Rosemarie Mielke

Multidimensional models
of acculturation attitudes

Abstract

Relying on Berry's acculturation model attitude items describing different types of living together of groups are formulated. The concepts of integration, assimilation and segregation are adopted from Berry's model and marginalization is substituted by individualism according to Bourhis' suggestions. The operationalization of individualism is new. The formulation of the items takes into account that there are always at least two perspectives on the acculturation process. Items can be used to assess the attitude from both perspectives - the host communities' members as well as immigrating groups' members. The results are based on o sample of German students (n = 130) and a sample of students from 53 different countries (n = 194). Three of the four acculturation attitudes (integration, assimilation and individualism) can be measured by identical items in both samples. Three- and four-factor models can be fitted with structural equation models.

Zusammenfassung

Ausgehend von Berrys Akkulturationsmodell werden Vorstellungen über das Zusammenleben von Gruppen in Form von Einstellungsitems formuliert. Integration, Assimilation und Segregation werden als Modellkomponenten von Berry übernommen, während das Konzept der Individualisierung im Anschluß an Überlegungen von Bourhis als vierte Komponente anstelle der urpsrünglichen Marginalisierung erstmals als Einstellung operationalisiert wird. Der Idee von Akkulturation als einem interaktiven Prozeß folgend, werden die Items so formuliert, daß sie unabhängig von den jeweils spezifischen Gruppen verwendet werden können und gleichzeitig die Einstellung der potentiell aufnehmenden wie der neu hinzukommenden Gruppe erfassen können. Die Ergebnisse der Untersuchung an einer deutschsprachigen (n = 130) und einer Gruppe von Studenten aus 53 verschiedenen Ländern (n = 194) zeigen, daß zumindest drei (Integration, Assimilation und Individualisierung) der vier Komponenten durch übereinstimmende Items in beiden Gruppen erfaßt werden können. Mit jeweils unterschiedlichen Segregationskonzepten lassen sich auch vier-Komponenten-Modelle mit hinreichender Modellanpassung bestätigen.

1

INTRODUCTION

Individuals are often confronted with traditions and habits of a variety of distinct ethnic groups. They have to decide how much value they place on interacting and getting along with other groups, or, alternatively, turning away from them.

The way people interact with others who are different in behavior and thinking is only partly the result of their own direct learning. To a great deal they learn how to behave via multiplicators, like attractive persons, teachers and educators, idols in art, music and literature, and social norms distributed by print and electronic media. These social learning processes contribute to the formation of their attitudes towards other groups and more generally towards the way different groups should live together. People learn attitudes and behaviors towards others by adopting their cultural and group standards and share the way to perceive and interpret social reality with their group members and people with identical cultural background.

Besides the effects of social learning processes the orientation towards other groups is influenced by the relationship between the group people belong to (in-group) and the group people do not belong to (out-group). According to social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986) and self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987) the perception of differences between groups is characterized by two important judgmental biases. People tend to exaggerate the differences between social categories and favor the own group on evaluative dimensions. The augmentation effect has a cognitive function - clearly differentiating between social categories helps to organize and structure their mental and social worlds. Consequently the distinction between the categories are sharpened, and, relatedly, the differences within the categories are blurred. The second bias is based on a motivational process. Assuming a general tendency to prefer a positive self-concept rather than a negative one, and assuming further that part of the self-concept is defined in terms of group affiliations (a person's social identity), it follows that there will be a preference to view those in-groups positively rather than negatively. Especially this second bias - which is known as „establishment of positive distinctiveness" (Tajfel, 1978, p. 83) - has some consequences for intergroup attitudes and attitudes towards acculturation. E.g., dependent on the (1) salience of social categories or the (perceived) necessity to emphasize the (2) distinctiveness of the in-group and (3) the positivity of this distinctiveness people may be differentially inclined to stress their social identity and defend the maintenance of their cultural characteristics and traditions.

Attitudes towards members of different ethnic groups influence the quality of the interaction between ethnic groups and the mutual learning effects. On the other hand, differences in opinions about the best way to live together between members of different ethnic groups may be a source of conflicts and misunderstandings.

Acculturation is defined as cultural change which is caused by direct contact of two different cultures (Redfield, Linton & Herskovits, 1936). Graves (1967) coined the term psychological acculturation as attitudinal and behavioral changes of individuals whose referent group experiences acculturation. Focusing the psychological process of acculturation, undesirable psychological, social and health effects may be partly dependent upon the social interaction between members of the immigrating ethnic minority and members of the host community, the ethnic majority. The attitudinal bases determine the tolerance and willingness of members of the host community to accept and interact with immigrants. Furthermore, the fit between the attitudes of immigrants and members of the host community may influence the course of acculturation, e.g., the maintenance of stereotypes and prejudice, the frequency and intensity of conflicts, the ability to cope with threats of ethnic identity.

