i>	4.38	1.31
<i>Cultural adoption</i>	<i>Positive</i>	4.18	1.25
	<i>Negative</i>	4.94	1.07
	<i>Neutral</i>	3.80	1.65
	<i>Control</i>	4.54	1.17
<i>Incompatibility of values</i>	<i>Positive</i>	3.42	1.11
	<i>Negative</i>	3.42	1.04
	<i>Neutral</i>	3.52	1.41
	<i>Control</i>	3.94	1.21
<i>Desire for intergroup contact self</i>	<i>Positive</i>	5.34	1.21
	<i>Negative</i>	5.23	1.29
	<i>Neutral</i>	5.31	1.22
	<i>Control</i>	5.27	1.30
<i>Desire for intergroup contact ingroup</i>	<i>Positive</i>	3.23	1.08
	<i>Negative</i>	3.23	.81
	<i>Neutral</i>	3.10	1.06
	<i>Control</i>	3.25	1.13
<i>Desire for intergroup contact outgroup</i>	<i>Positive</i>	4.07	.93
	<i>Negative</i>	3.88	1.16
	<i>Neutral</i>	4.01	1.35
	<i>Control</i>	4.09	1.27
<i>Cultural distance</i>	<i>Positive</i>	3.53	.97
	<i>Negative</i>	3.41	.73
	<i>Neutral</i>	3.33	.87
	<i>Control</i>	3.48	1.13
<i>Cultural conflict</i>	<i>Positive</i>	3.75	.92
	<i>Negative</i>	4.15	.87
	<i>Neutral</i>	3.94	1.15
	<i>Control</i>	4.49	1.33

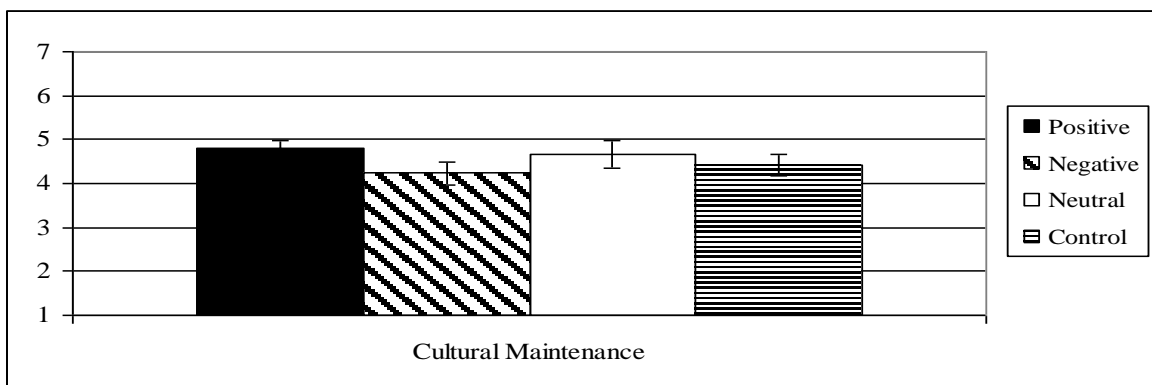
#### *Components of Bicultural Identity Integration (BII)*

To assess the first hypothesis of this study (that is whether Italians perceive the identity of the minority groups as more integrated when multiculturalism is included in the group norms compared to when it is not), an ANCOVA was conducted on the components of the BII. In the case of cultural distance, there were no significant differences when controlling for all the covariates,  $F(3,110) = .14, p > .05$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .00$ . The only notable result was for cultural conflict. There was a significant effect of condition, when controlling for all covariates,  $F(3,$

110)= 2.7,  $p = .05$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .07$ , which suggests that cultural conflict<sup>14</sup> was perceived as higher in the negative (M= 4.13, SE=.19) than in the positive condition (M=3.8, SE=.19). However, due to the generally low reliability of this scale and its components, these will not be further discussed.

#### *Attitudes toward cultural maintenance and cultural adoption*

The hypothesis suggests that there should be a higher preference for cultural maintenance in the positive compared to the negative condition. A one-way ANCOVA showed that there was no main effect of condition,  $F(3,110)=1.33$ ,  $p > .05$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .03$ . The contrast analysis<sup>15</sup> reported a marginally significant difference between the positive and negative conditions,  $p = .07$ , suggesting that, as expected, participants wanted ethnic minorities to maintain their ethnic culture more in the positive condition (M=4.8, SE=.22) than in the negative one (M=4.23, SE=.22). The results are presented in Figure 4.3 below.



*Figure 4. 3 Participants' attitudes toward cultural maintenance, as a function of condition, controlling for positive intergroup contact, social identification with Italian and multicultural. Error bars indicate standard errors of the mean.*

Consistently, there was a main effect of condition in the case of participants' attitudes toward cultural adoption<sup>16</sup>,  $F(3,110)= 3.61$ ,  $p = .02$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .09$ . In accordance to the prediction, contrast 1 showed that significant differences were found between the positive (M=4.25, SE=.22) and negative condition (M=4.89, SE=.22),  $p = .04$ , which suggests a higher

<sup>14</sup> These are the values of the contrast analysis for the other two conditions: neutral, M= 3.93, SE=.22, and control, M=4.47, SE=.19.

<sup>15</sup> The means reported for the contrasts have been adjusted in consideration of the covariates.

<sup>16</sup> The assumption of the homogeneity of the regression was not violated; the interaction between the experimental condition and the covariates is, indeed, non significant,  $F(4,11)=1.31$ ,  $p > .05$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .04$ .

preference in the negative condition. The comparison across the four conditions for cultural adoption is shown in Figure 4.4.

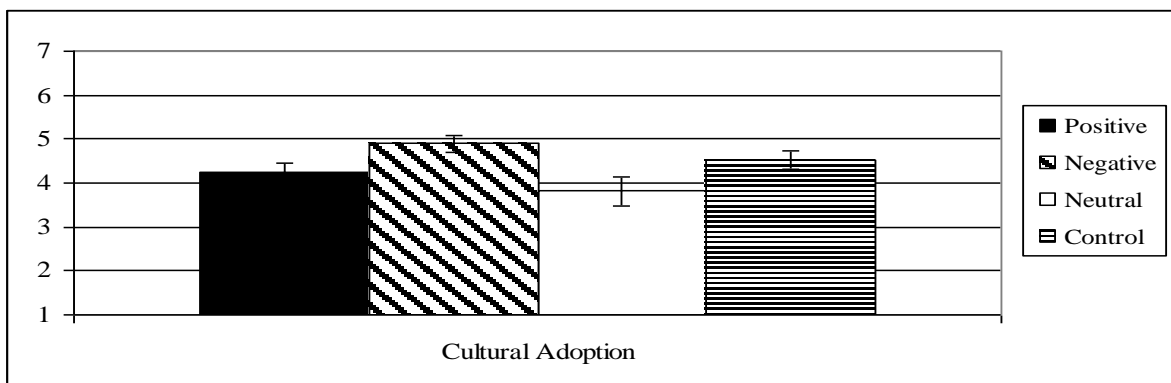


Figure 4. 4 Participants' attitudes toward cultural adoption, as a function of condition, controlling for positive intergroup contact, social identification with Italian and multicultural. Error bars indicate standard errors of the mean.

#### *Incompatibility of values*

In the case of incompatibility of values, there were no significant results,  $F(3,110)= 1.27$ ,  $p>.05$ , partial  $\eta^2= .03$ . The contrasts did not indicate significant differences. Therefore, this variable will not be further used and discussed.

#### *Desire for intergroup contact*

The results of the ANCOVA for desire for intergroup contact-self showed no differences across the four conditions when controlling for the covariates,  $F(3,110)= .18$ ,  $p>.05$ , partial  $\eta^2= .00$ . Also, the contrast comparisons showed that there were no significant results. There were no significant results for perception of ingroup's desire for intergroup contact, ( $F(3,110)= .29$ ,  $p>.05$ , partial  $\eta^2= .01$ ) and for outgroup's desire for intergroup contact, ( $F(3,110)= .19$ ,  $p>.05$ , partial  $\eta^2= .00$ ).

Table 4. 2 Main effects of covariates and condition on the dependent variables, Study 1.

<i>Dependent variables</i>	<i>Covariates</i>	<i>Main effect covariate F</i>	<i>Main effect condition F</i>
<i>Cultural maintenance</i>	N/A	/	1.80 <sup>a</sup>
	Cov.1, Cov.2 & Cov.3	1.75, 7.86**, 13.02***	1.33
<i>Cultural adoption</i>	N/A	/	4.05*** <sup>a</sup>
	Cov.1, Cov.2 & Cov.3	2.10, 4.81*, 2.67	3.61* <sup>a</sup>
<i>Incompatibility of values</i>	N/A	/	1.34
	Cov.1, Cov.2 & Cov.3	2.30, 2.47, .88	1.27
<i>Self-desire for intergroup contact</i>	N/A	/	.04
	Cov.1, Cov.2 & Cov.3	5.25*, 3.61 <sup>b</sup> , 24***	.18
<i>Ingroup's desire for intergroup contact</i>	N/A	/	.12
	Cov.1, Cov.2 & Cov.3	1.78, 4.48*, .07	.29
<i>Outgroup's desire for intergroup contact</i>	N/A	/	.21
	Cov.1, Cov.2 & Cov.3	6.66, 1.29, 12***	.19
<i>BII</i>	N/A	/	1.95
	Cov.1, Cov.2 & Cov.3	1.14, .07, .07	2.10

Note 1: \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ , a when the contrast was significant between positive and negative condition; b when the contrast was significant between the positive and the neutral; c when the contrast was significant between the positive and the control.

Note 2: Cov.1: positive contact, Cov.2: identification as Italian, Cov.3: identification as multicultural.

The ANCOVA also served as preliminary analyses to test the moderating roles of the covariates. Based on these preliminary findings, the following section explores the role of these covariates as moderators.

#### 4.3.3.3 Moderations

Based on the theoretical background and the relative hypotheses of this study, the moderating role of the three covariates (identification with the ingroup, i.e. with Italians, identification as multicultural, and experiences of positive contact), was tested. A hierarchical regression with a categorical (condition) and a continuous IV (moderator) was conducted. With the aim of avoiding multicollinearity (Aiken & West, 1991) the continuous variable was centred and three dummy coded variables were created for the categorical IV. The positive condition was used as comparison group and for this reason in the case of “dummy variable 1”, 1 was assigned to the negative condition and 0 to all the rest. The same procedure was followed for the other dummy variables: for “dummy variable 2”, 1 indicated the neutral condition and 0 the rest; for “dummy variable 3”, 1 for the control condition and 0 for the rest. With this coding, the positive condition has been compared with the others. The hierarchical regression was composed of two main steps: 1) the three dummy variables and the centred IV were added; 2) the three interaction terms between each dummy variable and the centred

continuous IV were included in the analysis. The same procedure was repeated for all the moderations reported below. The adoption of this procedure was conducted to ensure no violation of the assumptions of normality, linearity, or homoscedasticity.

The only moderator of the attitudes toward cultural maintenance and adoption was the extent to which participants identified themselves as multicultural. In the case of cultural maintenance, a hierarchical multiple regression was performed to investigate if different levels of identification as multicultural can predict people's preference for cultural maintenance after controlling for the experimental conditions. In the first step of the hierarchical multiple regression, four predictors were entered: the centred identification as multicultural and the three dummy variables for conditions (see above). This model was statistically significant<sup>17</sup>  $F(4,112)=6.69, p<.001$  and it explained 19.3% of the variance ( $\beta=-.2, p=.05$  for the dummy variable 1 that compares positive vs. negative condition,  $\beta=.39, p=.000$  for the centred identification as multicultural). As the second and last step of the hierarchical regression, the three interaction terms between the centred continuous variable and the dummy variables were added. The model was statistically significant,  $F(7,109)=4.96, p<.001$ , and explained the 24.2 % of the variance. The predictor variable that was statistically significant was the interaction term between the centred multicultural identification and the dummy variable 1 ( $\beta=.295, p=.018$ ). As shown in Figure 4.5, for those who identified less as multicultural, the preference for cultural maintenance was higher under the positive condition, compared to those assigned to the negative one. However, the preference for cultural maintenance increased for those who strongly identified as multicultural, especially in the negative condition.

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<sup>17</sup> The same procedure was followed for those who identified strongly as multicultural ( $F(4,112)=6.69, p<.001$  - step 1- and  $F(7,109)=4.96, p<.001$  - step 2-,  $\beta=-.41, p=.003$  for positive vs. negative condition and  $\beta=.35, p=.018$  for the interaction term) and for lower identifiers ( $F(4,112)=6.89, p<.001$  - step 1-  $F(7,109)=4.96, p<.001$  - step 2 -  $\beta=.42, p=.018$ , respectively).

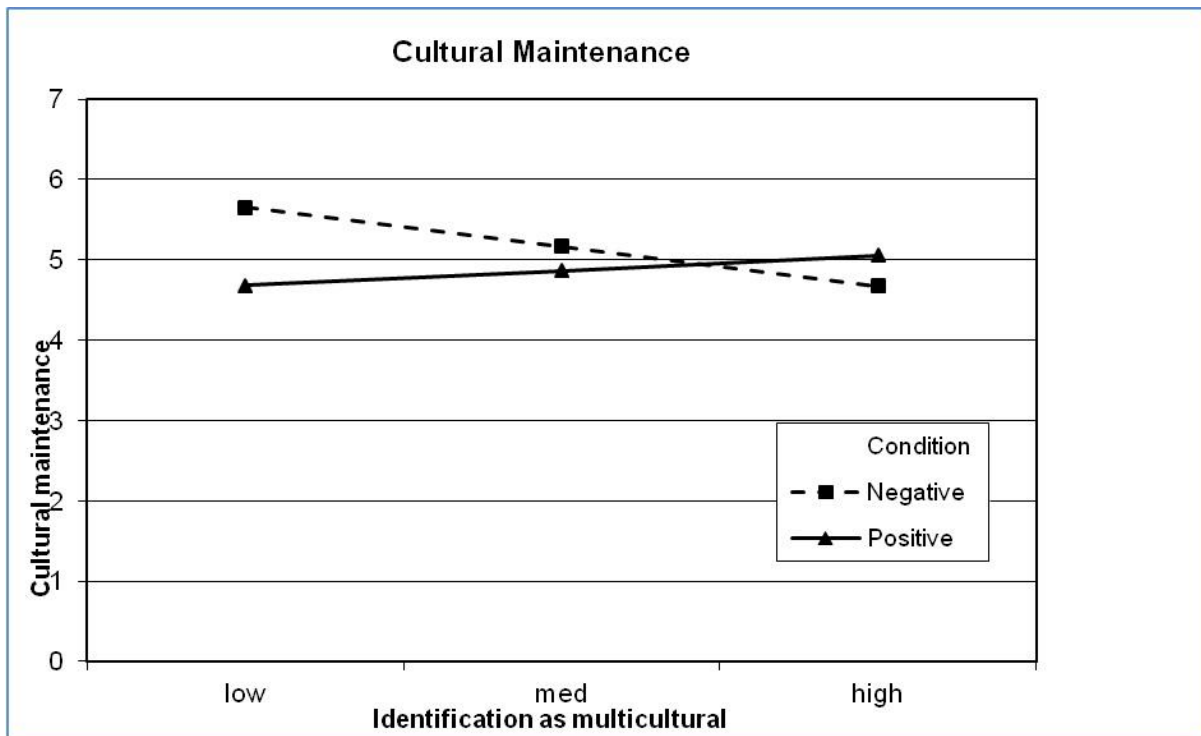


Figure 4. 5 Interaction graph for identification as multicultural on cultural maintenance for positive vs. negative condition.

The extent to which participants identified themselves as multicultural also moderated their preference for cultural adoption. Specifically, when we inserted the three dummy variables and the centred variable of multicultural identity (moderator) as first step of the hierarchical regression, the model was statistically significant<sup>18</sup>,  $F(4,112)=4.7$ ,  $p=.002$ , and explained 14.4% of the variance. When the interaction terms between the centred variable and the dummy variables were added, the amount of variance explained by this second model increased,  $R^2= 24.6$ ,  $F(7,109)= 5.07$ ,  $p<.001$ . The predictor variables that were statistically significant corresponded to the three interaction terms:  $\beta= -.45$ ,  $p= .05$  for the interaction term between centred identification as multicultural and dummy variable 1. As shown in the Figure 4.6, for people who weakly identified as multicultural, there was a higher preference for cultural adoption in the negative condition, compared to the positive one, while this difference was reduced for higher identifiers. Also, the interaction terms between the positive vs. the neutral condition,  $\beta=-.37$ ,  $p=.002$ , and between the positive vs. the control,  $\beta=-.39$ ,  $p=.001$ , were found to be statistically significant, but will not be further discussed since the main focus of the results is on the comparison between the positive and negative conditions.

<sup>18</sup> For lower identifiers,  $F(4,112)=4.7$ ,  $p<.01$ - step 1-  $F(7,109)=5.07$ ,  $p<.001$  - step 2-  $\beta=-.45$ ,  $p=.05$  for the interaction between identification as multicultural and condition; for higher identifiers,  $F(4,112)=4.7$ ,  $p<.01$ - step1-  $F(7,109)=5.07$ ,  $p<.001$ ,  $\beta=.27$ ,  $p=.1$



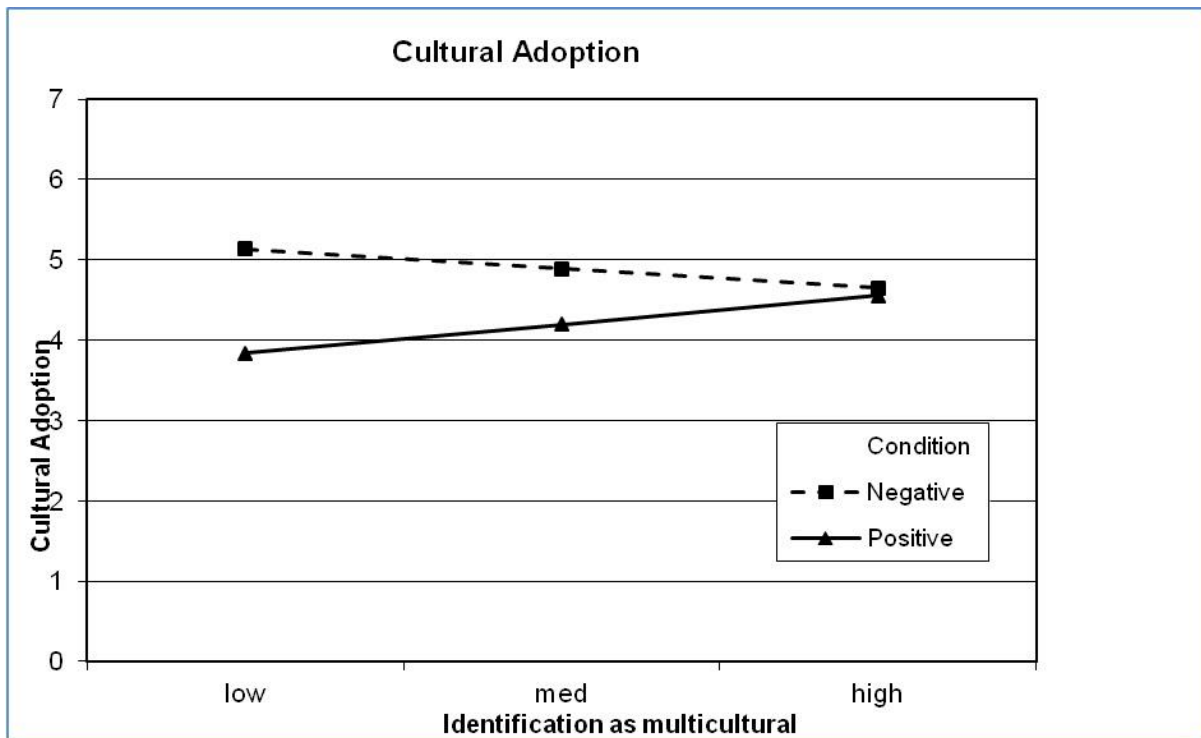


Figure 4. 6 Interaction graph for identification as multicultural on cultural adoption for positive vs. negative condition.

The general discussion section of this Chapter contains a more thorough discussion of the findings and limitations of the present study, analysing them in the light of the literature on acculturation and social norms and linking Study 1 with the other experimental studies presented in the following sections. Before moving on to Study 2, it is worth mentioning that, the role of norms is important when analysing the perspective of the majority group, as it affects people’s preferences for cultural maintenance and adoption in the acculturation process. Specifically, participants indicated a higher preference for cultural maintenance in the positive condition (when multiculturalism was described as beneficial for the country), compared to the negative one (when multiculturalism is described as harmful). In addition, this study showed that identification as Italian and as multicultural, as well as previous experiences of positive intergroup contact, are important covariates in the acculturation process. Identification as multicultural is a moderator of this process. After this preliminary support for the role of norms, to further investigate the role of norms in the acculturation process, Study 2 explored the perspective of both majority and minority groups in the UK, considering also further outcomes of the acculturation process, such as the acculturation strategies. In addition, in Study 2, the source of the norms on multiculturalism changed, using an official one such as the BBC.

## 4.4 Study 2

### 4.4.1 Aims and Hypotheses

The results of Study 1 clearly show that the endorsement of multiculturalism in a culture affects people's attitudes toward acculturation. This second study aims to address the limitations of Study 1. As suggested by the literature (Bourhis et al., 1997), both the perspectives of the majority and the minority groups need to be investigated since they differently experience acculturation (Zagefka & Brown, 2002). For this reason, both White British and members of ethnic communities who live in the UK were recruited to take part in Study 2. To reinforce the experimental manipulation, two influential information sources in the British culture, the BBC and the Office for National Statistics, were used as the source of the manipulation. In addition, the experimental conditions were reduced to two, positive and negative conditions, since the focus and the main results from Study 1 involved differences between them. Alternative measures for cultural maintenance and cultural adoption were included (Zagefka & Brown, 2002). A further improvement in Study 2 is the inclusion of the Host Community Acculturation Scale (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001; 2004) and the Immigrant Acculturation Scale (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004) to measure participants' preference for a specific acculturation strategy: *individualism*, *integrationism*, *assimilationism*, *segregationism/separatism*, and *exclusionism/marginalisation*.

The main aim of Study 2 was to test whether British people's attitudes toward cultural maintenance and cultural adoption, their preference for a specific acculturation strategy, and their perception of desire for intergroup contact (both on individual and group levels), could be affected by the positive inclusion of multiculturalism in British culture. As in Study 1, participants' experiences of positive contact, and their level of identification as British and as multicultural were considered as covariates of the acculturation process. The main hypotheses are:

- a) Both majority and minority group members will show a stronger preference for cultural maintenance in the positive condition compared to the negative one. More specifically, when exposed to the positive condition, both groups are expected to have positive attitude toward cultural maintenance, while in the negative condition White British people's preference for it will decrease, and ethnic minorities' will increase.

- b) Participants will show stronger preference for cultural adoption more in the negative condition than in the positive. Specifically, preference for contact/cultural adoption should be higher for the majority than the minority group.
- c) In the case of the acculturation strategies, participants will indicate a stronger preference for individualism, assimilationism, segregationism/separatism and exclusionism/marginalisationism, more in the negative condition than in the positive one (Piontkowski et al., 2000; Zagefka & Brown, 2002). There will be a stronger preference for integrationism in the positive condition than in the negative. Based on ethnicity, White British will show a stronger preference for assimilationism and exclusion/marginalisationism and a weaker preference for segregationism/separatism compared to ethnic minorities.
- d) As in Study 1, stronger desire for intergroup contact – self, ingroup and outgroup– will be indicated in the positive condition, compared to the negative. In addition, members of ethnic groups are expected to have a higher perception of desire for intergroup contact on both personal and group levels.

## **4.4.2 Method**

### **4.4.2.1 Design and Participants**

The study has a 2 (group: White British vs. other ethnicities) x 2 (condition: positive vs. negative) between-subjects design.

The sample of Study 2 was composed of 96 participants recruited through the University of Greenwich and snowballing. Of these, 14 (14.6%) were males and 82 (85.4%) were females. Participants' ages varied from 18 to 58 years old, with a mean age of 24.2 years (SD= 8.14). Participants belonged to two main groups: White British constituted the 50% of the sample (48 people) and the other 50 % (48 people) was composed of members of different ethnicities<sup>19</sup>. Table 5.3 reports how White British and members of the ethnic minorities were distributed across the two conditions. Furthermore, based on the design of the study, 42 (43.8%) participants were randomly assigned to the positive condition and 54 (56.3%) to the

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<sup>19</sup> Ethnicities in the minority group were: 2 Arabs, 7 Asians, 4 Bangladeshi, 1 Bengali, 14 Blacks, 1 Caribbean, 1 Egyptian, 1 Eritrean, 1 Filipino, 3 Indians, 1 Kurd, 1 Mixed British, 1 Mixed White and Black African, 1 Somali, 8 other White background.

negative one. The same scale for political orientation as in Study 1 was used (seven-point Likert scale where 1 indicated liberal and 7 conservative). The sample was largely liberal, with the mean significantly below the midpoint of the scale, ( $M= 3.22$ ,  $SD= 1.45$ ),  $t(95)= -5.177$ ,  $p<.001$ .

*Table 4. 3 Frequencies of participants' distribution across conditions.*

<i>Conditions/Groups</i>	<i>White British</i>	<i>Members of ethnic minorities</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Positive condition</i>	18	24	42
<i>Negative condition</i>	30	24	54
<i>Total</i>	48	48	96

#### **4.4.2.2 Procedure**

Both groups of participants (White British and members of ethnic minorities) were randomly assigned to one of the two experimental conditions: positive vs. negative. The instructions asked all participants to read the summary of a documentary conducted by the BBC in collaboration with the Office for National Statistics. In the positive condition, the summary of the study indicated that multiculturalism is one of the core values of the British culture.

*“On the 15th of January 2014 the BBC, in collaboration with the Office for National Statistics, broadcasted a documentary about the cultural and social changes in the United Kingdom. In the last two years, they interviewed more than 500,000 British people all across the UK to identify the core values of the British culture and British people’s attitudes toward multiculturalism. The results of this research suggested that British people strongly support multiculturalism and consider it as one of the core values of the British culture. British people believe that a main characteristic of their culture is diversity and the respect for it. The British affirm that the British culture has adjusted itself to include and welcome people from all around the world, giving them also the possibility to maintain and practice their own cultures both in the private and public contexts. Furthermore, it emerges that the UK is considered one of the best examples of multicultural societies in the Western world, it is one of the richest cultures thanks to multicultural influences.”*

In the negative condition, the results of the study indicated non-inclusion of multiculturalism in the British norms and culture. Below is the content of the article.

*“On the 15th of January 2014 the BBC, in collaboration with the Office for National Statistics, broadcasted a documentary about the cultural and social changes in the United Kingdom. In the last two years, they interviewed more than 500,000 British people all across the UK to identify the core values of the British culture and British people’s attitudes toward multiculturalism. The results of this research suggest that British people do not support multiculturalism and believe that it can never become one of the core values of the British culture. British people believe that a main characteristic of their culture is maintaining their traditions and not accepting cultural diversity. The British affirm that the British culture does not have to adjust itself to include and welcome people from all around the world, and if people with different backgrounds want to live in the UK, they have to adopt the British culture and renounce to their culture both in the private and public contexts. Furthermore, it emerges that the UK cannot be considered one of the best examples of multicultural societies in the Western world, it is one of the richest cultures but without multicultural influences.”*

After reading the summary of the study, participants were asked to answer a manipulation check item, using a seven-point Likert scale; “According to the BBC documentary, how much does the British culture support multiculturalism?”. They also answered few demographic questions and the dependent variables and covariates reported in the following section.

#### **4.4.2.3 Measures**

All variables were measured on a seven-point Likert scale, with higher values indicating greater agreement with the items.

##### **4.4.2.3.1 Dependent Variables**

*Cultural maintenance.* Three items from Zagefka and Brown (2002) were adapted for the context of this study. In the case of White British, the items were: “I do not mind if members of different ethnic groups who live in the UK maintain their own culture”; “I do not mind if members of different ethnic groups who live in the UK maintain their own religion, language and clothing”; and “I do not mind if members of different ethnic groups who live in the UK maintain their own way of living”. For the members of different ethnic groups the three items were: “I think it is important that members of different cultural groups in the UK maintain their own culture”; “I think it is important that members of different ethnic backgrounds in the UK should maintain their own religion, language and clothing”; and “I think it is

important that members of different ethnic backgrounds should maintain their own way of living”. The scale was reliable, with  $\alpha=.93$  for the entire sample,  $\alpha=.96$  for White British, and  $\alpha=.89$  for members of the ethnic minorities.

*Cultural adoption.* Three items from Zagefka and Brown (2002) were used to measure cultural adoption. These were: “I think it is important that members of different ethnic groups have British friends”; “I do not mind if members of different ethnic groups spend time with British after school/work”; and “I think that members of different ethnic groups should stick to their own kind” (reversed code). The same items were used for both White British and members of different ethnic groups. In order to improve the reliability of the scale, one item<sup>20</sup> was excluded from the analysis ( $\alpha=.6$  for the entire sample,  $\alpha=.55$  for White British,  $\alpha=.65$  for ethnic minorities).

*Acculturation strategies.* Five items were used to measure acculturation strategies. An adaptation of the Host Community Acculturation Scale (HCAS; Bourhis, et al., 2010; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001, 2004) was used in the case of White British. Each of the five acculturation orientations was measured in this way: *Individualism*: “Whether members of different ethnic groups maintain their culture of origin or adopt mainstream British culture makes no difference because each individual is free to adopt the culture of their choice”; *Integrationism*: “It would be best for members of different ethnic groups to maintain and preserve their own culture of origin while also adopting aspects of mainstream British culture”; *Assimilationism*: “Members of different ethnic groups should give up their culture of origin for the sake of adopting mainstream British culture”; *Segregationism*: “It is ok for members of different ethnic groups to maintain their culture of origin as long as they do not mix it with mainstream British culture”; and *Exclusionism*: “Whether members of different ethnic groups maintain their culture of origin or adopt mainstream British culture makes no difference because, in any case, there should be less immigration in the UK”.

Members of other ethnic groups completed the Immigrant Acculturation Scale (IAS; Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004; Bourhis, et al., 2009). These are the IAS items: *Individualism*: “To live in the UK means that each individual should be free to choose the culture most suitable to him or her”; *Integrationism*: “To live in the UK means we should work to preserve our ethnic cultural heritage while also adopting

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<sup>20</sup> The excluded item is “I think that members of different ethnic groups should stick to their own kind”.

mainstream British culture”; *Assimilationism*: “To live in the UK means we should give up our ethnic cultural heritage rather than adopting mainstream British culture”; *Separatism*: “It is important to preserve our ethnic cultural heritage rather than adopting mainstream British culture”; and *Marginalisation*: “It is difficult for me to identify to either my ethnic culture or mainstream British culture, as they all seem worthless to me”.

*Desire for intergroup contact-self*. The same two items of Study 1 were used ( $r=.69$ ,  $p<.001$  for the entire sample,  $r=.76$ ,  $p<.001$  for White British, and  $r=.61$ ,  $p<.001$  for members of the ethnic minority groups).

*Desire for intergroup contact-ingroup*. Two items, as in Study 1, were used ( $r=.47$ ,  $p<.001$  for the entire sample, for White British  $r=.31$ ,  $p<.05$ , for ethnic minorities,  $r=.54$ ,  $p<.001$ ).

*Desire for intergroup contact-outgroup*. The same two items as in Study 1 were adopted, ( $r=.45$ ,  $p<.001$  for the entire sample, for White British  $r=.38$ ,  $p<.01$  and for ethnic minorities  $r=.46$ ,  $p=.001$ ).

#### **4.4.2.3.2 Covariates**

*Quantity of contact*. The same two items as in Study 1 (in this case,  $r= .53$ ,  $p<.001$  for the entire sample,  $r=.46$ ,  $p<.001$  for White British, and  $r=.58$ ,  $p<.001$  for members of the ethnic minorities) were used. In the case of White British, the experiences of intergroup contact regarded as outgroup the ethnic minorities who live in the UK; in the case of the ethnic minorities, the outgroup was White British.

*Quality of contact*. Same two items as in Study 1 ( $r=.49$ ,  $p<.001$  for the entire sample,  $r=.58$ ,  $p<.001$  for White British and  $r=.42$ ,  $p<.01$  for ethnic minorities). In this study, the interaction term between the mean of quantity and quality of intergroup contact, *positive contact*, was created.

*Social identification-national*. The same item as in Study 1 was used.

*Social identification-multicultural*. The same item as in Study 1 was used.

## 4.4.3 Results and Discussion

### 4.4.3.1 Preliminary Analysis

#### 4.4.3.1.1 Manipulation Check

To check if the experimental manipulation was successful, a 2(condition: positive vs. negative) x 2(ethnicity: White British vs. ethnic minorities) ANOVA was conducted. As expected, there was a significant effect of condition,  $F(1,92)=191.984$ ,  $p<.001$ ,  $\eta^2=.68$ . On average, the sample indicated that, according to the BBC the British culture supported multiculturalism more in the positive condition ( $M=5.42$ ,  $SD=1.35$ ) than in the negative one ( $M=1.89$ ,  $SD=1.13$ ) (Figure 4.7). The main effect of ethnicity,  $F(1,92)=1.48$ ,  $p>.05$ ,  $\eta^2=.016$ , and the interaction effect,  $F(1,92)=2.21$ ,  $p>.05$ ,  $\eta^2=.023$ , were statistically non significant.

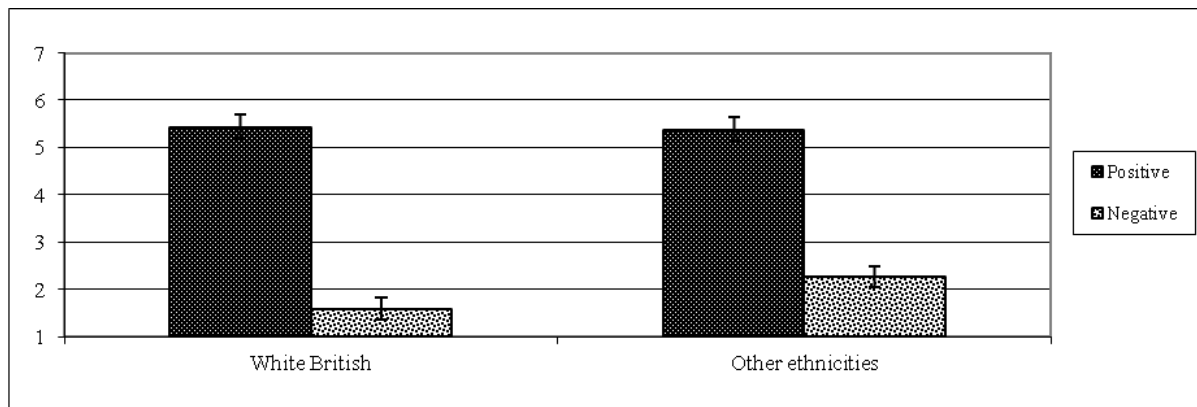


Figure 4.7 Manipulation check (support for multiculturalism) for the two experimental conditions.

#### 4.4.3.1.2 Covariates

Also in the case of Study 2, covariates have been included in the examination of the acculturation process. Specifically, the variables in analysis correspond to: participants' experience of positive intergroup contact, and the extent to which they identify as British and multicultural. With the aim of testing if the ANCOVA assumption of the independence of the covariate and the experimental manipulation had been violated, a 2x2 ANOVA was run. The interaction effects between condition and ethnicity were non significant for all the covariates in analysis (positive contact,  $F(1, 92)=.48$ ,  $p>.05$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$ ; identification with British,  $F(1,92)=.42$ ,  $p>.05$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$ ; identification with multicultural,  $F(1,92)=.01$ ,  $p>.05$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$ ), indicating that the assumption was not violated<sup>21</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> The main effects for each covariates relative to condition and ethnicity: positive contact ( $F(1,72)=.68$ ,  $p>.05$ , partial  $\eta^2=.01$  for condition,  $F(1,72)=1.59$ ,  $p>.05$ , partial  $\eta^2=.02$  for ethnicity),



#### 4.4.3.2 Main analysis: ANCOVAs

Adopting the same statistical rationale as Study 1, a two-way ANCOVA was conducted in order to test if there would be an effect of the two IVs (ethnicity and condition) on the DVs (attitudes toward cultural maintenance and contact/cultural adoption, the five acculturation strategies, desire for intergroup contact on a personal and group level) when controlling for the covariates. Table 4.4 shows the descriptives for each dependent variable. The Sidak correction has been applied with the aim of avoiding Type I error. In the following section, the results of the 2x2 ANCOVA are presented for each dependent variable, while Table 4.5 reports all the details also for the ANOVA (additional details in Appendix E).

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identification as British ( $F(1,72)=.28$ ,  $p>.05$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$  for condition,  $F(1,72)=10.98$ ,  $p<.001$ , partial  $\eta^2=.11$  for ethnicity), identification as multicultural ( $F(1,72)=1.06$ ,  $p>.05$ , partial  $\eta^2=.01$  for condition,  $F(1,72)=22.82$ ,  $p<.001$ , partial  $\eta^2=.2$  for ethnicity).

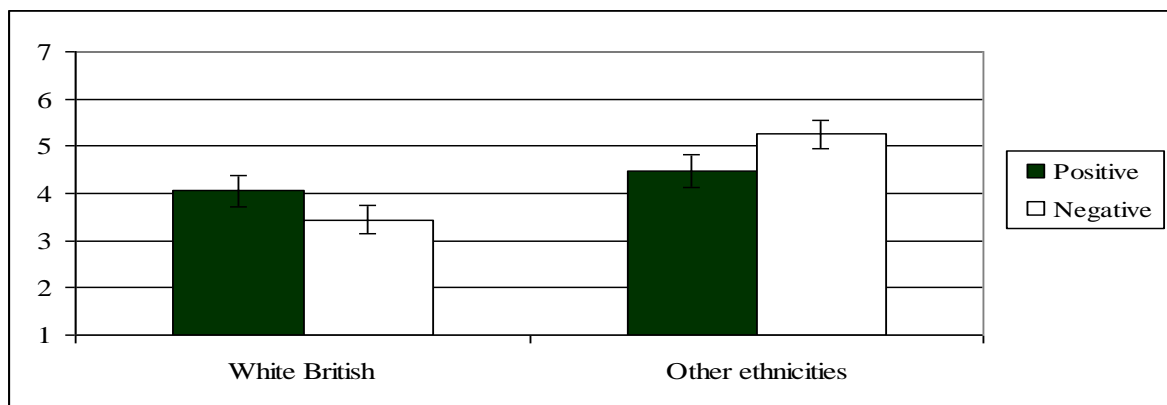
Table 4.4 Descriptives for the dependent variables divided per condition and ethnicity.

<i>Dependent Variable</i>		<i>Positive Condition</i>	<i>Negative Condition</i>
<i>Cultural maintenance</i>	White British	4.15 (1.73)	3.60 (1.89)
	Other ethnicities	4.38 (1.32)	5.08 (1.22)
<i>Contact/cultural adoption</i>	White British	4.98 (1.85)	4.68 (1.6)
	Other ethnicities	5.37 (1.42)	4.50 (1.74)
<i>Individualism</i>	White British	5.22 (1.44)	4.73 (1.72)
	Other ethnicities	5.63 (1.01)	5.79 (1.38)
<i>Integrationism</i>	White British	5.67 (.84)	4.57 (1.60)
	Other ethnicities	5.54 (1.18)	5.58 (1.44)
<i>Assimilationism</i>	White British	2.11 (.76)	2.40 (1.43)
	Other ethnicities	1.96 (1.30)	2.00 (1.47)
<i>Segregationism/ separatism</i>	White British	1.83 (.98)	2.47 (1.31)
	Other ethnicities	3.88 (1.42)	4.25 (1.48)
<i>Exclusionism/ marginalisationism</i>	White British	3.33 (1.97)	3.53 (1.83)
	Other ethnicities	2.54 (1.47)	3.29 (2.20)
<i>Desire for intergroup contact-self</i>	White British	5.50 (1.02)	5.31 (1.38)
	Other ethnicities	5.45 (.96)	4.83 (1.24)
<i>Desire for intergroup contact-ingroup</i>	White British	3.82 (1.04)	4.11 (1.02)
	Other ethnicities	4.53 (1.34)	4.17 (1.21)
<i>Desire for intergroup contact-outgroup</i>	White British	3.91 (.98)	3.80 (1.18)
	Other ethnicities	4.90 (1.23)	4.29 (1.28)

Note: Standard deviations appear in parentheses below the means.

### *Attitudes toward cultural maintenance and cultural adoption*

To test the effects of the manipulation on cultural maintenance, a 2 (condition: positive vs. negative) x 2(ethnicity: White British vs. members of ethnic minorities) ANCOVA was conducted. The results indicated that there was a non significant effect of condition,  $F(1,89)=.01, p>.05$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$ , while the main effect of ethnicity,  $F(1,89)=8.99, p<.004$ , partial  $\eta^2=.09$ , and the interaction effect,  $F(1,89)=4.46, p=.04$ , partial  $\eta^2=.05$  were significant. Specifically, a planned t-test showed that there was a non significant difference for White British between the positive and the negative condition,  $t(46)=1.00, p>.05$ , while the difference between the positive and negative conditions for members of the ethnic minority groups was significant  $t(46)=-1.92, p=.03$ . The graph below (Figure 4.8) shows that members of the ethnic minorities had a stronger preference for cultural maintenance more in the negative condition ( $M=5.25, SE=.34$ ) than in the positive condition ( $M=4.48, SE=.33$ ), while White British wanted the minorities to maintain their culture more in the positive condition ( $M=4.05, SE=.39$ ) than in the negative one ( $M=3.44, SE=.30$ )<sup>22</sup>. These results suggested that when multiculturalism seemed to be positively endorsed by the norms of a culture, both majority and minority groups supported the maintenance of the ethnic cultures, while when multiculturalism was perceived negatively, members of the ethnic minority groups wanted to preserve ethnic cultures more than White British.



*Figure 4.8 Participants' attitudes toward cultural maintenance, as a function of condition and ethnicity, controlling for positive intergroup contact, social identification with British and multicultural. Error bars indicate standard errors of the mean.*

<sup>22</sup> The means have been adjusted in consideration of the covariates.

In the case of participants' attitudes toward cultural adoption, the results of the ANCOVA, indicated a non significant effect of ethnicity,  $F(1,89)=.15$ ,  $p>.05$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$ , and of the interaction,  $F(1,89)=.43$ ,  $p>.05$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$ . There was, however, a marginal main effect of condition,  $F(1,89)= 3.15$ ,  $p=.08$ , partial  $\eta^2=.03$ , indicating a higher preference in the positive ( $M=5.19$ ,  $SE=.25$ ) than in the negative condition ( $M=4.59$ ,  $SE=.22$ ).

#### *Acculturation orientations*

Figure 4.9 summarises the results for participants' acculturation strategies. Following Bourhis et al. (2009), five different orientations were measured. In the case of *individualism*, when all the covariates were added to the analysis, all the effects were statistically non significant ( $F(1,89)=.58$ ,  $p>.05$ , partial  $\eta^2=.01$ , for condition,  $F(1,89)=.91$ ,  $p>.05$ , partial  $\eta^2=.01$ , for ethnicity,  $F(1,89)=1.41$ ,  $p>.05$ , partial  $\eta^2=.02$  for the interaction effect).

Regarding *integrationism*, there was a no significant main effect of ethnicity,  $F(1,89)=2.41$ ,  $p>.05$ , partial  $\eta^2=.03$ , a marginal main effect of condition,  $F(1,89)=3.6$ ,  $p=.06$ , partial  $\eta^2=.04$  (indicating a stronger preference in the positive,  $M=5.6$ ,  $SE=.21$ , than in the negative condition,  $M=5.1$ ,  $SE=.18$ ), and a significant interaction effect,  $F(1,89)=5.00$ ,  $p=.03$ , partial  $\eta^2= .05$ . The significant interaction effect indicates that when multiculturalism was described as endorsed by the British culture, White British showed a higher preference for integrationism ( $M=5.67$   $SE=.33$ ) compared to members of other ethnic groups ( $M=5.54$ ,  $SE=.28$ ), while in the negative condition, White British showed a lower preference ( $M=4.53$ ,  $SE=.25$ ) for integrationism compared to members of other ethnicities ( $M=5.63$ ,  $SE=.28$ ). A planned t-test revealed a significant difference for White British between the positive and negative condition,  $t(46)=2.708$ ,  $p<.01$ , but not for members of ethnic minorities,  $t(46)=-.11$ ,  $p>.05$ .

Analysing the results for *assimilationism*, the two main effects, both of condition,  $F(1,89)=.49$ ,  $p>.05$ ,  $\eta^2=.00$ , and ethnicity,  $F(1,89)=.00$ ,  $p>.05$ ,  $\eta^2=.00$ , and the interaction effect between condition and ethnicity,  $F(1,89)=.18$ ,  $p>.05$ ,  $\eta^2=.00$ , were statistically non significant.

Relatively to *segregationism*, in the case of White British and *separatism* in the case of other ethnicities, the only significant effect was the difference due to participants' ethnicity,  $F(1,89)=36.05$ ,  $p<.001$ , partial  $\eta^2=.29$ , indicating a higher preference by ethnic minorities

( $M=4.07$ ,  $SE=.21$ ) than White British ( $M=2.16$ ,  $SE=.21$ ). The main effect of condition,  $F(1,89)=2.53$ ,  $p>.05$ , partial  $\eta^2=.03$ , and the interaction effect between ethnicity and condition,  $F(1,89)=.09$ ,  $p>.05$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$ , were not statistically significant.

In the case of *exclusionism* for the majority group and *marginalisation* for the minority, there were not significant effects of ethnicity,  $F(1,89)=1.01$ ,  $p>.05$ , partial  $\eta^2=.01$ , and the interaction,  $F(1,89)=.74$ ,  $p>.05$ , partial  $\eta^2=.01$ . However, participants' preference for exclusionism/marginalisationism, marginally varied based on the condition they were assigned to,  $F(1,89)=3.49$ ,  $p=.06$ , partial  $\eta^2=.04$ . Specifically, there was a higher preference for this acculturation strategy in the negative condition ( $M=3.5$ ,  $SE=.24$ ) than in the positive ( $M=2.83$ ,  $SE=.27$ ).

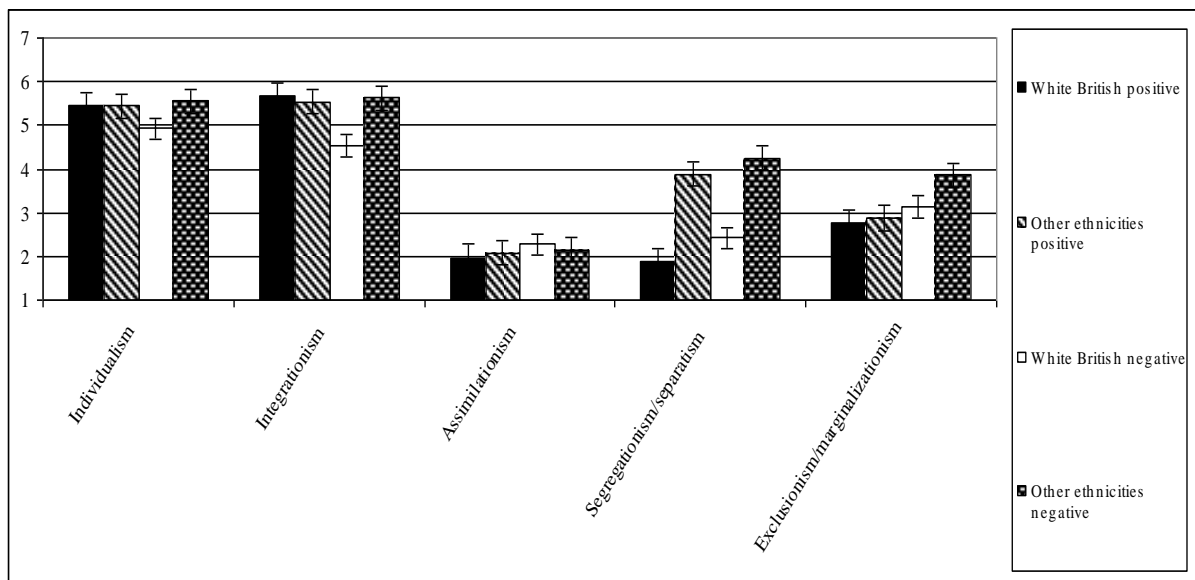


Figure 4.9 Participants' attitudes toward the five acculturation strategies, as a function of condition and ethnicity, controlling for positive intergroup contact, social identification with British and multicultural. Error bars indicate standard errors of the mean.<sup>23</sup>

#### Desire for intergroup contact

Participants' perception of self and ingroup and outgroup desire for intergroup contact were also investigated with a 2(condition: positive vs. negative) x 2(ethnicity: White British vs. ethnic minorities) ANCOVA. In the case of desire for intergroup contact-self, both the main effect of condition,  $F(1,89)=3.53$ ,  $p=.06$ , partial  $\eta^2=.04$  (marginal), and of ethnicity,  $F(1,89)=7.4$ ,  $p=.01$ , partial  $\eta^2=.08$ , were statistically significant. Participants' own desire for

<sup>23</sup> The means and standard errors reported in the graphs have been adjusted to include the effects of the covariates.

intergroup contact, was, as expected, higher in the positive condition ( $M=5.49$ ,  $SE=.17$ ) than in the negative one ( $M=5.06$ ,  $SE=.15$ ). Regarding ethnicity, White British ( $M=5.62$ ,  $SE=.17$ ) wanted to get in contact with the outgroup more than ethnic minorities ( $M=4.92$ ,  $SE=.17$ ). The interaction effect was not significant,  $F(1,89)=1.29$ ,  $p=.26$ , partial  $\eta^2=.01$ .

In the case of participants' perception of ingroup's desire for intergroup contact, the main effects of ethnicity,  $F(1,89)=.53$ ,  $p>.05$ , partial  $\eta^2=.01$ , and condition,  $F(1,89)=.35$ ,  $p>.05$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$ , and the interaction effect,  $F(1,89)=1.34$ ,  $p>.05$ , partial  $\eta^2=.01$ , resulted to be non significant.

Regarding participants' perceptions of the outgroup's desire for intergroup contact, despite the non significant main effect of condition,  $F(1,89)=2.54$ ,  $p>.05$ , partial  $\eta^2=.03$ , and the interaction effect,  $F(1,89)=1.1$ ,  $p=.3$ , partial  $\eta^2=.01$ , there was a marginal main effect of ethnicity,  $F(1,89)=3.47$ ,  $p=.07$ , partial  $\eta^2=.04$ . This effect indicated that there was a higher perception of outgroup's desire for intergroup contact by the members of the ethnic groups ( $M=4.49$ ,  $SE=.18$ ) than by the majority group ( $M=3.97$ ,  $SE=.19$ ).

Table 4.5 Main effects and interaction effects of covariates, condition and ethnicity on all dependent variables, Study 2.

Dependent Variables	Covariate	Main effect covariates F	Main effect condition F	Main effect ethnicity F	Interaction effect F
<i>Cultural Maintenance</i>	N/A	/	.06	6.81*	3.66 <sup>+</sup>
	Cov.1, Cov2. & Cov.3	1.24, 2.6, .03	.06	8.99**	4.46*
<i>Contact/Cultural Adoption</i>	N/A	/	2.93 <sup>+</sup>	.10	.72
	Cov.1, Cov2. & Cov.3	.16, 4.92*, 1.7,	3.15 <sup>+</sup>	.15	.43
<i>Individualism</i>	N/A	/	.29	6.05*	1.22
	Cov.1, Cov2. & Cov.3	1.83, 1.07, 10.13**	.58	.91	1.41
<i>Integrationism</i>	N/A	/	3.63 <sup>+</sup>	2.57	4.22*
	Cov.1, Cov2. & Cov.3	.05, 5.48*, 1.38*	3.6 <sup>+</sup>	2.41	5.00*
<i>Assimilationism</i>	N/A	/	.37	1.03	.21
	Cov.1, Cov2. & Cov.3	1.12, .15, 3.26 <sup>+</sup>	.49	.00	.18
<i>Segregationism/ Separatism</i>	N/A	/	3.33 <sup>+</sup>	47.92***	.22
	Cov.1, Cov2. & Cov.3	2.55, .30, .61	2.53	36.05***	.09
<i>Exclusionism/ Marginalisationism</i>	N/A	/	1.49	1.76	.50
	Cov.1, Cov2. & Cov.3	.18, 6.25*, 10.97***	3.49 <sup>+</sup>	1.00	.74
<i>Desire for intergroup contact-self</i>	N/A	/	2.70	1.16	.75
	Cov.1, Cov2. & Cov.3	6.15*, .26, 6.94*	3.53 <sup>+</sup>	7.40**	1.29
<i>Desire for intergroup contact-ingroup</i>	N/A	/	.02	2.51	1.81
	Cov.1, Cov2. & Cov.3	5.11*, .03, 4.59*	.35	.53	1.34
<i>Desire for intergroup contact-outgroup</i>	N/A	/	2.20	9.09**	1.08
	Cov.1, Cov2. & Cov.3	.55, .22, 3.22 <sup>a</sup>	2.54	3.47 <sup>+</sup>	1.10

Note 1: <sup>+</sup>  $p < .1$ , \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .001$ .

Note 2: N/A refers to the 2x2 ANOVA, Cov.1: positive contact, Cov.2 identification as British, Cov. 3 identification as multicultural.

#### **4.4.3.3. Moderations**

Before moving on to the moderations, the main results of the ANCOVA are summarised. The results of the ANCOVA showed that when controlling for the covariates (experiences of positive contact, identification as British and identification as multicultural), interesting effects for the dependent variables have been found. The main effects for ethnicity, suggesting more positive attitudes by members of the ethnic groups compared to White British, were statistically significant in the case of preference for cultural maintenance, segregationism/separatism, and perception of the outgroup's desire for intergroup contact. Significant differences, due to the condition participants were assigned to have been found in the case of preference for the exclusionism/marginalisation strategy and desire for intergroup contact on a personal level. Exclusionism/marginalisation was, indeed, preferred more in the negative condition than in the positive condition, while participants affirmed that they were more willing to get in contact with the cultural outgroup in the positive condition than in the negative condition. Moreover, an interaction effect has been confirmed for participants' attitudes toward cultural maintenance, indicating more positive attitudes toward it by members of the ethnic groups, especially in the negative condition; on the contrary, for White British, this preference was stronger in the positive condition than in the negative condition. The same pattern of results was found for the interaction effect for integrationism: a higher preference by ethnic minorities in the negative condition while there was a higher preference by White British in the positive one.

Following these results, hierarchical regressions were performed to test if variables such as positive contact, identification as British, and identification as multicultural moderate people's attitudes toward acculturation strategies and self, ingroup, and outgroup desire for contact. Two dummy variables were created to see if there were any differences, not only across conditions but across groups. The first dummy variable signified condition. The number 1 was assigned to the positive condition and 0 to the negative condition. The second dummy variable was related to ethnicity; 1 was assigned to White British, and 0 to members of the ethnic minorities. As discussed in the previous study, the moderator variables were centred to avoid multicollinearity. In the first step of the hierarchical regression, the two dummy variables and the centred moderator were inserted. In the second step, the interaction terms were added (dummy variable for condition by centred moderator and dummy variable for ethnicity by centred moderator). The third and final step of the hierarchical regression corresponded to the insertion of a third interaction term: the three-way interaction between



the two dummy variables and the centred moderator. This procedure was followed for the different variables in analysis, but no significant three-way interactions were found. For this reason, the file was split by ethnic group (White British vs. ethnic minorities) and different hierarchical regressions considering only the two-way interactions between the dummy variable for condition and the centred moderators were conducted. It is necessary to note that by splitting the file it is not possible to compare White British and ethnic minorities, but only to investigate the differences within each group across the two different experimental conditions. When running the moderations separately for the ethnic groups, namely for White British and ethnic minorities, the interaction effects between the centred moderators and the dummy variables were not significant. For this reason, the moderations are not discussed in this section.

The general discussion section of this chapter presents a full examination of the findings, contributions and limitations of Study 2. Before moving to Study 3, it is worth mentioning that the results confirmed the main hypotheses, and that Study 2 is successful in testing the idea of how the inclusion of multiculturalism in the group's norms affects people's attitudes in the acculturation process in the UK. Despite that Study 2 addressed the limitations of Study 1, it still has weaknesses. One of these regards the kind of ethnic groups in analysis, as in Study 2, the minority group is too heterogeneous. The literature on the topic has, indeed, suggested that the majority group's attitudes could vary based on the ethnic minorities examined and the role that they have in the society in which acculturation takes place (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001). To address this issue, Studies 3.a and 3.b included members of specific ethnic groups who live in the UK (Asians in Study 3.a and Polish in Study 3.b), testing if the acculturation process has different outcomes based on the relationship between White British and the specific groups in analysis. Another limitation involved the experimental manipulation. In Study 2, a summary of a fake study was created ad hoc for the purposes of this research. In Study 3, real policies were used in order to manipulate the inclusion of multiculturalism in the group norms specifically, in governmental norms.

## **4.5 Study 3**

### **4.5.1 Aim and hypotheses**

Guimond, de la Sablonnière and Nugier (2014) conducted a review to identify if intergroup ideologies influence intergroup attitudes and behaviours. More specifically, the authors

focused on the way different national policies can generate norms that affect the acculturation process. The three main approaches that have been adopted in many culturally diverse countries are: assimilation, colour blindness (universalism), and multiculturalism. Assimilation aims to reduce or eliminate diversity, categorising all memberships as one single group, and colour blindness ignores cultural diversity, adopting a principle of decategorisation. By contrast, multiculturalism promotes and maintains diversity, which makes the categorisation with relevant cultural groups salient. The literature suggests that the endorsement of a multicultural ideology is associated with the reduction of intergroup conflict, as it facilitates the maintenance of different heritage cultures (Levin et al., 2012; Verkuyten, 2005).

A study conducted in the USA, for example, indicated that when multiculturalism is promoted as a norm, it reduces the positive correlation between prejudice toward ethnic minority groups and social dominance orientation, compared to a context where multiculturalism is not part of the group's norms (Levin et al., 2012). Priming people with a message that supports multiculturalism, indeed, improves the evaluation of racial outgroups compared to a prime that supports a colour-blind approach (Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004). Following this research path, as it has been done for Studies 1 and 2, two studies (3.a and 3.b) tested the inclusion-or-not of multiculturalism in the group's norms on an institutional level. The main aim of these two new studies was to understand whether supporting multiculturalism at the institutional level, through public policy, affects people's acculturation attitudes. According to Guidmond et al. (2014), a strong diversity policy may positively affect intergroup attitudes and create norms that support cultural diversity. This impact of norms on individual attitudes needs further clarification.

To test this, the experimental manipulation adopted in these two studies was based on the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX). The MIPEX measures integration policies in different countries using 148 policy indicators. The MIPEX assesses policies related to education, labour market mobility, access to nationality, political participation, anti-discrimination, family reunion, and long-term residence. This index includes ethnic minorities' chances to be part of the society through the evaluation of the "government's commitment to integration" (MIPEX 2012, as cited in Kauff, Asbrock, Thorner & Wagner, 2013). A high MIPEX score indicates that a country allows migrants not only to participate in the society, but also to maintain their ethnic culture, which supports integration. As suggested

by Kauff, and colleagues (2013), the governmental policies that direct the participation and inclusion of ethnic minorities in the society have “norm-setting” consequences for the people who live in that society and identify with its culture. In other words, they make the multicultural ideology normative. Guidmond and colleagues (2014) compared the changes in the MIPEx score between 2007 and 2011 in different countries. Their analysis showed that, in the UK, support for diversity decreased in favour of assimilationism. This tendency was confirmed by Guidmond et al. (2013). Based on this consideration, the experimental manipulation of Study 3.a and 3.b uses two extracts from the MIPEx of the UK that summarise two different policies adopted in the country: one supports multiculturalism and integration (positive condition), and the other hinders them (negative condition).

In addition to testing whether the institutional support for multiculturalism through public policies that facilitate (or hinder) the integration of ethnic minorities, the present two studies investigated if the acculturation process could vary as a function of the ethnic groups in analysis. Studies 3.a and 3.b have identical structure and measures, but they differ in terms of the target groups. Study 3.a explored the attitudes between White British and Asians/British Asians, while Study 3.b tested those between White British and Poles. Poles and Asians are both prevalent ethnic minorities in the UK, but they differ in their migration history. Asians are a well-established minority in British society; they have been present for decades, and they possess strong ties to British culture because they were citizens of former British Empire colonies. By contrast, Polish people are part of the more recent migration waves that arrived from Europe and there is an intense public debate about their presence in the UK and their impact on the British economy. The focus on these two different ethnic minority groups helps to highlight the importance of the social and historical contexts in which acculturation occurs (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind & Vedder, 2001; Verkuyten, 2010; Yogeewaran, & Dasgupta, 2014). A further improvement of Study 3.a and 3.b regards the measures. An additional dependent variable is participants’ self-reported actual behaviour, or their willingness to act in support of ethnic minorities.

#### **4.5.2 Study 3.a**

Study 3.a investigated the attitudes of White British and British Asians regarding the acculturation process. It has been hypothesised that:

- a) In the positive condition, stronger preferences for cultural maintenance, individualism, and integrationism, as well as for desire for intergroup contact on personal and group levels and self-reported actual behaviours in support of multiculturalism, are expected both in the case of British Asians and White British people.
- b) In the negative condition, stronger preferences for cultural adoption (especially for White British), assimilationism, segregationism/separatism, and marginalisationism/exclusionism, are expected.

#### **4.5.2.1 Method**

##### **4.5.2.1.1 Design and Participants**

The present study has a 2(ethnicity: majority vs. minority) x 2(condition: positive vs. negative) between-subjects design.

The sample for this online study was composed of White British and members of the Asian community who lived in the UK. Participants were recruited through Prolific Academic, an online participant pool, and snowballing in exchange for a small monetary payment. Participants from both groups were randomly assigned to one of the two experimental conditions. The total sample was comprised of 80 people. Of these, 40 were White British and 40 were Asians. Participants were randomly assigned to the two conditions: in the case of the majority group, there were 20 participants per condition, while in the case of Asians, there were 22 in the positive condition and 18 in the negative Condition. Relative to their gender, the sample was composed of 40 males (21 White British and 19 Asians) and 40 females (19 White British and 21 Asians). Participants' mean age was 26.4 years old,  $SD=8.83$  (for White British  $M=30.70$ ,  $SD=10.16$ , for Asians  $M=22.10$ ,  $SD=4.11$ ), ranging from 18 to 64 years old. Overall, the sample could be considered quite liberal,  $M=3.55$ ,  $SD=1.64$ ,  $t(79)=-2.45$ ,  $p=.008$ . This tendency is confirmed in the case of White British,  $M=3.24$ ,  $SD=1.64$ ,  $t(39)=-2.92$ ,  $p=.003$ , but not in the case of Asians,  $M=3.86$ ,  $SD=1.59$ ,  $t(39)=-.55$ ,  $p>.05$ .

##### **4.5.2.1.2 Procedure**

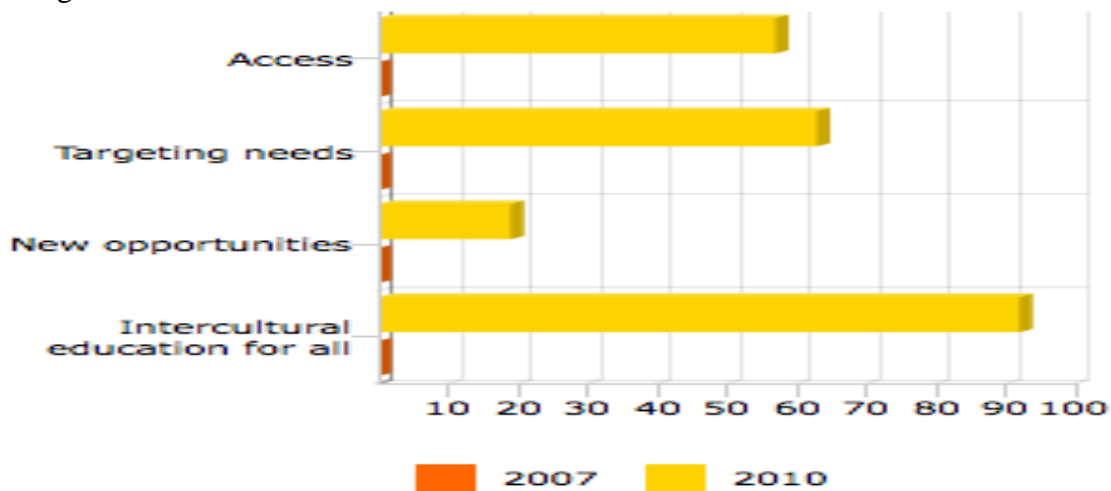
After reading the information sheet and signing the consent form, participants answered demographic questions regarding their age, gender, ethnicity, and nationality. Participants were then asked to read a report that summarised a public policy adopted in the UK. Two different reports retrieved from the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) were used.

Both articles were introduced by a few lines (created by the researcher) that, in one case emphasised that the reviewed public policy supported multiculturalism and enhanced the integration of ethnic minorities in British society (positive condition). In the other case, the introduction highlighted how the policy did not support multiculturalism and integration (negative condition).

In the positive condition, the changes in the public policy on education were reported. The content of the script is recreated below.

*“The Migration Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) compares integration policies adopted in the UK between 2007 and 2010. The summary below shows the improvements made in this range of time in the area of education. This demonstrates the efforts made in the UK to support multiculturalism and the integration of people with different backgrounds. Please read the MIPEX summary below very carefully.*

Changes in Education:



Summary

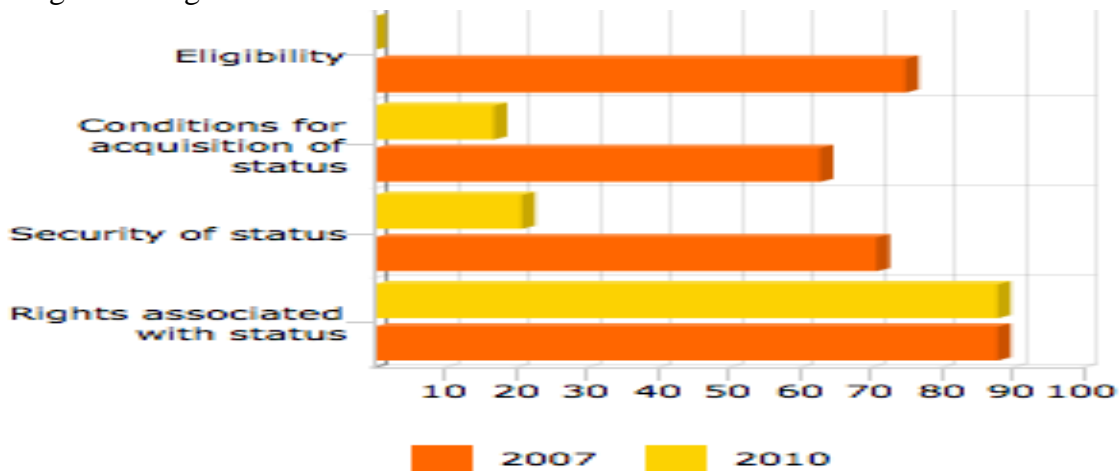
*Migrant pupils receive better support in schools across Britain than they do on the continent, while all pupils receive the best education on how to live together in a diverse society. Still, the UK could learn from North American and Nordic countries on targeting new needs and opportunities that immigrants bring to schools. Generally across England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, newcomers benefit from slightly favourable targeted measures. Data is collected on Migrant pupils’ achievements and possible school segregation. (data from MIPEX 2014)”*

In the negative condition, the public policy reviewed that did not support multiculturalism and integration was on long-term residence. Its content is reported below.

*“The Migration Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) compares the integration policies adopted in the UK between 2007 and 2010. The summary below shows the changes made in this*

range of time in the area of long-term residence. This demonstrates the efforts made in the UK to hinder multiculturalism and the integration of people with different backgrounds. Please read the MIPEX summary below very carefully.

Changes in Long-term Residence:



### Summary

*With the “2009 Borders, Citizenship and Immigration Act” immigrants and local community are significantly delayed or discouraged from investing in integration. Many legal residents, such as students and some workers, would be excluded from applying for the permanent residence, while the rest have to wait up to 8 years to be accepted. In between, they are held up for 3 to 5 years as “probationary citizens” with an uncertain future and without public benefits.*

*(data from MIPEX 2014).”*

After reading the report, participants were asked to answer a manipulation check question, measured on a seven-point Likert scale: “How much do you think that the policy summarised above supports multiculturalism?” The number 1 indicated non-support for multiculturalism and 7 indicated total support for multiculturalism. Different scales that measured the variables are included in the following section.

#### **4.5.2.1.3 Measures**

Unless otherwise stated, a seven-point Likert-type scale was used, where higher numbers indicated stronger agreement with the statements.

##### **4.5.2.1.3.1 Dependent Variables**

*Attitudes toward cultural maintenance and cultural adoption*

In the case of participants' attitudes toward cultural maintenance and cultural adoption, the same six items from Zagefka and Brown (2002) used in the previous study have been adopted (1 reversed code item<sup>24</sup> for cultural adoption). In the case of Study 3.a the reliability for cultural maintenance was  $\alpha=.93$  ( $\alpha=.96$  for White British and  $\alpha=.88$  for Asians); whereas for cultural adoption it was  $\alpha=.43$  ( $\alpha=.51$  for White British and  $\alpha=.38$  for Asians), thus the results for this variable will be interpreted with caution.

#### *Acculturation Strategies*

For Study 3.a, the same five items of Study 2 measured the acculturation strategies preferred by the groups in analysis. The scales are the Host Community Acculturation Scale (HCAS; Bourhis, et al., 2010; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001, 2004) and the Immigrant Acculturation Scale (IAS; Berry et al., 1989; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004; Bourhis, et al., 2009).

#### *Desire for intergroup contact–self-ingroup-outgroup*

To measure participants' desire for intergroup contact on both a personal and group levels, three items were used. The items were: “Are you interested in meeting people who are Asian/White British?” for self; “To what extent do you think that White British people want to interact with Asians?” for the majority, and the reverse for Asians to measure ingroup desire for contact; “To what extent do you think that Asians want to interact with White British?” for the majority, and the reverse for the minority to measure the outgroup's desire for intergroup contact.

#### *Self-reported actual behaviour*

In order to measure how much participants were actually willing to act with the aim of supporting ethnic minorities' rights, a single item was created ad hoc for this study: “We are trying to recruit online volunteers for a charity that supports the rights of ethnic groups residing in the UK. Would you be willing to volunteer? If yes, how many hours would you volunteer per month?” Participants indicated how many hours they wanted to volunteer from a minimum of 0h to a maximum of 6h.

### **4.5.2.1.3.2 Covariates**

#### *Quantity and quality of intergroup contact*

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<sup>24</sup> The reversed item was: “I think that Asian/White British people should stick to their own kind”.

The same items as Studies 1 and 2 were used for Studies 3.a and 3 b. In the case of Study 3.a, the reliability of quantity of contact was high,  $r=.78, p<.001$  ( $r=.71, p<.001$  for White British and  $r=.77, p<.001$  for Asians). The same was true for the quality of intergroup contact,  $r=.56, p<.001$  ( $r=.53, p<.001$  for White British and  $r=.59, p<.001$  for Asians). As before, an interaction variable, *positive contact*, was created.

### *Social identification*

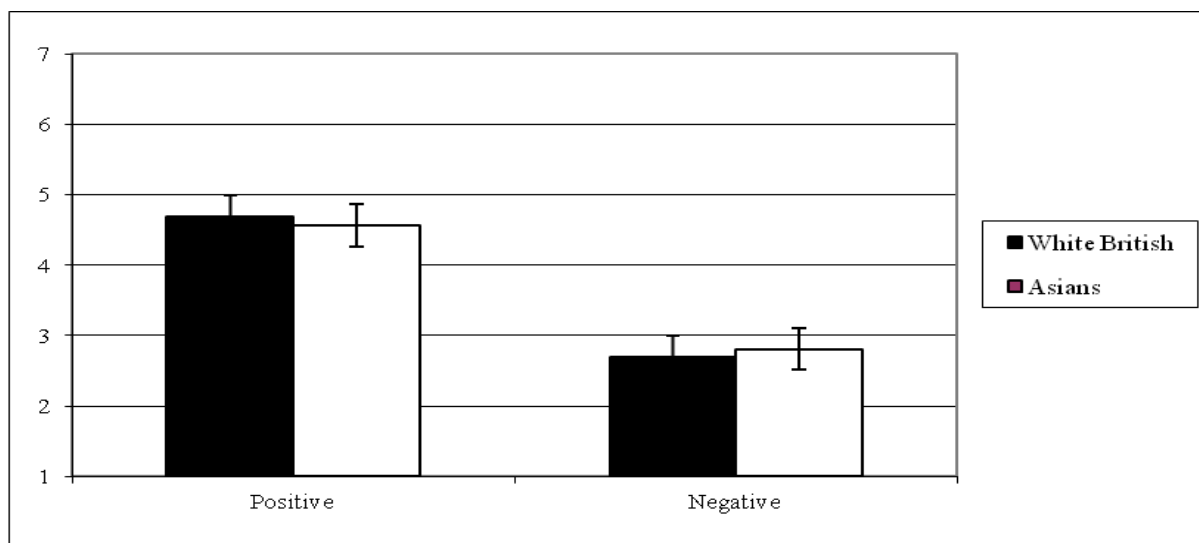
In this study, three items measured social identification: how much participants identified with their ingroup (White British or Asian), with being British, and with being multicultural.

## **4.5.2.2 Results and Discussion**

### **4.5.2.2.1 Preliminary results of Study 3.a**

#### **4.5.2.2.1.1 Manipulation Check**

With the aim of checking if the experimental manipulation was effective, a 2x2 ANOVA was conducted on an item that measured the extent to which the policies in the article supported multiculturalism (Figure 4.10). As hypothesised, there was a main effect of condition,  $F(1,76)=40.75, p<.001$ , partial  $\eta^2=.35$ , which indicated that, in the case of the positive condition, the public policy ( $M=4.65, SD=1.21$ ) supported multiculturalism more than the policy in the negative condition ( $M=2.75, SD=1.38$ ). The main effects of ethnicity,  $F(1,76)=.00, p>.05$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$ , and the interaction effect,  $F(1,76)=.16, p>.05$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$ , were not significant.



*Figure 4.10 Manipulation check for the four experimental conditions.*



#### 4.5.2.2.1.2 Covariates

With the aim of testing the ANCOVA's assumption of the independence of the covariates with the experimental manipulation, a 2x2 ANOVA<sup>25</sup> was conducted on participants' experiences of positive contact, and their level of identification with the ethnic group, with as British and multicultural. None of the interaction effects were found to be significant ( $F(1,76)=.16$ ,  $p=.69$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$  for positive contact;  $F(1,76)=.08$ ,  $p=.78$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$  for identification with the ethnic group;  $F(1,76)=1.23$ ,  $p=.27$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$  for identification as British;  $F(1,76)=.03$ ,  $p=.87$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$  for identification as multicultural) indicating that the assumption was not violated.

#### 4.5.2.2.2 Main Analysis: ANCOVAs

Following an identical procedure to that in Study 2, the results of the 2x2 ANCOVA are presented in this section. Each covariate was added to the analysis in the following order: 1) experiences of positive contact; 2) identification with the ethnic group; 3) identification as British; 4) identification as multicultural. Since the analyses included multiple comparisons, the Sidak correction was applied. Table 4.6 reports the descriptives of the dependent variables without controlling for the covariates, while Table 4.7 includes all the ANOVA and ANCOVA analyses, after presenting the relevant findings per dependent variables (for further details, see Appendix F).

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<sup>25</sup> Relative to the main effects: in the case of positive contact ( $F(1,76)=.52$ ,  $p=.47$ , partial  $\eta^2=.01$  for condition and  $F(1,76)=14.21$ ,  $p=.000$ , partial  $\eta^2=.37$  for ethnicity); for identification with the ingroup ( $F(1,76)=.60$ ,  $p=.44$ , partial  $\eta^2=.01$  for condition and  $F(1,76)=.49$ ,  $p=.49$ , partial  $\eta^2=.01$  for ethnicity); for identification as British ( $F(1,76)=.02$ ,  $p=.89$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$  for condition and  $F(1,76)=3.53$ ,  $p=.06$ , partial  $\eta^2=.04$  for ethnicity); for identification as multicultural ( $F(1,76)=.45$ ,  $p=.50$ , partial  $\eta^2=.01$  for condition and  $F(1,76)=.80$ ,  $p=.37$ , partial  $\eta^2=.01$  for ethnicity).

Table 4.6 Descriptives for the dependent variables per condition and ethnicity.

<i>Dependent Variable</i>		<i>Positive condition</i>	<i>Negative condition</i>
<i>Cultural maintenance</i>	White British	4.42 (1.89)	4.50 (2.33)
	Asians	4.38 (1.67)	4.94 (1.30)
<i>Cultural adoption</i>	White British	5.80 (1.09)	5.63 (1.58)
	Asians	6.18 (1.16)	5.72 (.93)
<i>Individualism</i>	White British	5.20 (1.61)	5.65 (1.53)
	Asians	5.55 (1.37)	5.83 (1.50)
<i>Integrationism</i>	White British	5.00 (1.17)	4.75 (1.55)
	Asians	5.32 (1.39)	5.06 (1.66)
<i>Assimilationism</i>	White British	2.55 (1.64)	2.15 (1.39)
	Asians	2.82 (1.62)	2.28 (1.64)
<i>Segregationism/separatism</i>	White British	2.45 (1.64)	2.40 (1.54)
	Asians	4.05 (1.84)	3.94 (1.43)
<i>Marginalisationism/ exclusionism</i>	White British	2.75 (1.74)	2.80 (1.96)
	Asians	3.32 (2.03)	3.17 (1.54)
<i>Desire for contact self</i>	White British	4.66 (1.66)	5.22 (1.18)
	Asians	6.13 (.98)	6.16 (.84)
<i>Desire for contact ingroup</i>	White British	3.69 (1.36)	4.23 (1.16)
	Asians	5.00 (1.23)	4.91 (1.21)
<i>Desire for contact outgroup</i>	White British	3.66 (1.63)	4.42 (1.10)
	Asians	4.52 (1.55)	4.72 (1.34)
<i>Self-reported behaviour</i>	White British	.97 (1.80)	2.11 (1.73)
	Asians	1.97 (2.10)	1.93 (2.24)

*Attitudes toward cultural maintenance and cultural adoption*

With the aim of understanding if the presence of a public policy that supports (or does not support) integration could affect people's preferences toward cultural maintenance, a 2(condition: positive vs. negative) x 2(ethnicity: White British vs. Asians) ANCOVA was run. Neither the main effect of condition,  $F(1,72)=.22$ ,  $p=.64$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$ , nor of ethnicity,  $F(1,72)=.03$ ,  $p=.87$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$ , nor the interaction effect,  $F(1,72)=.22$ ,  $p=.64$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$ , were statistically significant.

There were also no significant differences found in participants' attitudes toward cultural adoption, ( $F(1,72)=1.52, p=.22$ , partial  $\eta^2=.02$  of condition,  $F(1,72)=.45, p=.5$ , partial  $\eta^2=.01$  of ethnicity, and  $F(1,72)=.4, p=.53$ , partial  $\eta^2=.01$  for the interaction).

#### *Participants' preference for acculturation strategies*

Regarding the acculturation strategies, non significant results were found for *individualism*, ( $F(1,72)=.42, p=.52$ , partial  $\eta^2=.01$  for condition;  $F(1,72)=.19, p=.66$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$  for ethnicity and  $F(1,72)=.25, p=.62$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$  for the interaction), *integrationism* ( $F(1,72)=.87, p=.35$ , partial  $\eta^2=.01$  for condition,  $F(1,72)=.17, p=.68$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$  for ethnicity and  $F(1,72)=.00, p=.96$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$  for interaction), *assimilationism* ( $F(1,72)=1.22, p=.27$ , partial  $\eta^2=.02$  for condition;  $F(1,72)=1.26, p=.26$ , partial  $\eta^2=.02$  for ethnicity, and  $F(1,72)=.05, p=.83$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$  for interaction).

In the case of *segregationism/separatism* and *exclusionism/marginalisationism*, the only significant difference pertained to ethnicity. Specifically, in the case of *segregationism/separatism*, ( $F(1,72)=.09, p=.76$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$  for condition,  $F(1,72)=.08, p=.78$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$  for the interaction and  $F(1,72)=17.52, p=.000$ , partial  $\eta^2=.2$  for ethnicity), the findings suggested that this strategy was preferred more by Asians participants, ( $M=4.00, SE=.25$ ) than White British ( $M=2.41, SE=.25$ ). In the case of *exclusionism/marginalisationism* ( $F(1,72)=.00, p=.97$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$  for condition, and  $F(1,72)=.02, p=.87$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$  for the interaction) the significant main effect of ethnicity,  $F(1,72)=4.23, p=.04$ , partial  $\eta^2=.06$ , indicated that this strategy was preferred more by Asians ( $M=3.49, SE=.31$ ) than White British ( $M=2.53, SE=.31$ ).

#### *Participants' desire for intergroup contact on a personal and group level*

When desire for intergroup contact was measured, a main significant effect of ethnicity was found for desire for intergroup contact–self and ingroup. More specifically, in the case of participants' desire for intergroup contact on a personal level, the main effect of condition,  $F(1,72)=.79, p=.38$ , partial  $\eta^2=.01$ , as well as the interaction effect between condition and ethnicity,  $F(1,72)=1.13, p=.29$ , partial  $\eta^2=.01$ , were not significant. There was, however, a main effect of ethnicity,  $F(1,72)=6.46, p=.01$ , partial  $\eta^2=.08$ , showing that Asians were more willing to have experiences of intergroup contact with the majority group ( $M=5.92, SE=.20$ ) compared to White British ( $M=5.17, SE=.20$ ).

Relative to participants' perception of their ingroup's desire for intergroup contact with the outgroup, there was a significant main effect of ethnicity,  $F(1,72)=6.16$ ,  $p=.01$ , partial  $\eta^2=.08$ , indicating a higher perception by Asians ( $M=4.85$ ,  $SE=.21$ ) than White British ( $M=4.06$ ,  $SE=.21$ ). The main effect of condition ( $F(1,72)=.27$ ,  $p=.60$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$ ) and the interaction effect between condition and ethnicity ( $F(1,72)=1.26$ ,  $p=.26$ , partial  $\eta^2=.02$ ) were not statistically significant.

Non significant differences were found in the case of participants' perceptions of the outgroup's desire for intergroup contact, namely of White British for Asian participants and Asians for White British (for ethnicity,  $F(1,72)=1.65$ ,  $p=.20$ , partial  $\eta^2=.02$ ; for condition,  $F(1,72)=2.45$ ,  $p=.12$ , partial  $\eta^2=.03$ ; and the interaction effect,  $F(1,72)=.35$ ,  $p=.55$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$ ).

#### *Self-reported behaviour*

When measuring participants' actual self-reported behaviour for supporting ethnic minority's rights through volunteering, it seems that the presence of a public policy that facilitates integration in a multicultural society did not affect their decision. Non significant results were found for the main effects ( $F(1,72)=2.02$ ,  $p=.16$ , partial  $\eta^2=.03$  of condition;  $F(1,72)=2.32$ ,  $p=.13$ , partial  $\eta^2=.03$  of ethnicity ) and the interaction,  $F(1,72)=1.8$ ,  $p=.18$ , partial  $\eta^2=.02$ .

Table 4.7 Main effects and interaction effects for the ANCOVA on all dependent variables.

Dependent Variable	Covariates	Effect of covariate F	Main effect condition F	Main effect ethnicity F	Interaction Effect F
Cultural maintenance	N/A	/	.61	.24	.34
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	.95, 9.97**, 1.53, 5.02*	.22	.03	.22
Cultural adoption	N/A	/	1.31	.74	.29
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	.19, .04, .19, 2.41	1.52	.45	.40
Individualism	N/A	/	1.20	.62	.06
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	.24, 11.6***, 4.31*, 13.27***	.42	.19	.25
Integrationism	N/A	/	.62	.92	.00
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	.26, .19, .15, .84	.87	.17	.00
Assimilationism	N/A	/	1.77	.31	.04
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	1.1, .00, .00, 3.2 <sup>+</sup>	1.22	1.26	.05
Segregationism/ Separatism	N/A	/	.04	18.48***	.00
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	2.13, 13.93***, 4.07*, 1.28	.09	17.52***	.08
Exclusionism/ Marginalisationism	N/A	/	.01	1.28	.06
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	3.27 <sup>+</sup> , .19, 1.54, .38	.00	4.23*	.02
Desire for Contact Self	N/A	/	1.15	19.76***	1.00
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	9.1**, .03, 1.87, .01	.79	6.46*	1.13
Desire for Contact Ingroup	N/A	/	.62	12.73***	1.23
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	.71, 1.64, .26, .85	.27	6.16*	1.26
Desire for Contact Outgroup	N/A	/	2.26	3.24 <sup>+</sup>	.79
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	6.46*, 5.84*, 5.74*, .04	2.45	1.65	.35
Behaviour	N/A	/	1.56	.87	1.78
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	1.16, 4.01*, 1.07, 1.26	2.02	2.32	1.80

Note 1: <sup>+</sup>  $p < .1$ , \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

Note 2: Cov.1: positive contact, Cov.2: identification with ingroup, Cov.3: identification with British, Cov.4: identification as multicultural.

As shown in Table 4.7, the ANCOVA confirmed the same pattern of results as the ANOVA. There are not significant results with regard to the main effects of condition and of the interaction effects between condition and ethnicity controlling for the covariates. The only significant results regard the main effect of ethnicity for the following dependent variables: segregation/separatism and exclusionism/separatism, and desire for intergroup contact—self and ingroup.

#### 4.5.2.2.3. Moderations

An identical procedure to the previous studies was adopted to test if the covariates, i.e. positive contact, identification with British, with the ingroup, and with being multicultural,

could moderate people's acculturation attitudes. Unfortunately, none of the covariates was confirmed as moderator for this study.

### **4.5.3 Study 3.b**

#### **4.5.3.1 Aims and Hypotheses**

Based on the same premises of the previous study, it has been hypothesised that:

- a) In the positive condition there would be higher preferences for cultural maintenance, individualism, integrationism, desire for intergroup contact on personal and group levels, as well as for behaviour in support of the ethnic minorities especially by ethnic minorities.
- b) In the negative condition, there would be higher preference for cultural adoption, assimilationism, segregationism/separatism, and marginalisationism/exclusionism especially by the majority members.

#### **4.5.3.2 Method**

##### **4.5.3.2.1 Design and Participants**

Study 3.b has the same experimental, between-subject design of Study 3.a: 2(ethnicity: majority vs. minority) x 2(condition: positive vs. negative).

The sample was composed of 91 participants, recruited online through Prolific Academic, and snowballing in exchange for a small monetary payment. Of these, 42 were White British and 49 Polish who lived in the UK. More specifically, 21 White British and 24 Polish people were assigned to the positive condition, while 21 White British and 25 Polish to negative condition. Relative to their gender, 56 were male (of these 25 White British and 31 Polish) and 35 females (17 White British and 18 Polish). The mean age was  $M=28.14$ ,  $SD=10.4$  (for White British  $M=31.62$ ,  $SD=11.67$ , and for Polish  $M=25.16$ ,  $SD=8.18$ ). In the case of their political orientation, also this sample This sample can be considered liberal in terms of political orientation,  $M=3.08$ ,  $SD=1.64$ ,  $t(90)=-5.32$ ,  $p<.001$  (for White British  $M=3.3$ ,  $SD=1.61$ ,  $t(41)=-2.8$ ,  $p<.01$ , for Polish  $M=2.9$ ,  $SD=1.66$ ,  $t(48)=-4.65$ ,  $p<.001$ ).

##### **4.5.3.2.2 Procedure**

The same procedure as Study 3.a has been adopted for Study 3.b.

### **4.5.3.2.3 Measures**

#### **4.5.3.2.3.1 Dependent variables**

##### *Attitudes toward cultural maintenance and cultural adoption*

Adopting the same scale of Study 3.a, in the case of Study 3.b, instead, the reliability for cultural maintenance was high, ( $\alpha=.94$  for the general sample,  $\alpha=.95$  for White British and  $\alpha=.92$  for Polish). For attitudes toward cultural adoption,  $\alpha=.41$  ( $\alpha=.35$  for White British and  $\alpha=.42$  for Polish). Despite that the reliability of this scale would increase if item 3 was deleted ( $\alpha=.55$  for the whole sample,  $\alpha=.33$  for White British and  $\alpha=.65$  for Polish), the overall variable for cultural adoption has been created including item 3 in order to be consistent with the choice made in Study 3.a. Thus, its results will be interpreted with caution.

##### *Acculturation Strategies*

The same items as in Study 2 and Study 3.a have been used in this case.

##### *Desire for intergroup contact–self-ingroup-outgroup*

The same items as in Study 3.a have been used. In the case of White British, the outgroup was Poles and the ingroup was White British; in the case of Poles, the outgroup referred to White British and the ingroup to Poles.

##### *Self-reported behaviour*

Same items as in Study 3.a.

#### **4.5.3.2.3.2 Covariates**

##### *Quantity and quality of intergroup contact*

Regarding Study 3.b the reliability for quantity of contact ( $r=.85$ ,  $p<.001$ , for the entire sample,  $r=.60$ ,  $p<.001$  for White British and  $r=.84$ ,  $p<.001$  for Poles) was good, while quality of contact ( $r=.46$ ,  $p<.001$  for the general sample,  $r=.23$ ,  $p=.10$  for White British and  $r=.52$ ,  $p<.001$  for Poles) had a low reliability. However, to maintain consistency with Study 3.a, the interaction term, *positive contact*, was created and interpreted with caution.

##### *Social identification*

Same items as in Study 3.a.

### 4.5.3.3 Results and Discussion of Study 3.b

#### 4.5.3.3.1 Preliminary Analysis

##### 4.5.3.3.1.1 Manipulation Check

The same procedure as in Study 3.a has been followed to test if the experimental manipulation was effective. From the results of the 2x2 ANOVA on participants' perception of how strongly the policy reported in the article supported multiculturalism, a significant main effect of condition emerged,  $F(1,87)=47.58$ ,  $p<.001$ , partial  $\eta^2=.35$ , indicating that the policy in the positive condition was considered more pro multiculturalism,  $M=4.46$ ,  $SD=1.43$ , compared to the one in the negative condition,  $M=3.58$ ,  $SD=1.70$ , suggesting that the experimental manipulation was successful. The main effect of ethnicity,  $F(1,87)=.01$ ,  $p=.75$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$ , as well as the interaction effect between condition and ethnicity,  $F(1,87)=1.16$ ,  $p=.28$ ,  $\eta^2=.01$ , were not statistically significant. Figure 4.11 shows these results.

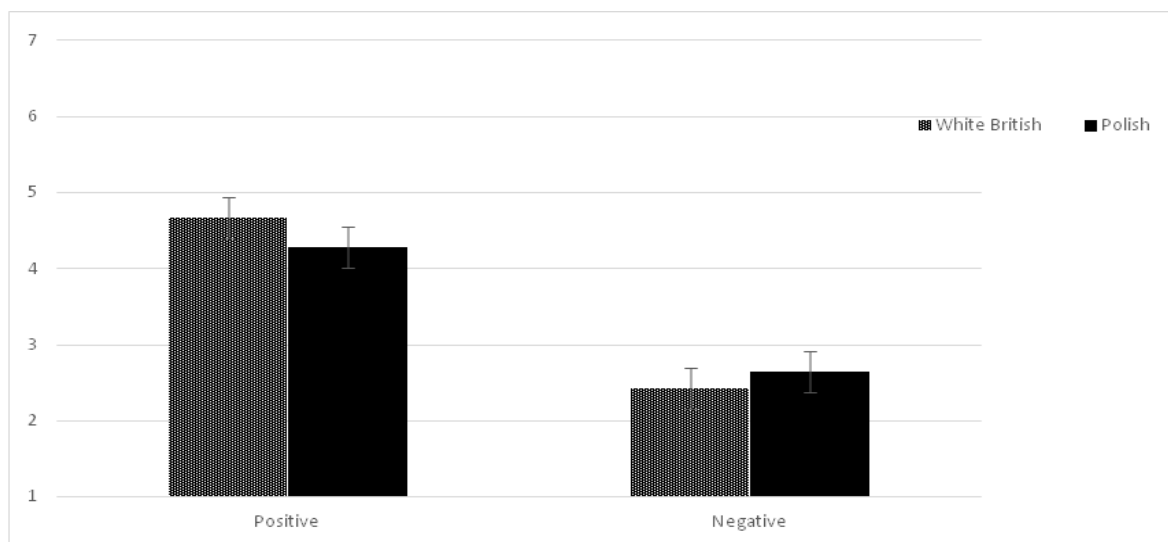


Figure 4.11 Manipulation check for the four experimental conditions.

##### 4.5.3.3.1.2 Covariates

Also in the case of Study 3.b, before running the ANCOVA, the assumption of independence of the covariates with the independent variables has been tested through a 2(ethnicity: White British vs. Poles) x 2(condition: positive vs. negative) ANOVA for participants' experiences of positive contact and the extent to which they identify with the ingroup, with being British and multicultural<sup>26</sup>. The assumption was met for experiences of positive contact

<sup>26</sup> Main effects: of condition ( $F(1,86)=.35$ ,  $p=.55$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$  for positive contact,  $F(1,86)=.63$ ,  $p=.43$ , partial  $\eta^2=.01$  for identification with the ingroup,  $F(1,86)=.93$ ,  $p=.34$ , partial  $\eta^2=.01$  for



( $F(1,86)=.03$ ,  $p=.87$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$ ), identification with the ingroup ( $F(1,86)=.00$ ,  $p=1.00$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$ ) and with being British ( $F(1,86)=.49$ ,  $p=.49$ , partial  $\eta^2=.01$ ). In the case of participants' identification with being multicultural, instead, the assumption was violated,  $F(1,86)=5.21$ ,  $p=.02$ , partial  $\eta^2=.06$ .

#### **4.5.3.3.2 Main analysis: ANCOVAs.**

The same rationale as Study 3.a has been adopted to analyse the data of Study 3.b: the dependent variables (participants' attitudes toward cultural maintenance, cultural adoption, the five acculturation strategies, perception of desire for intergroup contact on both personal and group levels, and their self-reported behavioural choice in support of ethnic minorities' rights) were controlled for the possible covariates (experiences of positive contact, social identification with the ingroup, with being British, and with being multicultural). Table 4.8 below reports the means and the standard deviation for each dependent variable without controlling for the covariates, while the results of the ANOVA and ANCOVA are included in Table 4.9 (more details Appendix G).

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identification as British,  $F(1,86)=.38$ ,  $p=.54$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$  for identification as multicultural) and of ethnicity ( $F(1,86)=121.55$ ,  $p=.000$ , partial  $\eta^2=.59$  for positive contact,  $F(1,86)=9.89$ ,  $p=.002$ , partial  $\eta^2=.1$  for identification with the ingroup,  $F(1,86)=.36$ ,  $p=.55$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$  for identification with being British,  $F(1,86)=2.76$ ,  $p=.1$ , partial  $\eta^2=.03$  for identification ad multicultural).

Table 4. 8 Descriptives for the dependent variables per condition and ethnicity.