Considering acculturation as a process of mutual influence, the willingness to share and the ability to suspend cultural traditions and habitualized behaviors seems to be an important prerequisite especially for members of the dominant group to foster the acculturation process. Again acculturation attitudes may influence individual differences to react adequately to this challenge. Immigrants may adopt different individual acculturation strategies in relation to their attitudes, e.g. the amount of active participation and engagement in their acculturation process may be determined by the guiding imagination they have about their group's acculturation. The behavioral and attitudinal changes of individuals belonging to the dominant host community normally are less dramatic than those of the immigrants. Nevertheless, they may experience deprivation and threat (although this may be more subjective than real).

Considering that the process of migrant adaptation has been studied for over half a century, especially in the classic immigration countries of North America (U.S. and Canada) it seems to be important to capitalize the scientific knowledge for the study of interethnic contact and interethnic conflicts in European countries. Although most European countries are not typical immigration countries there is a growing necessity to get more insight in the determinants and process of acculturation between different ethnic groups. The adaptation of measurement instruments to identify differences and correspondences in acculturation attitudes may be one step in this direction.

Berry's acculturation model

Focusing on the options that are available to acculturating individuals and groups Berry and his coworkers (1977) presented an acculturation model which served as background for the development of scales for the assessment of acculturation attitudes in Canada among a variety of native (Cree, Jibway, Carrier, Tsimshian)

and ethnic groups (French Canadians outside Quebec, Portuguese, Hungarian, and Korean Canadians).

According to this model, the questions are how much of the group's identity related traditions and characteristics the individuals are ready to give up in favor of other ethnic groups' preferences and how strongly they welcome the contact and the mutual exchange with others. Acculturating individuals and groups are mainly confronted with these two problems: They first have to care about their ethnic distinctiveness (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Are they willing to maintain their cultural identity, that is, to practice their cultural habits and maintain their cultural goods. The second problem is the question of the amount and importance of inter-ethnical contact (Allport, 1954; Amir, 1969). The options acculturating individuals and groups have are consequently rooted in the answer to the questions: „Is it considered to be of value to maintain one's own distinctive heritage identity and cultural group characteristics? and, Is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships between my group and others within the larger society?" (Berry, 1993, p. 282). The individual's views about these issues lead to different acculturation attitudes. The questions can be answered on a continuous dimension, but for conceptual purpose a simple „yes" or „no" response yields a four-celled pattern (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Acculturation attitudes as a function of importance of cultural identity and contact
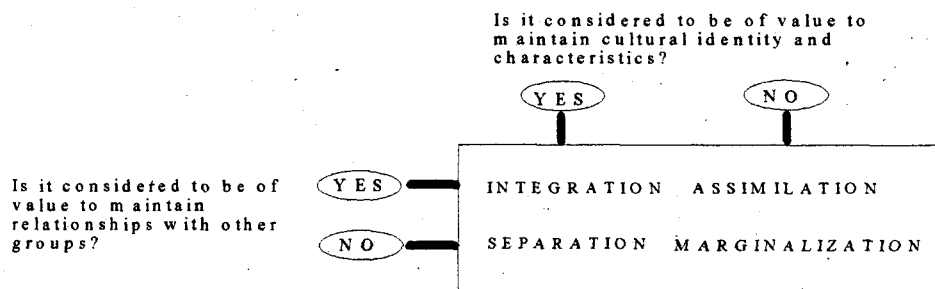
The acculturation attitudes of individuals who stress the value of maintaining cultural identity and at the same time are inclined to high value relationships with other groups can be characterized by the term „integration". As to Berry (1993, p.282) the concept is described as follows: „When the answers to both the questions are affirmative the integration pattern emerges; the acculturating group retains its cultural integrity and at the same time moves into an integral position within the larger society, adopting the best of both worlds."

The attitude of assimilation reflects an ideology which was predominant up to the middle of this century in the prototypical immigration country, the „New World", i.e., the USA. Assimilation was expected of new immigrants to be

accepted in the USA, and assimilation meant anglo-conformity. Assimilation ideology includes the expectation that immigrants adopt the public values of the host nation. In Berry's words: „When an individual or group does not wish to maintain heritage-cultural distinctiveness and moves increasingly toward participation with (and eventual absorption into) the larger society, an *assimilation* pattern emerges."