<i>Dependent Variable</i>		<i>Positive Condition</i>	<i>Negative Condition</i>
<i>Cultural maintenance</i>	White British	4.19 (2.18)	4.08 (1.76)
	Poles	4.57 (1.45)	4.44 (1.45)
<i>Cultural adoption</i>	White British	4.92 (1.53)	5.40 (1.09)
	Poles	6.07 (.93)	5.91 (1.17)
<i>Individualism</i>	White British	5.29 (1.76)	4.62 (1.63)
	Poles	5.46 (1.10)	5.56 (1.50)
<i>Integrationism</i>	White British	5.10 (1.58)	5.14 (1.62)
	Poles	4.71 (1.40)	4.96 (1.57)
<i>Assimilationism</i>	White British	2.33 (1.80)	2.33 (1.24)
	Poles	3.08 (1.44)	2.64 (1.60)
<i>Segregationism/separatism</i>	White British	2.52 (1.50)	2.24 (1.18)
	Poles	3.75 (1.54)	3.40 (1.32)
<i>Marginalisationism/ exclusionism</i>	White British	2.70 (1.95)	3.00 (1.73)
	Poles	3.08 (1.69)	2.84 (1.28)
<i>Desire for contact self</i>	White British	3.97 (1.46)	4.58 (1.33)
	Poles	5.98 (.87)	6.21 (.96)
<i>Desire for contact ingroup</i>	White British	3.10 (1.01)	3.49 (1.29)
	Poles	4.67 (1.37)	4.75 (1.14)
<i>Desire for contact outgroup</i>	White British	3.65 (1.07)	4.23 (1.55)
	Poles	4.56 (1.81)	4.55 (1.29)
<i>Behaviour</i>	White British	1.33 (1.66)	.96 (1.20)
	Poles	1.06 (1.43)	.81 (1.48)

#### *Attitudes toward cultural maintenance and adoption*

Analysing the data of participants' attitudes toward cultural maintenance, it emerged that there were no significant differences ( $F(1,82)=.04$ ,  $p=.85$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$  for condition,  $F(1,82)=1.41$ ,  $p=.24$ , partial  $\eta^2=.02$  for ethnicity, and  $F(1,82)=.18$ ,  $p=.67$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$  for the interaction).

Regarding participants' attitudes toward cultural adoption (Figure 4.15), a significant main effect of ethnicity was found ( $F(1,82)=4.2$ ,  $p=.04$ , partial  $\eta^2=.05$ ), suggesting that Polish people,  $M=5.97$ ,  $SE=.22$ , had more positive attitudes toward it than White British,  $M=5.16$ ,  $SE=.24$ . The main effect of condition,  $F(1,82)=.68$ ,  $p=.41$ , partial  $\eta^2=.01$ , and the interaction effect,  $F(1,82)=.4$ ,  $p=.53$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$ ) were not statistically significant.

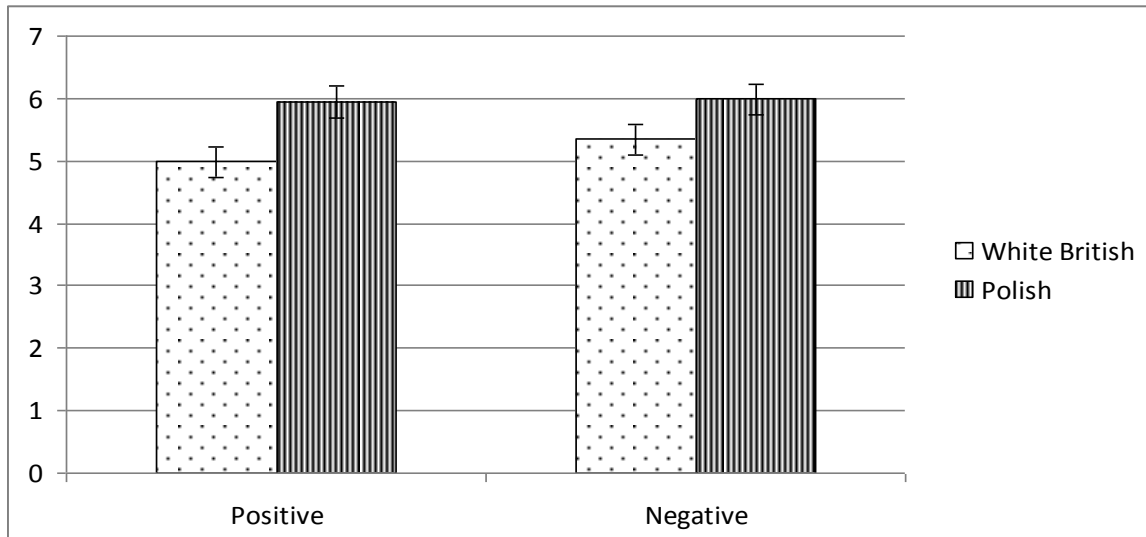


Figure 4.12 Participants' attitudes toward cultural adoption, as a function of condition and ethnicity, controlling for positive intergroup contact, social identification with ethnic ingroup, British and multicultural. Error bars indicate standard errors of the mean.

#### Participants' preference for acculturation strategies

Figure 4.13 presents participants' preference for the five acculturation strategies, which have been investigated using a 2x2 ANCOVA. Starting from *individualism*, while there were non significant differences for ethnicity,  $F(1,82)=1.25$ ,  $p=.27$ , partial  $\eta^2=.01$ , and for condition,  $F(1,82)=.36$ ,  $p=.55$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$ , a significant interaction effect emerged,  $F(1,82)=5.87$ ,  $p=.02$ , partial  $\eta^2=.07$ . While White British preferred this strategy more in the positive (M=5.98, SE=.36) than in the negative condition (M=5.09, SE=.35), the reverse was true for Poles (M=4.74 SE=.33 in the positive condition and M=5.29, SE=.33 in the negative one). Non significant effects were reported for *integrationism* (ethnicity,  $F(1,82)=.38$ ,  $p=.54$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$ , condition,  $F(1,82)=.25$ ,  $p=.62$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$ , and for the interaction between ethnicity and condition,  $F(1,82)=.50$ ,  $p=.48$ , partial  $\eta^2=.01$ ).

For the last three acculturation strategies, a significant main effect of ethnicity emerged. For *assimilationism*, non significant effects emerged for condition,  $F(1,82)=1.09$ ,  $p=.30$ , partial  $\eta^2=.01$ , nor for the interaction,  $F(1,82)=1.84$ ,  $p=.18$ , partial  $\eta^2=.02$ , while the main effect of ethnicity,  $F(1,82)=5.00$ ,  $p=.03$ , partial  $\eta^2=.06$ , indicated that Poles preferred this strategy (M=3.10, SE=.28) more than White British (M=1.98, SE=.31). Regarding participants' preference for *segregation/separatism*, a significant main effect of ethnicity,  $F(1,82)=25.65$ ,  $p<.001$ , partial  $\eta^2=.24$ , was found, with a higher preference by Poles, M=4.04, SE=.24, compared to White British, M=1.86, SE=.26. The main effects of condition ( $F(1,82)=3.05$ ,

$p=.09$ , partial  $\eta^2=.04$ ) and the interaction ( $F(1,82)=.73$ ,  $p=.39$ , partial  $\eta^2=.01$ ) were not statistically significant. The same pattern was true in the case of *exclusionism/marginalisationism*: there was a significant main effect of ethnicity ( $F(1,82)=4.11$ ,  $p=.05$ , partial  $\eta^2=.05$ ) indicating that Poles ( $M=3.37$ ,  $SE=.28$ ) endorsed this strategy more than White British ( $M=2.36$ ,  $SE=.31$ ), while there were not significant differences of condition ( $F(1,82)=.31$ ,  $p=.58$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$ ) or of the interaction effect ( $F(1,82)=2.74$ ,  $p=.10$ , partial  $\eta^2=.03$ ).

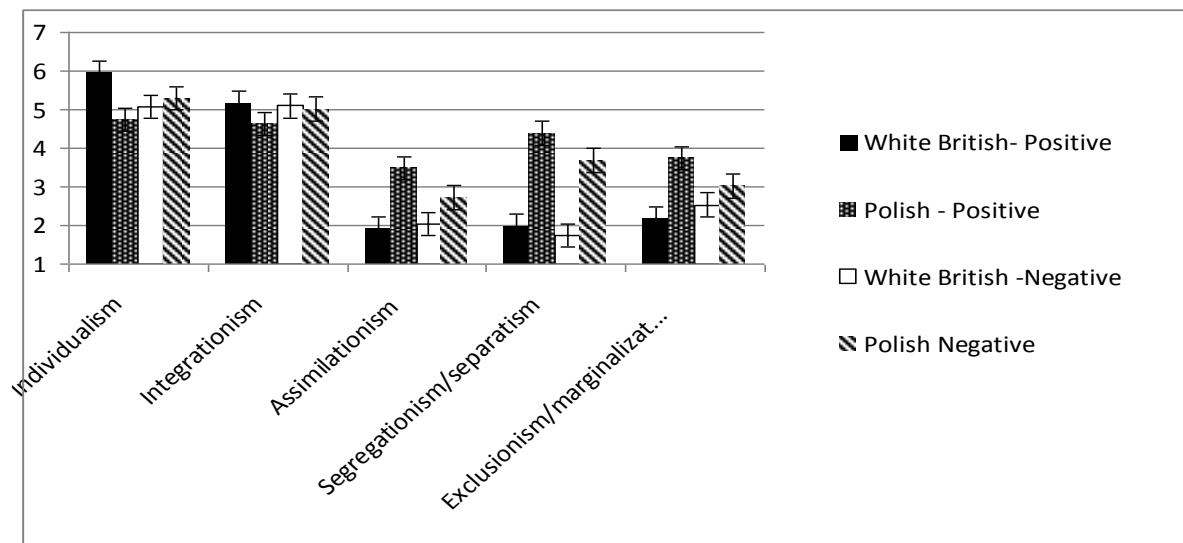


Figure 4.13 Participants' attitudes toward the five acculturation strategies, as a function of condition and ethnicity, controlling for positive intergroup contact, social identification with ethnic group, British and multicultural. Error bars indicate standard errors of the mean.<sup>27</sup>

#### Participants' desire for intergroup contact on a personal and group level

When participants were asked to indicate the extent to which they would like to have personal contact with the outgroup, significant differences between the positive and negative conditions emerged,  $F(1,82)=4.28$ ,  $p=.04$ , partial  $\eta^2=.05$ , with higher desire in the negative ( $M=5.45$ ,  $SE=.16$ ) condition compared to the positive ( $M=4.99$ ,  $SE=.16$ ). There were non significant differences in the main effect of ethnicity ( $F(1,82)=2.92$ ,  $p=.09$ , partial  $\eta^2=.02$ ) and for the interaction ( $F(1,82)=.01$ ,  $p=.94$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$ ).

In the case of participants' perception of their ingroup's desire for contact with the outgroup, a main significant effect of ethnicity was found,  $F(1,82)=6.10$ ,  $p=.02$ , partial  $\eta^2=.07$ , showing a pattern of results where Polish participants indicated that Polish people are willing to get in

<sup>27</sup> The values inserted are those controlled for the covariates.

contact with White British, that is a higher perception of the ingroup's desire for contact,  $M=4.53$ ,  $SE=.23$ , more than what White British participants stated regarding their ingroup's attitudes toward Polish,  $M=3.50$ ,  $SE=.26$ . The main effect of condition ( $F(1,82)=.66$ ,  $p=.42$ , partial  $\eta^2=.01$ ) and the interaction effect ( $F(1,82)=.18$ ,  $p=.67$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$ ) were statistically non significant.

No significant results have been found for participants' perception of the outgroup's desire for contact with the ingroup ( $F(1,82)=.82$ ,  $p=.37$ , partial  $\eta^2=.01$  for condition,  $F(1,82)=.01$ ,  $p=.93$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$  for ethnicity and  $F(1,82)=.21$ ,  $p=.64$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$  for the interaction).

#### *Self-reported behaviour*

Experimental manipulation did not affect participants' actual self-reported behaviour (their willingness to be volunteers in an association that supports minorities' rights). None of the effects were statistically significant ( $F(1,82)=.59$ ,  $p=.44$ , partial  $\eta^2=.01$  for condition,  $F(1,82)=.54$ ,  $p=.46$ , partial  $\eta^2=.01$  for ethnicity and  $F(1,82)=.08$ ,  $p=.78$ , partial  $\eta^2=.00$  for the interaction).

Table 4.9 Main effects and interaction effects for the ANOVA and ANCOVA on all the dependent variables.

Dependent variable	Covariates	Effect of covariate F	Main effect condition F	Main effect ethnicity F	Interaction Effect F
Cultural Maintenance	N/A	/	.11	1.05	.00
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	.89, .09, .02, 3.73 <sup>+</sup>	.04	1.41	.18
Cultural Adoption	N/A	/	.39	10.95	1.62
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	.11, .21, .37, 9.67 <sup>**</sup>	.68	4.2 <sup>*</sup>	.4
Individualism	N/A	/	.79	3.09 <sup>+</sup>	1.47
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	3.30 <sup>+</sup> , 5.81 <sup>*</sup> , .15, 17.65 <sup>***</sup>	.36	1.25	5.87 <sup>*</sup>
Integrationism	N/A	/	.21	.77	.10
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	.16, 6.03 <sup>*</sup> , 1.70, 3.95 <sup>*</sup>	.25	.38	.50
Assimilationism	N/A	/	.47	2.68	.47
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	2.30, .21, 1.17, 4.21 <sup>*</sup>	1.09	5.00 <sup>*</sup>	1.84
Segregationism/ Separatism	N/A	/	.17	16.54 <sup>***</sup>	.01
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	2.02, 11.48 <sup>***</sup> , 2.06, 12.23 <sup>***</sup>	3.02 <sup>+</sup>	25.65 <sup>***</sup>	.73
Exclusionism/ Marginalisationism	N/A	/	.00	.09	.57
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	2.63, .04, 12.07 <sup>***</sup> , 16.51 <sup>***</sup>	.31	4.11 <sup>*</sup>	2.74
Desire for Contact self	N/A	/	3.03 <sup>+</sup>	55.63 <sup>***</sup>	.62
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	11.90 <sup>***</sup> , 2.90, .48, 11.84 <sup>***</sup>	4.28 <sup>*</sup>	2.92 <sup>+</sup>	.01
Desire for Contact Ingroup	N/A	/	.85	31.07 <sup>***</sup>	.39
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	1.64, .40, .06, .49	.66	6.10 <sup>*</sup>	.18
Desire for Contact Outgroup	N/A	/	.87	4.08	.92
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	.75, 2.84 <sup>+</sup> , 2.63, 2.87 <sup>+</sup>	.82	.01	.21
Behaviour	N/A	/	1.02	.45	.04
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	2.98, .05, .23, .42	.59	.54	.08

Note 1. <sup>+</sup> p<.1, <sup>\*</sup>p<.05, <sup>\*\*</sup>p<.01, <sup>\*\*\*</sup>p<.001.

Note2. Cov.1: positive contact; Cov.2: identification with ingroup; Cov.3: identification with British; Cov.4: identification as multicultural.

#### 4.5.3.3.2.1 Moderations.

As in Study 3.a, the potential role as moderator of the four covariates, i.e. positive contact, identification with the ingroup, identification as British and as multicultural, were tested. For Study 3.b, none of the covariates moderated participants' acculturation attitudes.

A full discussion of Studies 3.a and 3.b is included in the next session, in which the results of the experimental studies of this chapter are examined in light of the literature. Their limitations and implications are also analysed. Before moving on to the next session, it is important to mention that Studies 3.a and 3.b do not fully confirm the hypotheses on the role of governmental norms in affecting people's acculturation attitudes. In these two studies, the

main differences in people's attitudes toward the acculturation process are mainly due to their ethnicity, thus their membership to the majority or minority group, rather than to the experimental conditions that positively or negatively supported multiculturalism and integration in the acculturation process.

## **4.6 General Discussion for studies of Chapter 4**

### **4.6.1 General overview on social norms on multiculturalism**

The need to consider the role played by the representation of multiculturalism emerged as a consequence of remarkable changes in the ethnic composition of the population in many countries across the world. Thus, it is extremely important to consider the context in which acculturation takes place that is, if it is multicultural, and if it allows the maintenance of different cultural identities within the same society (Fowers & Richardson, 1996). In addition to having a poly-ethnic composition as a demographic feature, multiculturalism refers to policies (Dolce, 1973) and personal attitudes in support of ethnic diversity (Van de Vijver, et al., 2008). An interesting way to understand if a country is multicultural is to discern whether it supports the recognition of different ethnic identities through its norms. Understanding the role of social norms on multiculturalism allows for an analysis of the acculturation process on a macro-level since the main focus is on group dynamics.

The literature on social norms and social influence (Turner, 1991) proves their power to affect people's attitudes (Allport, 1954; 1958; Boyanowsky & Allen, 1973; Kuran, 1995; Miller et al., 2000; Stangor, et al., 2001; Van Knippenberg & Wilke, 1992) and behaviours (Asch, 1958; Sherif, 1936). Based on this background, the main premise of the research included in this chapter is that norms in support of multiculturalism can influence people's attitudes in the acculturation process. As explained in the introduction of this thesis (Chapter 1), the aim of these three studies was to test if people's attitudes toward acculturation are affected by the manipulation of the perception of multiculturalism as positively or negatively endorsed by the norms of a country (Moddod, 2013) in other words, whether multiculturalism is perceived as an enrichment or as a threat for the country in which acculturation takes place. This attempt was tested at three different levels, following what was suggested by Van de Vijver and colleagues (2008) and based on the Yale attitude change approach (Hovland, et al., 1953). In Study 1, an unspecified source interpreted the data from the Census 2011 in a way that supported or did not support multiculturalism in the country. In Study 2, ad hoc

research conducted by two official sources, the BBC and the Office for National Statistics, described public opinion on multiculturalism in the country as supportive or not. In Study 3, the source of the information was institutional, since the MIPEX report on public policies was utilised.

A second important aim of the experimental work presented in this chapter is to further investigate the differences in how majority and minority groups experience acculturation. The need to consider both perspectives has been already suggested by Bourhis and colleagues (1997) in their theorisation of the Interactive Acculturation Model, and confirmed by relevant studies (Van Oudenhoven, et al., 1998; Zagefka & Brown, 2002; Zagefka et al. 2007; Zagefka et al., 2012). In addition, Ginges and Cairns (2000), noted that support for multiculturalism could be contradictory. Some research, indeed, shows that the majority group may prefer cultural adoption (Arends-Toth & Van de Vijver, 2003) while the minority may prefer the recognition of cultural diversity (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002). More generally, minority groups endorse multiculturalism more than majority groups (Verkuyten & Brug, 2004). In this chapter, Study 1 assessed the perspective only of the majority group. Study 2 examined the points of views of both majority group members and minorities in general, mixing different ethnic groups. Study 3 looked into those of the majority and specific minorities (Asians and Poles) in the UK.

The last aim of this Chapter was to test the role of positive experiences of intergroup contact and three different kinds of social identity as potential moderators of the acculturation process. In the case of intergroup contact, this choice is supported by the literature; it has shown that positive intergroup contact improves intergroup relations, and intergroup tolerance, and reduces prejudice (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000, 2008; Turner, Hewstone, Voci & Vonofakou, 2008; Wright et al., 1997). In addition, positive intergroup contact increases people's desire for contact (Binder, et al., 2009), positive attitudes toward cultural maintenance and the endorsement of multiculturalism (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006). The second potential moderator that was tested in these studies was social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Because of the strong link between multiculturalism and social identity (Verkuyten & Brug, 2004; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007), three types of social identities were tested. They were: identification with the ethnic ingroup (Schwartz, Zamboanga & Jarvis, 2007); the identification with a common ingroup (CIIM; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000), or being British,



and the identification with multiple identities, or being multicultural (Phinney & Alipuria, 2006).

To summarise, the three studies presented in this chapter have manipulated multiculturalism by presenting it as positively or negatively endorsed by the norms of the country in which the acculturation process takes place. People's ethnicity that is, their membership in the majority or minority group was also included as an independent variable. The main dependent variables were cultural maintenance and cultural adoption, acculturation strategies and people's desire for intergroup contact on a personal and group level. The covariates, which were also tested as potential moderators, were experiences of positive contact and three types of social identity. The next section summarises the main findings of the three studies, comparing and discussing them in light of the relevant literature.

#### **4.6.2 Summary of findings**

In this section, the main findings of the three experimental studies of this chapter are presented and discussed in the context of the acculturation literature. The results are divided by the main dependent variables and covariates/moderators. It is important to mention that the relationship between social norms and acculturation (including its components and strategies), as well as with the covariates, have been confirmed in a correlational study reported in Appendix C.

##### *Bicultural Identity Integration (BII)*

A quick note regards the test of the adaptation of BII (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005) in order to investigate the majority group's perception of minorities' identity integration. Study 1 demonstrated that this adaptation of the scale was not statistically reliable, and for this reason, this PhD project does not further consider its role in the acculturation process. Even so, the results of one of its components, cultural conflict, indicated that the majority group perceived ethnic minorities' identities as less conflicting when multiculturalism was described as part of the Italian culture. This finding suggested that when multiculturalism is described as endorsed by the norms of a culture, according to the majority group, members of the ethnic minorities who live in that multicultural culture have better opportunities to integrate their multiple identities, and to be recognised by members of the majority group. However, this partial result should be considered with caution, as the reliability of the scale is low. This could be because the BII has mainly been used in the context of the U.S., with

members of ethnic minorities such as Chinese-Americans (Benet-Martinez et al., 2002), and has heretofore never been applied to majority groups in Europe.

### *Cultural maintenance and cultural adoption*

Relative to two of the main dependent variables of this project, namely preference for cultural maintenance and for cultural adoption (Bourhis et al., 1997), the pattern that emerged from the results of Studies 1 and 2 confirmed the hypotheses: positive or negative descriptions of multiculturalism as part of a culture affected people's attitudes toward ethnic minorities. In the case of Study 1, results showed that if multiculturalism was presented positively, members of the majority group had a higher preference for cultural maintenance by minorities compared to when multiculturalism was presented in a negative way. Accordingly, there was a higher preference for cultural adoption of the majority's culture in the negative condition compared to the positive condition. These findings indicate that when the culture of a host country is represented as multicultural, it offers opportunities to maintain heritage cultures and to integrate all the cultures people belong to. When multiculturalism is not endorsed by the norms of a culture, a preference for the adoption of the host culture becomes stronger, with the possible outcome for members of ethnic minorities to assimilate the host culture.

Study 2 showed a similar pattern of results. Members of the ethnic minority groups indicated more positive attitudes toward cultural maintenance than White British. This tendency was stronger especially in the negative condition. This result can be explained by the possibility that ethnic minorities would like to preserve their own cultures, especially when they perceive that they have been rejected by the culture of the majority group. It was found that White British are more willing to support the maintenance of ethnic minorities' cultures when multiculturalism is included in the norms of the country compared to when it is not. No significant results emerged for cultural adoption.

The results of the first two studies of this chapter offer further insights into cultural maintenance and cultural adoption. Similarly to what was demonstrated by Zagefka and Brown (2002) and Van Oudenhoven et al. (1998), there was a general preference for cultural maintenance by both majority and minority groups. However, the finding of Studies 1 and 2 confirmed the idea that multiculturalism is experienced differently by different groups: the majority group shows a stronger preference for cultural adoption than the minorities (Arends-

Toth & Van de Vijver, 2003), while the minorities show a stronger preference for cultural maintenance (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002). In addition, showing more positive attitudes toward multiculturalism when it is endorsed by the group's norms (positive condition), supports the fact that this happens especially when the majority group does not feel threatened by minorities (positive condition; Pfafferott & Brown, 2006; Tip et al., 2012; Verkuyten, 2005; Zagefka et al., 2007).

The hypotheses for cultural maintenance and adoption were rejected in the case of Study 3.a, where no significant differences were found. In Study 3.b, there was only a significantly stronger preference for cultural adoption by Poles than by British, regardless of the conditions participants were assigned to. The absence of findings for these two studies that assess the role of governmental norms in affecting people's attitudes in the acculturation process and the inconsistency of results are comparable to what emerged from Studies 1 and 2, though possibly for different reasons. One explanation is that neither majority nor minority group members are as influenced by governmental norms as they are by social norms. However, this is only a hypothesis that could have been assessed by measuring participants' political attitudes and involvement. A second reason can be the fact that participants may perceive the topic of the two policies presented in the positive and negative condition as not so important for their everyday life. It could be possible that participants considered the policy changes in the field of education and long-term residence as unrelated to their personal experiences, and thus they felt detached from these two topics. A third possible explanation is related to participants' ethnicity. The minority group in Study 2 was heterogeneous, in that it included people from different ethnicities, while in Study 3, only specific minorities were considered (Asians for 3.a and Poles for 3.b). The different minorities could explain the inconsistency between Studies 2 and 3, since the results of Studies 2 could be due to some minorities that were not considered in Study 3.

#### *Acculturation strategies*

Participants' attitudes toward the five acculturation strategies suggested by the Interactive Acculturation Model (Bourhis et al., 1997) were not tested in Study 1, but only in Studies 2 and 3. In Study 2, the hypotheses for the acculturation strategies were partially confirmed. Specifically, no significant differences were found for individualism and assimilationism. In the case of integrationism, minority members strongly supported this strategy regardless of

condition. White British, by contrast, strongly preferred this strategy in the positive condition, but not in the negative condition. This suggests that they were more willing to support integration when multiculturalism was described as a core value of the British culture compared to when it was not (Pfafferott & Brown, 2006). Segregationism/ separatism was preferred more by members of the ethnic groups compared to the White British, indicating their desire to remain separate from the British culture. Regarding exclusionism/marginalisationism, as predicted, this negative strategy was endorsed more in the negative than in the positive condition, with no observed differences due to ethnicity.

In Study 3.a with a sample of White British and Asians, no significant differences were found for individualism, integrationism or assimilationism. Consistently with Study 2, the ethnic minority (Asians) endorsed separatism more than White British endorsed segregationism. Exactly the same pattern emerged for their preference for exclusionism/marginalisationism. In the case of Study 3.b, with Poles and White British, no differences were found for integrationism. Significant differences due to participants' ethnicity were found for assimilationism, segregationism/separatism and exclusionism/marginalisationism, as they were in Studies 2 and 3.a. In these cases, Polish people indicated more positive attitudes toward the above mentioned dependent variables than White British. In addition, a significant interaction effect for participants' preferences for individualism was found. The effect indicated that the majority group endorsed this strategy, and so preferred to consider people more as individuals than as members of a given ethnic group, more in the positive than in the negative condition. The reverse was true for Poles.

The results for the acculturation strategies in Study 2, 3.a, and 3.b, can be interpreted based on the higher preference for cultural maintenance by the ethnic minorities. The literature supports the fact that minority groups are generally more willing to maintain their ethnic culture regardless of what the majority group would prefer them to do (Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998; Zagefka & Brown, 2002), whether this means being integrated in the society or remaining separate.

#### *Desire for intergroup contact–self–ingroup–outgroup*

The last set of dependent variables that was measured across these three studies was participants' desire for intergroup contact on personal and group levels. Differently from

what was expected, no significant differences were found for these three variables in the case of Study 1, which was conducted in Italy.

In Study 2, instead, both majority and minority groups were willing to get into contact with the ethnic outgroup on a self-level when multiculturalism was included in the ingroup norms (positive condition) compared to when it was not (negative condition). In addition, at least in this study, White British were more willing to have intergroup contact on a self-level compared to the ethnic minorities. While no differences resulted for perception of the ingroup's desire for intergroup contact, ethnic minorities perceived the outgroup's desire for intergroup contact as stronger than the majority. These findings are consistent with previous results, and could be explained by the fact that, in general, members of ethnic minority groups perceive good inclinations by White British to have contact with the outgroup.

In Study 3.a, with Asians and White British, both in the case of personal and ingroup desire for intergroup contact, there was a higher perception of desire by Asians than White British. No differences were found in the outgroup's desire for intergroup contact. In Study 3.b, consistent with Study 3.a, there was a higher perception of ingroup's desire for intergroup contact by the ethnic minorities (Poles) than White British, and no differences in the case of the outgroup's perception. In terms of the personal desire for intergroup contact, both ethnic groups indicated a stronger desire for intergroup contact on a personal level in the negative condition than in the positive one.

These inconsistent results of people's desire for intergroup contact can be primarily explained by the analysis of the ethnic groups involved in the acculturation process. The literature suggests that the historical and political relationships between majority and minority groups (Bourhis & Gagnon, 1994) and their competition for resources (Tip et al. 2012; Zagefka, et al., 2007) could influence their attitudes toward each other in the acculturation process. The differences between Studies 2 and 3 in the perception of desire for intergroup contact can indeed be justified by the fact that the minority group of Study 2 is very heterogeneous, including different ethnic minorities. Thus, all the differences in the relationships among the ethnic groups and White British people needed to be taken into account. Study 3 examined only two specific minorities, Asians and Poles, which reduced all other variables that could have influenced the relationship between the majority and minority in a specific multicultural context (the UK).

*Covariates and moderators: Experiences of positive intergroup contact and social identity*

As explained at the beginning of this chapter, and supported by the literature, two main variables have been chosen as covariates and potential moderators of the acculturation process: experiences of positive intergroup contact and social identity. Extensive literature supports how positive intergroup contact improves intergroup relations (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Stathi & Crisp, 2010; Turner, et al., 2008; Wright, et al., 1997) also in the context of acculturation (Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006). All three studies included in this chapter confirmed what is suggested by the literature noted above: experiences of intergroup contact are a key covariate in the acculturation process. The introduction of positive intergroup contact as a covariate in the ANCOVA of the dependent variables of these experimental studies, affects people's attitudes in the acculturation process, based on the endorsement of multiculturalism in the group's norms. However, in the studies of this chapter experiences of intergroup contact did not moderate people's acculturation attitudes.

The second covariate, social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) was shown to be extremely important in the acculturation process (Stathi & Roscini, 2016). Specifically, the three kinds of social identification that have been tested, i.e. identification with the ethnic ingroup (Schwartz et al., 2007; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007), as British, that is a common superordinate identity (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000), and as multicultural, that is a multiple identity (Phinney & Alipuria, 2006), are all relevant for the acculturation process. One important finding regarding the role played by social identity in the acculturation process is that identification as multicultural moderates people's attitudes toward cultural maintenance and adoption in Study 1. The results indicated that, in the case of cultural maintenance, for those who identify less as multicultural, the preference for this variable was higher in the positive condition than in the negative condition. In addition, the more people identify as multicultural, the more their preference for this strategy increased, especially in the negative condition. In the case of cultural adoption, the preference for this variable was consistently higher in the negative condition than in the positive one for those who identified less as multicultural, while this difference was lower for stronger identifiers. Despite that there is no literature testing the moderating role of identification as multicultural in the acculturation process, these findings are in line with what Verkuyten and colleagues suggested on the role of social identity in the acculturation process (Phinney & Alipuria, 2006; Verkuyten & Brug, 2004; Verkuyten &

Thijs, 2002; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). Unfortunately this pattern was not confirmed in Studies 2 or 3.

#### **4.6.3 Limitations and Considerations**

The three studies in this chapter have some limitations, despite the interesting findings related to the acculturation process. The first one regards the groups in analysis. Study 1 tested only the perspective of the majority group, while the literature suggested analysing both the majority and the minorities (Bourhis, et al., 1997; Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Dinh & Bond, 2008; Van Oudenhoven & Hofstra, 2006; Zagefka & Brown, 2002), in order to have a complete understanding of the acculturation process. This weakness is addressed in Studies 2 and 3, in which both majority and minority groups were considered. Another limitation related to the groups in analysis is that Studies 1 and 2 measured only the attitudes toward ethnic minorities in general, while the literature suggests to consider the relationships between the majority and specific ethnic groups (Cornelius 2002; Steiner, 2009) since their relations can be affected by other variables, such as power, political and social discrepancies across the groups, whether they are competing economically, and their respective histories (Harwood, Giles, & Bourhis, 1994). To resolve this issue, Study 3 measured majority group's attitudes toward specific ethnic minorities. For example, in the British context, it is worth considering White British attitudes toward Asians and people from Eastern Europe, such as Poles, due to the significant role they have in the UK.

A second limitation relates to the experimental manipulation. In Study 2, a summary of an -alleged- study was created ad hoc to manipulate the British people's opinion on acculturation, and does not necessarily relate to the reality. In Study 3, real policies were used to manipulate the inclusion of multiculturalism in the group norms on a governmental level. However, it is necessary to understand why, despite that the two policies depict a completely different attitude toward multiculturalism in the British society, majority and minority groups seem not to be affected by them. One possible explanation might be the low level of participants' political involvement and low interest in public policy. Participants might also have thought that these policies do not really impact their everyday life.

A third important limitation regards the low reliability of one measure: the quality of intergroup contact in Study 3.b. Despite that the alpha was quite low, this measure has been used in order to remain consistent with the rest of the studies of this chapter. Its results,

however, should be interpreted with caution. This issue will be further discussed in the general discussion of this thesis (Chapter 6), while reviewing this variable in light of the studies of Chapter 5. A fourth major limitation relates to the small sample size of the studies of this chapter. The limits of small sample sizes will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Possible points that can be useful in order to delve into the investigation of the role of norms in the acculturation process include: considering the characteristics of the contexts in which the acculturation takes place in more depth, and expanding the groups involved. As supported by the literature, future studies could also consider the role of the context in which the acculturation strategies are used, and whether they are private or public (Navas et al., 2005), as this could affect people's preferences for cultural maintenance or cultural adoption. In this project, multiculturalism was considered as endorsed or not only by the majority culture, while another line of research could compare participants' preference for cultural maintenance and adoption, as well as for the acculturation strategies, based on the fact that multiculturalism may be endorsed (or not endorsed) by the norms of both the majority and minority groups (Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998). In addition, the differences within the same ethnic group should be taken into account. For example, it could be useful to distinguish between first and second generation Asians and Polish people, and better assess their experiences of intergroup contact (i.e. whether it is positive or negative).

#### **4.6.4 Implications**

To conclude, the studies in this chapter have theoretical and practical implications with regard to our understanding of the acculturation process.

The three studies of this chapter improve the theoretical understanding of the role of norms in affecting the acculturation process. The results indicated that, when multiculturalism is endorsed by the group norms of a country, people have more positive acculturation attitudes toward the ethnic outgroups involved in this project (Studies 1 and 2). The second main theoretical implication, as explained above, relates to the role of identification as multicultural, in positively influencing people's attitudes (Study 1).

The practical implications of this project are related to the points above. Understanding if and how the media and other institutions depict multiculturalism as part of a given culture affects people's attitudes, and is essential for planning policies and interventions (Dolce, 1973). The role of the media (Robinson, 2001; Shanahan, McBeth, Hathawat & Arnell, 2008) in



influencing state policies and people's behaviours, indeed, has been analysed in the literature. However, further studies on how the media and other socio-political institutions describe multiculturalism as a core value of a culture and as included by its norms, are still necessary. If, as this project aimed to show, a positive representation of multiculturalism ameliorates the acculturation process, it is important to design interventions that improve people's perception of multiculturalism as a core part of the British culture, for example. Furthermore, it would be useful to create a project that increases the understanding of the role of the covariates (experiences of positive intergroup contact and social identification especially as multicultural) in the acculturation process. Increasing opportunities for positive intergroup contact and people's identification as multicultural would facilitate people's integration preference and generally ameliorate intergroup relations.

#### **4.7 Chapter Summary**

The aim of the three experimental studies presented in this chapter was to understand if the norms of the country where acculturation takes place could affect people's attitudes in this complex process. To achieve this aim, the three studies manipulated social and governmental norms on multiculturalism. This investigation allows an analysis of the acculturation process on a macro-level, and assesses if the group norms influence people's attitudes. However, the acculturation process needs to also be investigated on a micro-level, trying to understand how personal experiences can affect it. Based on the literature on the negative effects of social exclusion on intergroup relations and in light of the pilot work conducted in this PhD project, the following chapter tests whether having experiences of social exclusion affects the acculturation process.

The three studies in Chapter 5 manipulate experiences of social exclusion (Williams, et al., 2000), considering the perspectives of both the majority and minority groups. Study 4 investigates if the experience of social exclusion of a minority group member who identifies as British or as Polish, can influence the majority group's acculturation attitudes. In Study 5, majority and minority participants are asked to play "cyberball", an open-source virtual ball-toss game (Williams & Jarvis, 2006) that is used to study social exclusion. Participants are excluded by unknown people or members of the ethnic outgroup. After this experience, their attitudes are measured. Study 6 considers two possible personal experiences in the context of acculturation: being excluded vs. being included. In a video, a Southern European who lives

in the UK describes his experiences being excluded or included, and the deriving acculturation attitudes of White British and Southern Europeans are explored.

## CHAPTER 5

### EXPERIENCES OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION IN THE ACCULTURATION PROCESS

#### 5.1 Chapter Overview

This PhD project aims to investigate two specific antecedents of the acculturation process: social norms and experiences of social exclusion. The previous chapter (Chapter 4) assessed the role of social norms in the acculturation process, adopting a macro-level of analysis. The present chapter focuses on the second potential antecedent, social exclusion, using a micro-level of analysis. As shown in Figure 5.1 below, the three experimental studies included in this chapter investigate whether personal or minorities' experiences of social exclusion influence people's acculturation attitudes. In addition, the studies further test the differences between majority and minority groups and the effects of positive contact and social identity as covariates and potential moderators of the acculturation process.

The first study of this chapter, Study 4, focuses on the combination of social exclusion and social identity. Specifically, it assessed if exposure to a Polish person who identifies as British or Polish, and who has been socially excluded, can differently influence the majority group's attitudes toward Polish people who live in the UK. Study 5 investigates whether a personal experience of social exclusion can influence people's attitudes toward cultural maintenance and cultural adoption, as well as people's willingness to have intergroup contact on both personal and group levels. Study 5 considers the perspective of both the majority (White British), and minority (Asians/British Asians). Study 6 compares if different experiences that highlight either social inclusion or social exclusion of a member of the minority group can affect acculturation preferences of both majority and minority groups. Participants in Study 6 were British and Southern Europeans.

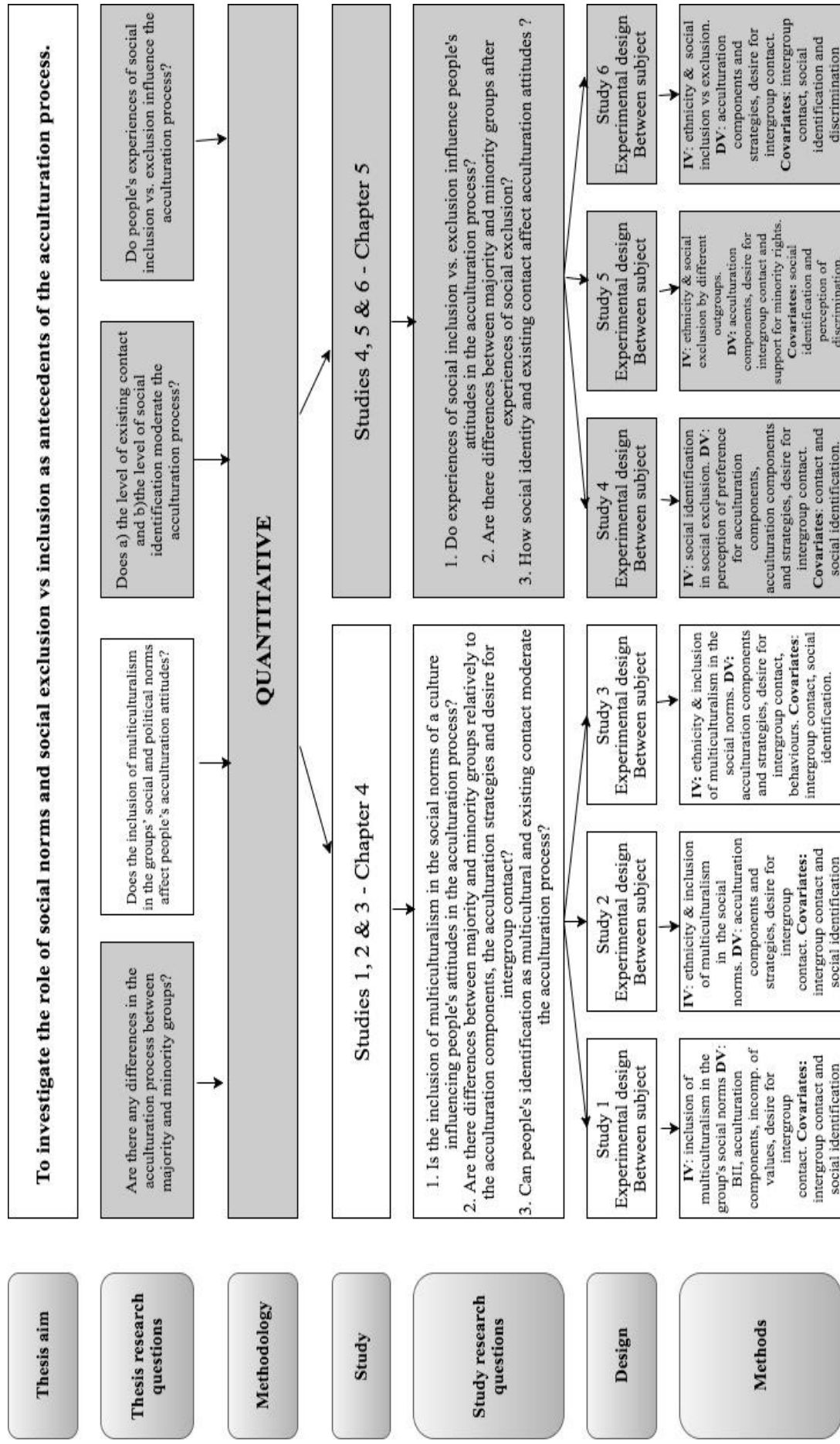


Figure 5.1 Chapter map on how the studies on social exclusion address the research questions.

## 5.2 Introduction

Social exclusion is the second potential antecedent of the acculturation process considered in this PhD project. The three studies included in this chapter aim to investigate if personal experiences of social exclusion (Study 5) or exposure to a story of social exclusion (Studies 4 and 6) due to ethnicity can influence people's attitudes in the acculturation process. This approach allows a micro-level analysis of the acculturation process since it focuses on an individual level. In addition, investigating this topic is necessary since social exclusion has a high relevance in people's life, especially in the case of the minority groups. The following paragraphs review the definition of social exclusion, link it with the concept of acculturation and briefly mention the other variables that are considered in the experimental research of this chapter.

Taket, Crisp, Neville, Lamaro, Graham, and Barter-Godfrey (2009) compared different definitions of social exclusion. One of the most explicative is: "Social exclusion is a complex and multi-dimensional process. It involves the lack or denial of resources, rights, goods and services, and the inability to participate in the normal relationships and activities, available to the majority of people in society, whether in economic, social, cultural, or political arenas. It affects both the "quality of life of individuals and the equity and cohesion of society as a whole" (Levitas, Pantazis, Fahmy, Gordon, Lloyd, & Patsios, 2007; pp. 9). Social exclusion implies, then, alienation and distance from the mainstream society (Duffy, 1995), or exclusion from being social integration (Power & Wilson, 2000; Walker & Walker, 1997) and a sense of social isolation and segregation (Somerville, 1998). In addition, social exclusion involves four dimensions that are economic, political, social and cultural (Merry, 2005; Popay, Escorel, Hernández, Johnston, Mathieson, & Rispel, 2008), that lead to inequalities in all four aspects of somebody's life. A common aspect among the definition of social exclusion is that its main reason relates to race and ethnicity (Merry, 2005; Williams, 2007). This PhD project embraces the definition of social exclusion mentioned above, and also argues that it has long- and short-term negative effects for the people and groups involved in it (Baumeister & Leary, 1995).

The effects of being socially excluded in different life domains can be extremely detrimental, especially when compared with those of its opposite, that is being socially included and, thus, integrated in the society. As explained in the literature review of Chapter 2, this thesis considers social exclusion as absence or lack of intergroup contact and social inclusion as

deriving from positive intergroup contact. This comparison between social inclusion/exclusion and positive/negative intergroup contact leads to a parallelism of their consequences and the relative caveats. Research on intergroup contact have demonstrated that the effects of negative contact are more generalisable to the entire outgroup than those of positive experiences of contact (Barlow et al., 2012), due to the fact that it increases category salience (Paolini, Harwood, & Rubin, 2010). However positive contact is more frequent than negative and this larger frequency counterbalances the stronger effects of negative contact (Graf, Paolini, & Rubin, 2014). Based on the above mentioned parallelism and similarly to the dynamics of positive and negative contact, it could be possible that the effects of social exclusion, specifically on acculturation, are more detrimental than those of social inclusion. Study 6 of this Chapter tries to address this issue.

There is a strong connection between social exclusion and acculturation (a back-up study reported in Appendix C confirmed the correlation between being socially excluded and the components and outcomes of the acculturation process). According to Van Acker and Vandesaere (2011), social exclusion can occur when minorities are perceived as unwilling to adopt the majority culture. More broadly, Renzaho (2009) argued that social exclusion is part of the acculturation process, simply because minority groups bring with them different values and norms that make them subject to subtle forms of social exclusion. Reasons for social exclusion include geographic segregation, as well as destructive social norms, poor education, limited access to social and cultural resources, and economic inequality (Cutler & Glaeser 1997; Akerlof 1997). Thus, social exclusion relates not only to the urban areas, especially if deprived (Wilson, 1999) but also to the target groups in analysis, i.e. specific ethnicities or poor people (Zetter & Pearl, 2000). In addition, social exclusion can also be due to a failure in the societal system to recognise cultural differences. This failure can lead to a) cultural destructiveness, a form of forced assimilation; b) cultural incapacity, when differences are recognised without engagement; or c) cultural blindness, when a single approach incorporates all possible groups differences (Cross, Bazron, Dennis, & Isaacs, 1989; Renzaho, 2002, 2008, 2009). Other consequences are limited access and utilisation of services, which leads to poor social and health outcomes (Caetano, Ramisetty-Mikler, Caetano, & Harris, 2007; Lopez, Kopelowicz, & Cañive, 2002; Renzaho, 2007). Thus, the issue of social exclusion forces policymakers to examine the reasons behind the exclusion of

certain social groups from society, and to find ways to extend social rights and protections to groups that are targets of social exclusion (Loury, 2000; Sales & Gregory, 1996).

Extending the understanding of the link between social exclusion and acculturation, the three studies presented below manipulate experiences of social exclusion. Specifically Study 5 tests how being socially excluded affects both majority and minority groups' acculturation attitudes; Studies 4 and 6 assess how exposure to an experience of social exclusion by a minority member influences people's acculturation attitudes. The need to further investigate the effects of social exclusion especially on minorities, is due to two main reasons: the higher frequency of minority members' social exclusion in everyday life compared to majority members' (Loury, 2000), and the importance of the perception of minority experiences in affecting both majority and minority groups' attitudes in the acculturation process.

It is interesting to assess whether the simple exposure to social exclusion can influence people's general acculturation attitudes, but also group perceptions of the acculturation strategies the outgroup intends to adopt. For example, Matera and colleagues (2011) looked into the Italian context from the White Italian majority's perspective, and examined the effects of perceived outgroup acculturation preferences on intergroup relations. Experimentally manipulating African immigrants' attitudes toward cultural maintenance and intergroup contact (in both cases supportive vs. unsupportive), the authors tested how these perceptions affected majority group's preferences. The results indicated that a stronger perception of African immigrants' desire for intergroup contact leads to more positive intergroup attitudes by the majority members. Furthermore, desire for intergroup contact moderated immigrants' desire for cultural maintenance, and acculturation attitudes towards them. Cultural maintenance caused positive attitudes towards immigrants only when they expressed a desire for intergroup contact.

The study of Matera and colleagues (2011) in addition to other research (Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Rudmin, 2009; Zagefka, et al., 2012) demonstrates the importance of perceived acculturation attitudes and opens a further line of research where the role of symbolic and realistic threat and support for multiculturalism is further investigated (Celeste et al., 2014). While the literature on the acculturation process considers the role of contact as acculturation dimension, there is currently no evidence regarding whether personal or other's (ingroupers'

and the outgroupers') experiences of social inclusion or exclusion affect the acculturation process.

Because of this gap in the literature, it is important to include a variable such as social exclusion in the analysis of the acculturation process. Experiencing social exclusion is the main independent variable in the research of Chapter 5. Three different studies investigate how being excluded by members of the relevant outgroup can affect people's attitudes in the acculturation process as well their desire for future interactions in multicultural societies. This micro-level approach also allows researchers to assess if personal and individual experiences can be generalised and extended to the social groups involved in the acculturation process.

To summarise, the following studies consider as independent variables experiences of social exclusion vs. inclusion; as dependent variables the main outcomes of the acculturation process, that are cultural maintenance, cultural adoption, the five acculturation strategies and desire for intergroup contact on both a personal and group levels, and as covariates/potential moderators, experiences of positive intergroup contact and the three types of social identification that were also adopted in the experimental work of Chapter 4.

### **5.3 Study 4**

#### **5.3.1 Aim and hypotheses**

As explained above, the aim of this chapter is to investigate if an experience of social exclusion can influence people's attitudes in the acculturation process. Specifically, the present study aims to understand how the effects of social exclusion can vary as a function of the excluded minority member's identity: whether he or she identifies with his/her ethnic ingroup or identifies as British. Following the overarching goal of this thesis, the attitudes toward cultural maintenance, cultural adoption, and how these two components are perceived, in addition to the five acculturation strategies and desire for intergroup contact on personal and group levels, have been measured. Moreover, following from the previous studies, Study 4 also examines the role of previous experiences of positive intergroup contact and participants' social identification in influencing these attitudes. The goal is to investigate



whether majority group attitudes, as well as the perception of minority attitudes, are affected by the combination of social exclusion and social identity.

In the last few decades, research has investigated the majority group's acculturation preferences and the concordance between majority and minority preferences (Bourhis et al., 1997; Piontkowski, et al., 2002; Van Oudenhoven, et al., 1998; Zagefka & Brown, 2002). In fact, this concordance can predict positive or negative intergroup relations (Zagefka, et al., 2007). In addition, evidence supports the theory that the perception of minorities' acculturation preferences influences the majority group's acculturation attitudes (Matera, et al., 2011; Piontkowski et al., 2002; Roccas & Brewer, 2000; Zagefka & Brown, 2002). For example, Van Acker and Vanbeselaere (2011), in a cross-sectional study in Belgium, assessed whether the majority group's expectations of the acculturation components (cultural maintenance, contact, and adoption) were linked to perceived intergroup contact and cultural adoption. The authors found that positive contact experiences and a more positive perception of minority intentions to have intergroup contact and cultural adoption are associated with less negative affective reactions toward the minority members. Consistently, stronger perception of minority preference for cultural maintenance is associated with more negative affective reactions.

Zagefka and colleagues (2011) experimentally tested the effects of the majority's perceptions of minority acculturation attitudes on their own acculturation preferences, stressing the fact that this affects how people prefer to live together in multicultural societies (Brown & Zagefka, 2011). The authors asserted that if the majority group perceived a higher desire for cultural adoption by the minority, they will develop more positive attitudes toward them, in the form of integration and stronger support for cultural maintenance, confirming what was suggested by Curtis and Miller (1986). Conversely, a higher perception of cultural maintenance can be interpreted as a sign of identity threat (Stephan & Stephan, 2000) for the majority and thus reduce their positive attitudes toward the minority and increase support for attitudes such as separation. Based on these considerations, Study 4 focuses only on the majority's perspective, taking into account how their attitudes and perceptions of minority acculturation attitudes is fundamental in shaping and creating a social context and public policies that promote a successful acculturation process (Brown & Zagefka, 2011).

The endorsement of a specific social identity by minority members is a way to indicate the acculturation intentions. A strong identification with the ethnic culture by a minority member, for example, is positively related to cultural maintenance and not to adaptation (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002), and thus can be interpreted by the majority as a way to remain separated. For this reason, it can be interesting to assess if a minority member's identification with the ingroup or with the majority culture differently influence the majority group's acculturation attitudes.

A novelty of Study 4 is that it considers the majority group's prejudices toward the minority outgroup. Prejudice is traditionally defined as "an aversive or hostile attitude toward a person to belong to a group, simply because he belongs to that group and, is therefore presumed to have the objectionable qualities ascribed to the group" (Allport, 1954, p. 7). Herek (2004) specified its attitudinal nature, as well as the fact that it is based on emotional, cognitive and behavioural information. Social exclusion can be the result of prejudice and, its expression, and can be sensitive to the social context and its norms (Crandall, Eshleman & O'Brien, 2002). Recently, prejudice and exclusion toward minorities have been normatively proscribed (Kuyper & Bakker, 2006); people tend to express their negative attitudes in politically correct forms that can be interpreted as non-prejudiced (Devine, Plant & Blair, 2001).

Prejudice is strongly linked to acculturation (Zick et al., 2001). For example, Gonzalez, Sirlopu and Kessler (2010) showed that members of the majority group that support integration and assimilation are more willing to have intergroup contact, perceive less intergroup anxiety and realistic threat, and are less prejudiced than majority group members who endorse segregation or marginalisation as acculturation strategies. Consistently, other research has shown that prejudiced majority members more often support assimilation, segregation and exclusionism as acculturation strategies (Bourhis, et al., 1997), and that these preferences are linked to the adoption of more discriminatory behaviours toward the minority (Zick et al., 2001). In addition, in a study by Zagefka and colleagues (2011), prejudice moderated the acculturation process. Regardless of the perception of the minority's acculturation preferences, the majority group supported integration only if its members had low levels of prejudice toward the outgroup.

Because of the importance of the majority group's attitudes in affecting intergroup relations and the role of prejudice, one of the novelties of this study is the introduction of two

measures that assess the majority group's prejudice toward the minority and majority group's perception of minority attitudes toward cultural maintenance and adoption. In this way, this study offers an opportunity to explore the perspective of the majority group. In addition, the present research investigates how the social identity endorsed by a minority member influences the majority group's attitudes toward the ethnic outgroup. The majority group in the UK (White British), composes the sample of the study, and the minority target group is Polish people who live in the UK. Poles were chosen as the minority group because they are a widespread and important ethnic minority in the UK.

The present study investigates whether exposure to an experience of social exclusion of a minority member who strongly identifies with his ethnic ingroup or as British can influence the majority attitudes toward that ethnic outgroup in relation to the acculturation process. These are the hypotheses of the present study:

- a) In the Polish identification condition, there will be a stronger preference for cultural adoption, a more positive perception of minority members' preference for cultural maintenance, and more support for assimilationism, segregationism and exclusionism.
- b) In the British identification condition, there will be a stronger preference for cultural maintenance, a higher perception of minority members' preference for cultural adoption, more support for individualism and integrationism, and a stronger desire for intergroup contact on both personal and group levels.

## **5.3.2 Method**

### **5.3.2.1 Participants and Design**

This online, between-subjects experiment had one level of manipulation through identification: British identification or Polish identification. The vignette of the experimental manipulation presented the story of a minority member who, in one condition, identified himself as British, and identified himself as Polish in the other.

The sample of this study, which was recruited online through Prolific Academic (for an £0.80 reward) was composed of 111 White British participants. Of these, 45 were males and 66 were females. Participants were almost equally distributed between the two experimental conditions: 56 White British were assigned to the "British identification condition" and 55 to the "Polish identification" condition. The sample's mean age was 29.77 years old ( $SD=10.38$

years), with an age range between 18 and 64 years. Relative to their political orientation (measured as in the previous study on a seven-point Likert-type scale, where 1 indicated “liberal” and 7 “conservative”), the sample was quite liberal,  $M=3.06$ ,  $SD=1.58$ , as indicated by one sample t-test showing that the mean value was significantly below the mid-point (4) of the scale,  $t(115)=-6.52$ ,  $p<.001$ .

### 5.3.2.2 Procedure

Similarly to the procedure adopted for the previous studies, participants were recruited online. After reading the information sheet and the consent form, they were randomly assigned to one of the experimental conditions (identification as British vs. identification as Polish). In the instructions, they were told to carefully read the story of Karol and then fill in a questionnaire. The differences between the two conditions have been bolded here. In the identification as British condition, participants read:

*“Hello, my name is Karol, I am 20 and I live in London. I moved to the UK with my parents from Poland when I was 12 so I’ve been living here for 8 years now.*

*Although I attended school in the UK and **I feel British**, I still struggle to feel fully included in this country. I think that I am discriminated and I believe this is due to my Polish origins. Back at school, the kids used to make fun of my accent all the time. I also remember they never invited me to their parties. At that time, I could not understand why they were doing it. We were going to the same school, **we watched the same tv shows, we liked the same music (especially the Back Street Boys)! We even loved the same food: fish and chips.** However, things did not improve when I grew up. For example, house hunting has been a nightmare and my name has not helped me: in most cases landlords wouldn’t reply to me or would say they don’t rent to Polish people. A similar situation when I was looking for a job. In the interviews the employers always insisted asking if English was my first language, despite the fact that I had British qualifications and we were speaking in English! **Yes, Polish is supposed to be my first language, but I prefer English, I even think in English and I completely lost the Polish accent!** Another time I was on a bus and I was speaking in Polish at the phone with my grandma. At certain point the couple that was seated in front of me started saying that I was disturbing them, that they were suspicious because they could not understand what I was saying. At the end they told me “Go back to your country Polack”.*

*It is very hard for me understanding why these things happen. **When I introduce myself to somebody I always say that I am British! Yes, I moved from Poland, but I feel British. I am***

*part of this country and of the British culture. Having a Polish name and being born in Poland does not mean that I am Polish. I feel British and this is the most important part of my identity.”*

In the identification as Polish condition, participants read:

*“Hello, my name is Karol, I am 20 and I live in London. I moved to the UK with my parents from Poland when I was 12 so I have been living here for 8 years now. Although I attended school in the UK, **I do not feel British** and I still struggle to feel fully included in this country. I think that I am discriminated and I believe this is due to my Polish origins. Back at school, the kids used to make fun of my accent all the time. I also remember they never invited me to their parties. At that time, I already could understand why they were doing it. Yes, we were going to the same school, **but I did not like their favourite tv shows and music (especially the Back Street Boys)! We had different food tasting: they liked fish and chips and I loved bigos.** However, things did not improve when I grew up. For example, house hunting has been a nightmare and my name has not helped me: in most cases landlords wouldn't reply to me or would say they don't rent to Polish people. Similar situation when I was looking for a job. In the interviews the employers always insisted asking if English was my first language, despite the fact that I had British qualifications and we were speaking in English! **Polish is my mother language, I even think in Polish and I have a strong Polish accent that I do not want to lose. I simply speak English because I live here.** Another time I was on a bus and I was speaking in Polish at the phone with my grandma. At certain point the couple that was seated in front of me started saying that I was disturbing them, that they were suspicious because they could not understand what I was saying. At the end they told me “Go back to your country Polack”.*

*It is very hard for me understanding why these things happen. **When I introduce myself to somebody new I always say that I am Polish but I live in the UK! Yes I moved to the UK, but I feel Polish. I am part of Poland and of the Polish culture. Having a Polish name and being born in Poland means for me being Polish. I do not feel British only because I live here. I feel Polish and this is the most important part of my identity.”***

After reading the vignette, participants were asked to fill in the manipulation check items (“How much do you think Karol identifies as British?” and “To what extent do you think Karol has been excluded in his life?” on a seven-point Likert-type scale), demographic questions, the dependent variables and the covariates that are described in the following sections.

### **5.3.2.3 Measures**

A seven-point Likert-type scale was used unless otherwise stated.

#### **5.3.2.3.1 Dependent Variables**

##### *Cultural maintenance and adoption*

As in Study 3, the majority groups’ attitudes toward cultural maintenance and adoption were measured (Zagefka & Brown, 2002; Zagefka et al., 2012). The three-item scale for cultural maintenance was reliable,  $\alpha=.97$ , as was the cultural adoption scale,  $\alpha=.93$ .

##### *White British people’s perception of Poles’ attitudes toward cultural maintenance and adoption*

A new measure introduced in this study regarded the majority group’s perception of the minority’s attitudes, in this case Poles, toward cultural maintenance and cultural adoption. The six items, adapted from Zagefka and colleagues (2012) that measured Poles’ preference for cultural maintenance (three items) and cultural adoption (three items) were: “I believe that Polish minority members who live in the UK want to maintain their own culture”, “I believe that Polish minority members who live in the UK want to maintain their own religion, language and clothing”, “I believe that Polish minority members who live in the UK want to maintain their own way of living”, “I believe that Polish minority members who live in the UK want to take on the British culture”, “I believe that Polish minority members who live in the UK want to take on the British religion, language and clothing”, and “I believe that Polish minority members who live in the UK want to take on the British way of living”. The reliability for the three items regarding cultural maintenance was  $\alpha=.93$ , while for cultural adoption it was  $\alpha=.92$ .

##### *Acculturation strategies*

As in studies 2 and 3, the Host Community Acculturation Scale (HCAS; Bourhis, et al., 2010; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001; 2004), comprised of five items that assess participants’ attitudes

toward *individualism, integrationism, assimilationism, segregationism and exclusionism*, was used.

#### *Desire for intergroup contact-self-ingroup-outgroup*

The same items as in Study 3 have been used to measure desire for intergroup contact with Poles on a personal and group level.

#### **5.3.2.3.2 Covariates**

##### *Quantity of intergroup contact*

As in Study 3, a single item, “How many people Polish who live in the UK do you know?” (Voci & Hewstone, 2003), assessed the quantity of intergroup contact White British people had with Poles who live in the UK.

##### *Quality of intergroup contact*

The same two items of the previous study (superficial vs. deep and unpleasant vs. pleasant) measured the quality of intergroup contact between White British and Poles. The reliability of this scale is very low,  $r=.24$ , so it will not be used in the analysis.

##### *Social identification*

As before, three items investigated participants’ identification with their ingroup (White British), as British, and as multicultural.

##### *Prejudice*

A measure adapted from Zagefka et al. (2012) assessed participants’ level of prejudice, specifically their “hate”, “contempt”, “envy”, “fear”, “resentment” and “rage” toward Poles,  $\alpha=.89$ .

### **5.3.3 Results and Discussion**

#### **5.3.3.1 Preliminary Analysis**

##### **5.3.3.1.1 Manipulation Check**

In order to check if the experimental manipulation was effective and whether participants actually read the story of Karol, an independent sample t-test was conducted on the manipulation check item. It emerged that, as expected, participants considered Karol as identifying as British more in the “identification as British”,  $M=6.29$ ,  $SD=.96$ , than in the

“identification as Polish” condition,  $M=2.26$ ,  $SD=1.59$ . Despite the assumption of equality of the variance, tested with the Levene’s test was violated,  $F=12.72$ ,  $p<.001$ , the difference between the two means, 4.03, BCa 95% CI(3.53, 4.52) was statistically significant,  $t(88,78)=16.1$ ,  $p<.001$ , with effect size,  $r=.86$ .

Similarly, an independent sample t-test was conducted on participants’ perception of how much Karol had been excluded in his life. Participants indicated that Karol was perceived as more excluded in the “identification as British” ( $M=5.81$ ,  $SD=.96$ ) compared to the “identification as Polish” ( $M=5.49$ ,  $SD=1.29$ ). The equality of variance was assumed,  $F=3.77$ ,  $p=.055$ , and the difference, .32, BCa 95% CI (-.1, .75) resulted to be marginally significant,  $t(109)=1.5$ ,  $p=.07$ , with a small effect size,  $r=.14$ .

#### **5.3.3.1.2 Covariates**

Applying the same statistical and theoretical assumptions of the previous study, ANOVAs (applying the Sidak’s correction) have been run on the different covariates, i.e. participants’ quantity of intergroup contact, their identification with the ingroup, with being British and with being multicultural and their level of prejudice, with the aim of testing the assumption of the independence of the covariates of the ANCOVA. The assumption of the independence of the covariates was not violated in the case of participants’ identification with their ingroup,  $F(1,109)=.65$ ,  $p=.42$ ,  $\eta^2=.01$ , with being British,  $F(1,109)=.59$ ,  $p=.44$ ,  $\eta^2=.00$ , with being multicultural,  $F(1,109)=1.09$ ,  $p=.3$ ,  $\eta^2=.01$  and participants’ prejudice,  $F(1,109)=.81$ ,  $p=.37$ ,  $\eta^2=.01$ . Quantity of intergroup contact was, instead, dependent on the experimental manipulation,  $F(1,109)=9.7$ ,  $p=.002$ ,  $\eta^2=.08$ , meaning that the ANCOVA’s assumption was violated, so it has been excluded from the subsequent analysis.

#### **5.3.3.2 Main analysis: T-test and ANCOVAs**

A series of t-test and ANCOVAs, where the covariates were added, were conducted to investigate the effects of the experimental conditions on the DVs. Table 5.1 below reports the descriptives for each dependent variable, while Table 6.2 presents the results for the t-test and the ANCOVAs (additional details are reported in Appendix H). The results discussed below regard the series of the ANCOVAs where the covariates, i.e. participants’ level of prejudice and their social identification (with the ingroup, with being British and multicultural), were included in the analysis.



Table 5. 1 Descriptives for the dependent variables divided by condition.

<i>Dependent variable</i>	<i>British Id</i>	<i>Polish Id</i>
<i>Cultural maintenance</i>	4.27 (2.03)	4.27 (2.18)
<i>Cultural adoption</i>	3.81 (1.73)	3.41 (1.65)
<i>Perception c. maintenance</i>	4.28 (1.26)	4.98 (1.13)
<i>Perception c. adoption</i>	4.15 (1.10)	3.29 (1.20)
<i>Individualism</i>	5.45 (1.39)	5.24 (1.67)
<i>Integrationism</i>	4.96 (1.29)	5.04 (1.73)
<i>Assimilationism</i>	2.57 (1.33)	2.38 (1.38)
<i>Segregationism</i>	2.77 (1.57)	2.33 (1.33)
<i>Marginalisationism</i>	2.93 (1.64)	3.2 (1.93)
<i>Desire contact self</i>	4.63 (1.26)	4.88 (1.28)
<i>Desire contact ingroup</i>	3.62 (1.06)	3.66 (1.31)
<i>Desire contact outgroup</i>	4.69 (1.15)	4.27 (1.25)

#### *Cultural maintenance and adoption*

Regarding cultural maintenance, no significant differences emerged between the British identification and the Polish identification condition,  $F(1,105)=.00$ ,  $p=.99$ ,  $\eta^2=.00$ .

Regarding adoption of the majority's culture by the minority, the effect between the two conditions approached significance so the pattern was explored,  $F(1,105)=2.62$ ,  $p=.10$ ,  $\eta^2=.02$ . The ANCOVA shows that participants expected the minority group to adopt the British culture more when Poles identified as British ( $M=3.85$ ,  $SE=.21$ ) than as Polish ( $M=3.36$ ,  $SE=.21$ ).

#### *White British people's perception of Poles' attitudes toward cultural maintenance and adoption*

The two main dependent variables that were affected by the experimental manipulation are White British people's perceptions of what Poles wanted to do with respect to the maintenance of their original culture or the adoption of the British culture. Specifically, in the case of participants' perception of Poles' attitudes toward cultural maintenance, there was a statistically significant difference indicating that Poles were perceived as more willing to maintain their ethnic culture in the Polish identification condition ( $M=4.95$ ,  $SE=.16$ ) than in the British identification condition ( $M=4.31$ ,  $SE=.16$ ),  $F(1,105)=8.21$ ,  $p=.005$ ,  $\eta^2=.07$ .

According to the hypothesis, participants' perception of Poles' willingness to adopt the British culture was higher in the British identification ( $M=4.11$ ,  $SE=.15$ ) condition than in Polish identification ( $M=3.32$ ,  $SE=.16$ ),  $F(1,105)=12.94$ ,  $p<.001$ ,  $\eta^2=.11$ .

#### *Acculturation strategies*

ANCOVAs were conducted in order to test the effect of an excluded minority member's identification on the majority group's attitudes toward the five acculturation strategies. There were not statistically significant differences for four of the five acculturation strategies, that are individualism ( $F(1,105)=.01$ ,  $p=.94$ ,  $\eta^2=.00$ ), integrationism ( $F(1,105)=.18$ ,  $p=.67$ ,  $\eta^2=.00$ ), assimilationism ( $F(1,105)=1.76$ ,  $p=.19$ ,  $\eta^2=.02$ ), and marginalisationism ( $F(1,105)=.07$ ,  $p=.78$ ,  $\eta^2=.00$ ). The only acculturation strategy that was affected by the social identification of an excluded member of the Polish community was White British people's attitudes toward segregationism. The finding indicated that White British prefer to keep Poles separate more when Poles define themselves as British ( $M=2.85$ ,  $SE=.18$ ) than as Polish ( $M=2.24$ ,  $SE=.18$ ),  $F(1,105)=5.42$ ,  $p=.02$ ,  $\eta^2=.05$ .

#### *Desire for intergroup contact-self-ingroup-outgroup*

When analysing participants' desire for intergroup contact, on both personal and group levels, the hypotheses were not confirmed. Specifically, in the case of personal desire for intergroup contact,  $F(1,105)=2.19$ ,  $p=.14$ ,  $\eta^2=.02$ , perception of ingroup's<sup>28</sup> desire for intergroup contact,  $F(1,105)=.1$ ,  $p=.75$ ,  $\eta^2=.00$ , and White British people's perception of Poles' desire for intergroup contact,  $F(1,105)=2.19$ ,  $p=.14$ ,  $\eta^2=.02$ , no significant differences were found.

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<sup>28</sup> Please note that in this case the assumption of the equality of the variance was not assumed,  $F=4.33$ ,  $p=.04$ .

Table 5. 2 T-test and ANCOVAs for the dependent variables

Dependent Variables	Covariate	Main effect covariates F	Main effect condition t-F
Cultural maintenance	N/A	/	.003
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	3.85*, .15, .73, 1.5	.00
Cultural adoption	N/A	/	1.25
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	16.73***, .93, 1.9, .05	2.62 <sup>+</sup>
Perception of Poles' attitudes toward cultural maintenance	N/A	/	-3.04**
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	.40, 2.99 <sup>+</sup> , .13, .69	8.21**
Perception of Poles' attitudes toward cultural adoption	N/A	/	3.91***
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	.81, .69, .16, 1.13	12.94***
Individualism	N/A	/	.72
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	26.16***, 1.8, .38, .21	.01
Integrationism	N/A	/	-.25
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	13.5***, 2.24, .17, .15	.18
Assimilationism	N/A	/	.74
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	24.74***, .04, .67, 4.09*	1.76
Segregationism	N/A	/	1.59 <sup>+</sup>
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	20.81***, .66, .02, 1.61	5.42*
Marginalisationism	N/A	/	-.79
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	23.66***, 1.05, 1.81, 5.82*	.07
Desire for intergroup contact-self	N/A	/	-1.04
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	.54, .50, .47, 5.55*	2.19
Desire for intergroup contact ingroup	N/A	/	-.19
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	.18, .19, .00, 1.35	.10
Desire for intergroup contact outgroup	N/A	/	1.88*
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	1.96, .81, .09, .88	2.19

Note 1: <sup>+</sup>  $p < .1$ , \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

Note 2: N/A refers to the t-test, Cov.1: Prejudice; Cov.2 Identification with ingroup; Cov. 3 Identification British; Cov. 4 Identification multicultural.

### 5.3.3.3 Moderations

Also in the case of Study 4, the four covariates, in this case, participants' level of prejudice, their identification with the ingroup, as British and as multicultural, were tested as potential moderators of acculturation attitudes, following an identical procedure to the one outlined in the previous chapter. From the analyses, it emerged that none of the covariates moderated the acculturation process in the present study; thus, the results are not reported.

Before fully discussing the results of the present study in the general discussion section and moving to the next study, the present research shows that majority group's attitudes are not influenced by the social identity (whether ethnic or British) of a minority member who experiences social exclusion in the UK. The only variables that were affected by the experimental manipulation are the majority group's perception of what the minority would

like to do with regard to their preference for cultural maintenance and adoption. The majority's preference for segregation also seems to be affected, but differently from what was expected. Based on this lack and inconsistency of results, the following study assesses how personally experiencing social exclusion influences both majority and minority groups' attitudes in the acculturation process.

## **5.4 Study 5**

### **5.4.1 Aim and hypotheses**

According to Williams (2007), *social exclusion* refers to being excluded or isolated, with an explicit or implicit declaration of dislike (Twenge et al., 2001). As explained in the theoretical introduction of this chapter, it is often related to ethnicity. Williams (2007) suggests that various paradigms have been created and utilised for studying social exclusion, for example in chat rooms (Gardner, Pickett, & Brewer, 2000), in face-to-face conversations (Geller, Goodstein, Silver, & Sternberg, 1974), role playing (Williams et al., 2000), or via reliving or imagining rejection experiences (Williams & Fitness, 2004), scenarios of rejection and exclusion (Fiske & Yamamoto, 2005). Additional ways to manipulate experiences of social exclusion are the *life alone prognosis paradigm* (Baumeister, Twenge, & Nuss, 2002; Twenge et al., 2001) where participants complete an ad hoc personality questionnaire and are assigned to three kinds of feedback one of which corresponds to the rejected/low belonging condition (i.e. participants are told that they will ended up alone in their life); or *get acquainted* (Nezlek, Kowalski, Leary, Blevins, & Holgate, 1997) where, after a group discussion, they are assigned to the inclusion condition (the other members of the group want to work with them), or to rejection condition (none of the other participants want to work with them in other tasks).

Another effective way to manipulate experiences of exclusion is a minimal ostracism paradigm, in which participants are excluded in a ball-tossing game (Williams, 1997; Williams & Sommer, 1997). The original version of this game, where participants received or did not receive the ball, was conducted in laboratories with confederates. Cyberball is an online version of this ball-tossing game (Williams, et al., 2000). During cyberball, participants are told that they are playing with other people, but even though they do not have any kind of expectation about meeting the other players, it seems that participants do care about the extent to which they are included in the game. When they are included in the game,

participants usually do not experience negative consequences, while excluded participants indicate lower levels of self-esteem, control, meaningful existence, and sense of belonging (Zadro, Williams & Richardson, 2004; Williams & Jarvis, 2006).

Social exclusion can have detrimental consequences in people's lives (Williams, & Zadro, 2005). According to Williams (2001) participants first feel a "reflexive painful response to ostracism", then a threat to their self-esteem, sense of belonging, and control that causes anger and sadness, and, at the end, a reflective cognitive stage where they examine the reasons, the source, and their reactions to being excluded. It has been suggested that the negative effects of being ostracised are so powerful that are experienced also when people are excluded by a despised outgroup. An interesting research conducted by Gonsalkorale and Williams (2007), where participants played cyberball and then, according to the experimental conditions, were excluded or included by members of the ingroup, a rival outgroup (i.e. opposite political party) or a despised outgroup (such as the KKK), indicated that those who were excluded experienced more negative consequences (i.e. worse mood, lower level of self-esteem, sense of belonging, etc.) compared to those who were included, regardless other players' group membership. In other words, the source of exclusion did not moderate the negative effects of being ostracised. Although people experience the same detrimental consequences when are excluded, they can differently respond to ostracism.

Different responses to social exclusion range from antisocial and aggressive behaviours (Twenge, et al., 2001) to attempts to get re-included at any cost, to experiencing an affectless state (Zadro, 2004). A common response to social exclusion is "tend and befriend" (Williams, 2007), or finding ways of thinking, behaving, and feeling that can improve people's chances of being included in a social group. It must be noted that these responses do not necessarily correspond to people's best interests, and can sometimes be dysfunctional (Williams, 2007). The consequences of social exclusion could be worse for extreme groups (for example extreme political groups), since they can even lead to violent actions in order to obtain attention and recognition from the mainstream (Gaertner & Iuzzini, 2005; Warburton, Williams, & Cairns, 2006).

Generally, the literature considers social exclusion a consequence of the acculturation process, since bringing ethnic values and norms that sometime conflict with those of the host

society makes minority groups targets of subtle forms of social exclusion (Renzaho, 2009). Furthermore, the endorsement of acculturation strategies such as separation and marginalisation reinforce their perception of being excluded (Leong & Chou, 1994). Thus, it is suggested that the acculturation process can lead minority groups to the margins of society, denying them access to social and economic resources (Lopez et al., 2002), failing in recognising their need to acculturate. However, acculturation and social exclusion can be considered part of a circle where it is not very clear which of the two is the cause. In other words, as the acculturation process causes social exclusion, being socially excluded can influence the preference for specific acculturation attitudes. This is the reason why, in this project, social exclusion was tested as an antecedent of the acculturation process.

In multicultural societies, people can experience social exclusion due to their national, ethnic or religious background, especially if they belong to minority groups. For this reason, the aim of this study is to investigate if experiences of exclusion can affect the acculturation process. In this study, participants are part of the majority group (White British), as well as Asian people, an ethnic minority in the UK. All participants were excluded while playing cyberball. Half of them were excluded by members of relevant ethnic outgroup (outgroup condition), and the other half by unknown persons with no reference to their ethnicity (unknown condition). This was done to test if ethnicity influence people's attitudes after social exclusion. The consequences of exclusion on (a) participants' attitudes toward cultural maintenance and adoption; (b) desire for intergroup contact on personal and group levels; and c) behaviours in support of ethnic minorities' rights, are investigated.

The hypotheses for this study are:

- a) In the unknown condition, stronger preferences for cultural maintenance (especially by Asians), for desire for intergroup contact–self, and perception of outgroup's desire for intergroup contact, are expected.
- b) In the outgroup condition, higher preferences for cultural adoption, perception of ingroup's desire for intergroup contact, and more willingness to act in support of ethnic minorities' rights, are expected especially by the minority group.

## **5.4.2 Method**

### **5.4.2.1 Design and Participants**

A 2(ethnicity: White British vs. Asian) x 2(condition: excluded by unknown players vs. excluded by members of the ethnic outgroup) between-subjects design was employed.

The sample was comprised of 79 students recruited at the University of Greenwich in exchange for research credits or £2. Forty-three were White British and 36 were Asians. Twenty-five participants were men and 54 were women. Their mean age was 24.52 years old (SD=8.24), ranging from 18 to 58 years (for White British M=26.74, SD=9.69; for Asians M=21.86, SD=5.03). Based on their ethnicity, participants were then randomly assigned to one of the two conditions: excluded by members of the ethnic outgroup (N=43), or excluded by unknown players (N=36). Table 5.3 summarises how participants were distributed across conditions. Participants' political orientation, which was measured on a seven-point Likert scale (1 "liberal" and 7 "conservative), was not defined, since the score was not significantly below the mid-point of the scale (M=3.72, SD=1.35,  $t(39)=-1.29$ ,  $p=.1$ ; for White British M=3.73, SD=1.36,  $t(27)=-1.06$ ,  $p=.15$ ; for Asians M=3.71, SD=1.41,  $t(11)=-.71$ ,  $p=.26$ ).

*Table 5. 3 Sample distribution across conditions.*

	<i>Excluded by unknown</i>	<i>Excluded by outgroup</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>White British</i>	18	25	43
<i>Asian/British Asian</i>	18	18	36
<i>Total</i>	36	43	79

#### **5.4.2.2 Procedure**

This study was conducted in a laboratory at the University of Greenwich. In order to test if experiences of exclusion affect the acculturation process between two ethnic groups in the UK, White British and Asians, members of both groups were recruited. Participants received a general introduction to the aim of the study, where in the first part they had to play a game and in the second they had to answer a few questions about social interactions. For the first task, participants played cyberball (Williams & Jarvis, 2006), an "open-source virtual ball-toss game" (pp.174). In the instructions, participants read that the game would test their mental visualisation skills; in reality, this is a cover story. This software allows participants to feel excluded through the gradual reduction of the receiving ball until their complete exclusion from the game by the other players. Participants were asked to catch and throw the ball to the other two participants. All participants were excluded, half by two unknown

students (see Figure 5.3) and the other half by two members of the relevant ethnic outgroup (see Figures 5.3 and 5.4).

The identities of the alleged players were manipulated through their names, a similar procedure as done in the USA, where researchers manipulated the use of Black names (Goodwin, Williams & Carter-Sowell, 2010). After the game, participants were asked to answer three manipulation check items: 1) “How much did you feel ignored and excluded?”, on a scale from 1 “not at all” to 5 “very much”; 2) to estimate the percentage of how many times they received the ball assuming that they would have received it 33% of the time if everyone received the ball equally; 3) to estimate the characteristics of the players: their age (between 19-25 or between 24-30 years old), their gender (all males, all females, or one male and one female) and their ethnicity (White, Black, or Asian). Then they were asked to complete the dependent variables and they were debriefed at two time points. First, immediately after the data collection, the researcher asked them how they felt, how they perceived the game and debriefed them about the study. Second, the debrief was online. After the data collection was completed, all participants received a second debrief via email, where the real aim of the game was explained.

You can throw the ball by clicking on the name or picture of another player



Figure 5.2 Excluded by unknown people.



You can throw the ball by clicking on the name or picture of another player



Figure 5.3 Excluded by White British.

You can throw the ball by clicking on the name or picture of another player



Figure 5.4 Excluded by Asians.

### 5.4.2.3 Measures

A seven-point Likert scale was used to measure the variables, with higher numbers indicating greater agreement with the item.

#### 5.4.2.3.1 Dependent Variables

*Cultural maintenance & cultural adoption*

Participants' preference for cultural maintenance was measured with one item "To what extent do you want people from a different ethnic background who live in the UK to maintain the customs of their original culture?". Their preference for cultural adoption was measured with: "To what extent do you want people with a different ethnic background to adopt the customs of the British culture?". Items were adapted from Lopez-Rodriguez, Zagefka, Navas and Cuadrado (2014).

#### *Desire for intergroup contact-self*

Three items measured participants' desire for intergroup contact on a personal level. Based on participants' ethnicity, the three items were: "Thinking about the future, are you interested in meeting White British (or Asians)?", "Thinking about the future, would you like to spend more time with White British (or Asians)?", and "Thinking about the future, would you like to spend more time with people from a different background than yours?" ( $\alpha=.85$  for the entire sample,  $\alpha=.85$  for White British, and  $\alpha=.85$  for Asian/British Asian).

#### *Desire for intergroup contact-ingroup-outgroup*

Two items measured participants' perception of how much their ingroup would like to interact with the outgroup: "To what extent do you think that Asian/British Asian (or White British) people want to interact with people who are NOT Asians/British Asians (or White British)?" and "To what extent do you think that Asian/British Asian (or White British) people are interested in interacting with people who are NOT Asians/British Asians (or White British)?" ( $r=.58$ , for the entire sample,  $r=.91$ , for White British, and  $r=.36$ , for Asian/British Asian). Another two items measured participants' perception of how much the outgroup would be willing to interact with the ingroup: "To what extent do you think that people who are NOT Asian/British Asian (or White British) want to interact with Asian/British Asian (or White British) people?", and "To what extent do you think that people who are NOT Asian/British Asian (or White British) are interested in interacting with Asian/British Asian (or White British) people?" ( $r=.75$ , for the entire sample,  $r=.87$ , for White British, and  $r=.59$ , for Asian/British Asian).

#### *Support for minority rights*

Eleven items measured participants' behavioural intentions to take part in social and political activities to support ethnic groups' rights, such as "public marches and parades", "initiating a

petition”, “helping to organise a public campaign”, “attending meetings”, “fundraising”, etc. ( $\alpha=.92$ ,  $\alpha=.94$  for White British,  $\alpha=.87$  for Asian/British Asian).

#### **5.4.2.3.2 Covariates**

*Social identification: ingroup and multicultural*

Two items investigated participants’ identification with their ingroup (White British or Asians) and as multicultural.

*Perception of exclusion*

As in Study 4, three items measured participants’ experiences of exclusion due to their race and ethnicity in the past, present, and future (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007;  $\alpha=.88$  for the whole sample,  $\alpha=.92$  for White British, and  $\alpha=.85$  for Asian/British Asian).

### **5.4.3 Results and Discussion**

#### **5.4.3.1 Preliminary Analysis**

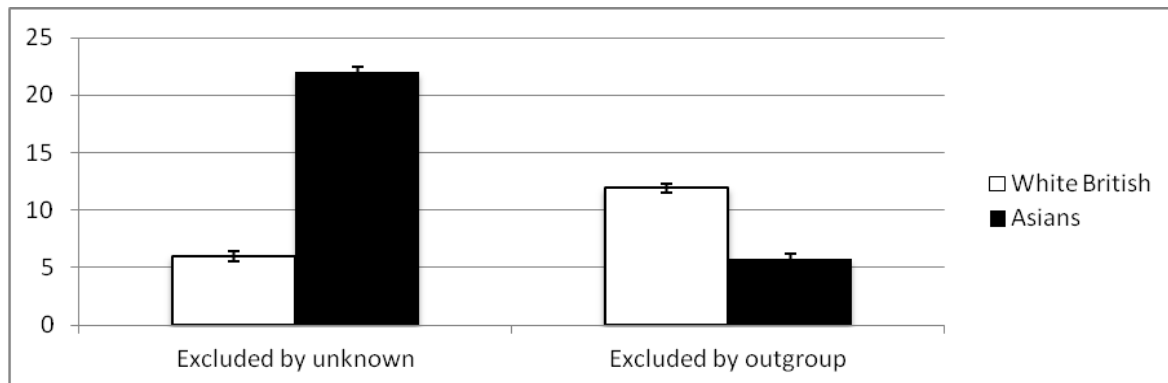
##### **5.4.3.1.1 Manipulation Check**

Overall, participants felt ignored ( $M=4.04$ ,  $SD=1.19$  for the entire sample;  $M=3.93$ ,  $SD=1.33$  for White British;  $M=4.17$ ,  $SD=1$  for Asians). One sample t-tests showed that participants felt ignored statistically above the mid-point of the scale ( $t(78)=7.74$ ,  $p<.001$  for the entire sample,  $t(42)=4.57$ ,  $p<.001$  for White British and  $t(35)=7$ ,  $p<.001$  for Asians). In line with this, participants felt excluded ( $M = 3.68$ ,  $SD=1.35$  for the whole sample,  $M=3.6$ ,  $SD=1.45$  for White British and  $M=3.78$ ,  $SD=1.24$  for Asians). Similarly, participants felt excluded above the midpoint of the scale when playing cyberball ( $t(78)=4.49$ ,  $p<.001$  for the entire sample,  $t(42)=2.73$ ,  $p=.005$  for White British and  $t(35)=3.75$ ,  $p=.001$  for Asians). The final manipulation check item asked participants to estimate a percentage of how many times they received the ball, assuming 33% of the time if everyone received the ball equally. In this case, a significant interaction effect<sup>29</sup> was found  $F(1,27)=5.02$ ,  $p=.03$ . In the case of White British, they estimated that they received the ball less when they played with unknown players ( $M=6.00$ ,  $SD=4.52$ ) than when they played with Asian players ( $M=11.92$ ,  $SD=17.57$ ). In the case of Asians, there was the opposite pattern: they estimated that they got the ball more when they were playing with unknown players ( $M=22.00$ ,  $SD=15.06$ ) than when they were playing with White British players ( $M=5.71$ ,  $SD=4.27$ ). A planned t-test shows that the

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<sup>29</sup> The main effect for both condition,  $F(1,27)=1.09$ ,  $p=.3$ ; and for ethnicity,  $F(1,27)=.98$ ,  $p=.33$ , were statistically non-significant.

differences among conditions was significant for Asians ( $t(11)=2.75, p=.01$ ) but not for White British ( $t(16)=-.80, p=.22$ ). Figure 5.5 demonstrates this interaction.



*Figure 5.5 Perception of percentage of time ball was received*

Furthermore, participants were asked to indicate their perception of other players' demographic characteristics. Table 5.4 reports participants' opinions about other players' ages, gender, and ethnicities. Relative to players' ages, 84.8% of participants thought that the other players were between 19 and 25 years old, while 15.2% thought that they were between 24 and 30 years old. Regarding gender, 27.8% of participants indicated that the other players were all male, 12.7% thought that they were all female, and 59.5% believed that they were one male and one female. In the case of ethnicity, in general, 54.5% of participants thought that the other players were White, 2.5% Black, and 43% Asians. Specifically, in the case of White British participants, of those who were assigned to the unknown condition, the 88.9% indicated White and the 11.1% Asians as the other players' ethnicity. Of those White British who were assigned to the excluded by outgroup condition, in accordance with what was expected, 88% indicated Asian and the 12% White as other players' ethnicity. In the case of Asian participants, for the excluded by unknown condition, 50% indicated White, 5.6% Black, and 44.4% Asians as other players' ethnicities, while for the excluded by outgroup condition, 83.3% said White, 5.6% Black and 11.1% Asians.

Table 5. 4 Participants' perception of other players' characteristics.

		White British		Asians		Total
		Unknown	Outgroup	Unknown	Outgroup	
Players' ages	19-25 years old	14	22	13	18	67
	24-30 years old	4	3	5	0	12
	Total	18	25	18	18	79
Players' gender	All males	7	3	10	2	22
	All females	3	3	2	2	10
	One male & one female	8	19	6	14	47
	Total	18	25	18	18	79
Players' ethnicities	White	16	3	9	15	43
	Black	0	0	1	1	2
	Asian	2	22	8	2	34
	Total	18	25	18	18	79

#### 5.4.3.1.2 Covariates

As a preliminary analysis for the ANCOVA, an ANOVA was conducted on the possible covariates with the aim of testing the assumption of their independence. The covariates of this study are participants' experiences of discrimination, their identification with their ethnic ingroup, and their identification as multicultural. A 2(condition: excluded by unknown vs. excluded by the outgroup) x 2(ethnicity: Asians vs. White British) ANOVA<sup>30</sup> showed that the assumption of independence of the covariates for the ANCOVA was not violated for any of the variables in analysis. All the interaction effects between condition and ethnicity were statistically non-significant, ( $F(1,75)=.96$ ,  $p=.33$ ,  $\eta^2=.01$  for participants' experiences of discrimination,  $F(1,75)=.28$ ,  $p=.60$ ,  $\eta^2=.00$  for identification with the ingroup;  $F(1,75)=.78$ ,  $p=.38$ ,  $\eta^2=.01$  for identification as multicultural).

<sup>30</sup> These are the main effects of the 2(condition) x 2(ethnicity) ANOVA for the covariates. In the case of condition, the main effects are:  $F(1,75)=.12$ ,  $p=.73$ ,  $\eta^2=.00$  for participants' experiences of discrimination;  $F(1,75)=.14$ ,  $p=.70$ ,  $\eta^2=.00$  for identification with the ingroup;  $F(1,75)=.1.56$ ,  $p=.21$ ,  $\eta^2=.02$  for identification as multicultural. In the case of the main effects for ethnicity:  $F(1,75)=1.30$ ,  $p=.26$ ,  $\eta^2=.02$  for participants' experiences of discrimination,  $F(1,75)=.39$ ,  $p=.53$ ,  $\eta^2=.00$  for identification with the ingroup;  $F(1,75)=33.33$ ,  $p<.001$ ,  $\eta^2=.31$  for identification as multicultural.

### 5.4.3.2 Main analysis: ANCOVAs

With the aim of testing if being excluded by members of the outgroup or not (since in the unknown condition the other players' ethnicities were not primed) could affect the acculturation attitudes of Asian and White British people and their desire for intergroup contact (on both a personal and group levels), a 2(condition: excluded by outgroup vs. excluded by unknown) x 2(ethnicity: Asians vs. White British) ANOVA was conducted. In addition, ANCOVAs, including as covariates participants' experiences of discrimination, their identification with their ethnic ingroup and as multicultural, were conducted; only these results are discussed in the following section. Table 5.5 reports the descriptives for the dependent variables, while Table 5.6 reports the findings of the ANCOVAs.

*Table 5.5 Descriptives of the dependent variables per condition and ethnicity.*

<i>Dependent Variable</i>		<i>Excluded by outgroup</i>	<i>Excluded by unknown</i>
<i>Cultural maintenance</i>	White British	4.88 (1.47)	4.64 (1.45)
	Asians	5.39 (1.24)	5.42 (1.15)
<i>Cultural adoption</i>	White British	4.63 (1.26)	4.67 (1.30)
	Asians	4.58 (1.07)	5.04 (.79)
<i>Personal desire for intergroup contact</i>	White British	5.13 (.98)	4.77 (.85)
	Asians	4.94 (1.48)	5.76 (.77)
<i>Ingroup's desire for intergroup contact</i>	White British	3.94 (.87)	3.83 (1.24)
	Asians	4.45 (.86)	3.98 (1.37)
<i>Outgroup's desire for intergroup contact</i>	White British	3.75 (1.07)	3.83 (1.01)
	Asians	4.02 (1.00)	4.50 (.92)
<i>Support for minority rights</i>	White British	3.16 (1.26)	3.08 (1.94)
	Asians	3.41 (1.05)	3.91 (1.07)

### *Attitudes toward cultural maintenance and cultural adoption*

In order to test if being excluded affects participants' attitudes toward cultural maintenance and cultural adoption, a 2x2 ANCOVA was conducted. In the case of participants' attitudes toward cultural maintenance, there were not statistically significant differences:  $F(1,72)=1.65$ ,  $p=.20$ ,  $\eta^2=.02$  for ethnicity;  $F(1,72)=.03$ ,  $p=.86$ ,  $\eta^2=.00$  for condition;  $F(1,72)=.07$ ,  $p=.80$ ,  $\eta^2=.00$  for the interaction.

Similarly, no main effects or interaction effect were found in the case of participants' attitudes toward cultural adoption (for condition:  $F(1,72)=.51$ ,  $p=.48$ ,  $\eta^2=.01$ , for ethnicity:  $F(1,72)=.36$ ,  $p=.55$ ,  $\eta^2=.00$ ; for the interaction,  $F(1,72)=1.55$ ,  $p=.22$ ,  $\eta^2=.02$ ).

### *Desire for intergroup contact-self-ingroup-outgroup*

As explained in the previous section, the participants' desire for intergroup contact was investigated on both personal and group levels (ingroup's and outgroup's willingness to interact).

In the case of participants' personal desire for intergroup contact, there were no significant main effects in the case of condition,  $F(1,71)=1.15$ ,  $p=.29$ ,  $\eta^2=.02$ , and ethnicity,  $F(1,72)=1.23$ ,  $p=.27$ ,  $\eta^2=.02$ . The interaction effect, instead, was significant,  $F(1,72)=5.03$ ,  $p=.03$ ,  $\eta^2=.06$ . Overall, Asians were more willing to have personal contact with White British people when they were excluded by unknown people ( $M=5.72$ ,  $SE=.26$ ) than by the outgroup, i.e. White British ( $M=4.91$ ,  $SE=.27$ ). On the contrary, White British were more willing to interact with Asians when they were excluded by Asians ( $M=5.13$ ,  $SE=.22$ ) than when excluded by unknown people ( $M=4.84$ ,  $SE=.27$ ). The difference for White British between the two conditions was not statistically significant,  $t(41)=-1.23$ ,  $p=.11$ , while it was significant for Asians,  $t(34)=2.08$ ,  $p=.02$  (Figure 5.6).