The option of *separation* or *segregation* is defined by the absence of relationships with the larger society accompanied by a maintenance of ethnic identity and traditions. Depending on which group controls the situation, this option may take the form either of segregation (the dominant group) or of separation (the acculturating group itself). As to Berry (1993) separation „ ... occurs when a group chooses not to maintain its distinctiveness and does not participate within the larger society; when this is enforced by the dominant group, segregation exists" (p. 282).

As to Berry et al. (1989) the fourth resulting option is difficult to define precisely. According to their speculations this may be due to the fact that it is accompanied by collective and individual confusion and anxiety. It can be further characterized by feelings of alienation, loss of identity, and what has been called acculturative stress (Berry & Annis, 1974). Berry (1993) formulated that „... *marginalization* occurs when a group's culture is not maintained and when there is no participation in the affairs of the dominant group" (p.282). When stabilized in a non-dominant group, it constitutes the classical situation of marginality (Stonequist, 1935).

For each of the four orientations attitudinal scales were developed for a variety of different groups, all with acceptable levels of internal consistency and validity. One of the goal of Berry and his coworkers' research has been to discover which attitudes tend to predominate. Results indicate a general and pervasive preference, among all groups studied, for the integration mode of acculturation (see for an overview Berry, Kim, Power, Young & Bujaki, 1989).The preference for separation and assimilation depended on the particular group and sample. Marginalization was found to be least desirable in all groups. Berry (1993, 284) comments these results by pointing to the impressive consistency in orientations of Canadians towards an issue which is in many societies a source of psychological and social conflict.

Bourhis' interactive acculturation model

A critical reception of Berry's work by Bourhis leads to several improvements of the model.

Supporting the argument of Sayegh & Lasry (1993) that the first dimension of the Berry model, identification with the heritage culture, measures attitudes while the second, contact with members of the host society, assesses behavior, Bourhis

et al. (1993) resolve this structural inconsistency by changing the nature of the second question from a „contact" (behavior) to an attitude question: „Is it considered to be of value to adopt the culture of the host community?" (Bourhis, 1997).

For immigrant groups the desire to maintain the heritage culture while rejecting to adopt the culture of the host community leads to the concept of separation. The prototypic questions for members of the host community are slightly changed as follows: „Do you find it acceptable that ...?". Consequently the separation option is replaced by segregation. Host community members who adopt segregation strategy do not wish immigrating groups to adopt (or transform) the host culture though they accept that immigrants maintain their heritage culture or more extremely prefer them to remain together in separate community enclaves.

Another shortcoming of Berry's model concerns the concept of marginalization. As to Bourhis (1997), immigrants who reject both their heritage culture and that of the host society do experience a form of cultural alienation known as anomie. They may be rejected by members of their own group and by members of the host society. This rejection may influence their self-esteem and interfere with a smooth adaptation of immigrants within the host society. Another group of immigrants may turn away from their heritage culture and at the same time refuse to identify with the host majority „... not because they feel marginalized but simply because they prefer to identify with themselves as individuals rather than as members of cultural groups" (Bourhis, 1997). Consequently he argues for two types of marginalization strategies as options for immigrants (Moise & Bourhis, 1994, quoted according to Bourhis 1997): anomie and individualism. Immigrants who alienate from their heritage culture and do not take over the culture of the host community may experience anomie in cases where they feel rejected. If they more actively dissociate from both their ethnocultural group and the host majority and at the same time prefer to identify themselves as individuals rather than as members of cultural groups their orientation is called „individualism". These persons are characterized by rejecting group ascription for themselves and for others.

A negative answer to both questions by members of the host society reveals two opposite orientations towards acculturation. Members of host community may refuse to allow immigrants to adopt the host culture and at the same time do not tolerate that they maintain their heritage immigrant culture. This orientation is called *exclusion*. „Exclusionists deny immigrants the freedom to maintain their heritage culture, believe that immigrants do not have a place in the host society" (Bourhis, 1997). Another background for denying the two questions may be *individualism*. For individualists the personal characteristics of individuals count more than their belonging to one group or another. They downgrade the importance of maintaining the heritage culture or adopting the host culture and do not evaluate successful integration according to these criteria. Thus, Bourhis

6

(1997) differentiates between exclusion and individualism and replaces marginalization by these concepts.

The need to better articulate the dynamic interplay between host community and immigrant group acculturation strategies is often claimed as a lack of most bidimensional models. Beyond others Moghaddam & Taylor (1987) described the interplay between attitudes towards multiculturalism and feelings of being accepted by members of the host community. Bourhis et al. (1993) specifically took into account the interactions between immigrant groups and host community.

Thus, in the revised model of immigrant acculturation strategies the „contact" question is replaced by asking for the value of adopting the cultural identity of the host community. For both sides (immigrants and hosts) Bourhis (1997) ends up with the differentiation of five options. These options can be used to describe individual difference orientation or can be assessed at the group level as an orientation preferred by the majority of a particular immigrant group or host community. The options „integration" and „assimilation" remain unchanged.