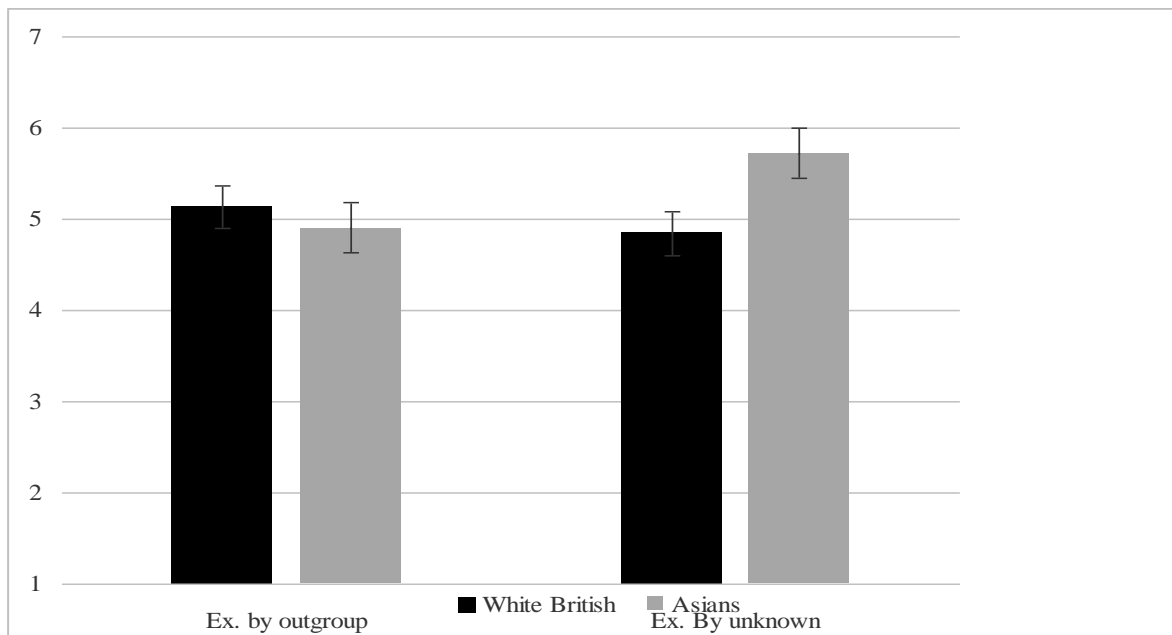


Figure 5.6 Participants' desire for intergroup contact on a personal level, as a function of condition and ethnicity, controlling for social identification with ethnic ingroup and as multicultural, and perception of social exclusion. Error bars indicate standard errors of the mean.

There were no significant differences for participants' perception of ingroup's desire for intergroup contact in the case of condition,  $F(1,72)=1.63$ ,  $p=.21$ ,  $\eta^2=.02$ , and interaction,  $F(1,72)=.43$ ,  $p=.51$ ,  $\eta^2=.01$ . There was a marginally significant main effect for ethnicity,  $F(1,72)=3.10$ ,  $p=.08$ ,  $\eta^2=.04$ ), suggesting that Asian participants had a higher perception of their ingroup's desire for intergroup contact ( $M=4.32$ ,  $SE=.20$ ) compared to White British ( $M=3.79$ ,  $SE=.19$ ). There were no significant differences for participants' perception of outgroup's desire for intergroup contact (for condition:  $F(1,72)=1.92$ ,  $p=.17$ ,  $\eta^2=.03$ , for ethnicity:  $F(1,72)=2.56$ ,  $p=.11$ ,  $\eta^2=.03$ ; for the interaction,  $F(1,72)=.24$ ,  $p=.63$ ,  $\eta^2=.00$ ).

#### Support for minority rights

In the case of participants' willingness to participate in actions that support ethnic minorities' rights, no significant differences resulted for condition,  $F(1,72)=.54$ ,  $p=.46$ ,  $\eta^2=.01$ , ethnicity,  $F(1,72)=1.88$ ,  $p=.17$ ,  $\eta^2=.02$ , or for the interaction,  $F(1,72)=.82$ ,  $p=.37$ ,  $\eta^2=.01$ .



Table 5. 6 Main effects for covariates and condition in the ANCOVA analyses

Dependent Variables	Covariate	Main effect covariates F	Main effect condition F	Main effect ethnicity F	Interaction effect F
<i>Cultural maintenance</i>	N/A	/	.12	4.42*	.19
	Cov.1	.38	.10	4.64*	.13
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	.34, .00	.10	4.51*	.13
	Cov.1, Cov2. & Cov.3	.54, .02, .76	.03	1.65	.07
<i>Cultural adoption</i>	N/A	/	.93	.40	.63
	Cov.1	.02	.90	.37	.64
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	.93, 13.10***,	.68	.08	1.39
	Cov.1, Cov2. & Cov.3	1.15, 12.20***, .44	.51	.36	1.55
<i>Desire for intergroup contact self</i>	N/A	/	.95	2.87 <sup>+</sup>	6.05*
	Cov.1	.02	.95	2.85 <sup>+</sup>	5.81*
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	.08, .31	1.00	2.99 <sup>+</sup>	5.47*
	Cov.1, Cov2. & Cov.3	.15, .23, .35	1.15	1.23	5.03*
<i>Desire for intergroup contact ingroup</i>	N/A	/	1.38	1.78	.56
	Cov.1	.01	1.35	1.77	.56
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	.06, .33	1.26	1.89	.63
	Cov.1, Cov2. & Cov.3	.00, .50, 1.23	1.63	3.10 <sup>+</sup>	.43
<i>Desire for intergroup contact outgroup</i>	N/A	/	1.42	4.07*	.69
	Cov.1	3.53 <sup>+</sup>	1.64	5.19*	.40
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	3.94*, .49,	1.73	5.43*	.32
	Cov.1, Cov2. & Cov.3	4.22*, .38, .37	1.92	2.56	.24
<i>Support for minority rights</i>	N/A	/	.43	3.05 <sup>+</sup>	.87
	Cov.1	2.17	.37	2.41	1.20
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	1.03, 3.9*,	.52	3.16 <sup>+</sup>	.88
	Cov.1, Cov2. & Cov.3	.91, 3.69 <sup>+</sup> , .03	.54	1.88	.82

Note 1: <sup>+</sup>  $p < .1$ , \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

Note 2: N/A refers to the 2x2 ANOVA, Cov.1: Experiences of discrimination; Cov.2: Identification with ingroup; Cov. 3: Identification multicultural.

### 5.4.3.3 Moderations

As in the previous studies, the covariates, i.e. experiences of discrimination, identification with the ingroup and multicultural, were tested as moderators of the acculturation attitudes, following the same procedure explained in the previous chapter. None of the moderation analyses were significant, and thus they are not reported.

The general discussion section contains a full overview of Study 5, analysing its strengths and limitations, and linking its results with those of the other experimental studies of this chapter. Before moving to Study 6, it is important to mention that the main aim of this

experimental study was to investigate the consequences of personal experiences of social exclusion on people's attitudes in the acculturation process, specifically toward their preferences for cultural maintenance and adoption, their willingness to have intergroup contact on a personal and group level (ingroup and outgroup), and to take action in support of ethnic minorities' rights. The only significant finding regards participants' willingness to have future experiences of intergroup contact on a self-level. The following study (Study 6) expands upon this point, investigating how the exposure to a minority member's experience of social inclusion vs. exclusion can influence both majority and minority groups' attitudes in the acculturation process.

## **5.5 Study 6<sup>31</sup>**

### **5.5.1 Aim and Hypotheses**

Studies 4 and 5 investigated the effects of social exclusion on people's acculturation attitudes. Based on these results, the aim of Study 6 is to explore both majority and minority groups' attitudes after being exposed to a case of inclusion or exclusion of a minority group member. Despite that research shows that recognising ethnic diversity and multiculturalism leads to positive psychological and social effects (Berry, 1997; Liebkind, 2001) there is still the need to further investigate the reactions of both the majority and minority groups to the acceptance or denial of the ethnic minorities' social recognition in the form of social inclusion and exclusion.

As shown in the literature review in Chapter 2, initial research on acculturation focused on the minority perspective, while only recently have the majority groups' preferences and perceptions of the acculturation process been considered (Arends-Toth & Van de Vijver, 2003; Berry, 1999; Van Oudenhoven & Hofstra, 2006; Zagefka & Brown, 2002). In the context of intergroup relations, it is important to take into account whether outgroup attitudes can influence individual and ingroup choices, as part of a dynamic intergroup context (Brown & Zagefka, 2011). For example, a higher perception of minority groups' desire for cultural adoption increases the majority's support for integration and positive attitudes toward the outgroup (Curtis & Miller, 1986). On the other hand, higher perception of preference for cultural maintenance by the minority can be interpreted as a threat for majority members with negative consequences for integration (Stephan & Stephan, 2000; Verkuten & Thijs, 2002).

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<sup>31</sup> Please note that Study 6 is part of a paper in preparation on the differences between experiences of social inclusion vs. exclusion in influencing people's acculturation attitudes.

Several studies look into the antecedents (Piontkowski et al., 2000) and consequences (Matera, et al., 2011; Verkuyten, 2010; Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998) of the perception of outgroups' acculturation preferences on people's acculturation attitudes. Pertinent to this study, Zagefka et al. (2012) used videos that describe a minority member's life and tested whether the majority's attitudes could be affected by the perception of minority groups' acculturation preferences, and moderated by people's level of prejudice. Specifically, the authors found that a perception of minority's desire for cultural adoption increases support for integration among majority members, while the support for integration in the case of perception of minority's desire for cultural maintenance was moderated by majority group's level of prejudice. Majority members who were low on prejudice were more willing to support cultural maintenance and integration, compared to those who were high on prejudice.

Similarly to what done by Zagefka and colleagues (2012) in the research described above, the present study investigates if the exposure to minority group's experience of inclusion or exclusion can affect both majority and minority groups' attitudes and acculturation preferences. While Studies 4 and 5 tested if social exclusion can affect acculturation attitudes, the present study compares the effects of social exclusion vs. inclusion on acculturation. This comparison allows a clarification of the social exclusion vs. exclusion caveat, deriving from the intergroup contact one. With the same aim of clarifying whether acculturation occurs before the exclusion or the other way around, this study tests social inclusion vs. exclusion as potential antecedents of the acculturation process. Specifically, two videos describe the life of a minority member; in one case, he is fully integrated in the British society, while in the other case he has been socially excluded due to his cultural background. After watching one of the two videos, participants, some of whom are from the majority (White British) and some from the minority (Southern Europeans who live in the UK) indicated their preference for acculturation strategies (individualism, integrationism, assimilationism, segregationism/separatism, exclusionism/marginalisationism), and their willingness to have intergroup contact on both individual and group levels. The covariates included in the analysis were experiences of positive intergroup contact, social identification with the ingroup, identification as British and identification as multicultural, in addition to experiences of discrimination on personal and group levels. The hypotheses for Study 6 are:

- a) In the inclusion condition, stronger preferences for cultural adoption, individualism, assimilationism, and integrationism, and desire for intergroup contact on a personal and group level, are expected.
- b) In the exclusion condition higher preferences for cultural maintenance, segregationism/separatism and exclusionism/marginalisationism are hypothesised.

## **5.5.2 Method**

### **5.5.2.1 Design and Participants**

The present study has a 2(condition: inclusion vs. exclusion) x2(ethnicity: White British vs. Southern Europeans) between-subjects experimental design.

Seventy-six participants completed the online study on Qualtrics and were recruited online through snowballing and Prolific Academic (after a payment of £0.80). There were 39 White British people and 37 Southern Europeans (Italians, Spanish, Greeks, and Portuguese). Participants were randomly assigned to one of the two experimental conditions: 39 people were in the inclusion condition (22 White British and 17 Southern Europeans), while 37 were in the exclusion condition (17 White British and 20 Southern Europeans). Forty-six were males (22 White British and 24 Southern Europeans), and 30 were females (17 White British and 13 Southern Europeans). Participants' mean age was 27.79 years old ( $SD=8.25$ ; for White British  $M=28.21$ ,  $SD=9.56$ ; for Southern Europeans,  $M=27.35$ ,  $SD=6.7$ ). Relative to their political orientation (measured on a seven-point Likert-type scale as in the previous studies), overall the sample was liberal,  $M=3.02$ ,  $SD=1.66$ ,  $t(75)=-5.13$ ,  $p<.001$ , since the mean is below the midpoint of the scale, and this has been confirmed for both ethnic groups (White British:  $M=2.93$ ,  $SD=1.6$ ,  $t(38)=-4.19$ ,  $p<.001$ ; for Southern Europeans:  $M=3.12$ ,  $SD=1.75$ ,  $t(36)=-3.06$ ,  $p=.002$ ).

### **5.5.2.2 Procedure**

After reading the information sheet and signing the consent form, participants (who were recruited online) first replied to a few demographic questions. Then, based on their ethnicity (if White British or Southern Europeans), they were randomly assigned to one of the two experimental conditions (inclusion vs. exclusion).

In one condition, the man in the video, who was from the South of Europe, described his experience of exclusion in the UK. Below, the content of the videos is transcribed.

*“Hello, here people call me Alex and today I want to tell you my story. I am 29 and I live in London. I moved to the UK with my parents from the South of Europe when I was 10 so I live here from almost 20 years. **Despite I attended the school in the UK, I still struggle to get fully included in this country. I have always been excluded by British since I was in school and I think this is due to my ethnic background.** I guess I need to tell you few episodes of my everyday life so you can understand my perspective and how I feel. When I was a child, **the other kids in my school used to make fun of my accent and to sing silly songs with it.** I was **only invited to few birthday parties** from British students. I hoped this was only a phase of my life, but things did not improve at university. When I was looking for a house to rent and share with other people, **my name put me in troubles.** On approximately 30 emails that I sent, **I got only 10 replies.** In these replies the owners/agency asked me about my story, if I was born in the UK, my habits and these kinds of stuff. And this pattern continues. After the graduation, I sent my CV to different positions and when I was shortlisted for the interviews, **the employers always insisted asking if English was my first language, even despite the fact that I had British qualifications and my English was very good (with an accent, but still very good).** Although it can seem strange, I am still not used to all the comments I hear about Southern Europeans. British people used to say that **people from South of Europe are not only loud but lazy, corrupted, and incompetent.** Once, for example, I was on a bus and I was speaking in my first language at the phone with my mum. At certain point the couple that was seated in front of me started saying **that I was disturbing them, that they were suspicious because they could not understand what I was saying. At the end they told me “Go back to your country...PIGS”.** If you want, I can also tell you the last episode: the other night, I went to a nightclub with some of my friends (we were all from the South of Europe). **At the club they said we could not get in because it was full. Yet a group of British people just walked in. I felt so bad! Unfortunately, all these situations are upsetting me, I do not always feel welcome and they lead me to stick with people with a similar background to mine instead of interacting with British people and get more integrated.”***

In the second experimental condition, the same man described his experience of integration in the UK. This is the content of the inclusion condition:

*“Hello, here people call me Alex and today I want to tell you my story. I am 29 and I live in London. I moved to the UK with my parents from the South of Europe when I was 10 so I live*

here from almost 20 years. I attended the school in the UK and **I think this fact helps me to get included in this country.** Despite my ethnic background, **I have always been with British and people from different ethnic background.** I guess I need to tell you few episodes of my everyday life so you can understand my perspective and how I feel. When I was a child, **the British kids in my school liked my accent and I even taught them few words in my mother language.** I was always invited to birthday parties from other British students. Things were even better at university. When I was looking for a house to rent and share with other people, **I think that my “ethnic” name helped me a lot.** On approximately 30 emails that I sent, I got **more than 25 replies.** In these replies the owners/agency asked me about my story, if I was born in the UK, my habits and these kinds of stuff. **Everybody seemed so interested in my story and curious to discover more about my culture.** And this pattern continues. After the graduation, I sent my CV to different positions and when I was shortlisted for the interviews, **the employers were attracted by my language competence since I fluently speak 2 languages and I know quite well also a third one.** Although it can seem strange, I am still not used to all the **positive comments** I hear about Southern Europeans. British used to say that **people from South of Europe are not only warm but also friendly and pleasant.** Once, for example, I was on a bus and I was speaking in my first language at the phone with my mum. At certain point the couple that was seated in front of me started asking me questions. **They said that they were interested in my story, in how easily I could switch from one language to the other. At the end, they told me that it was a pleasure meeting me and that people like me were enriching the country.** If you want, I can also tell you the last episode: the other night, I went to a nightclub with some of my friends (we were all from the South of Europe). **At the club, they welcomed us saying that they like groups like us. I believe that the UK is an incredible context since it allows meeting people from all around to world, getting integrated and learning from other cultures”.**



*Figure 5.7 A screen shot of the videos of the experimental manipulation.*

Videos lasted approximately four minutes. After watching the video, participants filled in two manipulation check items (“How integrated in the UK do you perceive Alex to be?” and “How included in the society do you perceive Alex to be?”) on a seven-point Likert-type scale, from “not at all” to “very much”. The items were computed to create an overall manipulation check item ( $\alpha=.95$  for the entire sample;  $\alpha=.95$  for White British and  $\alpha=.95$  for Southern Europeans). After the manipulation check items, participants expressed their opinions on different scales, and these are described in the following sections.

### **5.5.2.3 Measures**

Unless otherwise stated, a seven-point Likert scale was adopted to measure all the variables.

#### **5.5.2.3.1 Dependent Variables**

##### *Cultural maintenance and cultural adoption*

Six items, adapted from Zagefka et al. (2012), measured participants’ attitudes toward cultural maintenance (three items) and cultural adoption (three items). In the case of White British, the six items were: a) for cultural maintenance: “I do not mind if Southern Europeans who live in the UK maintain their own culture”; “I do not mind if Southern Europeans who live in the UK maintain their own religion, language and clothing”; “I do not mind if Southern Europeans who live in the UK maintain their own way of living”; b) for cultural adoption: “I would like if Southern Europeans who live in the UK take on the British

culture”; “I would like if Southern Europeans who live in the UK take on the British religion, language and clothing”; and “I would like if Southern Europeans who live in the UK take on the British way of living”.

For Southern Europeans, the six items were: “I think it is important that Southern Europeans who live in the UK maintain their own culture”; “I think it is important that Southern Europeans who live in the UK should maintain their own religion, language and clothing”; “I think it is important that Southern Europeans who live in the UK maintain their own way of living” for cultural maintenance; “I think it is important that Southern Europeans who live in the UK take on the British culture”; “I think it is important that Southern Europeans who live in the UK take on the British religion, language and clothing”; “I think it is important that Southern Europeans who live in the UK take on the British way of living” for cultural adoption.

The alphas were, in the case of cultural maintenance,  $\alpha=.90$  ( $\alpha=.91$  for White British and  $\alpha=.88$  for Southern Europeans), and for cultural adoption,  $\alpha=.78$  ( $\alpha=.85$  for White British and  $\alpha=.71$  for Southern Europeans).

#### *Acculturation strategies*

As for Studies 2 and 3 (see Chapter 4) an adapted version of the Host Community Acculturation Scale (HCAS; Bourhis, et al., 2010; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001; 2004) for White British and the Immigrant Acculturation Scale (IAS; Berry et al., 1989; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004; Bourhis, et al., 2009) for Southern Europeans were used to measure participants’ preference for the five acculturation strategies that are *individualism*, *assimilationism*, *integrationism*, *segregationism/separatism* and *exclusionism/marginalisationism*.

#### *Desire for intergroup contact-self-ingroup-outgroup*

Similarly to the studies of the previous chapter, participants’ desire for intergroup contact was investigated both on a personal and group level. In the case of personal desire for intergroup contact, the item for White British participants was “Are you interested in meeting people who are from the South of Europe?”. For Southern Europeans, the item was “Are you interested in meeting White British people?”. In the case of desire for intergroup contact on a group level, there were two items: “To what extent do you think that White British people want to interact with Southern Europeans?” and “To what extent do you think that ethnic



minorities want to interact with White British people?”. These items measured perception of the ingroup’s and outgroup’s desires for intergroup contact.

### **5.5.2.3.2 Covariates**

#### *Quantity of intergroup contact*

One single item, adapted from Voci and Hewstone (2003), measured participants’ experiences of intergroup contact. For the majority group (White British), the item was: “How many people who are from the South of Europe do you know?”. For Southern Europeans, the item was “How many people who are White British do you know?”

#### *Quality of intergroup contact*

Similarly to what has been done in the studies of the previous chapter, two items investigated the quality of intergroup contact experienced by participants. Both the majority (“How would you characterise the contact you have with people from the South of Europe?”) and minority groups (“How would you characterise the contact you have with people who are White British?”) were asked to rate the quality of intergroup contact: superficial vs. deep and unpleasant vs. pleasant ( $r=.28$  for the entire sample,  $r=.20$  for White British and  $r=.41$  for Southern Europeans). To maintain consistency with what was done in the previous studies of this project, the overall item of quality of intergroup contact was computed. A new variable, called *positive contact*, was calculated based the interaction term between quantity and quality of intergroup contact (see Stathi & Crisp, 2010).

#### *Experiences of discrimination*

Adapted versions of the items created by Verkuyten and Yildiz (2007) were used to measure participants’ perception of discrimination due to their ethnicity on both personal and group levels. The two items were: “To what extent are you personally a target of discrimination because of your race or ethnicity?” and “To what extent is your ethnic group target of discrimination because of its ethnicity?”

#### *Social identification*

Similarly to the previous studies, three items assessed participants’ identification with their ingroup (“White British” for the majority group and “ethnic group” for the minority), identification as British, and identification as multicultural.

### 5.5.3 Results and Discussion

#### 5.5.3.1 Preliminary Analysis

##### 5.5.3.1.1 Manipulation Check

A 2(condition: inclusion vs. exclusion) x 2(ethnicity: White British vs. Southern Europeans) ANOVA on participants' perception of Alex's inclusion in the UK indicated that, as expected, the manipulation was effective. Alex was perceived as more integrated in the inclusion condition,  $M=5.64$ ,  $SD=1.27$ , than in the exclusion condition,  $M=2.59$ ,  $SD=.91$ ,  $F(1,72)=136.64$ ,  $p<.001$ ,  $\eta^2=.65$ . There were no significant differences based on ethnicity,  $F(1,72)=.78$ ,  $p=.38$ ,  $\eta^2=.01$ , and no interaction effect between condition and ethnicity,  $F(1,72)=.01$ ,  $p=.90$ ,  $\eta^2=.00$ . Figure 5.8 shows these results.

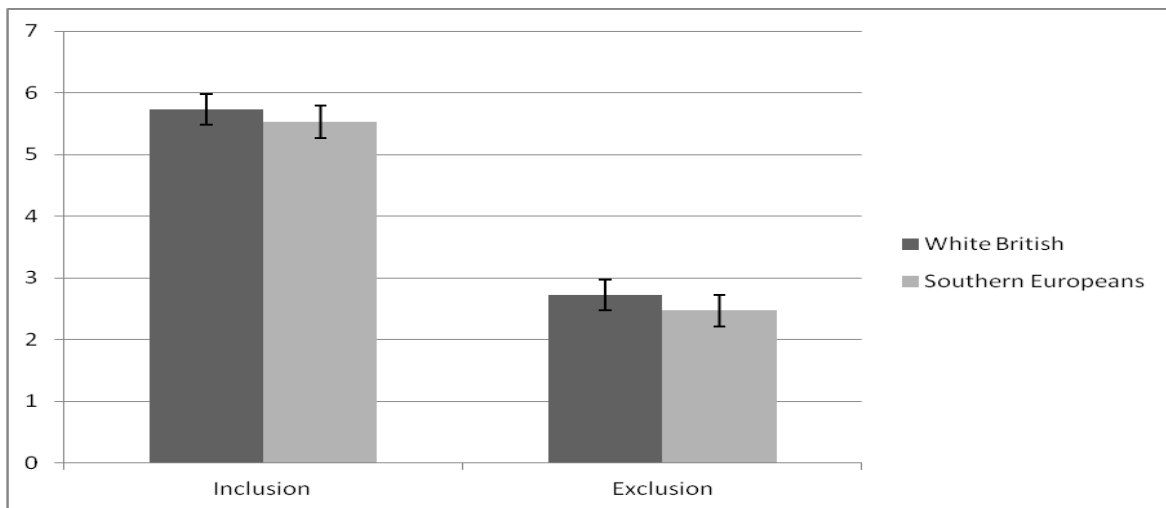


Figure 5.8 ANOVA for the manipulation check.

##### 5.5.3.1.2 Covariates

The covariates included in the analysis are: positive intergroup contact; identification with the ingroup; identification as British and as multicultural; and participants' perception of personal and group discrimination. The assumption of the independence of the covariates was tested with a 2x2 ANOVA<sup>32</sup>. Based on the findings of the interaction effect, the assumption

<sup>32</sup> The main effects for condition are: positive contact:  $F(1,72)=2.65$ ,  $p=.11$ ,  $\eta^2=.04$ ; identification with the ingroup:  $F(1,72)=.41$ ,  $p=.52$ ,  $\eta^2=.01$ ; identification as British:  $F(1,72)=.27$ ,  $p=.60$ ,  $\eta^2=.00$ ; identification as multicultural:  $F(1,72)=.61$ ,  $p=.44$ ,  $\eta^2=.01$ ; personal discrimination:  $F(1,72)=.07$ ,  $p=.80$ ,  $\eta^2=.00$ ; group discrimination:  $F(1,72)=.02$ ,  $p=.89$ ,  $\eta^2=.00$ . The main effect for ethnicity are: positive contact:  $F(1,72)=25.13$ ,  $p=.00$ ,  $\eta^2=.26$ ; identification with the ingroup:  $F(1,72)=.88$ ,  $p=.35$ ,  $\eta^2=.01$ ; identification as British:  $F(1,72)=44.40$ ,  $p=.000$ ,  $\eta^2=.38$ ; identification as multicultural:  $F(1,72)=9.90$ ,  $p=.002$ ,  $\eta^2=.12$ ; personal discrimination:  $F(1,72)=14.85$ ,  $p=.00$ ,  $\eta^2=.17$ ; group discrimination:  $F(1,72)=23.03$ ,  $p=.00$ ,  $\eta^2=.24$ .

of the independence of the covariates has not been violated for all the variables in analysis (positive contact:  $F(1,72)=1.61$ ,  $p=.21$ ,  $\eta^2=.02$ ; identification with the ingroup:  $F(1,72)=.17$ ,  $p=.68$ ,  $\eta^2=.00$ ; identification as British:  $F(1,72)=1.13$ ,  $p=.29$ ,  $\eta^2=.01$ ; identification as multicultural:  $F(1,72)=.43$ ,  $p=.51$ ,  $\eta^2=.01$ ; personal discrimination:  $F(1,72)=1.07$ ,  $p=.03$ ,  $\eta^2=.01$ ; group discrimination:  $F(1,72)=1.89$ ,  $p=.17$ ,  $\eta^2=.03$ ).

### 5.5.3.2 Main analysis: ANCOVAs

Table 5.7 reports the descriptives for participants' attitudes toward cultural maintenance and adoption, the five acculturation strategies and desire for intergroup contact on both personal and group levels (ingroup and outgroup). In the sections that follow, Table 5.8 presents the results of the ANCOVA, dividing them per dependent variable (Appendix I reports more details).

*Table 5.7 Descriptives of the dependent variables per condition and ethnicity.*

<i>Dependent Variable</i>		<i>Inclusion</i>	<i>Exclusion</i>
<i>Cultural maintenance</i>	White British	5.26 (1.52)	5.20 (1.58)
	Southern Europeans	4.47 (1.51)	5.15 (1.07)
<i>Cultural adoption</i>	White British	4.40 (1.29)	3.96 (1.34)
	Southern Europeans	4.18 (1.24)	3.97 (1.09)
<i>Individualism</i>	White British	5.59 (1.68)	5.35 (1.45)
	Southern Europeans	5.41 (1.58)	5.55 (1.36)
<i>Integrationism</i>	White British	4.86 (1.12)	5.76 (.97)
	Southern Europeans	5.71 (1.05)	6.00 (1.03)
<i>Assimilationism</i>	White British	2.82 (1.71)	2.12 (1.32)
	Southern Europeans	2.82 (1.59)	1.75 (1.02)
<i>Segregationism/ separatism</i>	White British	3.23 (1.85)	1.82 (1.18)
	Southern Europeans	4.29 (1.61)	4.05 (1.60)

<i>Exclusionism/</i>	White British	2.91 (1.90)	2.76 (1.68)
<i>marginalisationism</i>	Southern Europeans	3.29 (2.05)	2.75 (2.10)
<i>Personal desire for</i>	White British	5.31 (1.15)	5.29 (1.16)
<i>intergroup contact</i>	Southern Europeans	6.07 (.85)	5.63 (.95)
<i>Ingroup's desire for</i>	White British	4.80 (.86)	4.16 (1.26)
<i>intergroup contact</i>	Southern Europeans	5.45 (1.27)	4.39 (1.03)
<i>Outgroup's desire</i>	White British	5.26 (.74)	4.52 (1.60)
<i>for intergroup</i>	Southern Europeans	5.10 (1.07)	3.97 (1.52)
<i>contact</i>			

#### *Cultural maintenance and cultural adoption*

The first dependent variable in analysis is participants' attitudes toward the maintenance of the ethnic culture by Southern Europeans. Despite that the main effect of condition,  $F(1,66)=.80$ ,  $p=.37$ ,  $\eta^2=.01$ , and the interaction effect,  $F(1,66)=.95$ ,  $p=.33$ ,  $\eta^2=.01$ , were not statistically significant, there was a significant difference regarding participants' attitudes toward cultural maintenance as a function of their ethnicity,  $F(1,66)=4.41$ ,  $p=.04$ ,  $\eta^2=.06$ . This effect indicates that, in the case of these two specific ethnic groups, Southern Europeans were less willing to maintain their ethnic culture ( $M=4.42$ ,  $SE=0.33$ ) compared to what White British wanted them to do ( $M=5.60$ ,  $SE=0.32$ ).

Relative to the second component of the acculturation process, that is participants' attitudes toward cultural adoption, the main effect of condition,  $F(1,66)=1.25$ ,  $p=.27$ ,  $\eta^2=.02$ , and the interaction,  $F(1,66)=.58$ ,  $p=.45$ ,  $\eta^2=.01$ , were not statistically significant, while there was a statistical significant difference for ethnicity,  $F(1,66)=3.81$ ,  $p=.05$ ,  $\eta^2=.05$ . This effect suggested that White British had less positive attitudes toward cultural adoption ( $M=3.73$ ,  $SE=0.24$ ) compared to Southern Europeans ( $M=4.53$ ,  $SE=0.24$ ).

#### *Acculturation strategies*

A 2x2 ANCOVA was conducted on the five acculturation strategies: participants' attitudes toward individualism, integrationism, assimilationism, segregationism/separatism and

exclusionism/marginalisationism. There were no significant findings for participants' preferences for *individualism* (for condition  $F(1,66)=.01$ ,  $p=.91$ ,  $\eta^2=.00$ , for ethnicity  $F(1,66)=.56$ ,  $p=.46$ ,  $\eta^2=.01$ , for the interaction  $F(1,66)=.46$ ,  $p=.5$ ,  $\eta^2=.01$ ) and *exclusionism/marginalisationism* (for condition  $F(1,66)=.53$ ,  $p=.47$ ,  $\eta^2=.01$ , for ethnicity  $F(1,66)=.04$ ,  $p=.84$ ,  $\eta^2=.00$ , for the interaction  $F(1,66)=.49$ ,  $p=.48$ ,  $\eta^2=.01$ ).

In the case of *integrationism*, which corresponds with the best outcome of the acculturation process, a main effect of condition was found,  $F(1,66)=5.96$ ,  $p=.02$ ,  $\eta^2=.08$ , indicating that both ethnic groups were more willing to adopt integrationism after viewing an example of exclusion ( $M=5.88$ ,  $SE=.17$ ) than inclusion ( $M=5.28$ ,  $SE=.17$ ), while the main effect of ethnicity,  $F(1,66)=1.56$ ,  $p=.22$ ,  $\eta^2=.02$ , and the interaction effect were not significant,  $F(1,66)=.86$ ,  $p=.36$ ,  $\eta^2=.01$ .

For *assimilationism*, there was only a significant main effect due to the condition participants were assigned to,  $F(1,66)=11.19$ ,  $p<.001$ ,  $\eta^2=.14$ , which suggests that this strategy was preferred more after being exposed to an example of inclusion of a minority member ( $M=2.88$ ,  $SE=.20$ ) than an exclusion ( $M=1.91$ ,  $SE=.20$ ). The main effect of ethnicity and the interaction effect were not statistically significant, for ethnicity,  $F(1,66)=2.93$ ,  $p=.09$ ,  $\eta^2=.04$ , or for interaction,  $F(1,66)=.58$ ,  $p=.45$ ,  $\eta^2=.01$ .

For participants' preference for *segregationism/separatism*, main effects of condition ( $F(1,66)=5.85$ ,  $p=.02$ ,  $\eta^2=.08$ ) and of ethnicity ( $F(1,66)=3.77$ ,  $p=.06$ ,  $\eta^2=.05$ ) were found. Relative to ethnicity, it seems that Southern Europeans wanted to adopt this strategy ( $M=3.96$ ,  $SE=.37$ ) more than White British wanted them to do ( $M=2.73$ ,  $SE=.36$ ). In the case of condition, participants wanted to adopt this strategy more in the inclusion condition ( $M=3.80$ ,  $SE=.26$ ) than in the exclusion condition ( $M=2.88$ ,  $SE=.27$ ). The interaction effect ( $F(1,66)=1.84$ ,  $p=.18$ ,  $\eta^2=.03$ ) was not significant.

The results relative to the acculturation strategies are presented in Figure 5.9 below.

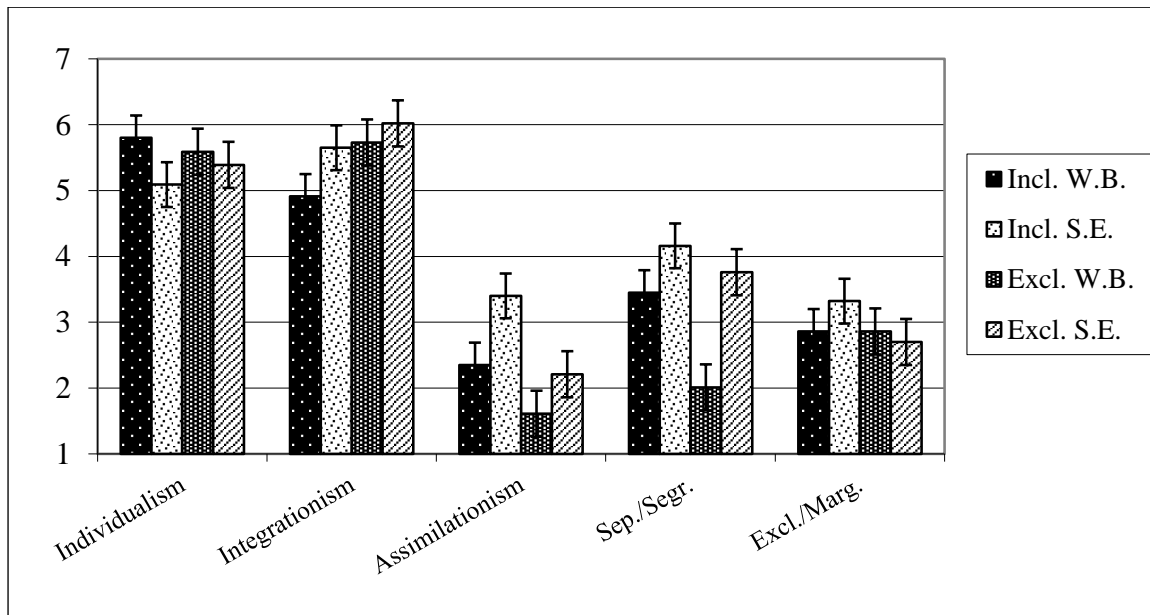


Figure 5.9 Participants' attitudes toward the five acculturation strategies, as a function of condition and ethnicity, controlling for positive contact, social identification with ethnic ingroup, British and multicultural, and experiences of discrimination. Error bars indicate standard errors of the mean.

#### Desire for intergroup contact—self—ingroup—outgroup

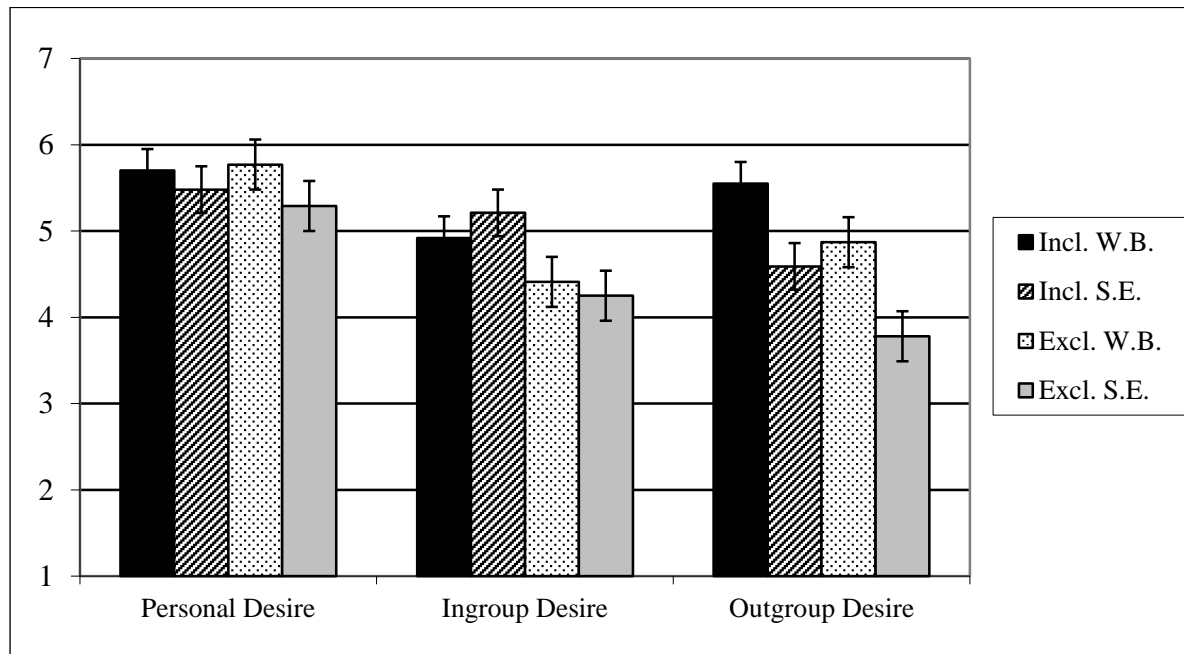
When investigating participants' desire for intergroup contact, both personal and group perspectives have been analysed (Figure 6.11).

In the case of participants' desires for intergroup contact on a personal level, they were not main effects of ethnicity,  $F(1,66)=.98, p=.32, \eta^2=.01$ , of condition,  $F(1,66)=.06, p=.8, \eta^2=.00$ , and interaction effect,  $F(1,66)=.34, p=.56, \eta^2=.00$ .

Different results were found for participants' perception of the ingroup's desire for intergroup contact. Despite a not significant interaction effect ( $F(1,66)=.75, p=.39, \eta^2=.01$ ), and of ethnicity ( $F(1,66)=.02, p=.88, \eta^2=.00$ ), the main difference was the function of the condition participants were assigned to,  $F(1,66)=8.26, p=.00, \eta^2=.11$ . Both groups of participants expressed a stronger desire for intergroup contact when they were assigned to the inclusion condition ( $M=5.07, SE=.18$ ) than to the exclusion condition ( $M=4.33, SE=.18$ ).

The differences in the case of participants' perception of outgroup's desire for intergroup contact were due both to their ethnicity,  $F(1,66)=5.07, p=.03, \eta^2=.07$ , and to the experimental condition,  $F(1,66)=7.35, p=.01, \eta^2=.10$ . In the case of condition, this perception was higher when exposed to the inclusion condition ( $M=5.07, SE=.19$ ) than to the exclusion condition

( $M=4.33$ ,  $SE=.19$ ). Based on ethnicity, it was indicated as more by White British ( $M=5.21$ ,  $SE=.26$ ) than Southern Europeans ( $M=4.18$ ,  $SE=.27$ ). However, the interaction effect was not significant,  $F(1,66)=.05$ ,  $p=.82$ ,  $\eta^2=.00$ .



*Figure 5.10 Participants' desire for intergroup contact on personal and group levels, as a function of condition and ethnicity, controlling for positive contact, social identification with ethnic ingroup, British and multicultural, and experiences of discrimination. Error bars indicate standard errors of the mean.*

Table 5.8 below reports all the results presented above per dependent variable (i.e. cultural maintenance and adoption, the five acculturation strategies, desire for intergroup contact on a personal and group level). It compares the ANOVA and the ANCOVA with the six covariates (experiences of positive contact, identification with the ingroup, identification as British and as multicultural, perception of discrimination on a personal and group level).

Table 5.8 Main effects and interaction effects for the ANCOVA of all dependent variables.

Dependent Variables	Covariate	Main effect covariates F	Main effect condition F	Main effect ethnicity F	Interaction effect F
Cultural maintenance	N/A	/	.88	1.60	1.26
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3, Cov.4, Cov.5 & Cov. 6	.51, .53, 5.96*, .06, .02, .10	.80	4.41*	.95
Cultural adoption	N/A	/	1.26	.14	.15
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3, Cov.4, Cov.5 & Cov. 6	.25, .02, 27.64***, .17, .59, 1.86	1.25	3.81 <sup>+</sup>	.58
Individualism	N/A	/	.02	.00	.28
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3, Cov.4, Cov.5 & Cov. 6	1.59, .23, 1, .02, .00, .13	.01	.56	.46
Integrationsim	N/A	/	6.09*	4.95*	1.57
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3, Cov.4, Cov.5 & Cov. 6	.57, 5.42*, .07, .48, .26, .00	5.96*	1.56	.86
Assimilationism	N/A	/	7.12**	.30	.31
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3, Cov.4, Cov.5 & Cov. 6	3.04 <sup>+</sup> , .02, 20.87***, .27, 1.57, 5.79*	11.19***	2.93 <sup>+</sup>	.58
Segregationism/separatism	N/A	/	4.96*	19.83***	2.46
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3, Cov.4, Cov.5 & Cov. 6	.12, 2.02, .27, .21, 1.72, 2.93 <sup>+</sup>	5.85*	3.77 <sup>+</sup>	1.84
Exclusionism/marginalisationsim	N/A	/	.59	.17	.2
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3, Cov.4, Cov.5 & Cov. 6	.02, .92, 4.48*, .03, 1.32, 5.62*	.53	.04	.49
Personal desire for intergroup contact	N/A	/	.93	5.22*	.73
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3, Cov.4, Cov.5 & Cov. 6	12.58***, 2.4, 5.13*, 5.79*, 2.14	.06	.98	.34
Ingroup desire for intergroup contact	N/A	/	11.26***	2.98 <sup>+</sup>	.71
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3, Cov.4, Cov.5 & Cov. 6	.94, .00, .07, 3.53 <sup>+</sup> , .62, .11	8.26**	.02	.75
Outgroup desire for intergroup contact	N/A	/	10.32**	1.49	.48
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3, Cov.4, Cov.5 & Cov. 6	10.66**, .12, .46, 1.42, 1.17, .07	7.35**	5.07*	.05

Note 1: <sup>+</sup>  $p < .1$ , \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .001$ .

Note 2: N/A refers to the 2x2 ANOVA, Cov.1: Positive contact; Cov.2: Identification with ingroup; Cov. 3: Identification British; Cov. 4: Identification multicultural; Cov.5: Personal discrimination; Cov.6: Group discrimination.

### 5.5.3.3 Moderations

Based on the previous analysis and the theoretical framework of this study, different moderations were tested with the aim of further investigating the role of the covariates in the acculturation process. Specifically, participants' preferences for integrationism and assimilationism are moderated by the interaction between their level of identification as multicultural and the experimental condition they were assigned to. Based on the ANOVA and ANCOVA that showed significant differences for these variables based on the condition participants were assigned to (inclusion or exclusion), and not on ethnicity, the sample has been considered as a whole.

To test whether participants' attitudes toward integrationism are a function of identification as a multicultural person and being exposed to experiences of inclusion or exclusion, a hierarchical multiple regression was used for the moderation analysis. Two variables have been included in the first step of the regression: the experimental condition (recoded as



dummy variable, 1 for the inclusion and 0 for the exclusion condition) and the centred participants' identification as multicultural individuals (the variable has been centred in order to avoid multicollinearity; Aiken & West, 1991). These variables accounted for a significant amount of variance in participants' preferences for integrationism,  $R^2=.11$ ,  $F(2,73)=4.37$ ,  $p=.02$ . In the second step, the interaction term between condition and participants' identification as multicultural was added to the analysis: it accounted for a significant proportion of variance in participants' preference for integrationism;  $\Delta R^2=.03$ ,  $\Delta F(1,72)=2.37$ ,  $p=.01$ ,  $b=.21$ ,  $t(72)=1.49$ ,  $p=.14$ . For low identifiers, condition  $b=-1.06$ ,  $t(72)=-3.03$ ,  $p=.003$ ; for average identifiers, condition  $b=-.68$ ,  $t(72)=2.71$ ,  $p=.01$ ; for high identifiers, condition  $b=-.3$ ,  $t(72)=-.82$ ,  $p=.42$ . As Figure 5.11 shows, participants' preferences for integrationism as acculturation strategy was higher in the exclusion than in the inclusion condition only for those who identify weakly and on average with being multicultural. For high identifiers, the preference for this strategy did not change.

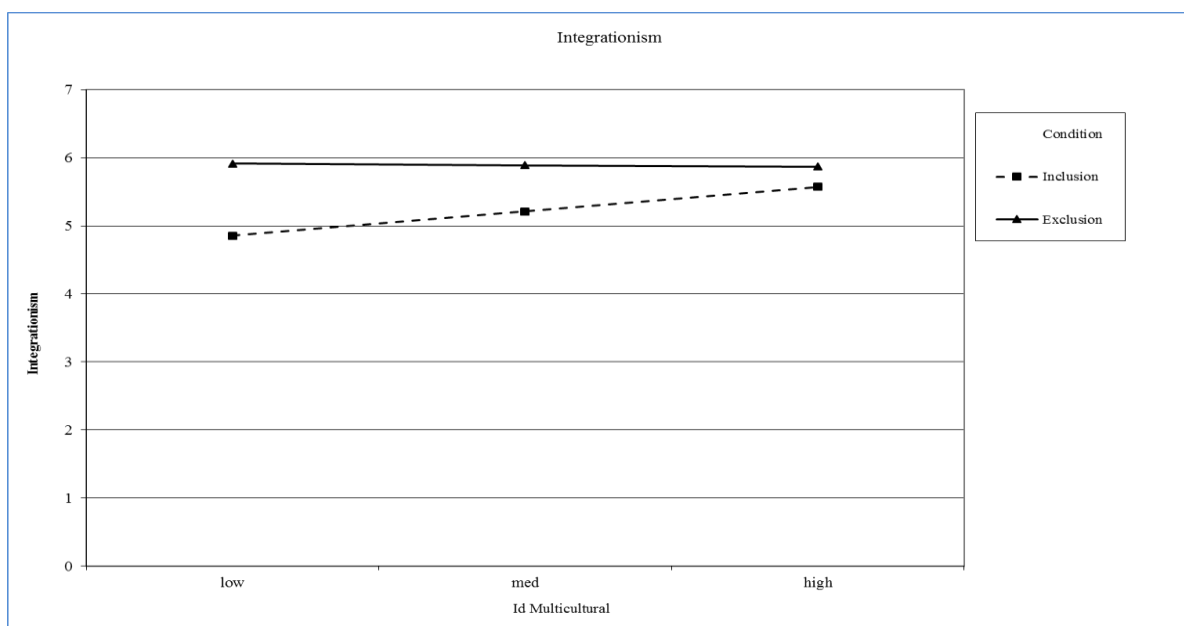
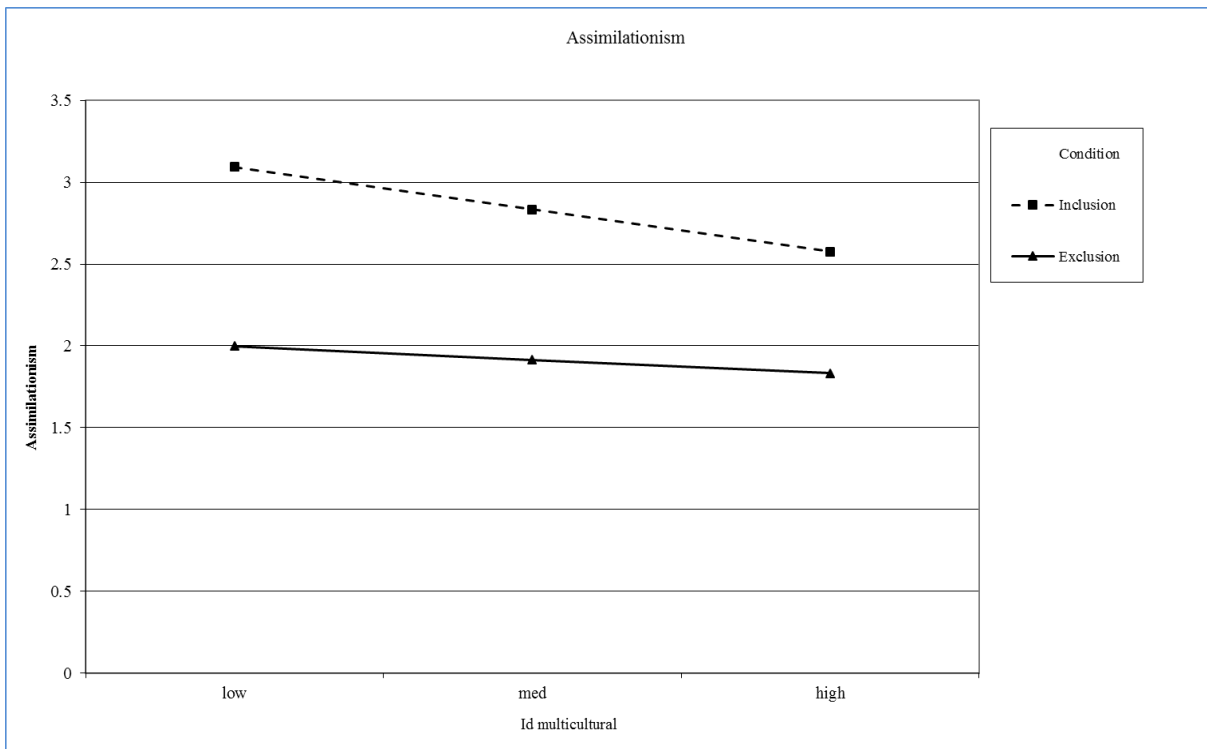


Figure 5.11 Simple slopes for identification as multicultural on integrationism for inclusion vs. exclusion condition.

The same procedure was followed to test if a preference for assimilationism as acculturation strategy differed as a function the condition and people's identification as multicultural. The results of the first step of the regression indicated that the dummy code for the experimental condition and the centred identification as multicultural accounted for a significant amount of variance in explaining participants' preferences for assimilationism,  $R^2=.32$ ,  $F(2,73)=4.29$ ,  $p=.02$ . The model was also confirmed in the second step of the analysis, when the interaction

term between the experimental conditions and participants' identification as multicultural was added,  $\Delta R^2=.11$ ,  $\Delta F(1,72)=.28$ ,  $p=.04$ ,  $b=-.1$ ,  $t(72)=-.53$ ,  $p=.6$ . For low identifiers, condition  $b=1.09$ ,  $t(72)=2.18$ ,  $p=.03$ ; for average identifiers, condition  $b=.92$ ,  $t(72)=2.75$ ,  $p=.01$ ; for high identifiers, condition  $b=.74$ ,  $t(72)=1.75$ ,  $p=.08$ . These results indicate, as shown in Figure 5.12, that participants from both the majority and minority groups significantly preferred assimilationism more in the inclusion than in the exclusion condition. This difference in their preference was statistically significant for both low and average identifiers as multicultural, and became marginal for high identifiers.



*Figure 5.12 Simple slopes for identification as multicultural on integrationism for inclusion vs. exclusion condition.*

As for the previous studies, a complete discussion of Study 6 is carried out in the following section, in light of the general aim of the present chapter. Before doing that, however, it is important to emphasise that the present study shows that people's attitudes in the acculturation process are strongly affected by the exposure to an example of social inclusion or exclusion of a minority group member in the UK. Findings support one of the contributions of this project: the role of identification as multicultural in moderating the acculturation process.

## **5.6 General Discussion for Studies of Chapter 5**

### **5.6.1 General overview on social exclusion, multiculturalism, and acculturation**

The primary aim of the present chapter was to investigate the potential effects of social exclusion on acculturation attitudes. Focusing on social exclusion allows for an understanding of the acculturation process on a micro-level, considering if and how the effects of personal experiences can be generalisable to the whole outgroup involved in the acculturation process. As explained in the introduction, there are many reasons to investigate social exclusion. First, social exclusion implies the inability to take part in the activities of a society, causing isolation, alienation, and distance from others (Duffy, 1995; Power & Wilson, 2000; Somerville, 1998; Walker & Walker, 1997) in different domains, i.e. economic, social, political and cultural (Taket et al., 2009). Second, its causes and consequences: social exclusion is mainly due to ethnic motivations (Merry, 2005; Williams, 2007) with both short and long-term negative effects on those who experience it (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). For example, social exclusion threatens people's sense of belonging, self-esteem and meaningful existence (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Gonsalkorale & Williams, 2007; Williams, 1997; 2001), causing antisocial and aggressive behaviours (Williams, 2007) as well as limited access to social and cultural resources and economic inequality (Cutler & Glaeser 1997; Akerlof 1997). In addition, the negative effects of social exclusion could be stronger than the positive ones of social inclusion, similarly to what happens in the case of positive and negative intergroup contact.

Another important reason that supports the need to study social exclusion is its strong link with acculturation. As explained above, according to Bourhis and colleagues (1997), exclusionism is one of the acculturation strategies adopted by the majority group that implies the denial of the minority groups as members of the society where acculturation takes place. However, it is worth considering whether social exclusion is an antecedent of the acculturation process, since it occurs when there is a mix of different cultures (Renzaho, 2009), a failure of the society in recognising cultural differences (Cross et al., 1989; Renzaho, 2002; 2008; 2009), or when the minorities are perceived as unwilling to adopt the majority culture (Van Acker & Vandeselaere, 2011). In fact, it is difficult to clearly establish if social exclusion comes before acculturation or the other way around. For this reason, the work of this PhD is important to clarify this issue. In addition, social exclusion in its different forms is a recurrent phenomenon in society (Renzaho, 2009) and a better understanding of it could

facilitate the creation of public and social policies aimed to guarantee equal access to social and economic resources for all groups.

The studies of this chapter take also into account two important variables in the acculturation process: social identity and the perception of the dynamics of the acculturation process. In the case of social identity, based on the theoretical and empirical overview of the previous chapters, the role of ethnic identification and of a common identity (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000) such as being British, is further considered. Study 4 combines the endorsement of a specific social identity (if ethnic or British) by a minority member with his experience of social exclusion, assessing how this interaction can influence the majority group's acculturation attitudes. The perception of the dynamics of the acculturation process refer to how the exposure to an episode of social exclusion can influence people's attitudes, since it implies a different perception of the minority's intentions in the acculturation process (Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Matera et al., 2011; Rudmin, 2009; Zagefka et al., 2012).

Based on these considerations, the main aim of the three studies of this chapter was to analyse the effects of social exclusion on people's acculturation preferences. Specifically, Study 4 investigated if the majority group's attitudes, their perception of the minority's (Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Rudmin, 2009; Zagefka, et al., 2012), and desire for intergroup contact are affected by a combination of social identity and social exclusion of a minority group member. Study 5 tested how a personal experience of discrimination affects White British and Asians' preference for cultural maintenance and adoption and their desire for intergroup contact on both personal and group levels. Study 6 investigated how a minority member's experience of inclusion or exclusion influences both White British and Southern Europeans' attitudes toward the acculturation components and strategies, as well as their willingness to have future intergroup contact.

The following sections contain a summary and discussion of the main findings of the three studies, some considerations of their limits, and their theoretical and practical implications.

### **5.6.2 Summary of findings**

This section compares and discusses the main findings of the three experimental studies on social exclusion presented in this chapter. The following sections are divided per dependent variable: cultural maintenance and adoption; perceptions of minority's preferences for cultural maintenance and adoption; acculturation strategies; and desire for intergroup contact

on both individual and group levels. In addition, this chapter provides a summary of the role of the covariates of this chapter: social identity, intergroup contact, prejudice, and previous experiences of exclusion.

### *Cultural maintenance and cultural adoption*

Regarding participants' attitudes toward cultural maintenance and adoption (Lopez-Rodriguez, et al., 2014; Zagefka, et al., 2012), the findings of the three studies did not support the hypotheses or what had been suggested by the literature. Specifically, in the case of cultural maintenance, participants' preference for this acculturation component did not statistically differ in Studies 4 and 5. The only significant difference was found in Study 6, and it was due to participants' ethnicity: Southern Europeans were less willing to maintain their culture compared to what White British wanted the minority to do. This finding contradicts existing literature, which suggests a higher preference for cultural maintenance by the minority group (Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998; Zagefka & Brown, 2011). One possible explanation for this contradictory finding is based on the minority group in analysis, that is Southern Europeans, and the political and historical relation between them and British people. It could be hypothesised that white British people perceived a higher similarity with Southern Europeans compared to other minorities, or that Southern Europeans have been so exposed to the Anglo-Saxon culture that they do not mind maintaining their original culture less when they are in the UK. Furthermore, since the sample of the study was mainly comprised of university students from these two specific groups, it is possible that participants related the ethnic outgroups to their university status, and identified with a superordinate identity of university students. In addition, a different explanation of this unexpected finding relates to the current political relations between the UK and the European Union. The UK is currently part of the European Union, but the Brexit referendum outcome indicated that the UK wants to withdraw from the European Union. Based on this, it could be possible that from one side, part of both White British and Southern Europeans feel members of the same European group (i.e. have a common and supraordinate identity), and thus perceive some commonalities. It is also possible that White British do not mind if Southern Europeans maintain their culture, since they are planning to separate from them politically.

Regarding participants' attitudes toward cultural adoption, the results for this acculturation component were more consistent with what has been suggested by the literature (Brown &

Zagefka, 2011; Tip et al., 2012). Specifically, in Study 4 the majority group indicated a higher preference for cultural adoption when the minority identified as British than when they identified as Polish. In Study 6, however, the majority group indicated a higher preference than the minority. Study 5 did not have any significant findings regarding this variable.

#### *Perception of minority's preference for cultural maintenance and adoption*

Based on what was suggested by Zagefka and colleagues (2012), the studies measured the majority group's perception of the minority's intentions with regard to the acculturation components. Only Study 4 tested the majority's perceptions of the minority's preference for cultural maintenance and adoption as two dependent variables and the results confirmed the hypotheses. White British participants indicated a stronger perception of the minority's preference for cultural maintenance in the Polish identification condition and a higher perception of the minority's preference for cultural adoption in the British identification condition. These results were consistent with the literature on the topic (Matera, et al., 2011; Piontkowski et al., 2002; Rocca & Brewer, 2002; Zagefka & Brown, 2002). The literature, indeed, indicated that the perception of minority's attitudes influence the majority's acculturation preferences (Matera et al., 2011). Furthermore, a stronger perception of the minority's preference for cultural maintenance does not negatively correlate with the majority's prejudice toward the minority, differently from a higher perception of cultural adoption (Zagefka, et al., 2007). In other words, the results of Study 4 could suggest that if a minority member embraces the British identity, White British might have more positive acculturation attitudes and less prejudice toward that specific outgroup.

#### *Acculturation strategies*

Participants' preferences for acculturation strategies (IAS; HCAS; Berry et al., 1989; Bourhis, et al., 2009; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001; 2004) were measured only in Studies 4 and 6, but not in Study 5. In the case of Study 4, where the majority group's attitudes toward an excluded minority member were measured, four (i.e. individualism, integrationism, assimilationism, exclusionism) of the five strategies were not affected by the experimental manipulation. In the case of segregationism, the finding contrasted the hypothesis and what is suggested by the literature (Curtis & Miller, 1986; Zagefka et al., 2011). Participants indicated a higher preference for this strategy when the minority member identified as British rather than Polish. This finding contradicts what was expected, since if the majority perceives

a higher willingness to integrate through the adoption of the majority culture by the minority, they should have more positive attitudes toward the minority, preferring attitudes such as integrationism instead of separatism. This result contradicts those on perceptions of the minority's preferences for the acculturation components. One possible explanation of this unexpected and contradictory result is traced or in the very artificial manipulation of Study 4, or in the conflicting relationships between White British and Polish. Demographic reports and the media debate suggest that, despite that the Polish community is considerable and attempts to integrate in the UK, there is a strong prejudice by White British toward this ethnic group related to the economy, and especially the job market (Quillian, 1995).

Study 6 examined a sample of White British and Southern Europeans participants. Their preferences for individualism and exclusionism/marginalisationism were not affected by people's ethnicity or by the experimental manipulation. Regarding integrationism and assimilationism, there was a main effect of condition: integrationism was preferred more in the exclusion than in the inclusion condition, while the reverse was true for assimilationism. One possible explanation may come from a limitation in the experimental manipulation, as the content of the inclusion condition can lead to a misinterpretation where, in order to be included, subjects must renounce their ethnic culture and completely adopt the dominant one. Another explanation could be due to the fact that sometimes, especially for the majority group, the line between integration and assimilation is very thin. This means that if a Southern European has been excluded, both majority and minority groups would prefer his/her integration in the British context. If he is already included, however, they might perceive this inclusion more as assimilation, since it could appear as if this minority member has already renounced some aspects of his ethnic culture. Segregationism/separatism was preferred more by the minority group than by the majority, in line with what emerged in the previous studies of this thesis. In Study 6, participants generally wanted to adopt segregationism/separatism more when they were exposed to the inclusion condition than to the exclusion condition. This is likely because, in this study, the inclusion condition had more characteristics of assimilationism than of integration.

#### *Desire for intergroup contact–self–ingroup–outgroup*

For the last set of dependent variables (participants' personal desire for intergroup contact and their perception of ingroup's and outgroup's desire for contact), interesting findings

resulted from two of the three studies. No significant differences were found for any of the three kinds of intergroup contact in Study 4.

With regard to participants' desire for intergroup contact on a self-level, a significant interaction effect was found in Study 5. After being socially excluded, the minority group, (Asians), was less willing to have experiences of intergroup contact on a personal level when they knew the ethnicity of the other players (outgroup condition), which in their case was White British. The majority group wanted to interact with the ethnic outgroup more when this was excluding them. This interesting result can be explained hypothesising that for the minority group, being excluded by the majority group can lead to a separation from the majority. This does not happen when the minority does not know other players' ethnicity, so they can ascribe the cause of exclusion to reasons other than ethnicity. No significant differences were found for this variable in Study 6.

Relative to participants' perception of the ingroup's desire for intergroup contact, in Study 5, the minority group (Asians) indicated a stronger desire than White British participants. In Study 6, instead, there was not a main effect of ethnicity, but of condition. Consistent with the hypotheses, participants of both the majority and minority groups perceived that their ingroup was more willing to have experiences of intergroup contact with the outgroup when they were exposed to an example of inclusion than to exclusion.

For the last dependent variable (participants' perception of outgroup's desire for intergroup contact), there were no significant differences in Study 5, while a main effect of condition and of ethnicity were observed in Study 6. Consistent with the previous findings, there was a higher perception of the outgroup's desire for intergroup contact by both groups in the inclusion than in the exclusion condition, and a generally higher perception by White British than Southern Europeans.

*Covariates and moderators: social identity, intergroup contact, prejudice and previous experiences of exclusion*

Six covariates have been included in the analysis of the effects of social exclusion on the acculturation process. Specifically, in addition to the three types of social identity (with the ingroup, as British, and as multicultural) and positive experiences of intergroup contact that



were tested in the previous chapter, participants' level of prejudice and previous experiences of social exclusion have been included in the analysis.

The key role of social identity (Schwartz, Zamboanga & Jarvis, 2007; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Phinney & Alipuria, 2006; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007) was also confirmed in these three experimental studies. Consistent with the findings of the studies on norms presented in Chapter 4, when social exclusion was tested as an antecedent of the acculturation process, people's identification as multicultural was also a key factor (Verkuyten & Brug, 2004; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). Specifically, this kind of social identity moderates people's preference for integrationism and assimilationism as acculturation strategies, as shown in Study 6. Integrationism was preferred more in the exclusion condition than in the inclusion condition of this study only for those who identified less as being multicultural. In the case of assimilationism, this strategy was preferred more in the inclusion condition than in the exclusion condition and this difference was statistically significant for both low and average identifiers as multicultural and became marginal for high identifiers. In other words, Study 6 confirmed the idea that endorsing a multicultural identity should moderate the acculturation process in the sense that the more people perceive themselves as multicultural, the more they have positive attitudes in the acculturation process.

When included in the analysis, as in the case of Study 6, experiences of intergroup contact (Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006) confirmed, as in the previous studies of Chapter 4, that it is part of the acculturation process. For this reason, in order to fully understand the effects of the IVs on the DVs, it has been necessary to statistically control for experiences of intergroup contact. However, in the experimental work presented in this chapter, there was a significant problem with the reliability of quality of intergroup contact that prevented the computation of positive intergroup contact (except in Study 6). Further details on this are presented in the limitations section.

In addition, despite that they have been tested only in Study 4, participants' levels of prejudice (Gonzalez, et al., 2010; Zick et al., 2001; Study 4) and previous experiences of exclusion (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007; Study 5) appeared to be additional important variables to controlled for in the analysis of the acculturation process.

### **5.6.3 Limitations and considerations**

While the findings presented above are quite interesting, there are some limitations across the three studies.

A first type of limitation that can be found in the set of studies on social exclusion presented in this chapter is methodological; specifically, it regards the experimental manipulation adopted in these studies. In the case of Study 4, for example, the story of the experimental manipulation could result too artificial, created ad hoc for the study. Thus, the participants likely understood the real aim of the study, and this may have affected their answers. Relative to Study 5, the use of typical outgroup names might not have been very effective. For future research the use of face images that clearly show cyberball players' ethnicity, in addition to traditional names, could be useful to avoid this limitation. Another possible weakness of this study could be the missing explicit link between cyberball and the acculturation process. For Study 6, the content of the inclusion condition could be improved in order reduce the chances of misinterpreting inclusion as assimilation. An additional limitation of this study can be considering Southern Europeans as whole group without taking into account the differences among the different nationalities (i.e. Greeks, Italians, Spanish, Portuguese) and the specific prejudices against and stereotypes of them.

Two additional limitations relate to the samples of the studies. First, Studies 4 and 6 were conducted online, through snowballing and a recruiting sample called Prolific Academic. The limitations of conducting an online study relate to the fact that participants were not assisted by the researcher, so they could have provided inaccurate answers, interpreted some questions differently without having the opportunity to clarify their doubts before answering, or could have continued the survey after a break, reducing the power of the experimental manipulation. Furthermore, a recruiting platform such as Prolific Academic only reaches University students. In addition, a considerable limitation of these studies regards the small sample size. Using a small sample size implies that the results have low statistical power, that there could be bias toward false positives (i.e. the significant results could disappear with a larger sample). This can challenge the reliability of the studies, and the results must be interpreted with caution until they are replicated.

A further limitation is related to the fact that different covariates were included across the three studies on social exclusion. Specifically, the scale of quality of intergroup contact had a

low reliability, and thus experiences of positive intergroup contact could not be computed and was excluded by the analysis of Study 4. In addition, while in the studies on norms included in Chapter 5 had the same covariates (positive intergroup contact and social identity) in the present chapter prejudice and previous experiences of exclusion were tested only in one study, without confirming their role in further research. This inconsistency of the covariates does not allow for a coherent analysis of the effects of social exclusion on acculturation.

However, it is important to note that the biggest limitation of these studies on social exclusion is the inconsistency of the results. As explained in the previous section and further analysed in the general discussion of Chapter 6, the findings were inconsistent and the effects of social exclusion as antecedents of the acculturation attitudes were not replicated. The reason for this inconsistency can be found in the limit of the experimental manipulation, or perhaps in the fact that social exclusion is not a clear and defined antecedent of the acculturation process. The relation between social exclusion and the acculturation process is then ambivalent in the sense that it seems more valid the model that indicates social exclusion as an outcome of the acculturation process than the one tested in this chapter where social exclusion is tested as antecedent. For this reason, the results of these studies should be interpreted with caution. Future research should attempt to further investigate this topic using better experimental manipulation and making more explicit the link between the example of social exclusion used in the study and the acculturation process.

#### **5.6.4 Theoretical and practical implications**

The main contribution of these three studies is exploring the link between different forms of social exclusion and the acculturation process. Since some hypotheses were not confirmed, the findings of these studies did not fully support the hypothesis that both personal and indirect forms of social exclusion negatively affect people's attitudes in the acculturation process, and change participants' perceptions of outgroups' attitudes.

From a theoretical perspective, these three studies highlight the need to further investigate how being socially excluded affects people's attitudes in the acculturation process, and in intergroup relations more generally. Specifically, this project underscores the need to differentiate between the consequences of being directly socially excluded and of being a witness to social exclusion. An interesting way to develop this topic might be to compare people's attitudes in the acculturation process after being directly excluded or simply being

exposed to another's episode of social exclusion. In the second case, it could also be useful to assess whether the attitudes toward the target of exclusion could be generalizable to his/her ethnic outgroup, and if yes, under what conditions. In addition, adding in the analysis variables such as pre-existing levels of prejudice and stereotypes toward the ethnic outgroup, or better considering the characteristics of the groups in analysis (e.g. their historical and actual relationships, the generation of migration for the minority groups, or the type of migrants – refugees or voluntary), could lead to more consistent and clear findings.

From a practical perspective, the three studies of this chapter further emphasise the complexity of the acculturation process and social exclusion. As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, social exclusion is a constant phenomenon that endures regardless of some policy efforts. From the results, indeed, it emerged that social exclusion has different effects as a function of belonging to the majority or minority groups. Specifically, minority group members are often targets of social exclusion. The effects for them are negative, and generally lead to a wish to remain separate from the majority group. In the case of the majority group, since they are not targets but agents of social exclusion, the exposure to an example of this phenomenon generally leads to a wish to make the target minority more integrated. Based on this, it would be useful put into action public policies that aim to reduce the segregation of ethnic groups in some urban areas, and to increase positive interaction among the different ethnic groups. This aim could be achieved, for example, through housing and educational projects. Furthermore, supporting media campaigns that show the negative effects of this phenomenon on the minority could push the majority group to stop social exclusion and support the integration of ethnic minorities.

## **5.7 Chapter Summary**

The present chapter extends the investigation of one of the possible antecedents of the acculturation process: experiences of social inclusion vs. exclusion. The perspective of the three experimental studies presented above is on a micro-level, since they focus on the extent to which the effects of personal experiences can be generalisable to all the groups involved in the acculturation process. Study 4 assessed only the perspective of the majority group, analysing if an experience of social exclusion of a minority member can differently affect the majority group's acculturation attitudes as a function of the minority member's identity. Study 5 investigated the effects of a direct experience of social exclusion of both majority

and minority members, and considered the differences due to the ethnicity of those who exclude the others. The last study, Study 6, further explored the effects of an example of a minority member's experience of social inclusion vs. exclusion on all possible outcomes of the acculturation process. It considered the perspectives of both the majority and minority groups. Although the findings were largely inconsistent, some interesting effects were found and discussed.

The present chapter is the last to include empirical work as part of this PhD. The following chapter is a general discussion of the entire PhD project, and reviews the theoretical background, the main findings, the limitations, and the theoretical and practical implications of this thesis. It also points to additional research on the topic of social norms and social exclusion as antecedents of the acculturation process.

## **CHAPTER 6: GENERAL DISCUSSION**

### **6.1 Chapter Overview**

The present chapter summarises the main findings of this PhD project which is comprised by a pilot study (four focus groups) and six experiments, in addition to a post hoc correlational study (see Appendix C). The hypotheses that social norms constitute a key antecedent of the acculturation process are generally confirmed, while the findings do not fully confirm the role of experiences of social exclusion as antecedent of acculturation. Furthermore, this project confirmed that social identity (i.e. with the ethnic ingroup, with the national ingroup, and as multicultural) and experiences of positive intergroup contact must be included in analyses of acculturation dynamics, since they influence people's acculturation attitudes. This chapter presents the limitations of the findings and the potential theoretical and practical implications deriving from this project, as well as suggestions for future research on acculturation.

### **6.2 Theoretical Background and Aims**

This thesis examined the role of two specific predictors, social norms and experiences of social exclusion, and their effects on the acculturation process. Assessing social norms allowed for an analysis of acculturation dynamics on a macro-level, and of social exclusion on a micro-level. In addition, three types of social identity (with the ethnic ingroup, as British and as multicultural), as well as experiences of positive contact, were tested as covariates and potential moderators of the acculturation process.

The theoretical background of this project falls within the framework of the acculturation model theorised by Berry (1980; 1997), and, more specifically, within the Interactive Acculturation Model developed by Bourhis and colleagues (1997). According to this model, there are two components of acculturation: cultural maintenance, or people's willingness to maintain their ethnic culture, and cultural adoption, the extent to which people want to adopt the culture of the new or host country (Bourhis et al., 1997). From the combination of these two components, the Interactive Acculturation Model defines five different acculturation strategies: individualism, integrationism, assimilationism, segregationism/separatism, and exclusionism/marginalisationism. The two components of the acculturation process and the acculturation strategies constitute the main outcomes of the investigation conducted in this

project. In addition, taking into account the importance of intergroup contact in affecting intergroup relations (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1997; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Wright et al., 1997) and thus also the acculturation process (Brown & Zagefka, 2011), another dependent variable of this project is participants' desire for intergroup contact on both personal and group levels (i.e. ingroup and outgroup; Binder et al., 2009).

As mentioned above, the main focus of this project was on two potential antecedents of the acculturation process: social norms and experiences of social exclusion. Investigating the acculturation antecedents is a novel approach, since the literature on the topic mainly focuses on acculturation outcomes. Based on the need to better understand people's support for multiculturalism (Ginges & Cairns, 2000), since multiculturalism can be considered, especially by the majority group, as a threat or as a way to enrich the country where acculturation occurs, perceived social norms on multiculturalism can be useful for analysing people's attitudes towards it. Social norms (Hogg & Reid, 2006), indeed, affect people's attitudes (Allport, 1954, 1958; Boyanowsky & Allen, 1973; Van Knippenberg & Wilke, 1992) more than personal beliefs (Kuran, 1995; Miller et al., 2000; Stangor, et al., 2001), affect conflict and prejudice (Allport, 1954; Crandall & Stangor, 2005) and can be related to multiculturalism (Breugelmans & Van de Vijver, 2004). Based on this premise, it is worth testing how social and political norms on multiculturalism influence people's acculturation attitudes.

The second antecedent considered in this PhD project was social exclusion, a phenomenon that is part of the acculturation process itself (Renzaho, 2009), that implies a separation from the host society (Van Acker & Vandesaere, 2001), and has negative social outcomes (Caetano et al., 2007; Lopez et al., 2002; Renzaho, 2007) because social exclusion does not recognise cultural differences within the society (Cross et al., 1989; Renzaho, 2002, 2008, 2009). This PhD tested how experiencing a direct episode of social exclusion, or being exposed to one, can influence both majority and minority acculturation attitudes.

One further factor that is extremely important in analysis of acculturation, and which constitutes one of the independent variables across the research in this PhD project, is the ethnicity of those who experience the acculturation process: whether they are part of the majority (i.e. White British or White Italians) vs. minority groups (i.e. Asians, Poles, Southern Europeans). Based on the premise that a complete understanding of the

acculturation process can be reached only if both the minority and majority perspectives are considered (Van Oudenhoven, et al., 1998; Zagefka & Brown, 2002; Zagefka et al., 2012), reflecting a dynamic intergroup perspective (Brown & Zagefka, 2011), the studies of this project investigate majority groups such as Italians and White British, heterogeneous minority groups in the UK, and specific ethnic groups who also live in the UK (Asians and Poles).

This PhD project highlights also the key role of two important factors that have also been tested as potential moderators of the acculturation process: social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and experiences of positive intergroup contact (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1997; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Relative to social identity, the effects of three different types of social identification were tested: identification with the ethnic ingroup, with a superordinate identity (British), and with a multiple identity, as multicultural. The theoretical reason underlying this choice is that identifying strongly with the ethnic ingroup can reduce positive attitudes toward the outgroup in the acculturation process (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002); identifying with a more inclusive group (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000), for example British, can reduce the perceived differences between groups, and make people feel part of the same group. Identifying as multicultural allows people to maintain and combine multiple identities (Phinney & Alipuria, 2006). The endorsement of one of these identities can lead to the endorsement of specific acculturation strategies and the adoption of particular attitudes towards the ethnic outgroup. In the case of positive intergroup contact (Stathi & Crisp, 2010), this variable is considered important in influencing acculturation attitudes, since it improves intergroup relations (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008) and facilitates the endorsement of multiculturalism (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006).

The following section summarises the main findings of the pilot research and the experimental studies on norms and social exclusion, aiming to explain the differences between majority and minority, the role of norms and social exclusion as antecedents, and of social identity and intergroup contact as covariates and potential moderators of the acculturation process.



## **6.3 Summary of findings**

### **6.3.1 Pilot research**

Chapter 3 presented the pilot research of this project: four focus groups with members of majority and minority groups who live in the UK. The main goal of the pilot research was to investigate with qualitative methods the relations among the potential antecedents (norms and social exclusion), outcomes (cultural maintenance, cultural adoption, the five acculturation strategies, desire for intergroup contact on both personal and group levels), and covariates, also tested as potential moderators (experiences of positive intergroup contact and social identity) of the acculturation process.

The thematic analysis conducted on the four focus groups led to identify some key themes on multiculturalism, acculturation and identity. The five themes were: 1) the process by which people define themselves in terms of nationality, ethnicity, and identity; 2) experiences of intergroup contact in multicultural societies; 3) preferences for acculturation strategies; 4) the role of social norms in shaping intergroup relations; 5) awareness of possible segregation and exclusion. These five common themes among the majority and minority groups supported the research questions of this PhD project that were created based on the theories on acculturation reviewed in Chapter 2.

Participants described social norms as fundamental in shaping their behaviours, especially during intergroup relations (Boyanowsky & Allen, 1973; Breugelmans & Van de Vijver, 2004; Guimond, et al., 2014; Van Knippenberg & Wilke, 1992), supporting the idea of social norms as possible antecedents of the acculturation process. Similarly, participants affirmed that social exclusion is a concrete possibility when living in a multicultural society such as the UK and that it has detrimental consequences on both personal and social levels (Guang, 2005; Sales & Gregory, 1996; Van Acker & Vandesaere, 2011; Zetter & Pearl, 2000). In addition, the importance of social identity in recognising participants' belongingness to a specific ethnic group, as well as to a more inclusive national identity such as British (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000) or to a multicultural identity that recognises the different identifications (Phinney & Alipuria, 2006) was clearly stated by those who took part in the focus groups. Thus, the results of the focus groups supported the idea of testing different types of social identity (i.e. ingroup, British and multicultural; Bhatia, & Ram, 2001; Phinney, 2003; Schwartz, Montgomery & Briones; 2006; Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner,

1979) and previous positive experiences of intergroup contact (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000, 2008; Stathi & Crisp, 2010; Turner, et al., 2008) as key variables and potential moderators of the acculturation process. Members of both majority and minority groups autonomously introduced acculturation strategies (Bourhis et al., 1997) as topics of discussion, and confirmed the need to use these acculturation strategies as one of the dependent variables of the experimental studies.

A thematic analysis of the focus groups confirmed the need to investigate the perspectives of both the majority and minority groups, since they experience the acculturation process differently (Brown, & Zagefka, 2011; Bourhis, et al., 1997; Dinh & Bond, 2008; Van Houdenhoven & Hofstra, 2006; Zagefka & Brown, 2002). Based on the results of this pilot study, the experimental studies of Chapters 4 and 5 experimentally manipulated the potential antecedents of the acculturation process both on a macro-level, through norms, and on a micro-level, through experiences of social exclusion, adopted social identity and intergroup contact as covariates (and potential moderators) and the acculturation strategies in addition to cultural maintenance, cultural adoption and desire for intergroup contact, as dependent variables. The main findings of the experimental studies are reported in the next two sections.

### **6.3.2 Experimental studies on norms**

Chapter 4 presented the first set of three experimental studies of this PhD project. Specifically, Studies 1, 2, and 3 (3.a and 3.b) assessed the acculturation process on a macro-level, investigating if the norms on multiculturalism in the country where the acculturation process takes place, can influence people's acculturation attitudes.

Study 1 was conducted in Italy with only the majority group, White Italians. In this study, multiculturalism was experimentally manipulated in order to be presented as endorsed or not by the Italian norms, through a different presentation of the demographic data of the Census 2011. The dependent variables for this study were participants' perception of the minority group's Bicultural Identity Integration (BII; Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005), their attitudes toward cultural maintenance and cultural adoption, and their desire for intergroup contact on personal and group levels. Participants' social identity and previous experiences of intergroup contact constituted the covariates, and were also tested as moderators of the process. While the hypothesis for the majority's perception of the minority's BII was not confirmed, those for cultural maintenance and adoption were. Specifically, the majority group

wanted the minority to maintain their ethnic culture more when multiculturalism was presented as positive for the country, compared to when it was not. Consistently, they wanted the minority to adopt the majority culture more in the negative condition than in the positive condition. These results are in line with the literature suggesting that a multicultural society can enhance positive acculturation attitudes towards the ethnic outgroup (Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner & Christ, 2011; Pfafferott & Brown, 2006; Tip et al., 2012; Verkuyten, 2005; Zagefka et al., 2007). Differently from what was expected, participants' desire for intergroup contact on a self-level and their perception of ingroup and outgroup desires for intergroup contact were not affected by the experimental manipulation, and thus the social norms on multiculturalism. Relative to the covariates, previous experiences of positive intergroup contact (Stathi & Crisp 2010), participants' identification as Italian, and identification as multicultural were controlled as covariates of acculturation. These three covariates were also tested as potential moderators of the acculturation process. Only participants' identification as multicultural moderated people's preferences for cultural maintenance and adoption. In the case of cultural maintenance, for those who identify less as multicultural, the preference for this variable was higher in the positive condition than in the negative one, especially for higher identifiers. For cultural adoption, the preference for this variable was higher in the negative condition than in the positive one for those who weakly identified as multicultural, while this difference was not present for higher identifiers as multicultural. This pattern of results on the moderating role of identification as multicultural basically suggested that a stronger identification with a multicultural identity is linked to more positive acculturation attitudes. The same idea of testing the role of social norms (macro-level) on the acculturation process was tested, expanded and applied to the UK context in Study 2.

Study 2 was conducted in the UK with members of both the majority (White British), and minority groups (heterogeneous sample of ethnic minorities), confirming that these two groups experience the acculturation process differently (Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998; Zagefka & Brown, 2002; Zagefka et al., 2007; Zagefka et al., 2012). In this study, norms on multiculturalism were manipulated by using information from the BBC and the Office for National Statistics created ad hoc for the purposes of the present research. The independent variables were participants' ethnicities and the inclusion of multiculturalism in social norms. Similarly to Study 1, the dependent variables here were cultural maintenance and adoption, the five acculturation strategies and desire for intergroup contact. Social identity and previous

experiences of intergroup contact were controlled in the analysis as covariates, and also tested as potential moderators of acculturation.

The results of Study 2 indicated that the minority group wanted to maintain their ethnic culture more than the majority wanted them to, especially when multiculturalism was not endorsed by the norms of the country in which acculturation takes place (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002). There were no significant differences for cultural adoption. This pattern of results was similar to what was found in Study 1, while the difference between majority and minority groups was in line with the literature on the topic, which indicates a higher preference for cultural maintenance by the minority compared to the majority group (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002). Relative to participants' preferences for the acculturation strategies, no differences were found for individualism and assimilationism. As expected, integrationism was highly supported by the minority groups, irrespective of the condition, while White British preferred this strategy more when multiculturalism was endorsed in the group norms, as suggested by Pfafferott and Brown (2006). Segregationism/separatism was preferred more by the minority than the majority group, while exclusionism/marginalisationism was preferred more in the negative than in the positive condition. The endorsement of multiculturalism in the group norms resulted in a stronger desire for intergroup contact on a self-level by both majority and minority groups; no differences were found for perception of ingroup's desire for intergroup contact while the ethnic minority had a higher perception of the outgroup's desire for intergroup contact than White British. Experiences of positive intergroup contact and the three kinds of social identification were used as covariates and when tested as potential moderators, none of them moderated acculturation, which is distinct from the moderating role of identification as multicultural in Study 1.

Study 3, the last on the role of social norms in influencing the acculturation process, specifically tested if institutional norms through public policies (MIPEX report) can influence both majority and minority acculturation attitudes. Study 3.a tested White British vs. Asians in the UK, while Study 3.b White British vs. Poles in the UK. The different results in these two studies confirmed that it is important to take into account the specific relationship among the majority group and a target minority (Bourhis & Gagnon, 1994; Tip et al., 2012; Zagefka, et al., 2007). Similarly to the previous study, the dependent variables of Study 3 were cultural maintenance and adoption, acculturation strategies, and desire for intergroup contact on both personal and group levels. As done in Studies 1 and 2, previous experiences of intergroup

contact and social identity were controlled as covariates and tested as potential moderators of the acculturation process.

Differently from Studies 1 and 2, in the case of studies 3.a and 3.b, no differences were found for participants' preferences for cultural maintenance and adoption. For the acculturation strategies, Study 3.a found no differences for individualism, integrationism, or assimilationism, while Asians preferred separatism and exclusionism more than White British preferred segregationism and marginalisationism. For Study 3.b, there were no differences for integrationism, while Poles indicated a higher preference for assimilationism, segregationism/separatism and exclusionism/marginalisationism than White British. In the case of individualism, instead, there was an interaction effect: White British preferred this strategy more in the positive condition, while Poles more in the negative condition. For the set of DVs on desire for intergroup contact, in Study 3.a, Asians indicated a stronger desire than White British both for personal and ingroup desire for contact, while no differences resulted for outgroup's desire. In the case of Study 3.b, a stronger desire on a personal level was asserted in the negative condition than in the positive one, while the minority group had a higher perception of the ingroup's desire for contact than White British. No differences were found for the outgroup's desire. Also for Study 3, previous experiences of intergroup contact and social identity were used as covariates, but when tested as moderators there were no significant findings.

The results of this set of studies on the role of social norms in affecting the acculturation process are extremely interesting in explaining a potential antecedent of acculturation on a macro-level. Despite the inconsistency of some results, it seems clear that norms on multiculturalism influence people's acculturation attitudes. Specifically, in the case of preference for cultural maintenance a similar pattern of results emerged for the majority group in Studies 1 and 2 (the differences were not significant in Studies 3.a and 3.b). In both studies, indeed, White Italians and White British wanted the minority groups to maintain their ethnic culture more when multiculturalism was endorsed in the perceived social norms of the country than when it was not. In the case of cultural adoption White Italian (Study 1) preferred it more in the negative condition, while White British in the positive one (Study 2). This result could be explain by the context where the two studies were conducted, Italy and the UK respectively, and by the different expectations that the majorities had towards the minorities accordingly to the different political situation of the two countries. The

comparison of the acculturation strategies can be done only between Studies 2 and 3. The main interesting results regard the fact that integrationism was preferred more by White British (Study 2) than the ethnic minorities when multiculturalism was endorsed by the social norms in the UK. In addition, one consistent finding is that across Studies 2, 3.a, and 3.b, the ethnic minorities preferred separatism more than White British preferred segregationism. In the case of desire for intergroup contact, the results are inconsistent, and the only similar pattern can be found in a higher perception of the ingroup's desire for contact by Asians and Poles compared to White British in Studies 3.a and 3.b. Furthermore, across the three studies, intergroup contact and social identity were confirmed as variables involved in acculturation; in Study 1, identifying as multicultural even moderated the effects of the experimental conditions on participants' preferences for cultural maintenance and adoption.

The fact that not all the results were replicated in the studies on norms is problematic in establishing a clear trend of how people's acculturation attitudes are shaped by perceived social norms on multiculturalism. This inconsistency of results could be due to different factors, such as analysing different contexts (Italy and the UK); considering in Studies 1 and 2 a heterogeneous minority group, while in Study 3 specific ethnic groups; or using different sources of social norms. Despite that a defined pattern of results for all the dependent variables is missing, the findings of these three studies confirmed the main idea of this project that social norms influence the acculturation process and highlighted the need for social psychological research to further investigate this topic.

### **6.3.3 Experimental studies on social exclusion**

Chapter 6 investigated the effects of the manipulation of a second suggested antecedent of the acculturation process: experiences of social exclusion (Duffy, 1995; Power & Wilson, 2000; Somerville, 1998; Walker & Walker, 1997; Williams, 2007). Studies 4, 5, and 6 analysed the acculturation process on a micro-level, exploring if a personal experience of social exclusion or the exposure to an experience of social exclusion affects people's acculturation attitudes.

Study 4 was conducted only with the majority group in the UK (White British), and it assessed whether the exposure to an episode of social exclusion of a Polish person could change White British people's acculturation attitudes based on the fact that the excluded person identified as British or Polish. The dependent variables were also, in this case, participants' preference for cultural maintenance, cultural adoption and the five acculturation

strategies, in addition to desire for intergroup contact on a personal and group level. In the case of participants' attitudes toward cultural maintenance, no significant differences were found; for cultural adoption, as supported by the literature, participants indicated a stronger preference for this component when the minority member identified as British than when they identified as Polish (Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Tip et al., 2012). In this study, participants' perception of the minority's preferences for cultural maintenance and adoption (Zagefka et al., 2012) were also tested, and the findings were consistent with the literature (Matera, et al., 2011; Piontkowski et al., 2002; Roccas & Brewer, 2002; Zagefka & Brown, 2002), indicating that White British perceived a stronger preference for cultural maintenance by Poles in the Polish identification condition and a higher preference for cultural adoption by Poles in the British identification condition. In the case of participants' preferences for acculturation strategies, there were no differences for individualism, integrationism, assimilationism, exclusionism; contrary to the hypotheses and the literature (Curtis & Miller, 1986; Zagefka et al., 2011), participants had a stronger preference for segregationism when the member of the minority group identified as British rather than Polish. For the last set of dependent variables (desire for intergroup contact on both personal and group levels), the results were not statistically significant. Moreover, this study confirmed that intergroup contact and social identity should be considered in analyses of the acculturation process (though they did not moderate the process), in addition to participants' level of prejudice toward the ethnic outgroup.

Study 5 experimentally manipulated White British and Asians personal experiences of social exclusion through cyberball (Williams & Jarvis, 2006). Participants were excluded either by members of the outgroup or by other players' whose ethnicity was not specified. In this study the measured dependent variables were participants' preference for cultural maintenance and adoption and their desire for intergroup contact on a personal and group level (the acculturation strategies were not measured). In the case of this study, participants' attitudes toward cultural maintenance and adoption were not statistically significant. An interaction effect was found relative to participants' desire for intergroup contact on a personal level: Asians were less willing to have intergroup contact with White British when they were excluded by them (outgroup condition), while White British wanted to interact with Asians more when they were excluded by Asians. In addition, Asians indicated a higher perception of the ingroup's desire for intergroup contact compared to White British, while non

significant differences were found for the outgroup's desire for intergroup contact. Also in Study 5, intergroup contact and social identity were tested as covariates of the acculturation process, but did not moderate it.

The last study of this PhD project, Study 6, compared if White British and Southern Europeans' attitudes varied after watching a video where a Southern European who lived in the UK was socially included vs. excluded. In this case, the dependent variables were participants' preferences towards cultural maintenance and adoption, the five acculturation strategies and their desire for intergroup contact on a personal and group level. For this study, while the results for cultural adoption were in line with the literature (Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Tip et al., 2012) and with the hypotheses, showing a higher preference for this component by White British than Southern Europeans, those for cultural maintenance were not. In the case of this acculturation component, indeed, White British wanted Southern Europeans to maintain their ethnic culture more than Southern Europeans wanted to. In the case of the five acculturation strategies, no differences were found for individualism and exclusionism/marginalisationism. Integrationism was endorsed more in the exclusion condition than in the inclusion condition, while the opposite was found for assimilationism. Similarly to what was found in the previous study, segregationism/separatism was preferred more by the minority than the majority group. No significant findings resulted for participants' desire for intergroup contact on a personal level. Relative to the perception of ingroup's desire for intergroup contact, this was higher in the inclusion than in the exclusion condition, for both groups in analysis. Similarly, participants had a higher perception of outgroup's desire for intergroup contact in the inclusion than in the exclusion condition, and this perception was higher for the majority group than the minority. Relative to the two covariates, intergroup contact and social identity, this study confirmed the important role of identification as multicultural, since this identification moderated participants' preferences for integrationism and assimilationism.

As emerged from this summary, the results of this set of three studies on the role of social exclusion in affecting the acculturation process on a micro-level are inconsistent. For none of the dependent variables in analysis was it possible to establish a clear pattern of results. In the case of cultural maintenance, for example, there were no differences in the case of Studies 4 and 5, and the findings of Study 6 with White British and Southern Europeans indicated a higher preference for this component by White British than Southern Europeans,



contradicting the hypotheses and the literature on the topic. The political and historical relation between British and Southern Europeans could explain this unexpected result. Europe has always had a peculiar relationship with the UK, due not only to their geographical proximity but also to their strong political and economic links as part of the European Union. Based on this premise, it could be suggested that White British perceived Southern European as culturally similar, and thus unthreatening, and for this reason, they wanted them to maintain their culture. Participants' attitudes towards cultural adoption indicated that, as expected, this is preferred more by the majority than the minority. The interesting results for the five acculturation strategies relate to Study 6 specifically, to the fact that in line with the results of the studies on norms, the minority group wanted to be separated from the majority more than the majority wanted to segregate the minority. For desire for intergroup contact on a personal and group level, the interesting result is that, when exposed to an example of social inclusion, there is a higher perception of desire for intergroup contact, both by the ingroup and by the outgroup (Study 6).

This inconsistency in the findings of the studies on social exclusion does not allow for a clear explanation of the effects of social exclusion on the acculturation process. The fact that there was a different operationalisation of social exclusion across the three studies likely made it difficult to obtain consistent results. In addition, analysing different ethnic groups without considering the differences in their relationship with the UK can cause this inconsistency with the findings. This problem with the results does not allow confirmation of the hypotheses on social exclusion of this PhD project. However, it could be useful for related research in this field to investigate the phenomenon of social exclusion with the aim of identifying a clearer pattern of results.

#### **6.4 Theoretical Implications**

Despite some inconsistency in the results, this PhD project has helped to improve the understanding of the acculturation process and specifically, some of its antecedents and covariates. The main theoretical implications deriving from the studies included in this thesis relate to the fact that perceived social norms on multiculturalism and experiences of social exclusion may influence people's attitudes in the acculturation process. Furthermore, the experimental work of this thesis confirmed that experiences of intergroup contact and social identity must be included in the analysis of the acculturation process. An important

theoretical implication of this project regards the fact that in two of the six studies, identifying as multicultural moderated the acculturation process. This section explains these theoretical implications.

A theoretically novel implication relates to the role of social norms as antecedents of the acculturation process. The three studies of Chapter 4 demonstrated that people's acculturation attitudes varied as a function of the endorsement of multiculturalism in the social norms of a country (Moddod, 2013). This means that the literature on how social norms affect people's attitudes (Allport, 1954, 1958; Boyanowsky & Allen, 1973; Kuran, 1995; Miller et al., 2000; Turner, 1991; Stangor, et al., 2001; Van Knippenberg & Wilke, 1992) can be extended to multiculturalism and the acculturation process. In simpler terms, it appears that if multiculturalism is part of the norms, people have more positive attitudes toward the outgroup involved in the acculturation process. This result is in line with what was suggested by Pettigrew and colleagues (2011) when they analysed how a multicultural adaptation by the majority group can lead to more positive outgroup attitudes. Specifically, the authors suggested that if the majority group moves towards multiculturalism, mutual intergroup understanding is enhanced, and intercultural stress, and intergroup conflicts are reduced.