Bourhis' interactive acculturation model furthermore integrates integration strategies of immigrant groups and the host community and additionally the interpersonal and intergroup relational outcomes as a product of combinations of the acculturation strategies adopted by both sides. The resulting relational outcomes of community and immigrant acculturation strategies are described in detail by Bourhis (1997).

Reversibility of items as guiding principle and individualism in exchange for marginalization

The construction of a German version of acculturation attitude scales makes use of the most important improvements suggested by Bourhis and his coworkers (1993, 1997) by considering
- the interactive nature of the acculturation process
- the replacement of marginalization by individualism.

The development of a German version of acculturation scales aims at getting scales with a common underlying structure and identical items for the assessment of immigrant's and host communities' attitudes. The collection and formulation of items to assess the options for immigrants and members of the host community was guided by these two demands. This was realized by using the terms „host community" or „host country", and „ethnic groups" or „people coming from other countries". Furthermore, the items consist of statements describing the different ways of living together of different ethnic groups. Thus, the formulation is independent of a specific perspective on the acculturation process. One purpose of

this study is to test this independence of items and structure of the acculturation model from the perspective of the respondents by using different samples.

Individualism as a central concept of acculturation attitudes

The replacement of marginalization by individualism is strongly supported by the present author and taken over for the acculturation model underlying the construction of the questionnaire. (The concepts of anomie and exclusion are neglected for different reasons. First they require different items for immigrants and host members, and second anomie reflects more an outcome which should be prevented, and exclusion is an extreme orientation as well, which seems to be more a symptom for an irritation of host members than an acceptable acculturation strategy or attitude.)

From a social identity theory point of view, intergroup situations can be identified (by means of socio-structural characteristics) which foster the withdrawal from the predominant identification options of a specific intergroup situation. In order to cope with threatened, unsatisfactory or „negative" social identity people may change their self-categorization. The direction of change can be twofold: they may strive to make use of a higher or a lower level of categorization. The superordinate level phenotypically appears to be similar to the subordinate categorization level. The highest and at the same time most inclusive level of categorization is the level of the self as human being (Turner et al., 1987) whereas the lowest level is the level of personal self-categorization. On both extreme categorization levels the reference to a specific social group is diminished (for differences in the underlying comparisons see Turner et al. 1987).

When referring to the self as human being the common features shared with other members of the human species in contrast to other forms of life are stressed. By doing this, ethnocultural differences are of minor interest, thus resulting in an orientation which can be characterized by downgrading the immigrant as well as the host culture and traditions.

The renunciation of defining themselves and others in terms of social categories such as immigrants or host community may on the other hand be the result of a personalization process which is characterized by defining the self in terms of personal identity (e.g. one's personality or other kinds of individual differences) rather than social identity. This makes sense when the membership to a social group or category does not contribute to a positive evaluation of the self. The reference to ethnocultural identity may be chronically problematic and downgraded as for most Germans as a consequence of the fascist ideology of „Third Reich" or being out of fashion in times which are sociologically described by a predominant striving for the accomplishment of individual values.

Another line of reasoning for individualism as an acculturation attitude of increasing importance comes from considerations about a model of intergroup

contact suggested by Hewstone & Brown (1986). On the basis of social psychological theories of intergroup behavior, they claim for taking into account the specific characteristics of the groups people belong to when they interact in order to overcome stereotypical thinking and mutual prejudices. Otherwise learning effects of contact experiences concerning the change of prejudice will not generalize to the whole groups. These group memberships of the participants of intergroup encounters on the other hand may be an unprevailable barrier to initiate contacts. The authors argue for a retention of cues to group belongingness at least in the very beginning and the first periods of intergroup contact. After such a time-out period for group related features individuals may be better prepared to accept each other's group belongingness. Thus, at least a restricted period of time cooperation should take place in an „individualized" (in terms of self-categorization theory: „personalized") manner. The ability to postpone social identity seems to be a necessary prerequisite for successfully overcome intergroup prejudice and prevent conflicts between different ethnic groups.

The first attempt to construct a German version of acculturation attitudes on the basis of the Berry model was undertaken by van Dick et al. (1997). They end up with a unidimensional scale assessing a global attitude to a multicultural society with integration on the one end and assimilation and segregation on the opposite end. This study makes profit from van Dick and his coworkers pioneering work by relying on their translations from English into German and integrating several of their original items in preliminary versions of the presented scales.