The findings of this PhD project contribute to extending the positive effects of multiculturalism on intergroup attitudes by also considering the minority's perspective. This interesting result can be explained by the fact that if there is a multicultural culture, people do not feel threatened by the ethnic outgroup, as has been suggested by the existing literature (Pfafferott & Brown, 2006; Tip et al., 2012; Verkuyten, 2005; Zagefka et al., 2007) and the minorities feel more accepted. Thus, a main theoretical contribution of this project is testing and demonstrating that social norms on multiculturalism influence people's acculturation attitudes. Although Guimond and colleagues (2014) confirmed that majority attitudes towards multiculturalism are shaped by what the majority believe is the shared ideology with ingroup members, and Berry (2008) stressed the importance of having multicultural policies, there is a gap in the literature on this topic. This project extends the link between social norms and multiculturalism to the acculturation process and to the minority groups.

These findings are extremely important for their practical implications, as discussed in the following section. Based on this, it could be interesting to expand this area of study with further research that explores whether social norms relating to multiculturalism can be more

powerful than personal beliefs in affecting the acculturation process (Kuran, 1995; Miller et al., 2000; Stangor, et al., 2001). In addition, it could be worth testing whether social norms on multiculturalism influence people's prejudice and social conflict (Crandall & Stangor, 2005), always within the framework of the acculturation process.

A further theoretical implication relates to social exclusion as antecedent of the acculturation process. Specifically, this project suggests to further investigate the detrimental consequences (Duffy, 1995; Power & Wilson, 2000; Somerville, 1998; Walker & Walker, 1997) that directly experiencing or being exposed to an episode of social exclusion can have on people's acculturation attitudes (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Gonsalkorale & Williams, 2007; Williams, 1997, 2001, 2007). The main reason is that social exclusion is primarily caused by ethnic and racial reasons (Merry, 2005; Williams, 2007), and a further understanding of it could help to reach a successful acculturation process. Despite some unclear findings across the three studies, this PhD project confirmed that acculturation and social exclusion are related (Renzaho, 2009). It did not, however, prove that social exclusion is a key antecedent of acculturation. The existing literature presents social exclusion more as an acculturation outcome, while the novelty of the studies of this thesis was in its consideration of social exclusion as an antecedent of acculturation. Furthermore, this line of research could be improved by clarifying the different consequences of being personally excluded, or to being exposed to an episode of social exclusion, on acculturation attitudes. The present findings could suggest that being directly excluded might lead to social withdrawal, while indirect forms of social exclusion (i.e. being a witness) could lead the majority group to engage more with minorities. Further research could compare the effects of social inclusion vs. exclusion, as it has been done with positive vs. negative contact. In addition, it could be useful, in order to expand the understanding of social exclusion and acculturation, to measure a pre-existing level of prejudice, or to better consider the characteristics of the groups in the analysis of the acculturation process.

Another theoretical implication, regards one of the covariates included in the studies specifically, identification as multicultural that, in some cases, moderated people's acculturation attitudes. Identifying as a multicultural person seems to positively influence the acculturation process. The findings of the experimental studies on the moderating role of multicultural identification expand what is suggested by the literature on the topic (Verkuyten

& Brug, 2004; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). Being highly identified as a multicultural person seems to facilitate a more positive acculturation process for both the minority and the majority members, since it allows people to identify with a more inclusive identity, and reduces the perception of the outgroup as a threat (Gonzalez & Brown, 2003). The literature also suggested that even endorsing a multicultural identity does not imply a loss of the national identity (Lefringhausen & Marshall, 2016); it aids the transition from ethnocentrism to ethnorelativism, or having high cultural empathy and adaptation to other worldviews (Hammer, 2011). Despite, as mentioned, the literature having already investigated the role of a multicultural identity in the acculturation process, the findings of this PhD project stressed the great potential of this kind of identification as a way to facilitate positive acculturation outcomes. Expanding this result, it could be possible to create strategies that promote a multicultural identity and thus a more successful acculturation process.

## **6.5 Limitations and Considerations**

The present PhD project had interesting results and contributes to increasing the understanding of a complex process like acculturation. However, it also has some important limitations that must be discussed.

Starting from the pilot study, the focus groups simply divide the sample between majority and minority groups, without considering specific minority groups and the relative relations between them and White British people (the majority group of the pilot study; Cornelius 2002; Harwood, et al., 1994; Steiner, 2009). Considering a heterogeneous minority sample does not allow for an investigation of the differences within the minority that can be due to characteristics such as the political, historical, and economic relations with the majority group, the reasons for migration, or age at migration. This problem can also be found in Studies 1 and 2, where the minority group (or the target minority) is composed of different ethnicities. However, investigating the majority's attitudes towards a heterogeneous minority sample gave the possibility to understand the acculturation process in general terms, and it allowed to look at the current situation and see if a specific pattern of results could be found and generalised to the entire ethnic minority population. In the case of Studies 1 and 2 on social norms as antecedents of the acculturation process, it has been interesting assessing if norms on multiculturalism influence the general attitudes towards the ethnic outgroup.

However, the limitations deriving from the analysis of a heterogeneous minority can be interpreted as starting point for further investigation of the role of social norms towards specific target groups, as was done in Study 3.

A further limitation relates to the samples in Studies 1 and 4, in which only the perspective of the majority groups was investigated without considering the points of view of all the groups involved in the acculturation process, including the minority (Bourhis, et al., 1997; Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Dinh & Bond, 2008; Van Houdenhoven & Hofstra, 2006; Zagefka & Brown, 2002). This limitation, however, expanded the understanding of the majority group as an active part of the acculturation process, and it still made an important contribution since it still offers an interesting perspective on the acculturation process. It is also important to consider that most of the studies had a small sample size. This could result in findings with low statistical power, and bias toward false positives (i.e. the significant results could disappear with a larger sample). Based on this limitation, it could be useful to consider the findings with caution, since their reliability has been challenged.

A more general limitation relates to the sample, and more specifically, to how participants were recruited. Of the six experimental studies, five were conducted online. The main limitations of this online sampling were the fact that it was impossible for the researcher to assess if the participants were attentive during the completion of the survey, or if they interrupted, even for few minutes, the completion of the questionnaires, thereby reducing the effects of the experimental manipulation. In addition, online sampling can obscure problems with language competence, especially in the case of the minority groups. Specifically, the questionnaires (except for Study 1) were in English and participants' English competence was not assessed; some participants may not have fully understood every question. A way to address this limitation, since some of the participants were members of minority groups could be the double administration of the survey in English and in the mother tongue. Consistent with general limitations to online sampling, and to the fact that participants were mainly University students, political orientations were similar throughout the samples. The participants were mainly liberal, and this could have influenced participants' answers. A solution for this issue could have been to control for political orientation.

Another limitation of this project might be methodological, and relates to the experimental manipulation. As is common practice, a false article was created ad hoc for the study as

experimental manipulation; across the different studies of this PhD project, but especially in the case of Study 4, however, the experimental manipulation could be considered too artificial, and participants could have guessed the real purpose of the study. For this reason, in future research, it would be essential to make the experimental manipulation more credible. The experimental manipulations of Studies 5 and 6 could have been improved. Specifically, in the case of Study 5, perhaps the link between being excluded through cyberball and acculturation is not so evident, and therefore unlikely to affect people's acculturation attitudes, as well as the use of pictures to represent players' name could have enhanced the social categorisation process. In the case of Study 6 the content of the inclusion condition could have been improved in order to avoid misinterpretation between integration and assimilation. These limits of the experimental manipulations constitute a problem for the applicability of the studies, since a problematic experimental manipulation is one of the main reasons for inconsistent findings.

An additional limitation regards the low reliability of quality of intergroup contact in some of the studies. In Study 3.b, reliability was especially low for White British, but the overall variable was still computed for consistency with the previous studies; these could not have been done for Study 4. In Study 4 the alpha was too low, so the scale could not have been used, and the interaction term between quantity and quality of intergroup contact, (positive contact), could not be computed as in the other studies of this project. However, since a low reliability is biased against short scale of two or three items (Garson, 2012), it should not influence the findings. A further limitation that generally relates to the covariates regards the fact that while in the three experimental studies on norms, the covariates in analysis are always the same (previous experiences of positive intergroup contact and social identification with the ethnic ingroup, as British and as multicultural), they varied in the case of the experimental studies on social exclusion. These problems with the covariates, and especially with intergroup contact, suggest that the results of this variable for the study in analysis should be considered with caution. A further limitation relates to the measures adopted for testing one of the acculturation components: contact/cultural adoption. This component has been tested using specific scales for contact and for cultural adoption interchangeably, but this practice is justified by a study that demonstrated that the different scales are measuring the same construct (Matera, et al., 2012).

## **6.6 Applied Implications**

Based on the relevance of the topic investigated in this PhD project, the antecedents of acculturation, applied and practical implications can be suggested. This section provides several ideas as to what can be done to achieve a more successful acculturation process in multicultural societies such as the UK based on the findings of this PhD project.

The main practical implication of the results of this project regards the fact that social norms affect the acculturation process on a macro-level. Thanks to the experimental studies of Chapter 5, it is clearer that the norms on multiculturalism influence people's acculturation attitudes (Moddod, 2013). Based on these findings and on the literature on the role of media in affecting state policies and people's behaviours (Robinson, 2001; Shanahan, et al., 2008), new public policies and interventions (Dolce, 1973; Esses, Jackson, & Armstrong, 1998) are necessary in order to make multiculturalism truly part of a culture. Research (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001), indeed, suggests that educational and other policies and practices have not been completely implemented despite the efforts made by some educational and political leaders to embrace multiculturalism. Creating new policies in support of multiculturalism would let people perceive multiculturalism as positive and as a richness for their country, since all the different ethnic identities would be maintained (Fowers & Richardson, 1996). This approach would also generally improve people's relations with ethnic outgroups.

Adopting social norms in support of multiculturalism would also correspond to a political change in the self-definition of a nation (Zick et al., 2001) toward an identification as multicultural. A further understanding of the multicultural identity of a nation should be a priority in the political agenda especially of those countries concerned about the well-being and the integration of the minority groups (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). Linked to the importance of the norms on multiculturalism, a further practical implication is facilitating the creation of a multicultural identity, through media and public discourse. In this way, people would identify with a more inclusive identity that would respect and guarantee the differences of multiple identification (Phinney & Alipuria, 2006). Through stronger multicultural identification, a more positive acculturation process can be achieved, and the negative personal and social consequences deriving from having a conflicting identity would be avoided (Hammer, 2011; Pettigrew et al., 2011). Thus, the practical implications of promoting social norms in support of multiculturalism can benefit both the majority and

minority groups involved in the acculturation process. Specifically, feeling part of a multicultural country, the majority groups would not perceive the ethnic outgroup as a threat, and the minority groups would feel accepted and recognised. In this way, intergroup conflict should be reduced. For this reason, policy makers could use the findings of the studies on norms included in this thesis to implement political and institutional strategies and programmes that promote a multicultural ideology and multicultural identification. These policies should be implemented in different contexts, such as schools and workplaces and divulgated through the media.

In the context of schools, for example, Boutte and McCormick (1992) indicated six basic principles that should be normative to promote multiculturalism in culturally diverse classrooms. These principles correspond to a) creating multicultural programs and incorporate diversity within the curricula; b) showing appreciation of differences within the class; c) do not use stereotypes; d) acknowledging and promoting differences in children; e) discovering the diversity within the classroom; f) avoiding pseudomulticulturalism (Boutte & McCormick, 1992). Similarly, Gay (2013) underlined the importance of adopting a culturally responsive teaching style that promotes diversity and uses it to improve students' personal agency and educational achievements; and Cifuentes and Murphy (2000) emphasised the effectiveness of using distance learning and multimedia technologies in promoting cultural connections among students from different backgrounds. Supporting multiculturalism in schools is essential since it would create a multicultural ideology and identity that would be adopted by students not only in educational contexts but also in their everyday life, especially when they will become adults and will create future norms and policies.

An additional practical implication pertains to what can be done in order to avoid social exclusion and facilitate positive intergroup contact (Gonzalez, et al., 2010) that can ameliorate not only the acculturation process (Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006; Wright, et al., 1997), but also intergroup relations in general (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000, 2008; Turner, et al., 2008; Wright et al., 1997). Despite that from the results of the studies the link between social exclusion as antecedent of the acculturation process is still not completely clear, it would be useful to implement strategies that reduce social exclusion. People, especially members of the minority groups, that experience social exclusion and discrimination, for example being forced by the circumstances to live in marginalised areas or ghettos, are less willing to be productive and



satisfied members of the society (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001), creating a sort of negative circle that obstructs a successful acculturation process. Social exclusion could be avoided through public policies (Pleskovic & Stiglitz, 2000; Sales & Gregory, 1996) that eliminate segregated urban areas (Zetter & Pearl, 2000) and that guarantee a more equalitarian access to public resources such as health assistance and jobs (Akerlof 1997; Caetano et al., 2007; Lopez et al., 2002; Renzaho, 2007) for both majority and minority groups, considering and respecting all the cultural differences among the groups within a society.

In schools, for example, cyberball (the experimental manipulation of Study 5; Williams & Jarvis, 2006) could be used as educational tool. Students from both majority and minority groups could be asked to play cyberball, where they would be excluded, and then reflect on what they felt during the game and which could be the consequences of the exclusion. Adopting cyberball in schools could help educators to explain the negative consequences of social exclusion and promote intergroup contact among students. In addition, positive intergroup contact could be facilitated not only through educational programmes in schools that promote and celebrate cultural differences, but also in professional contexts, monitoring and assuring equal opportunities for all ethnic minorities. With the aim of avoiding social exclusion and discrimination in working contexts, indeed, it would be useful if companies, even the small ones, would respect some national guidelines with standardised recruitment procedure as threshold strategy: if a candidate meets certain criteria, he or she receives a callback and these criteria are equally applied to all candidates (Kaas & Manger, 2011).

## **6.7 Conclusion**

To conclude, it is important to highlight that the present thesis investigated two suggested antecedents of the acculturation process, social norms and experiences of social exclusion, launching a new path in the acculturation literature. The analysis of these two factors allows for a thorough overview on the acculturation process on both macro and micro levels. The project further tested the role of experiences of positive intergroup contact as well as three types of social identification as covariates and potential moderators of the acculturation process. Importantly, the research included in this project highlighted the need to look into acculturation as a dynamic, interactive process, and actively tested the perspectives of majority and minority groups involved in acculturation. The results of the studies presented in

this thesis underlined the role that both embracing multiculturalism (through social norms) and identifying as multicultural person can have on achieving a successful acculturation process and improving intergroup relations.

Thus, this PhD project argues that social norms on multiculturalism strongly influence both majority and minority groups' acculturation attitudes, and that experiences of social exclusion (somewhat more moderately) affect the acculturation process. A further important contribution of this project is that it extended the literature and demonstrated the role of identification as multicultural as a moderator of the acculturation process. Future research can overcome the limitations discussed in this chapter and continue to extend our understanding of the complex process of acculturation. The idea that inspired this PhD project is that researching acculturation can contribute to the reduction of intergroup conflicts and group-based violence. Hopefully, the studies conducted throughout this PhD project have added a small piece to the bigger puzzle that constitutes the understanding of complex issues in contemporary multicultural societies.

## APPENDICES

### Appendix A - Focus group schedule –topics for ethnic minorities

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Welcome, introduction of researcher, brief aim of this research, information sheet and consent form.

#### Personal information and identity processes

1. Introduction, ages and ethnic background.
2. How would you define yourself in terms of nationality? And religion?
3. What does it mean for you being a woman/man?
4. Could you please indicate the main groups you identify with?

#### Values

5. Could you please briefly describe the main values of your ethnic culture? And of the British one?
6. Are they overlapping and to what extent?
7. Could you please describe your own values?
8. Are your own values closer to one of the two cultures? Why?
9. Based on your personal experience, do you perceive any differences or similarities between your ethnic and the British culture? If yes, could you please indicate in which areas?
10. What does it mean to be British? Do you feel British?

#### Social relationships

11. How would you describe the relationship between women and men in your ethnic culture? And in the British one?
  12. How would you describe the relationship with your family?
  13. How would you describe the relationship with your peers/friends?
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14. How would you describe the relationship of the majority of people with your background with the British culture?

15. Could you please describe your social network structure? Which is the background of your closest friends?

16. How would you describe your relationship with the members of your ethnic group? And with the British? How often are you in contact with them?

17. Do you think that British people are willing to interact with you? With people from your background?

18. Are these interactions positive? Are they problematic? Why?

*Social exclusion*

19. Have you ever perceived being excluded due to your ethnicity? If yes, could you please describe your experience?

20. Have you ever perceived being excluded due to your gender? If yes, could you please describe your experience?

21. If excluded, has this affected you? How?

*Institutional support*

22. Have you ever perceived support from institutions, such as the school, in relation to your ethnic background?

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## **Appendix B - Focus group schedule –topics for the majority group**

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Welcome, introduction of researcher, brief aim of this research, information sheet and consent form.

### Personal information and identity processes

1. Introduction, age and origins.
2. How would you define yourself in terms of nationality? And religion?
3. What does it mean for you being a woman/man?
4. Talking about identity and identification, could you please indicate the main groups you identify with?

### Values

5. I would like to ask you to briefly describe the main values of the White British culture. Can you do the same with the other cultural groups that you consider important in the British society?
6. Do you think that they are overlapping and to what extent?
7. Could you please describe your own values?
8. Are your own values closer to one of these cultures? If yes, why?
9. Based on your personal experience, do you perceive any differences or similarities between the White British and other the cultures present in the UK? If yes, can you please indicate in which areas?
10. What does it mean to be British? Do you feel British? Do you feel multicultural?

### Social relationships

11. How would you describe the relationship between women and men in the British culture? And in the other cultures that you quoted before?
  12. How would you describe the relationship with your family?
-

- 
13. How would you describe the relationship with your peers/friends?
14. How would you describe the relationship of the majority of White British with other people who are from different ethnic background?
15. Do you think that in general White British would like that the ethnic minorities adopt the British values and traditions or that they maintain their own from the ethnic culture?
16. What would you personally like them to do?
17. Could you please describe your social network structure? Which is the background of your closest friends?
18. How would you describe your relationship with people who are not White British? How often are you in contact with them?
19. Thus, in general terms, do you think that white British people are willing to interact with people from a different ethnic background?
20. From your point of view, are these interactions positive or problematic? Can you please motivate your answer?

*Social exclusion*

21. I would like to ask you if you think that people with different ethnic background are excluded in the UK due to their ethnicity. Do you know someone that has been excluded due to his/her ethnicity? If yes, could you please describe this experience, for example telling us in which context it happened, which was your and others' reactions.
22. Now I am going to ask you a similar question, but referring to your gender. Have you ever perceived of being excluded due to your gender? If yes, can you please describe in details your experience? Or do you know someone that has been target of excluded due to her gender?
23. Thus, do you think that experiences of exclusion would affect its victims? If yes, how? How did you feel psychologically?

*Institutional support*

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24. Do you think that institutions, such as school or companies, have to support people with different ethnic background who have been excluded?

25. And friends or family?

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## **Appendix C – Correlational Study**

### **C.1 Introduction and Aim of the Study**

This appendix contains a correlational study that has been conducted as back up for the results of the experimental studies presented in Chapters 4 and 5. As in previous acculturation research (Meeus, et al., 2009; Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013; Van Acker & Vanbeselaere, 2010), this correlational study confirms the relations among the variables that in this thesis were tested as antecedents (social norms and social exclusion), components (cultural maintenance and cultural adoption), outcomes of the acculturation process (acculturation strategies and desire for intergroup contact; Haritatos & Benet-Martinez, 2002; Zagefka, et al., 2009), and covariates or potential moderators of the acculturation process (social identity and intergroup contact). The present study aims to confirm the relationships among the variables already tested in the experimental study.

The Interactive Acculturation Model (Bourhis et al., 1997; Bourhis, et al., 2009) has been adopted as the theoretical model to define the outcomes of the acculturation process: participants' preferences for cultural maintenance and contact/cultural adoption, and their attitudes toward the five acculturation strategies (individualism, integrationism, assimilationism, segregationism/separatism, and exclusionism/marginalisationism). A further variable that has been used here as outcome of the acculturation process, is participants' desire for intergroup contact on both personal and group levels (Binder et al., 2009). Participants were asked to indicate their willingness to have contact with members of the ethnic outgroup, as well as how willing they perceive the ingroup and the outgroup to have experience of intergroup contact. Following the rationale of Chapters 4 and 5, social norms (Berry & Kalin, 1995; Bruegelmans & Van de Vijver, 2004; Ginger & Cairns, 2000; Tip et al., 2012) and experiences of social exclusion (Guang, 2005; Van Acker & Vandeselaere, 2011) were tested as antecedents of the acculturation process.

In addition, this study investigated the covariates, tested as potential moderators of acculturation. Specifically, it assessed in detail how participants' actual experience of intergroup contact (Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) can influence their attitudes in the acculturation process (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000, 2008; Turner, et al., 2008) as well as the role of social identity (Bathia, & Ram, 2001; Phinney, 2003; Schwartz, et al.; 2006) in three different forms. The first is participants'



identification with their ethnic ingroup (Schwartz, Zamboanga & Jarvis, 2007), which is membership in the majority group or in a specific minority group. The second is a common superordinate identity (for example, being British) that includes different identities and seems to facilitate a successful acculturation process (CIIM; Bastian, 2012; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). The third identity is being multicultural; by definition this allows people to identify at the same time with multiple social categories (Phinney & Alipuria, 2006).

The present correlational study tests the relations among the variables presented above (antecedents, outcomes, and moderators of the acculturation process), giving first a general overview on a sample that includes members of both the majority and minority groups, and then examines the differences between the two groups in analysis. The hypotheses below regard the entire sample:

a) Participants' preference for cultural maintenance should positively correlate with norms (support for multiculturalism and perception of ingroup and outgroup norms on multiculturalism) and negatively with experiences of exclusion. A positive relation is also expected between cultural maintenance and the possible moderators (i.e. social identification and experiences of intergroup contact).

b) Preference for cultural adoption should positively correlate with support and norms in favour of multiculturalism, and negatively with experiences of exclusion. In addition, preference for cultural adoption should positively correlate with previous positive experiences of intergroup contact and having a British and multicultural identity and negatively with having a strong ethnic identity (covariates/potential moderators).

c) Relative to the acculturation strategies, preference for individualism and integrationism should positively relate to positive norms on multiculturalism and negatively to experiences of exclusion, while the opposite should be true for assimilationism, separatism/segregationism, and exclusionism/marginalisationism. A positive correlation is also expected between social identity, experiences of positive contact, and preference for individualism and integrationism. The same correlations between the covariates and assimilationism, separatism/segregationism, and exclusionism/marginalisationism should be negative.

d) Desire for intergroup contact on both personal and group levels is expected to positively correlate with support on multiculturalism and perceived positive norms on it, and negatively with previous experiences of exclusion. There should be a positive correlation among desire for intergroup contact and social identities and experiences of positive intergroup contact.

## **C.2 Method**

### **C.2.1 Participants and Design**

This correlational study is an online questionnaire created using Qualtrics.

Participants were recruited using various methods: the SONA system of the University of Greenwich, in exchange for research credits; mailing lists; snowballing; and a website called Prolific Academic, where in exchange of a small monetary reward (£0.8), participants were asked to fill in an online questionnaire. The sample was composed of 146 people; of these, 98 were female and 48 were male. Seventy-six classified their ethnicity as White British and 70 as “other”. These 70 belonged to different nationalities (1 Belgian, 2 Bulgarians, 1 Canadian, 1 French, 2 Georgian, 4 Germans, 1 Hungarian, 1 Irish, 5 Indians, 1 Indonesian, 6 Italians, 1 Jamaican, 1 Malaysian, 1 New Zealand, 1 Nigerian, 1 Norwegian, 3 Polish, 3 Romanians, 1 Russian, 2 Singaporeans, 2 Swedish, 1 Thai, 1 American, 1 Zimbabwean). Participants’ mean age was 25.17 years old ( $SD= 7.62$ ). The youngest was 18 years old and the oldest was 58. Participants’ political orientations were evaluated using a seven-point Likert-type scale (1 indicated “liberal” and 7 “conservative”). The sample was quite liberal ( $M=3.03$ ,  $SD=1.48$ ),  $t(145)=-7.95$ ,  $p<.001$ .

### **C.2.2 Measures**

Unless otherwise stated, a seven-point Likert scale was adopted, where higher numbers indicated stronger agreement with the statement.

#### **C.2.2.1 Antecedents of the acculturation process**

##### *Perception of ingroup and outgroup norms*

Participants’ perceptions of ingroup and outgroup norms were measured using five items adapted from Turner, Hewstone, Voci, and Vonofakou (2008). Three items were used for the perception of the ingroup norms, and they have been adapted for majority and minority groups ( $\alpha$  overall=.89,  $\alpha$  majority=.82, and  $\alpha$  minority=.93). The items for the majority group are: “How friendly do you think your White British friends are to people from a different cultural background?”, “Do you think your White British friends would be happy to go out

with/date someone who is from a different cultural background?”, and “In general, how much do you think White British like people from a different cultural background?”. The same items were adjusted for the minority groups. To test the perception of outgroup norms, two items were used: “In general, how much do you think people from a different cultural background like White British?” and “In general, how happy do you think people from a different cultural background would be to spend time with/be friends with someone who is White British?” ( $\alpha$  overall=.80,  $\alpha$  majority=.81, and  $\alpha$  minority=.79).

#### *Support for multiculturalism*

Five items were created ad hoc for this study with the aim of measuring participants' perceptions of inclusion and support for multiculturalism on social and institutional levels. The five items were: “To what extent do you think the British legislation/policies support multiculturalism?”, “To what extent do you think the British government supports multiculturalism?”, “To what extent do you think British people support multiculturalism?”, “To what extent do you think your social network supports multiculturalism?”, and “To what extent do you support multiculturalism?”. Cronbach was reliable, ( $\alpha$  overall=.62,  $\alpha$  majority=.58, and  $\alpha$  minority=.67).

#### *Experiences of discrimination*

Three items adapted from Verkuyten and Yildiz (2007) investigated whether participants had been targets of discrimination or exclusion due to their ethnicity in three different temporal phases: past, present, and future. The items were: “To what extent are you personally a target of discrimination because of your race or ethnicity?”, “In the past, to what extent have you personally been a target of discrimination because of your race or ethnicity?”, and “In the future, how much do you think you will personally be a target of discrimination because of your race and ethnicity?”. Cronbach were  $\alpha$  overall=.89,  $\alpha$  majority=.89 and  $\alpha$  minority=.87.

### **C.2.2.2 Outcomes of the acculturation process**

#### *Attitudes toward cultural maintenance & contact/cultural adoption*

Preference for cultural maintenance and contact/cultural adoption were investigated using a scale adapted from Zagefka and Brown (2002). For the majority group, the items for cultural maintenance were: “I do not mind if members of different cultural groups who live in the UK maintain their own culture”, “I do not mind if members of different cultural groups who live

in the UK maintain their own religion, language and clothing”, and “I do not mind if members of different cultural groups who live in the UK maintain their own way of living”. For contact/cultural adoption, the items were: “I think it is important that members of different cultural groups have British friends”, “I do not mind that members of different cultural groups spend time with British people after school/work”, and “I think that members of different cultural groups should stick to their own kind”. For members of the minority groups, the items for cultural maintenance were: “I think it is important that my cultural group in the UK maintain its culture”, “I think it is important that my cultural group in the UK should maintain its own religion, language and clothing”, and “I think it is important that my cultural group in the UK maintains its own way of living”. For contact/cultural adoption, the items were “I think it is important that members of my cultural group in the UK also spend time with British after school/work”, and “I think that members of my cultural group should stick to their own kind”. Cronbach, for cultural maintenance,  $\alpha$  overall=.91,  $\alpha$  majority=.93 and  $\alpha$  minority=.88; and for contact/cultural adoption an item<sup>33</sup> was deleted to increase the reliability of the scale, so  $\alpha$  overall=.68,  $\alpha$  majority=.55 and  $\alpha$  minority=.90.

#### *Acculturation orientation measures*

Five items measured participants’ preferences for the five acculturation strategies (*individualism*, *integrationism*, *assimilationism*, *segregationism/separatism* and *exclusionism/marginalisation*). For the majority group, the Host Community Acculturation Scale (HCAS; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001, 2004) was used. The five items were: “Whether members of different cultural groups maintain their culture of origin or adopt mainstream British culture makes no difference because each individual is free to adopt the culture of their choice” (*individualism*); “It would be best for members of different cultural groups to maintain and preserve their own culture of origin while also adopting aspects of mainstream British culture” (*integrationism*); “Members of different cultural groups should give up their culture of origin for the sake of adopting mainstream British culture” (*assimilationism*); “It is ok for members of different cultural groups to maintain their culture of origin as long as they do not mix it with mainstream British culture” (*segregationism*); and “Whether members of different cultural groups maintain their culture of origin or adopt mainstream British culture

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<sup>33</sup> The deleted item, item 3 (“I think that members of my cultural group should stick to their own kind and I think that members of different cultural groups should stick to their own kind”), was reversed before calculating the reliability of the scale. The overall variable has been computed excluding Item 3.

makes no difference because, in any case, there should be less immigration in the UK” (*exclusionism*). For members of ethnic minority groups the five items were adapted from the Immigrant Acculturation Scale (IAS; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004). The items were: “To live in the UK means that each individual should be free to choose the culture most suitable to him or her” (*individualism*); “To live in the UK means we should work to preserve our cultural heritage while also adopting mainstream British culture” (*integrationism*); “To live in the UK means we should give up our cultural heritage for the sake of adopting mainstream British culture” (*assimilationism*); “It is important to preserve our cultural heritage rather than adopting mainstream British culture” (*separatism*); and “It is difficult for me to identify to either my culture or mainstream British culture, as they all seem worthless to me” (*marginalisationism*).

#### *Desire for intergroup contact on personal level*

Participants’ willingness to have personal contact with members of the outgroup was measured with the item “Are you interested in meeting White British people?” for members of the minority group and “Are you interested in meeting people from a different cultural background to yours?” for members of the majority group.

#### *Desire for intergroup contact on group level*

Two items measured perceptions of desire for intergroup contact on group level. The items assessed both the majority and minority perception of ingroup and outgroup desire for intergroup contact. The items were: “To what extent do you think that White British people want to interact with people who are not from their cultural group?” and “To what extent do you think that people with different cultural background want to interact with White British people?”.

### **C.2.2.3 Covariates of the acculturation process**

#### *Social identification*

Three items investigated participants’ social identification with their relevant social group. In the case of the majority group, the three items corresponded to their identification as White British, as British and as a multicultural person. For the minority groups, the items regarded the extent to which they identified with their cultural group, in addition to being British and multicultural.

### *Quantity of contact*

Two items, adapted from Voci and Hewstone (2003) assessed participants' experiences of intergroup contact. Varied by group membership, the items were: "How many people who are White British do you know?" or "How many people who are not White British do you know?"; and "In everyday life, how frequently do you interact with people who are White British?" or "In everyday life, how frequently do you interact with people who are not White British?". The scale was reliable ( $\alpha$  overall=.81,  $\alpha$  majority=.80,  $\alpha$  minority=.82).

### *Quality of contact*

Participants were asked to characterise the contact they have with outgroup members on a scale of two pairs of adjectives (superficial/deep and unpleasant/pleasant). Cronbach,  $\alpha$  overall=.70;  $\alpha$  majority=.68 and  $\alpha$  minority=.72. In addition, a variable called *positive contact* was computed as the interaction between quantity and quality of contact (Stathi & Crisp, 2010; Voc & Hewstone, 2003) with the aim of obtaining a single index of positive and frequent contact.

## **C.3 Results and Discussion**

This correlational study explores the relationships among the outcomes, antecedents, and covariates of the acculturation process that were tested in the experimental studies of Chapters 4 and 5. The rationale for choosing the variables described above relies on the literature around acculturation and the results of the focus groups. The following sections present the results for the entire sample and divided as function of participants' ethnicity, indicating how each dependent variable correlates with the antecedents and the covariates of acculturation.

### **C.3.1 Correlations for the entire sample**

Relative to the two components of the acculturation process - participants' attitudes toward cultural maintenance and contact/cultural adoption - different correlations have been found among these two variables and the possible antecedents and covariates of the acculturation process. Table C.4 reports all the correlations.

In the case of cultural maintenance, as expected, it positively correlates with positive norms on multiculturalism. Specifically, there is a positive relation between cultural maintenance

and support for multiculturalism<sup>34</sup>,  $r(146)=.15$ ,  $p=.03$ , ingroup's,  $r(146)=.12$ ,  $p=.07$ , and outgroup's,  $r(146)=.14$ ,  $p=.05$ . Differently from what was expected, the negative relation with another possible antecedent of the acculturation process, being discriminated against<sup>35</sup>, was not significant. As hypothesised, positive attitudes toward cultural maintenance positively correlate to the possible moderators: identification with the ethnic outgroup,

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<sup>34</sup> Additional correlational analyses have been conducted also for the five items that composed *support for multiculturalism*. In the case of item 1, that regarded the extent to which the *British legislation and policies support multiculturalism* according to participants' opinions, it emerged that this item was only positively correlated to their perception of ingroup's desire for intergroup contact,  $r(146)=.15$ ,  $p=.03$ . The perception of the *British government's support for multiculturalism*, was, instead, negatively related to participants' preference for individualism,  $r(146)=-.15$ ,  $p<.03$ , and positively with their preference for integrationism,  $r(146)=.16$ ,  $p=.02$  and marginally but positively for personal desire for intergroup contact,  $r(146)=.14$ ,  $p=.051$ , and perception of outgroup's desire,  $r(146)=.79$ ,  $p<.001$ . The extent to which generally *British people supported multiculturalism* was positively related to their preference for contact/cultural adoption,  $r(146)=.17$ ,  $p=.02$ , marginally related to individualism,  $r(146)=.11$ ,  $p=.08$ , integrationism,  $r(146)=.16$ ,  $p=.02$ , *assimilationism*,  $r(146)=.16$ ,  $p=.03$ , and segregationism/separatism,  $r(146)=.21$ ,  $p=.00$ , in addition to personal,  $r(146)=.18$ ,  $p=.01$ , ingroup's,  $r(146)=.45$ ,  $p<.001$ , and outgroup's,  $r(146)=.43$ ,  $p<.001$ , desire for intergroup contact. The perception of how much *participants' social network supported multiculturalism*, was marginally related with their preference for cultural maintenance,  $r(146)=.13$ ,  $p=.06$ , and positive related with preference for individualism,  $r(146)=.13$ ,  $p=.05$ , integrationism,  $r(146)=.16$ ,  $p=.03$  and negatively to exclusionism/marginalisationism,  $r(146)=-.14$ ,  $p=.05$ , in addition to personal,  $r(146)=.18$ ,  $p=.01$ , ingroup,  $r(146)=.25$ ,  $p=.001$ , and outgroup,  $r(146)=.17$ ,  $p=.02$ , desire for intergroup contact. Item 5, measured *participants own support for multiculturalism* and it was positively related to their preference for cultural maintenance,  $r(146)=.29$ ,  $p<.001$ , contact/adoption,  $r(146)=.15$ ,  $p=.03$ , *individualism*,  $r(146)=.46$ ,  $p<.001$ , integrationism,  $r(146)=.2$ ,  $p=.008$ , personal,  $r(146)=.34$ ,  $p<.001$ , ingroup's,  $r(146)=.26$ ,  $p<.001$ , and outgroup's desire for intergroup contact,  $r(146)=.26$ ,  $p<.001$ , and negatively correlated to participants' preference for assimilationism,  $r(146)=-.39$ ,  $p<.001$ , segregationism/separatism,  $r(146)=-.12$ ,  $p=.08$ , and exclusionism/marginalisationism,  $r(146)=-.31$ ,  $p<.001$ .

<sup>35</sup> Please note that the overall variable for experiences of discrimination has been calculated through the mean of three variables that measured participants' experiences of discrimination in the present, past and future. Due to the temporal difference among these three items, additional correlation analyses have been run for these separated three items with the main possible DVs. of the acculturation process (attitudes toward cultural maintenance, contact/adoption, the five acculturation strategies and desire for intergroup contact at personal and group levels). In the case of participants' experiences of *discrimination in the present*, this variable is positively related to assimilationism,  $r(146)=.16$ ,  $p=.03$ , segregationism/separatism,  $r(146)=.41$ ,  $p<.001$ , exclusionism/marginalisationism,  $r(146)=.26$ ,  $p=.001$ , and negatively related with participants' desire for intergroup contact on a personal level,  $r(146)=-.178$ ,  $p=.02$ . Relative to *past experiences of discrimination*, it is marginally related to participants' preference for integrationism,  $r(146)=.11$ ,  $p=.09$ , and assimilationism,  $r(146)=.11$ ,  $p=.09$ , and strongly segregationism/separatism,  $r(146)=.3$ ,  $p<.01$ , and exclusionism/marginalisationism,  $r(146)=.2$ ,  $p<.01$ , and negatively to perception of outgroup's desire for intergroup contact,  $r(146)=-.11$ ,  $p=.09$ . Regarding *participants' expectations of future experiences of discrimination* due to their race or ethnicity, these are positively correlated with their preference for integrationism,  $r(146)=.16$ ,  $p=.03$ , segregationism/separatism,  $r(146)=.36$ ,  $p<.001$ , and exclusionism/marginalisationism,  $r(146)=.26$ ,  $p=.001$ . In addition there was a negative relation to perception of outgroup's desire for intergroup contact,  $r(146)=-.17$ ,  $p=.02$ .

$r(146)=.26, p=.001$ , identification as British,  $r(146)=.24, p=.001$ , and having experiences of positive intergroup contact,  $r(146)=.18, p=.01$ .

Relative to participants' preferences for contact/cultural adoption, this variable positively related with norms. Specifically there was a positive correlation between this acculturation component and ingroup norms,  $r(146)=.14, p=.04$ , and marginal positive correlation with outgroup norms,  $r(146)=.12, p=.08$ , and support for multiculturalism,  $r(146)=.13, p=.06$ . For the possible moderators of the acculturation process, participants' attitudes toward cultural contact/cultural adoption, positively related only to participants' identification with the ethnic ingroup,  $r(146)=.17, p=.02$ , and having previous experiences of positive intergroup contact,  $r(146)=.19, p=.01$ .

*Table C.1 Means, standard deviation and correlations among cultural maintenance, contact/cultural adoption and the possible antecedents and moderators of the acculturation process.*

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Cult. maint.	-									
2. Cont./cul.ad.	.35***	-								
3. Supp.Multic.	.15*	.13 <sup>+</sup>	-							
4. Ingr. norms	.12 <sup>+</sup>	.14*	.37***	-						
5. Outgr. norms	.14*	.12 <sup>+</sup>	.38***	.52***	-					
6. Exp. discrim.	-0.20	0.40	-0.90	-0.80	-.31***	-				
7. Id. ingroup	.26***	.17*	.20**	.21**	.20**	-.10	-			
8. Id British	.24***	-.05	.2**	.23**	.20**	-.13 <sup>+</sup>	.41***	-		
9. Id multicult.	-0.2	.13 <sup>+</sup>	-.01	.08	.03	.18*	-.10	-.11 <sup>+</sup>	-	
10. Pos. contact	.18*	.19**	0.90	.28***	.21**	.09	.18*	.27***	.16*	-
Mean	4.50	5.70	4.93	5.28	4.50	2.54	4.83	4.65	4.50	29.45
Standard deviation	1.60	1.35	0.82	1.12	1.40	1.59	1.72	1.91	1.75	11.2

Note: <sup>+</sup> $p < .1$ , \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ . All the correlations have been tested as 1-tailed.

The second set of outcomes in this project is composed of the five acculturation strategies that people can adopt in the acculturation process (see Table C.2). The two strategies that, according to the literature, are considered positive are preference for individualism and



integrationism, while assimilationism, separatism/segregationism and exclusionism/marginalisationism are considered more negative. In the case of the first acculturation strategy (individualism), it marginally positively relates with norms as antecedents (ingroup norms,  $r(146)=.34, p=.000$ , and outgroup norms,  $r(146)=.13, p=.06$ ) and with identification as multicultural,  $r(146)=.16, p=.02$ , and previous experiences of positive contact,  $r(146)=.14, p=.04$ , as covariates. The second acculturation strategy, integrationism, correlates with all the antecedents and covariates in analysis. In the case of the antecedents, integrationism positively correlates with norms (support for multiculturalism,  $r(146)=.24, p<.01$ , ingroup norms,  $r(146)=.23, p<.01$ , and outgroup norms,  $r(146)=.17, p<.05$ ) and with previous experiences of discrimination and exclusion,  $r(146)=.13, p=.05$ . In addition, integrationism positively relates with social identification (identification with the ethnic ingroup,  $r(146)=.17, p=.02$ ; identification as British,  $r(146)=.19, p=.01$ ; identification as multicultural,  $r(146)=.15, p=.04$ ) and having had previous experiences of positive intergroup contact,  $r(146)=.15, p=.04$ . Assimilationism positively relates only with experiences of exclusion and discrimination,  $r(146)=.14, p=.05$ , and negatively with identification as British,  $r(146)=.13, p=.05$ , and experiences of positive contact,  $r(146)=.13, p=.05$ . The fourth strategy, segregationism/separatism, marginally relates with ingroup norms,  $r(146)=.11, p=.09$ , and strongly with previous experiences of exclusion and discrimination,  $r(146)=.39, p=.000$ . Furthermore, segregationism/separatism positively correlates with two kind of social identity: identification with the ingroup,  $r(146)=.24, p<.01$ , and identification as multicultural,  $r(146)=.21, p=.01$ . The last acculturation strategy, exclusionism/marginalisationism, negatively relates with perception of outgroup's norms,  $r(146)=-.21, p=.005$ , positively with experiences of exclusion,  $r(146)=.26, p=.001$ , and negatively with identification as multicultural,  $r(146)=-.25, p=.001$ .

*Table C.2 Means, standard deviation, and correlations among the acculturation strategies and the possible antecedents and moderators of the acculturation process.*

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Individ.	-												
2. Integrat.	.16*	-											
3. Assimilat.	-	-.17*	-										
	.31***												
4. Segr. /sep.	.11 <sup>+</sup>	.17*	.39**	-									
			*										
5. Excl./marginal.	-.15*	-.12 <sup>+</sup>	.42**	.32**	-								
			*	*									
6. Supp. multicult.	.11 <sup>+</sup>	.24**	-.04	.05	-.01	-							
7. Ingr.norms	.34***	.23**	-.06	.11 <sup>+</sup>	-.07	.37**	-						
						*							
8. Outgr.norms	.13 <sup>+</sup>	.17*	.08	.05	-.21**	.38**	.52**	-					
						*	*						
9. Exp.discr.	.04	.13 <sup>+</sup>	.14*	.39**	.26**	-.09	-.08	-	-				
				*	*					.31**			
										*			
10. Id. ingr.	.09	.17*	-.00	.24**	-.00	.20**	.21**	.20**	-.10	-			
11. Id British	.10	.19**	-.13 <sup>+</sup>	-.06	-.04	.20**	.23**	.20**	-	.41**	-		
									.13 <sup>+</sup>	*			
12. Id.mult.	.16*	.14*	-.07	.21**	-	-.01	.08	.03	.18*	-.10	-.11 <sup>+</sup>	-	
					.25**	*							
13. Pos.cont.	.14*	.15*	-.13 <sup>+</sup>	.05	-.09	.09	.28**	.21**	.09	.18*	.27**	.16*	-
							*				*		
Mean	5.30	5.20	2.56	2.98	3.01	4.93	5.28	4.50	2.54	4.83	4.65	4.05	29.45
Standard deviation	1.53	1.33	1.47	1.60	1.83	.82	1.12	1.40	1.59	1.72	1.91	1.75	11.2

Note: <sup>+</sup> $p < .1$ , \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ . All the correlations have been tested as 1-tailed.

In this study, the third set of outcomes of the acculturation process were formed by participants' personal desire for intergroup contact and their perception of ingroup's and outgroup's desire for intergroup contact with the ethnic outgroup (see Table C.3). The focus here is on the possible correlations among these three outcomes and those variables that are considered the antecedents and the covariates of the acculturation process. In the case of participants' personal desire for intergroup contact, this outcome positively relates to the three variables that represent positive norms on multiculturalism: support for

multiculturalism,  $r(146)=.2$ ,  $p=.007$ , ingroup norms,  $r(146)=.31$ ,  $p=.000$ , and outgroup norms,  $r(146)=.26$ ,  $p=.001$ . In addition, there is a positive relation with the covariates. Specifically, personal desire for intergroup contact positively correlates with participants' identification as multicultural,  $r(146)=.14$ ,  $p=.04$ , and marginally with their identification as British,  $r(146)=.13$ ,  $p=.06$ , in addition to having had previous experiences of positive intergroup contact,  $r(146)=.29$ ,  $p=.000$ .

Relative to participants' perception of ingroup desire for intergroup contact, this variable positively relates to norms. A positive correlation results for this outcome variable and support for multiculturalism,  $r(146)=.39$ ,  $p=.000$ , ingroup norms,  $r(146)=.59$ ,  $p=.000$ , and outgroup norms,  $r(146)=.34$ ,  $p=.000$ . As expected, there is also a positive correlation with one of the potential covariates of the acculturation process, having had previous experiences of intergroup contact,  $r(146)=.16$ ,  $p=.02$ . Similarly, and also as expected, perception of the outgroup's desire for intergroup contact positively relates to norms (support for multiculturalism,  $r(146)=.22$ ,  $p=.003$ , ingroup norms,  $r(146)=.34$ ,  $p=.000$ , outgroup norms,  $r(146)=.58$ ,  $p=.000$ ) and negatively with having experiences of social exclusion and discrimination,  $r(146)=-.14$ ,  $p=.04$ . Moreover, perception of outgroup desire for intergroup contact also marginally relates to identification as multicultural,  $r(146)=.11$ ,  $p=.08$ , and with having had previous experiences of intergroup contact,  $r(146)=.20$ ,  $p=.01$ .

*Table C.3 Means, standard deviation, and correlations among desire for intergroup contact on a personal and group level and the possible antecedents and moderators of the acculturation process.*

<i>Variable</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Per. des. cont.	-										
2. Ingr. des. cont.	.37***	-									
3. Outgr.des.cont.	.26***	.41***	-								
4. Supp. multicult.	.2**	.39***	.22**	-							
5. Ingroup norms	.31***	.59***	.34***	.37***	-						
6. Ougroup norms	.26***	.34***	.58***	.38***	.52***	-					
7. Exp. discrim.	-.10	.08	-.14*	-.90	-.80	-.31***	-				
8. Id. ingroup	.06	.20	.20	.20**	.21**	.20**	-.10	-			
9. Id British	.13 <sup>+</sup>	.07	.10	.20**	.23**	.20**	-.13 <sup>+</sup>	.41***	-		
10. Id multicult.	.14*	.01	.11 <sup>+</sup>	-.01	.08	.03	.18*	-.10	-.11 <sup>+</sup>	-	
11. Pos. contact	.29***	.16*	.20**	.09	.28***	.21**	.09	.18*	.27***	.16*	-
Mean	6.01	4.59	4.38	4.93	5.27	4.50	2.54	4.83	4.65	4.50	29.45
Standard deviation	1.07	1.28	1.32	.82	1.11	1.40	1.60	1.70	1.90	1.75	11.20

Note: <sup>+</sup> $p < .1$ , \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ . All the correlations have been tested as 1-tailed.

Additional analyses have been conducted separately for majority or minority groups, with the aim of understanding if the relationships among the variables differ. The two subsequent sections present the results of the correlational studies divided for ethnicity. Then, a discussion summarises the results of the correlational study for the whole sample and compares the similarities and differences between the majority and minority groups.

### C.3.2 Correlations for the majority group

This section briefly reviews the results of the correlational study considering only the perspective of the majority group: White British. Also in this case, only the significant correlations among the outcomes of the acculturation process and the possible antecedents and covariates, are presented. Table C.5 reports all the results.

Regarding participants' preference for cultural maintenance, this variable only marginally correlates to perception of ingroup norms in support of multiculturalism,  $r(76)=.18$ ,  $p=.06$ , and with previous experiences of positive contact,  $r(76)=.25$ ,  $p=.01$ . In the case of participants' attitudes toward contact/cultural adoption, it positively relates to support for multiculturalism,  $r(76)=.25$ ,  $p=.02$ , and marginally with experiences of exclusion and discrimination,  $r(76)=.17$ ,  $p=.07$ . In addition, there is a marginal correlation with having had previous experiences of positive contact,  $r(76)=.16$ ,  $p=.08$ .

In the case of the five acculturation strategies in analysis, White British participants' preference for individualism correlates only with norms (ingroup,  $r(76)=.27$ ,  $p=.01$ ; and outgroup,  $r(76)=.26$ ,  $p=.01$ ) and marginally with identification with the ingroup,  $r(76)=.17$ ,  $p=.06$ . Their preference for integrationism positively correlates to support for multiculturalism,  $r(76)=.25$ ,  $p=.02$ , experiences of discrimination,  $r(76)=.21$ ,  $p=.04$ , and identification as British,  $r(76)=.25$ ,  $p=.01$ . White British participants' preference for assimilation is only positively related to experiences of discrimination,  $r(76)=.44$ ,  $p=.001$ . Similar to their preference for segregation, this positively correlates with experiences of discrimination,  $r(76)=.51$ ,  $p=.000$ , and identification with the ingroup,  $r(76)=.18$ ,  $p=.06$ . The last strategy, exclusionism, positively relates to experiences of discrimination,  $r(76)=.32$ ,  $p=.002$ ; with identification with the ingroup,  $r(76)=.31$ ,  $p=.003$ ; and identification as British,  $r(76)=.23$ ,  $p=.02$ , but negatively with being multicultural,  $r(76)=-.34$ ,  $p=.001$ .

When White British were asked to indicate their desire for intergroup contact on a personal level, the results indicated that this desire positively correlates with norms in support for multiculturalism (support for multiculturalism,  $r(76)=.34$ ,  $p=.001$ ; ingroup norms,  $r(76)=.3$ ,  $p=.004$ ; outgroup norms,  $r(76)=.27$ ,  $p=.01$ ). The other correlations that are significant for this variable are between it and identification as multicultural,  $r(76)=.23$ ,  $p=.02$ , and experiences of positive contact,  $r(76)=.28$ ,  $p=.01$ . Participants' perception of the ingroup's desire for

intergroup contact only positively relates to norms (support for multiculturalism,  $r(76)=.62$ ,  $p=.000$ ; ingroup norms,  $r(76)=.71$ ,  $p=.000$ ; outgroup norms,  $r(76)=.55$ ,  $p=.000$ ) and marginally to identification as British,  $r(76)=.18$ ,  $p=.06$ . Similarly, in the case of White British, their perception of the outgroup's desire for intergroup contact correlates only with norms (support for multiculturalism,  $r(76)=.17$ ,  $p=.07$ ; ingroup norms,  $r(76)=.37$ ,  $p=.001$ ; outgroup norms,  $r(76)=.68$ ,  $p=.000$ ).

### **C.3.3 Correlations for the minority groups**

This section only presents the significant correlations among the outcomes, antecedents, and covariates of the acculturation process for members of the minority group who took part in the present correlational study. Table C.6 reports all the results.

In the case of minority group members' attitudes toward cultural maintenance, this variable positively correlates to all the antecedents related to norms in support of multiculturalism (support for multiculturalism,  $r(70)=.17$ ,  $p=.08$ , ingroup norms,  $r(70)=.18$ ,  $p=.06$ , outgroup norms,  $r(70)=.19$ ,  $p=.06$ ). In addition, preference for cultural maintenance strongly relates to three kinds of social identity: identification with the ethnic ingroup,  $r(70)=.59$ ,  $p=.000$ , as British,  $r(70)=.34$ ,  $p=.00$ , and as multicultural,  $r(70)=.26$ ,  $p=.01$ . With regards to participants' preference for contact/cultural adoption, this variable positively relates with the perception of the ingroup,  $r(70)=.19$ ,  $p=.05$ , and outgroup norms,  $r(70)=.22$ ,  $p=.03$ , on multiculturalism, and there is a negative a marginal correlation with previous experiences of discrimination,  $r(70)=-.16$ ,  $p=.09$ . In addition, contact/cultural adoption, positively correlates with identification with the ethnic ingroup,  $r(70)=.39$ ,  $p=.000$ , with being multicultural,  $r(70)=.34$ ,  $p<.01$ , and with previous experiences of positive intergroup contact,  $r(70)=.23$ ,  $p=.05$ .

Relative to the five acculturation strategies, interesting results are found when considering only the minority group. The minority group members' preference for individualism only correlates to ingroup norms,  $r(70)=.38$ ,  $p=.001$ , and identification as British,  $r(70)=.42$ ,  $p=.000$ . By contrast, participants' preference for integrationism, positively correlates with all the antecedents on norms (support for multiculturalism,  $r(70)=.25$ ,  $p=.02$ ; ingroup norms,  $r(70)=.31$ ,  $p=.005$ ; outgroup norms,  $r(70)=.22$ ,  $p=.03$ ) and with all the possible covariates (identification with the ingroup,  $r(70)=.26$ ,  $p=.01$ ; identification with British,  $r(70)=.29$ ,  $p=.01$ ; identification as multicultural,  $r(70)=.26$ ,  $p=.01$ ; and previous experiences of positive contact,  $r(70)=.26$ ,  $p=.01$ ). Ethnic minorities' attitudes toward assimilationism only negatively relates with the covariates, specifically: identification as British,  $r(70)=-.26$ ,

$p=.01$ ; identification as multicultural,  $r(70)=-.23$ ,  $p=.02$ ; and previous experiences of positive intergroup contact,  $r(70)=-.23$ ,  $p=.03$ . Preference for separatism as acculturation strategy correlates only with identification with the ingroup,  $r(70)=.43$ ,  $p=.000$ , and with being British,  $r(70)=.22$ ,  $p=.04$ . The last strategy, exclusionism, negatively correlates with norms (support for multiculturalism,  $r(70)=-.24$ ,  $p=.02$ ; outgroup norms,  $r(70)=-.33$ ,  $p=.003$ ) and positively with experiences of discrimination,  $r(70)=.25$ ,  $p=.02$ , as antecedents of the acculturation process. Relative to the covariates, this last strategy is negatively related to all the three kinds of social identity (identification with the ingroup,  $r(70)=-.33$ ,  $p=.003$ ; identification as British,  $r(70)=-.27$ ,  $p=.01$ ; and identification as multicultural,  $r(70)=-.21$ ,  $p=.04$ ).

The third set of outcomes regard ethnic minorities' desire for intergroup contact, on both personal and group levels. Relative to their desire for contact on a personal level, this variable positively correlates with ingroup,  $r(70)=.35$ ,  $p=.002$ , and outgroup,  $r(70)=.26$ ,  $p=.01$ , norms. In addition, there is a correlation with desire for contact on a personal level and identification with the ethnic ingroup,  $r(70)=.21$ ,  $p=.04$ , and having had previous experiences of intergroup contact,  $r(70)=.32$ ,  $p=.004$ . Similarly, ethnic minorities' perception of ingroup's desire for intergroup contact positively relates to support for multiculturalism,  $r(70)=.17$ ,  $p=.07$ , and ingroup norms,  $r(70)=.43$ ,  $p=.000$ , and to having had previous experiences of intergroup contact,  $r(70)=.21$ ,  $p=.04$ . The last outcome variable, minority groups' perception of the outgroup's desire for intergroup contact, positively relates to norms (support for multiculturalism,  $r(70)=.28$ ,  $p=.01$ ; ingroup norms,  $r(70)=.3$ ,  $p=.005$ ; and outgroup norms,  $r(70)=.51$ ,  $p=.000$ ) and negatively with previous experiences of exclusion and discrimination,  $r(70)=-.27$ ,  $p=.01$ . Furthermore, perception of the outgroup's desire for intergroup contact positively correlates with identification as British,  $r(70)=.21$ ,  $p=.04$ , and with having had previous experiences of positive intergroup contact,  $r(70)=.3$ ,  $p=.01$ .

#### **C.4 Discussion**

The primary aim of this correlational study is to serve as back up for the results of the experimental studies of this PhD project, and to confirm the relations among the outcomes and possible antecedents and covariates of the acculturation process. The present study tests participants' attitudes toward cultural maintenance, contact/cultural adoption, the five acculturation strategies and desire for intergroup contact (on both personal and group levels)

as outcomes. The possible antecedents are norms, in the forms of support for multiculturalism and ingroup and outgroup norms on multiculturalism, and having had previous experiences of discrimination and social exclusion. The covariates are three kinds of social identity: identification with the ingroup, identification as British and as multicultural, and having had previous experiences of intergroup contact.

The present study addresses two main research questions by assessing if there are differences in how majority and minority groups experience the acculturation process, and providing an overview of the relationships among the antecedents, outcomes, and covariates of this process. Relative to the first point, this study supports the idea that majority and minority groups differently experience this process differently (Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Bourhis, et al., 1997; Dinh & Bond, 2008; Van Houdenhoven & Hofstra, 2006; Zagefka & Brown, 2002). The correlational study, indeed, shows that ethnicity is a key variable in influencing the relations among norms, exclusion, contact, and identity, and the outcomes of the acculturation process. In the case of the second point, this study shows the importance of taking into account the role of norms (Bourhis, et al., 2009; Turner, et al., 2008) that allows an analysis of acculturation on a macro-level, and social exclusion (Guang, 2005; Merry, 2005; Power & Wilson, 2000; Twenge et al., 2001; Van Acker & Vandesaere, 2011; Williams, 2007) on a micro-level. This study supports the importance of social identity (Bathia & Ram, 2001; Phinney, 2003; Schwartz, et al., 2006; Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and previous experiences of positive intergroup contact (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000, 2008; Stathi & Crisp, 2010; Turner, et al., 2008) as covariates of the acculturation process.

The present study has certain limitations. The first limitation is that it simply divides the sample between majority and minority groups, without considering the differences within the specific ethnicities that form the minority group. In other words, this means that the present study does not consider if the different minorities have different acculturation attitudes toward White British. In addition, further factors, such as the time spent in the UK or if minority members are first or second generation, have not been taken into account. However, the empirical studies of Chapter 5 and 6, where specific minorities are considered, address the first limitation. Specifically, Study 3 of Chapter 5 considers as minority group Asians (3.a) and Polish (3.b) in the UK, while Study 5 of Chapter 6 considers Asians (Study 5) and Southern Europeans (Study 6). In addition, a further limitation of this study is that the correlational method does not allow for an examination of causal relations among the



variables, even if these were already established in the experimental studies. Moreover, a small sample size and low reliability for some of the variables can also be considered limitations. Regardless of these weaknesses, these back up studies confirmed that the variables in this PhD considered as antecedents, outcomes and covariates of the acculturation process are related and need to be taken into consideration in future research.

*Table C. 4 Means, standard deviation and correlations among the variables of the correlational study for the whole sample (see following page).*

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1. Pol. Orient.	-																			
2. Id ingroup	.18*	-																		
3. Id British	.13 <sup>+</sup>	.41**	-																	
4. Id multicult.	-.04	-.10	-.11 <sup>+</sup>	-																
5. Positive contact	-.06	.18*	.27** *	.16*	-															
6. Exp. Discrim.	.12 <sup>+</sup>	-.10	-.13 <sup>+</sup>	.18*	.09	-														
7. Supp. multicult.	.01	.20**	.20**	-.01	.09	-.09	-													
8. Pro-div. bel.	-.24** *	-.07	.03	.46***	.26***	.05	.18*	-												
9. Cult. Maint.	-.12 <sup>+</sup>	.26***	.24** *	-.02	.18*	-.02	.15*	.17*	-											
10. Cont/Cult. Adop.	-.07	.17*	-.05	.13 <sup>+</sup>	.19**	.04	.13 <sup>+</sup>	.29***	.35***	-										
11. Ingr. norms	.02	.21**	.23**	.08	.28***	-.08	.37***	.17*	.12 <sup>+</sup>	.14*	-									
12. Outgr. norms	.05	.20**	.20**	.03	.21**	-.31***	.38***	.12 <sup>+</sup>	.14*	.12 <sup>+</sup>	.52***	-								
13. Individ.	-.11	.09	.10	.16*	.14*	.04	.11 <sup>+</sup>	.42***	.23**	.13 <sup>+</sup>	.34***	.13 <sup>+</sup>	-							
14. Integrat.	-.01	.17*	.19**	.15*	.15*	.13 <sup>+</sup>	.24**	.12 <sup>+</sup>	.15*	.31***	.23**	.17*	.16*	-						
15. Assimilat.	.10	-.02	-.13 <sup>+</sup>	-.07	-.13 <sup>+</sup>	.14*	-.04	-.35***	-.2**	-.03	-.06	.08	-.31***	-.17*	-					
16. Segr./Separat.	.21* *	.24**	-.06	.21**	.05	.39***	.05	-.18*	.06	.09	.11 <sup>+</sup>	.05	.11 <sup>+</sup>	.17*	.39***	-				
17. Exc./Marginal.	.04	-.00	-.04	-.25***	-.09	.26***	-.1	-.42***	-.2**	-.18*	-.07	-.21**	-.15*	-.12 <sup>+</sup>	.42***	.32***	-			

18. Per. Des. Cont.	-.02	.06	.13 <sup>+</sup>	.14*	.29***	-.10	.20**	.40***	.20**	.42***	.31***	.26***	.15*	.34***	-.17*	-.19**	-	-.25***
19. Ingr. Des. Cont.	-.03	.02	.07	.01	.16*	.08	.22**	.22**	.13 <sup>+</sup>	.22**	.59***	.34***	.34***	.33***	-.04	-.09	-.04	.37***
20. Outgr. Des. Cont.	-.10	.02	.10	.11 <sup>+</sup>	.20**	-.14*	.22*	.28***	.21**	.27***	.34***	.58***	.25***	.12 <sup>+</sup>	.04	.08	-.12 <sup>+</sup>	.26***
Mean	3.03	4.83	4.65	4.5	29.45	2.54	4.93	5.24	4.57	5.70	5.28	4.50	5.30	5.21	2.56	2.98	3.01	6.01
Standard deviation	1.50	1.72	1.91	1.75	11.20	1.59	.82	1.00	1.60	1.35	1.11	1.40	1.53	1.33	1.47	1.60	1.83	1.07

Note. <sup>+</sup> $p < .1$ , \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ . All the correlations have been tested as 1-tailed.

*Table C.5 - Means, standard deviation and correlations among the variables of the correlational study for the majority group.*

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1Pol. Orient.	-																			
2Id ingroup	.20*	-																		
3Id British	.09	.65***	-																	
4Id multicult.	-.12	-.29**	.01	-																
5Positive contact	-.14	.19*	.28**	.15 <sup>+</sup>	-															
6Exp. Discrim.	.04	-.01	-.03	.08	.27**	-														
7Supp. multicult.	-.01	.21*	.25*	-.03	.09	.05	-													
8Pro-div. bel.	-.3**	-.14	.13	.45***	.33**	-.15 <sup>+</sup>	.21*	-												
9Cult. Maint.	-.47***	-.06	-.09	.06	.25*	.05	.14	.37***	-											
10Cont/Cult. Adop.	-.2*	.03	-.04	-.05	.16 <sup>+</sup>	.17 <sup>+</sup>	.25*	.26*	.50***	-										
11Ingr. norms	-.01	.24*	.33**	-.08	.13	-.05	.53***	.19 <sup>+</sup>	.18 <sup>+</sup>	.07	-									
12 Outgr. norms	-.00	.09	.21*	.01	.09	-.10	.26*	.18 <sup>+</sup>	.12	.01	.56***	-								
13 Individ.	-.17 <sup>+</sup>	.17 <sup>+</sup>	.09	.01	.15	-.09	.12	.36***	.45***	.20*	.27**	.26*	-							
14 Integrat.	-.1	.11	.25*	.02	.05	.21*	.25*	.08	-.00	.21*	.14	.10	.14	-						
15Assimilat.	.27**	-.04	.00	-.02	-.04	.44***	-.01	-	-.25*	-.13	-.06	.01	-.33**	-.13	-					
16 Segregation.	.19 <sup>at</sup>	.18 <sup>+</sup>	.06	-.04	.12	.51***	.03	-.32**	-.16 <sup>+</sup>	-.06	.00	.03	.06	.01	.64***	-				

17 Exclusionism	.20*	.31**	.23*	-	.34***	-.05	.32**	.06	-	.54***	-.20*	-.14	.00	-.06	-.11	.09	.49***	.55***	-
18 Per. Des. Cont.	-.14	-.09	.08	.23*	.28**	-.02	.34***	.64***	.24*	.33**	.30**	.27**	.27**	.27**	.29**	.27**	-.33**	-.33**	-.33**
19 Ingr. Des. Cont.	-.04	.08	.18+	-.13	.12	.04	.62***	.19+	.20*	.25*	.71***	.55***	.32**	.30**	.30**	.30**	-.01	.03	.39***
20 Outgr. Des. Cont.	-.18+	-.04	.09	.13	.11	-.08	.17+	.4***	.37***	.26**	.37***	.68***	.44***	.02	.02	-.06	.01	-.24*	.31**
Mean	2.95	4.99	5.45	3.73	29.36	2.10	4.95	5.07	5.01	5.57	5.10	4.45	4.93	5.07	5.07	2.52	2.36	3.04	6.08
Standard deviation	1.38	1.76	1.54	1.80	10.97	1.42	.79	1.04	1.56	1.44	1.12	1.24	1.64	1.35	1.49	1.42	1.42	1.73	1.08
																			1.3
																			4.4
																			4.26

Note. + $p < .1$ , \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ . All the correlations have been tested as 1-tailed.

Table C.6 - Means, standard deviation and correlations among the variables of the correlational study for the minority group.

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1Pol. Orient.	-																			
2Id ingroup	.20*	-																		
3Id British	.09	.65***	-																	
4Id multicult.	-.12	-.29**	.01	-																
5Positive contact	-.14	.19*	.28**	.15 <sup>+</sup>	-															
6Exp. Discrim.	.04	-.01	-.03	.08	.27**	-														
7Supp. multicult.	-.01	.21*	.25*	-.03	.09	.05	-													
8Pro-div. bel.	-.3**	-.14	.13	.45***	.33**	-.15 <sup>+</sup>	.21*	-												
9Cult. Maint.	-.47***	-.06	-.09	.06	.25*	.05	.14	.37***	-											
10Cont/Cult. Adop.	-.2*	.03	-.04	-.05	.16 <sup>+</sup>	.17 <sup>+</sup>	.25*	.26*	.50***	-										
11Ingr. norms	-.01	.24*	.33**	-.08	.13	-.05	.53***	.19 <sup>+</sup>	.18 <sup>+</sup>	.07	-									
12 Outgr. norms	-.00	.09	.21*	.01	.09	-.10	.26*	.18 <sup>+</sup>	.12	.01	.56***	-								
13 Individ.	-.17 <sup>+</sup>	.17 <sup>+</sup>	.09	.01	.15	-.09	.12	.36***	.45***	.20*	.27**	.26*	-							
14 Integrat.	-.1	.11	.25*	.02	.05	.21*	.25*	.08	-.00	.21*	.14	.10	.14	-						
15Assimilat.	.27**	-.04	.00	-.02	-.04	.44***	-.01	-	-.25*	-.13	-.06	.01	-.33**	-.13	-					
16 Segregatio.	.19 <sup>at</sup>	.18 <sup>+</sup>	.06	-.04	.12	.51***	.03	-.32**	-.16 <sup>+</sup>	-.06	.00	.03	.06	.01	.64***	-				

17 Exclusionism	.20*	.31**	.23*	-	.34***	-.05	.32**	.06	-	.54***	-.20*	-.14	.00	-.06	-.11	.09	.49***	.55***	-
18 Per. Des. Cont.	-.14	-.09	.08	.23*	.28**	-.02	.34***	.64***	.24*	.33**	.30**	.27**	.29**	.27**	.27**	-.33**	-.33**	-.33**	.33**
19 Ingr. Des. Cont.	-.04	.08	.18+	-.13	.12	.04	.62***	.19+	.20*	.25*	.71***	.55***	.32**	.30**	.30**	-.01	.03	.00	.39***
20 Outgr. Des. Cont.	-.18+	-.04	.09	.13	.11	-.08	.17+	.4***	.37***	.26**	.37***	.68***	.44***	.02	-.06	.01	-.24*	.31**	.48***
Mean	2.95	4.99	5.45	3.73	29.36	2.10	4.95	5.07	5.01	5.57	5.10	4.45	4.93	5.07	2.52	2.36	3.04	6.08	4.4
Standard deviation	1.38	1.76	1.54	1.80	10.97	1.42	.79	1.04	1.56	1.44	1.12	1.24	1.64	1.35	1.49	1.42	1.73	1.08	1.3

Note. + $p < .1$ , \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ . All the correlations have been tested as 1-tailed.

**Appendix D- Main effects of covariates and condition for the ANCOVA of all the dependent variables of Study 1.**

<i>Dependent Variables</i>	<i>Covariates</i>	<i>Main effect covariate F</i>	<i>Main effect condition F</i>
<i>Cultural Maintenance</i>	N/A	/	1.8 <sup>a</sup>
	Cov.1	9.28**	1.27
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	10.57**, 6.61*	1.5
	Cov.1, Cov.2 & Cov.3	1.75, 7.86**, 13.02***	1.33
<i>Cultural Adoption</i>	N/A	/	4.05*** <sup>a</sup>
	Cov.1	5.52*	3.51 <sup>ba</sup>
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	6.22*, 4.56*	4.10*** <sup>a</sup>
	Cov.1, Cov.2 & Cov.3	2.10, 4.81*, 2.67	3.61 <sup>ba</sup>
<i>Incompatibility of values</i>	N/A	/	1.34
	Cov.1	4.53*	1.34
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	4.93*, 2.39	1.21
	Cov.1, Cov.2 & Cov.3	2.30, 2.47, .88	1.27
<i>Self-desire for intergroup contact</i>	N/A	/	.04
	Cov.1	21.43***	.03
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	22.46***, 2.59	.04
	Cov.1, Cov.2 & Cov.3	5.25*, 3.61 <sup>c</sup> , 24***	.18
<i>Ingroup's desire for intergroup contact</i>	N/A	/	.12
	Cov.1	2.17	.16
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	1.91, 4.5*	.32
	Cov.1, Cov.2 & Cov.3	1.78, 4.48*, .07	.29
<i>Outgroup's desire for intergroup contact</i>	N/A	/	.21
	Cov.1	20.3***	.13
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	20.71***, .99	.15
	Cov.1, Cov.2 & Cov.3	6.66, 1.29, 12***	.19
<i>BII</i>	N/A	/	1.95
	Cov.1	1.81	2.14
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	1.82, .07	2.11
	Cov.1, Cov.2 & Cov.3	1.14, .07, .07	2.10

**Note 1.** \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ , a when the contrast was significant between positive and negative condition, b when the contrast was significant between the positive and the neutral, c when the contrast was significant between the positive and the control.

**Note 2.** Cov.1: positive contact, Cov.2: identification as Italian, Cov.3: identification as multicultural.



**Appendix E - Main effects and interaction effects for the ANCOVA on all the dependent variables of Study 2.**

<i>Dependent variables</i>	<i>Covariate</i>	<i>Main effect covariates F</i>	<i>Main effect condition F</i>	<i>Main effect ethnicity F</i>	<i>Interaction effect F</i>
<i>Cultural Maintenance</i>	N/A	/	.06	6.81*	3.66 <sup>+</sup>
	Cov.1	1.77	.02	7.68**	4.05*
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	1.61, 2.77 <sup>+</sup>	.05	10.14**	4.55*
	Cov.1, Cov.2. & Cov.3	1.24, 2.60, .03	.06	8.99**	4.46*
<i>Contact/Cultural Adoption</i>	N/A	/	2.93 <sup>+</sup>	.10	.72
	Cov.1	.00	2.88 <sup>+</sup>	.10	.71
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	.01, 4.17*	2.57	.91	.52
	Cov.1, Cov.2. & Cov.3	.16, 4.92*, 1.7,	3.15 <sup>+</sup>	.15	.43
<i>Individualism</i>	N/A	/	.29	6.05*	1.22
	Cov.1	6.47*	.11	4.74*	.90
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	6.53*, .31	.09	4.98*	.96
	Cov.1, Cov.2. & Cov.3	1.83, 1.07, 10.13**	.58	.91	1.41
<i>Integrationism</i>	N/A	/	3.63 <sup>+</sup>	2.57	4.22*
	Cov.1	.33	3.39 <sup>+</sup>	2.28	4.00*
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	.47, 4.8*,	3.05 <sup>+</sup>	4.66*	4.74*
	Cov.1, Cov.2. & Cov.3	.05, 5.48*, 1.38*	3.60 <sup>+</sup>	2.41	5.00*
<i>Assimilationism</i>	N/A	/	.37	1.03	.21
	Cov.1	3.29 <sup>+</sup>	.21	.61	.11
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	3.27 <sup>+</sup> , .02	.20	.61	.11
	Cov.1, Cov.2. & Cov.3	1.12, .15, 3.26 <sup>+</sup>	.49	.00	.18
<i>Segregationism/ Separatism</i>	N/A	/	3.33 <sup>+</sup>	47.92***	.22
	Cov.1	2.07	2.91 <sup>+</sup>	50.28***	.13
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	2.00, .19	2.96 <sup>+</sup>	46.66***	.11
	Cov.1, Cov.2. & Cov.3	2.55, .30, .61	2.53	36.05***	.09
<i>Exclusionism/ Marginalisationism</i>	N/A	/	1.49	1.76	.50
	Cov.1	.78	1.29	1.43	.59
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	.62, 8.16**	1.81	.07	.95
	Cov.1, Cov.2. & Cov.3	.18, 6.25*, 10.97***	3.49 <sup>+</sup>	1.00	.74
	N/A	/	2.7	1.16	.75
	Cov.1	13.03***	2.05	2.58	1.38

<i>Desire for intergroup contact - self</i>	Cov.1 & Cov.2	12.7*, .75	2.19	3.24 <sup>+</sup>	1.51
	Cov.1, Cov.2. & Cov.3	6.15*, .26, 6.94*	3.53 <sup>+</sup>	7.4**	1.29
	N/A	/	.02	2.51	1.81
<i>Desire for intergroup contact-ingroup</i>	Cov.1	2.46	.08	3.19 <sup>+</sup>	1.54
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	2.44, .02	.08	2.69	1.54
	Cov.1, Cov.2. & Cov.3	5.11*, .03, 4.59*	.35	.53	1.34
	N/A	/	2.20	9.09**	1.08
<i>Desire for intergroup contact-outgroup</i>	Cov.1	2.17	1.85	7.92**	1.32
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	2.17, .04	1.79	7.4**	1.27
	Cov.1, Cov.2. & Cov.3	.55, .22, 3.22 <sup>+</sup>	2.54	3.47 <sup>+</sup>	1.10

**Note 1.** <sup>+</sup>  $p < .1$  \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .001$ .

**Note 2.** N/A refers to the 2x2 ANOVA, Cov.1: Positive contact, Cov.2 Identification British, Cov. 3 Identification multicultural.

**Appendix F- Main effects and interaction effects for the ANCOVA on all the dependent variables of Study 3.a.**

<i>Dependent variable</i>	<i>Covariates</i>	<i>Effect of covariate F</i>	<i>Main effect condition F</i>	<i>Main effect ethnicity F</i>	<i>Interaction Effect F</i>
<i>Cultural Maintenance</i>	N/A	/	.61	.24	.34
	Cov.1	.00	.60	.20	.33
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	.05, 8.60**	.33	.12	.48
	Cov.1, Cov.2, & Cov.3	.00, 10.73**, 2.23	.29	.01	.27
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	.95, 9.97**, 1.53, 5.02*	.22	.03	.22
<i>Cultural Adoption</i>	N/A	/	1.31	.74	.29
	Cov.1	.03	1.32	.51	.27
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	.03, .02	1.33	.49	.27
	Cov.1, Cov.2, & Cov.3	.07, .12, .41	1.35	.24	.34
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	.19, .04, .19, 2.41	1.52	.45	.40
<i>Individualism</i>	N/A	/	1.2	.62	.06
	Cov.1	3.53 <sup>+</sup>	.91	.00	.02
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	3.05 <sup>+</sup> , 7.7**	.58	.02	.01
	Cov.1, Cov.2, & Cov.3	4.53*, 11.94***, 5.61	.53	.64	.13
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	.24, 11.60***, 4.31*, 13.27***	.42	.19	.25
<i>Integrationism</i>	N/A	/	.62	.92	.00
	Cov.1	.97	.75	.24	.00
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	.89, .15	.79	.22	.00
	Cov.1, Cov.2, & Cov.3	1.01, .27, .25	.81	.09	.00
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	.26, .19, .15, .84	.87	.17	.00
<i>Assimilationism</i>	N/A	/	1.77	.31	.04
	Cov.1	4.11*	1.41	1.77	.09
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	4.01*, .00	1.37	1.75	.09
	Cov.1, Cov.2, & Cov.3	4.00*, .02, .05	1.34	1.75	.07
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	1.1, .00, .00, 3.2 <sup>+</sup>	1.22	1.26	.05
<i>Segregationism/ Separatism</i>	N/A	/	.04	18.48***	.00
	Cov.1	4.30*	.00	23.56***	.03
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	5.89*, 9.98**	.09	24.93***	.01
	Cov.1, Cov.2, & Cov.3	4.68*, 13.26***, 3.56 <sup>+</sup>	.12	18.83***	.09
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	2.13, 13.93***, 4.07*, 1.28	.09	17.52***	.08
<i>Exclusionism/ Marginalisationism</i>	N/A	/	.01	1.28	.06
	Cov.1	4.31*	.00	3.55 <sup>+</sup>	.12
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	4.53*, .71	.00	3.39 <sup>+</sup>	.10
	Cov.1, Cov.2, & Cov.3	5.35*, .15, 1.78	.00	4.64*	.03
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	3.27 <sup>+</sup> , .19, 1.54, .38	.00	4.23*	.02
<i>Desire for Contact Self</i>	N/A	/	1.15	19.76***	1.00
	Cov.1	9.70**	.76	9.43**	.81
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	9.97**, .40,	.85	9.51	.83
	Cov.1, Cov.2, & Cov.3	11.09***, .03 1.9	.79	6.69*	1.15
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	9.1**, .03, 1.87, .01	.79	6.46*	1.13
<i>Desire for Contact Ingroup</i>	N/A	/	.62	12.73***	1.23
	Cov.1	1.96	.46	7.50**	1.14
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	1.71, 1.52	.33	7.25**	1.07
	Cov.1, Cov.2, & Cov.3	1.91, 1.86, .40	.31	5.73*	1.20
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	.71, 1.64, 26, .85	.27	6.16*	1.26
<i>Desire for Contact Outgroup</i>	N/A	/	2.26	3.24 <sup>+</sup>	.79
	Cov.1	9.41**	1.76	.27	.63
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	10.42**, 2.92 <sup>+</sup>	2.19	.37	.73
	Cov.1, Cov.2, & Cov.3	8.64**, 5.88*, 5.79*	2.51	1.63	.35
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	6.46*, 5.84*,	2.45	1.65	.35

	Cov.4	5.74*, .04			
<i>Behaviour</i>	N/A	/	1.56	.87	1.78
	Cov.1	.42	1.67	1.23	1.84
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	.28, 2.95 <sup>+</sup>	2.02	1.43	2.03
	Cov.1, Cov.2, & Cov.3	.42, 3.64 <sup>+</sup> , .81	2.15	1.96	1.71
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	1.16, 4.01*, 1.07, 1.26	2.02	2.32	1.80

**Note 1.** <sup>+</sup>  $p < .1$ , \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

**Note 2.** Cov.1: positive contact, Cov.2: identification with ingroup, Cov.3: identification with British, Cov.4: identification as multicultural.

**Appendix G - Main effects and interaction effects for the ANCOVA on all the dependent variables of Study 3.b.**

<i>Dependent variable</i>	<i>Covariates</i>	<i>Effect of covariate F</i>	<i>Main effect condition F</i>	<i>Main effect ethnicity F</i>	<i>Interaction Effect F</i>
<i>Cultural Maintenance</i>	N/A	/	.11	1.05	.00
	Cov.1	.76	.07	1.58	.00
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	.7, .52	.12	2.01	.00
	Cov.1, Cov.2, & Cov.3	.74, .46, .05	.13	2.05	.00
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	.89, .09, .02, 3.73 <sup>+</sup>	.04	1.41	.18
<i>Cultural Adoption</i>	N/A	/	.39	10.95	1.62
	Cov.1	.10	.41	5.54*	1.62
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	.09, .96	.24	6.11*	1.76
	Cov.1, Cov.2, & Cov.3	.05, 1.06, .20	.27	5.56*	1.82
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	.11, .21, .37, 9.67**	.68	4.2*	.40
<i>Individualism</i>	N/A	/	.79	3.09 <sup>+</sup>	1.47
	Cov.1	3.91*	1.09	.14	1.58
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	3.76 <sup>+</sup> , 2.03	.74	.38	1.69
	Cov.1, Cov.2, & Cov.3	3.22 <sup>+</sup> , 2.19, .27	.81	.27	1.77
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	3.30 <sup>+</sup> , 5.81*, .15, 17.65***	.36	1.25	5.87*
<i>Integrationism</i>	N/A	/	.21	.77	.10
	Cov.1	.01	.20	.41	.10
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	.05, 7.26**	.05	.03	.10
	Cov.1, Cov.2, & Cov.3	.21, 8.11**, 1.44	.10	.12	.05
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	.16, 6.03*, 1.70, 3.95*	.25	.38	.50
<i>Assimilationism</i>	N/A	/	.47	2.68	.47
	Cov.1	1.44	.36	3.89*	.49
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	1.95, .52	.59	3.3 <sup>+</sup>	.90
	Cov.1, Cov.2, & Cov.3	2.43, .73, .95	.71	3.79*	.76
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	2.30, .21, 1.17, 4.21*	1.09	5.00*	1.84
<i>Segregationism/ Separatism</i>	N/A	/	.17	16.54***	.01
	Cov.1	1.80	.98	13.30***	.02
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	1.53, 7.78**	1.54	17.74***	.01
	Cov.1, Cov.2, & Cov.3	2.10, 6.70*, 1.46	1.79	19.01***	.00
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	2.02, 11.48***, 2.06, 12.23***	3.02 <sup>+</sup>	25.65***	.73
<i>Exclusionism/ Marginalisationism</i>	N/A	/	.00	.09	.57
	Cov.1	.94	.02	.87	.59
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	1.01, .01	.00	.77	.69
	Cov.1, Cov.2, & Cov.3	2.63, .31, 9.21**	.03	1.92	.41
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	2.63, .04, 12.07***, 16.51***	.31	4.11*	2.74
<i>Desire for Contact self</i>	N/A	/	3.03 <sup>+</sup>	55.63***	.62
	Cov.1	11.85***	2.56	5.83*	.63
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	11.15***, 1.17	2.65	4.68*	.71
	Cov.1, Cov.2, & Cov.3	11.30***, .98, .26	2.75	4.19*	.76
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	11.9***, 2.9, .48, 11.84***	4.28*	2.92 <sup>+</sup>	.01
<i>Desire for Contact Ingroup</i>	N/A	/	.85	31.07***	.39
	Cov.1	1.65	.69	6.76*	.37
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	1.70, .59	.56	7.14**	.37
	Cov.1, Cov.2, & Cov.3	1.72, .61, .04	.57	6.71*	.38
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	1.64, .40, .06, .49	.66	6.10*	.18
<i>Desire for Contact Outgroup</i>	N/A	/	.87	4.08	.92
	Cov.1	1.81	.71	.07	.89
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	1.56, 1.26	.76	.00	.10
	Cov.1, Cov.2, & Cov.3	.84, 1.87, 2.91 <sup>+</sup>	.55	.10	.78
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	.75, 2.84 <sup>+</sup> , 2.63, 2.87 <sup>+</sup>	.82	.01	.21

<i>Behaviour</i>	N/A	/	1.02	.45	.04
	Cov.1	3.40	.82	.94	.03
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	3.38 <sup>+</sup> , .03	.77	.84	.03
	Cov.1, Cov.2, & Cov.3	2.92, .01, .20	.70	.69	.02
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	2.98, .05, .23, .42	.59	.54	.08

**Note 1.** <sup>+</sup>  $p < .1$ , \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

**Note 2.** Cov.1: positive contact, Cov.2: identification with ingroup, Cov.3: identification with British, Cov.4: identification as multicultural.

## Appendix H - T-test and ANCOVA for the dependent variables of Study 4.

<i>Dependent variables</i>	<i>Covariate</i>	<i>Main effect covariates F</i>	<i>Main effect condition t-F</i>
<i>Cultural maintenance</i>	N/A	/	.00
	Cov.1	2.84 <sup>+</sup>	.02
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	3.02 <sup>+</sup> , 1.77	.06
	Cov.1, Cov.2. & Cov.3	3.33 <sup>+</sup> , .22, .35	.02
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	3.85*, .15, .73, 1.50	.00
<i>Cultural adoption</i>	N/A	/	1.25
	Cov.1	13.37***	2.67
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	15.08***, 8.48**	3.67 <sup>+</sup>
	Cov.1, Cov.2. & Cov.3	16.91***, .97, 1.88	2.77 <sup>+</sup>
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	16.73***, .93, 1.9, .05	2.62 <sup>+</sup>
<i>Perception of Poles' attitudes toward cultural maintenance</i>	N/A	/	-3.04**
	Cov.1	.60	9.53**
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	.48, 9.55**	8.71**
	Cov.1, Cov.2. & Cov.3	.29, 2.83 <sup>+</sup> , .32	8.97**
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	.40, 2.99 <sup>+</sup> , .13, .69	8.21**
<i>Perception of Poles' attitudes toward cultural adoption</i>	N/A	/	3.91***
	Cov.1	.70	14.61***
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	.83, 3.39 <sup>+</sup>	13.73***
	Cov.1, Cov.2. & Cov.3	1.08, .58, .44	14.09***
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	.81, .69, .16, 1.13	12.94***
<i>Individualism</i>	N/A	/	.72
	Cov.1	29.75***	.11
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	30.50***, 1.89	.05
	Cov.1, Cov.2. & Cov.3	27.32***, 1.74, .28	.02
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	26.16***, 1.80, .38, .21	.01
<i>Integrationsim</i>	N/A	/	-0.25
	Cov.1	15.19***	.36
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	15.31***, 7.51**	.16
	Cov.1, Cov.2. & Cov.3	13.46***, 2.19, .27	.23
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	13.50***, 2.24, .17, .15	.18
<i>Assimilationism</i>	N/A	/	.74
	Cov.1	24.76***	1.53
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	25.02***, .83	1.70
	Cov.1, Cov.2. & Cov.3	26.85***, .10, 1.67	1.15
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	24.74***, .04, .67, 4.09*	1.76
<i>Segregationism</i>	N/A	/	1.59 <sup>+</sup>
	Cov.1	23.12***	4.63*
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	23.62***, 1.51,	5.05*
	Cov.1, Cov.2. & Cov.3	22.42***, .53, .02	4.76*
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	20.81***, .66, .02, 1.61	5.42*
<i>Marginalisationsim</i>	N/A	/	-0.79
	Cov.1	19.4***	.23
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	22.18***, 10.59**	.06
	Cov.1, Cov.2. & Cov.3	25.8***, .72, 3.61 <sup>+</sup>	.32
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	23.66***, 1.05, 1.81, 5.82*	.07
<i>Desire for intergroup contact - self</i>	N/A	/	-1.04
	Cov.1	1.12	1.27
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	1.16, .41	1.38
	Cov.1, Cov.2. & Cov.3	1.01, .30, .02	1.38
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	.54, .50, .47, 5.55*	2.19
<i>Desire for intergroup contact Ingroup</i>	N/A	/	-0.19
	Cov.1	.15	.03
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	.13, .68	.05
	Cov.1, Cov.2. & Cov.3	.08, .13, .08	.03
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	.18, .19, .00, 1.35	.10
<i>Desire for intergroup contact Outgroup</i>	N/A	/	1.88 <sup>+</sup>
	Cov.1	2.42	3.05 <sup>+</sup>
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	2.53, 1.32	2.73
	Cov.1, Cov.2. & Cov.3	2.33, .71, .01	2.58
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	1.96, .81, .09, .88	2.19

**Note 1.** <sup>+</sup>  $p < .1$ , \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

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**Note 2.** N/A refers to the t-test, Cov.1: Prejudice, Cov.2 Identification with ingroup, Cov. 3 Identification British, Cov. 4 Identification multicultural.

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**Appendix I - Main effects and interaction effects for the ANCOVA of all the dependent variables of Study 6.**

<i>Dependent variables</i>	<i>Covariate</i>	<i>Main effect covariates F</i>	<i>Main effect condition F</i>	<i>Main effect ethnicity F</i>	<i>Interaction effect F</i>
<i>Cultural Maintenance</i>	N/A	/	.88	1.60	1.26
	Cov.1	.00	.84	1.19	1.23
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	.00, .04	.8	1.14	1.23
	Cov.1, Cov.2. & Cov.3	.75, .56, 6.33*	.79	6.23*	.94
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	.57, .59, 6.24*, .07	.80	6.22*	.86
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3, Cov.4 & Cov.5	.58, .58, 6*, .07, .11	.78	5.11*	.92
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3, Cov.4, Cov.5 & Cov. 6	.51, .53, 5.96*, .06, .02, .10	.80	4.41*	.95
<i>Cultural Adoption</i>	N/A	/	1.26	.14	.15
	Cov.1	1.11	.82	.73	.29
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	1.19, .99	.94	.60	.35
	Cov.1, Cov.2. & Cov.3	.31, .00, 28.2***	1.12	8.05**	1.16
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	.39, .00, 27.87***, .13	1.08	7.58**	1.04
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3, Cov.4 & Cov.5	.44, .00, 29.95***, .14, .89	1.05	5.00	.77
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3, Cov.4, Cov.5 & Cov. 6	.25, .02, 27.64***, .17, .59, 1.86	1.25	3.81 <sup>+</sup>	.58
<i>Individualism</i>	N/A	/	.02	.00	.28
	Cov.1	1.28	.00	.30	.48
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	1.21, .52	.01	.37	.43
	Cov.1, Cov.2. & Cov.3	1.94, .23, 1.15	.01	1.35	.33
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	1.67, .20, 1.13, .02	.01	1.36	.30
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3, Cov.4 & Cov.5	1.76, .21, .99, .02, .64	.01	.75	.43
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3, Cov.4, Cov.5 & Cov. 6	1.59, .23, 1.00, .02, .00, .13	.01	.56	.46
<i>Integrationsim</i>	N/A	/	6.09*	4.95*	1.57
	Cov.1	.60	6.57*	2.30	1.26
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	.77, 5.23*	6.15*	3.00 <sup>+</sup>	1.06
	Cov.1, Cov.2. & Cov.3	.89, 5.28*, .14	6.04*	1.09	1.1
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	.51, 5.56*, .13, .53	6.11*	.88	1.26
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3, Cov.4 & Cov.5	.60, 5.57*, .07, .49, 1.57	6.05*	1.63	.89
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3, Cov.4, Cov.5 & Cov. 6	.57, 5.42*, .07, .48, .26, .00	5.96*	1.56	.86
<i>Assimilationism</i>	N/A	/	7.12**	.30	.31
	Cov.1	.40	7.45**	.02	.42
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	.36, .78	7.72**	.01	.36
	Cov.1, Cov.2. & Cov.3	4.47*, .00, 19.81***	9.37**	8.33**	.13
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	3.50 <sup>+</sup> , .00, 19.59***, .36	9.38**	8.56**	.08
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3, Cov.4 & Cov.5	3.94*, .00, 18.97***, .32, 3.36 <sup>+</sup>	9.51**	5.21*	.29
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3, Cov.4, Cov.5 & Cov. 6	3.04 <sup>+</sup> , .02, 20.87***, .27, 1.57, 5.79*	11.19***	2.93 <sup>+</sup>	.58
<i>Segregationism/ Separatism</i>	N/A	/	4.96*	19.83***	2.46
	Cov.1	.04	4.89*	15.28***	2.28
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	.02, 1.60	5.29*	16.09***	2.51
	Cov.1, Cov.2. & Cov.3	.00, 1.80, .28	5.27*	6.94*	2.35
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	.03, 1.61, .28, .26	5.29*	7.10*	2.47
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3, Cov.4 & Cov.5	.02, 1.60, .31, .25, .19	5.19*	5.73*	2.22
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3, Cov.4, Cov.5 & Cov. 6	.12, 2.02, .27, .21, 1.72, 2.93 <sup>+</sup>	5.85*	3.77 <sup>+</sup>	1.84
<i>Exclusionism/</i>	N/A	/	.59	.17	.20
	Cov.1	.36	.41	.00	.12
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	.33, .41	.35	.00	.15
	Cov.1, Cov.2. & Cov.3	.02, 1.2, 4.46*	.33	1.96	.06
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 &	.00, 1.24, 4.39*, .08	.33	2.00	.04

<i>marginalisationsim</i>	Cov.4				
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3, Cov.4 & Cov.5	.02, 1.26, 3.96*, .06, 3.95*	.31	.60	.23
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3, Cov.4, Cov.5 & Cov. 6	.02, .92, 4.48*, .03, 1.32, 5.62*	.53	.04	.49
<i>Personal desire for intergroup contact</i>	N/A	/	.93	5.22*	.73
	Cov.1	14.40***	.10	.04	.13
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	14.58***, .81	.14	.08	.09
	Cov.1, Cov.2. & Cov.3	19.48***, 1.87, 4.68*	.18	1.49	.22
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	14.11***, 2.85 <sup>+</sup> , 4.94*, 5.95*	.13	2.43	.58
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3, Cov.4 & Cov.5	13.93***, 2.8, 4.8*, 5.85*, .02, 2.99a	.13	2.05	.53
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3, Cov.4, Cov.5 & Cov. 6	12.58***, 2.40, 5.13*, 5.79*, 2.14	.06	.98	.34
	N/A	/	11.26***	2.98 <sup>+</sup>	.71
<i>Ingroup desire for intergroup contact</i>	Cov.1	3.4*	9.02**	.33	.33
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	3.34 <sup>+</sup> , .00	8.82**	.32	.33
	Cov.1, Cov.2. & Cov.3	2.57, .02, .11	8.68**	.40	.29
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	1.16, .01, .12, 3.51 <sup>+</sup>	8.64**	.17	.59
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3, Cov.4 & Cov.5	1.05, .01, .07, 3.61 <sup>+</sup> , 1.11	8.54**	.00	.82
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3, Cov.4, Cov.5 & Cov. 6	.94, .00, .07, 3.53 <sup>+</sup> , .62, .11	8.26**	.02	.75
	N/A	/	10.32**	1.49	.48
<i>Outgroup desire for intergroup contact</i>	Cov.1	12.67***	7.45**	8.67**	.05
	Cov.1 & Cov.2	12.39***, .49	7.11**	8.87**	.06
	Cov.1, Cov.2. & Cov.3	12.85***, .25, .67	7.14**	7.67**	.09
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3 & Cov.4	9.89**, .13, .67, 1.48	6.98*	8.47**	.20
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3, Cov.4 & Cov.5	10.75**, .14, .48, 1.42, 3.33 <sup>+</sup>	7.39**	5.15*	.04
	Cov.1, Cov.2, Cov.3, Cov.4, Cov.5 & Cov. 6	10.66**, .12, .46, 1.42, 1.17, .07	7.35**	5.07*	.05

**Note 1.** <sup>+</sup>  $p < .1$ , \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

**Note 2.** N/A refers to the 2x2 ANOVA, Cov.1: Positive contact, Cov.2 Identification with ingroup, Cov. 3 Identification British, Cov. 4 Identification multicultural, Cov.5 Personal discrimination, Cov.6. Group discrimination.

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