METHOD

Materials

An item pool of 35 items representing the four acculturation attitudes and three items for testing the acculturation model are analyzed. They were taken from Berry et al. (1977), van Dick et al. (1997), and from an own preliminary version with marginalization instead of individualism. The original destination of the items to the four concepts is unequivocal with regard to assimilation (9 items) and individualism (6 Items). Integration is represented by four items, and separation/segregation by six items which unequivocally belong to their concepts. The remaining ten items had face validity for integration (positive) and separation/segregation (negative).

Three „marker" items were included in the questionnaire in order to get some preliminary indices for the validity of the scales. The first marker item measured the „attitude towards identity security" (People from different ethnic origin should maintain their own cultural identity, and feel assured and supported), the second the „contact between both groups" (I positively agree on intensive cultural exchange between the members of the host community and divers immigrating

9

ethnic groups) and the third measured the „attitude towards accepting the identification with the host countries culture" (I would accept individuals from different ethnic origin to identify with the German culture).

The response format for all items was a five-point-answering scale ranging from „not agree at all" to „fully agree".

Subjects

Two samples of students from the University of Hamburg filled in the questionnaire. In summer 1996, n = 130 German students of educational studies (mean age of 25 years, ranging between 19 and 38, 72 of them female and 58 male) and in October 1997 a second sample of foreign students were surveyed. The „Akademisches Auslandsamt der Universität Hamburg" sent the questionnaire to a selection of 500 students who stayed long enough in Germany to be able to understand the German version of the questionnaire. N = 194 students returned the questionnaire, all of them could be used for the analysis. Mean age of the foreign students sample is 31, ranging from 23 to 48 years old. 114 of them are female and 80 male. The origin of these students is extremely diverse. They named 53 different home countries.

Procedure

The item selection is based on reliability analyses of the scales and the item-scale-correlation of the items. The ultimate reduction of items for the different scales and the structure of the acculturation model is tested with structural equation procedures using LISREL 8 (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1993).

RESULTS

The item pool was reduced to 22 items on the basis of the proportion of affirmation to the single items, using P < .20 and P <.80 as criteria. For both samples the factor analysis of the remaining 22 items revealed that four-factors explained 45% of the variance of the items. Consistency analyses of the items belonging to the four factors once more reduced the item number drastically. 14 Items were left at the end of this procedure (see table 1).

For three of the four scales in both samples identical items could be used to construct the scales. The concept of segregation revealed to be different in both samples. There was only an overlap of one item between the items of segregation in the different samples. Segregation is based on items segre1, segre2 and segre4

in the sample of German students (in the following referred to as segregation I) and on item segre4 and segre5 in the sample of students from different countries (segregation II). Consistency coefficients ranged from .72 to .55 (see table 1, the first number refers to the German sample and the second number to the student sample from different countries).

Table 1: Acculturation scales and item content

Integration (M = 3.83/3.97, s = .65/.78; α=.62/.65)

inte1: Every society takes profit from different ethnic groups taking part in its development.

inte2: Divers ethnic groups taking part in public life is always an advantage for a society.

inte3: A society which has a variety of ethnic groups is more able to tackle new problems as they occur.

(See Berry et al., 1977 and item 6 of van Dick et al., 1997)

Assimilation (M = 2.26/2.47, s = .65/.69; α = .72/.53)

assi1: People who come to a new country should change their behavior according to the culture of the host community.

assi3: It is always the best when people of different ethnic origin cannot be identified and become part of the community without being noticed.

assi5: Ethnic particularities (way of life, traditions, habits, customs) should be dropped in favor of the living together.

assi6: If ethnic groups maintain their cultural identity, there will be the danger that they settle the conflicts of their home countries in the host country.

Individualism (M = 3.53/3.42, s = .87/.88; α = .56/.63)

indi1: For the living together of individuals from divers ethnic origin and members of the host community the question of cultural identity should be of no importance.

indi2: For adaptation in a society the individual person and not his/her belongingness to a specific ethnic group or the host community is important.

indi3: Successful integration of individuals with different ethnic origin is primarily dependent on personal characteristics and abilities.

Segregation I: segre1, segre2, segre4: M = 1.51/.1.83, s =.47/.75; α = .56
Segregation II: segre4, segre5: M = 1.42/1.49, s = .43/.70; α = .55

segre1: Children of divers ethnic origin should accordingly visit specific schools.
(See item 5 of van Dick et al., 1997)

segre2: As ethnic groups, e.g. from Islamic countries, build up their own mosques, they should consequently install their own schools for their children.

segre4: The different ethnic groups should live separately from each other and from the host community concerning as many life areas as possible, in order to prevent problems between the groups.
(Similar to item 9 of van Dick et al. 1997)

segre5: If ethnic groups want to keep their own culture, they should stay among themselves.
(Similar to item 3 of van Dick et al., 1997)

Note. M, s and α before the slash refer to the German sample and behind to the sample from different countries

Confirmatory factor analyses using LISREL8 were used for testing the acculturation model in both samples. According to the consistency analysis the *three concept model* could be fixed in both samples with an identical set of items. Figure 2 and figure 3 depict the final three factor models for the two samples. Estimates are based on polychoric correlation among items using the weighted-least-squares (WLS) method with an asymptotic covariance matrix to correct for deviations from normality (see Bollen, 1989). The model revealed an acceptable model fit according to the fit indices Chi-quadrate value and ratio (χ^2 (32) = 34.4; p = .35), root mean error of approximation (RMSEA = .024; p (< .05) = .77), expected cross validation index (ECVI = .62 vs. .85 for the saturated model), AIC (80.46 vs. 110 in the saturated model) and goodness-of-fit indices (GFI = .97, AGFI = .95) for the model of the sample of German students.

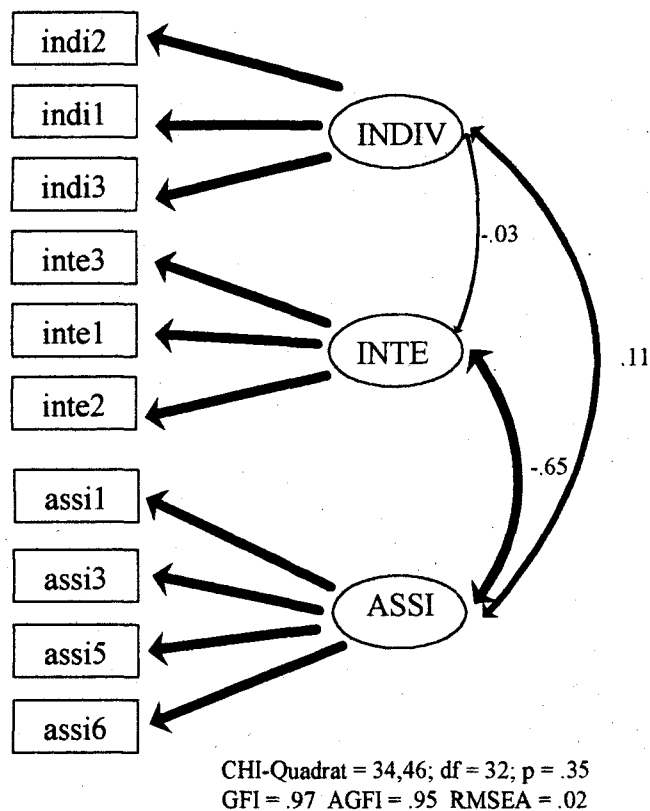CHI-Quadrat = 34,46; df = 32; p = .35
GFI = .97 AGFI = .95 RMSEA = .02

Figure 2: Three factor model for the sample of German students

The fit indices for the model in the sample of students from different countries reached acceptable indices as well (χ^2 (31) = 40.81; p = .11, RMSEA = .041; p (< .05) = .66, ECVI = .46 vs. .57 in saturated models, AIC = 88.81 vs. 110 in saturated model, GFI = .97 and AGFI = .94). For the accepted model in the sample of students of different countries a residual correlation between two indicators (assi1 and assi5) of assimilation had to be allowed. It can be assumed that this correlation does not change the meaning of the construct.

The *four concept models* in both samples revealed to be slightly different from one another. For the sample of German students the indicators segre1, segre2, segre4 had to be used for segregation. A correlation (.15) between the residuals of the indicators „inte3" of the concept integration and „indi3" of the construct individualism had to allowed, according to the modification index. A further residual correlation between two indicators of assimilation (assi1 and assi6: .15) was recommended by a high modification index and allowed in order to reach a better fit of the empirical data to the model. With these restrictions the resulting fit indices were quite acceptable (χ^2 (57) = 68.20; p = .15, RMSEA = .039; p (<

.05) = .69, ECVI = 1.06 vs. 1.41 in the saturated model; AIC = 136.20 vs. 182.00 in the saturated model, GFI = .98 and AGFI = .97). The four concept model of the sample of students from different countries could only be fitted with acceptable indices when using segre4 and segre5 as indicators for segregation and - as above - allowing for a residual correlation (.15) between one indicator of individualism (indi2) and one of integration (inte2) and two indicators of assimilation (assi1 and assi5: .22). Again the resulting fit indices were quite acceptable with these restrictions (χ^2 (46) = 50.34; p = .31, RMSEA = .022; p (< .05) = .92, ECVI = .59 vs. .81 in the saturated model, AIC = 114.34 vs. 156.00 in the saturated model, GFI = .97 and AGFI = .94).

CHI-Quadrat = 40,81; df = 31; p = .11
GFI = .97 AGFI = .94 RMSEA = .04
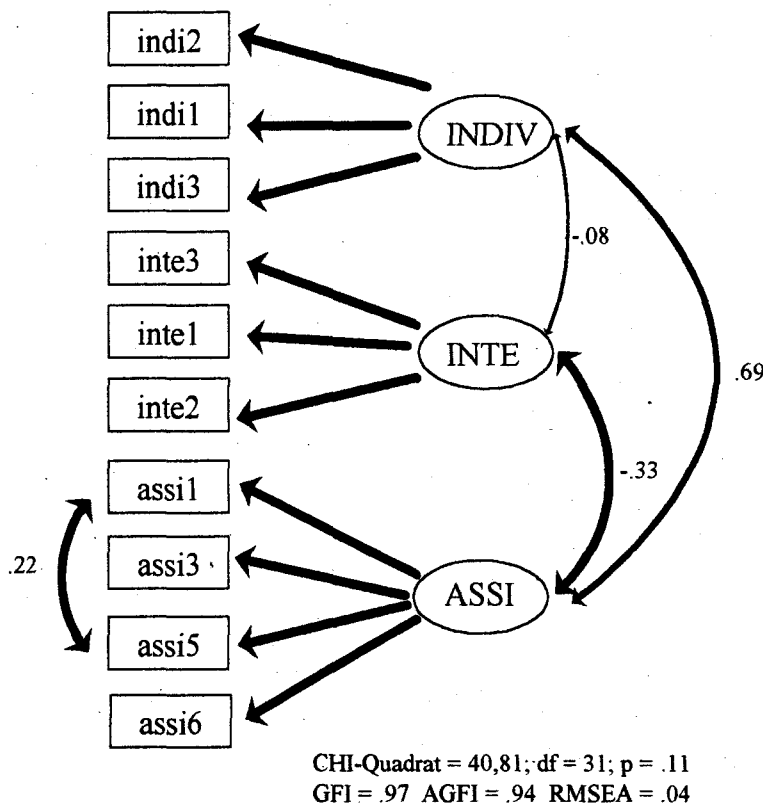
Figure 3: Three factor model for the sample of students from different countries

As can be seen in table 2, the attachment of the items to the scales corresponds fairly well in both samples. Besides the discrepancy of the segregation concept only the item-scale correlations and loadings of the assimilation items indicate slight differences, which may influence the interpretation of the construct. The conformity aspect of assimilation which is most clearly expressed in item „assi3"

seems to be of minor importance for assimilation in the sample of students of different countries than in the sample of German students.

Table 2: Item characteristics in both samples

	German students (n = 130)			Students f. diff. coun. (n = 194)		
	Item scale coeff. (r_{it})	3-factor model (λ)	4-factor model (λ)	Item scale corr. (r_{it})	3-factor model (λ)	4-factor model (λ)
Integration						
(inte1)	.58	.87	.81	.48	.68	.49
(inte2)	.37	.60	.62	.44	.58	.66
(inte3)	.32	.46	.21	.44	.63	.84
Assimilation						
(assi1)	.52	.54	.51	.32	.52	.49
(assi3)	.56	.70	.75	.20	.34	.39
(assi5)	.49	.71	.73	.42	.39	.45
(assi6)	.42	.51	.40	.29	.44	.52
Individualism						
(indi1)	.25	.37	.42	.30	.45	.49
(indi2)	.49	.91	.89	.50	.58	.66
(indi3)	.37	.46	.43	.51	.85	.84
Segregation						
(segre1)	.41	---	.53	---	---	---
(segre2)	.37	---	.53	---	---	---
(segre4)	.36	---	.63	.38	---	.32
(segre5)	---	---	---	.38	---	1.00

Construct validity of the scales

The interrelation of the scales and the correlation of the scales and the above mentioned three marker items give some preliminary hints on the validity of the scales.

Table 3 indicates consistently for both samples that integration is opposite to assimilation and to segregation II, and unrelated to individualism. Further, the correlation of assimilation and individualism on the one hand and segregation II on the other hand can be seen in both samples. Segregation I and segregation II share 26% in the German student sample and 15% of the variance in the sample

of students from different countries. Thus, we can see a consistent correlation pattern of segregation I and segregation II to the remaining three scales in the German student sample but not in the sample of students from different countries. In the latter sample segregation I does not relate to any of the other concepts, but segregation II shows strong relationships to all three concepts. Segregation is opposite to integration and is correlated to assimilation. This pattern can be seen for segregation I in the German student sample and for segregation II in both samples. Only in the sample of students from different countries a positive correlation of segregation (II) and individualism can be seen.

Table 3: Interrelations of the acculturation scales

	Assimilation		Individualism		Segregation I		Segregation II	
	Gem.	Diff.	Germ.	Diff.	Germ.	Diff.	Germ.	Diff.
Integration	-.41**	-.27**	-.02	-.01	-.18*	-.00	-.23**	-.22**
Assimilation			.15*	.35**	.25**	-.01	.39**	.43**
Individualism					.04	-.05	.01	.18**
Segregation I							.51**	.39**

The correlation coefficients in table 4 give further support to the distinctiveness of the four concepts. The „maintenance of cultural identity" item (marker 1) correlates positively with integration and negatively with assimilation and individualism. The correlation with segregation is not so clear and a negative one is unexpected (see segregation II). The „contact behavior" item (marker 2) supports the validity of integration and segregation by correlating positively with the first and negatively with the last. The negative correlation coefficients are unexpected. The correlation coefficients of the „adoption of the host's cultural identity" item only support the differentiation between assimilation and segregation I by correlating with these concepts in opposite directions.

Table 4: Correlation of scales and marker items

Marker	Integration Germ.	Integration Diff.	Assimilation Germ	Assimilation Diff.	Individualism Germ.	Individualism Diff.	Segregation I Germ.	Segregation I Diff.	Segregation II Germ.	Segregation II Diff.
(1)	.27**	.26**	-.36**	-.31**	-.17**	-.17**	-.14	.07	-.17*	-.16**
(2)	.36**	.48**	-.23**	-.28**	-.03	-.13*	-.18*	.00	-.26**	-.25**
(3)	.12	-.04	-.02	.19**	.00	.15*	-.03	-.16*	.00	.07

DISCUSSION

The results of this study support Berry's and his coworkers' (1977) as well as Bourhis' (1997) acculturation models. The most important idea of Berry's model was the multidimensionality of acculturation attitudes. That acculturation attitudes are indeed measurable according to more than one dimension is once more shown by the presented items. The improvements of Bourhis' acculturation model gave rise to the integration of a new acculturation strategy - individualism - which as well could be successfully operationalized for the use in German speaking samples. A further advantage of Bourhis' acculturation model being an interactive one is taken into account by fitting the model in two samples of different perspective on the acculturation process.

A closer look at the results reveals some interesting details concerning the special meaning of the concepts and their interrelations.

Integration is represented by items describing this kind of acculturation as a chance for all host societies to foster self-developmental processes. Ethnic plurality is depicted as an advantage for the challenges of the future. This version of integration seems to foster variance even in samples with high awareness of social norms.

The *segregation* concept had to be constructed by different items in each sample for a four constructs model. For students coming from different countries only a segregation construct excluding the aspects of visiting and building separate schools was consistent enough and sufficiently different from the other acculturation concepts to fit well into a four construct model. Further correlation analyses reveal only this kind of segregation attitude being opposite to an integration opinion. For German students the difference between these two kinds

of segregation is much lower (which can be seen by the higher correlation between both segregation scales).

A minor difference between the samples appeared in the concept of *assimilation*. The assimilation concept of students from different countries is less consistent than that of German students. The item expressing conformity to the host society does not fit so well into a concept of assimilation which more strongly implies the gradual diminishing of the own cultural identity in favor of adopting the host society's cultural identity. From the perspective of students living in a foreign country obviously conformity does not imply to alienate from their own culture and furthermore assimilation is better described by relinquishing ethnic specifities and by lying minor importance on superficial conformity. Thus, this difference in the assimilation concept may be due to this special sample of students living only for a limited period in another country.

The positive direction of the correlation between assimilation and segregation cannot really devaluate the validity of the concept of assimilation or segregation. The correlation may be due to the fact that both attitudes are less supported by students. The expected negative relationship between assimilation and segregation indirectly occurs when looking at the correlation of assimilation and segregation with the marker item measuring the adoption of host country's cultural identity. The distinctiveness of both concepts becomes obvious by these indices and supports the interpretation that an agreement with an assimilation attitude is in line with adopting the host member's cultural identity whereas affirmation of segregation means refusal of host member's identity (in favor of maintaining own heritage identity).

Some further comments on the special meaning of assimilation can be added. Asking for the importance of cultural exchange obviously implies that the own cultural identity still exists. Thus, aiming at assimilation is at least partly in opposition to an attitude of favoring intensive cultural exchange. This may be the explanation for the negative correlation's found in this study. This result is an additional argument for substituting the original contact question of Berry by asking for adoption of host members' identity. Bourhis suggested this substitution because of a structural inconsistency between attitude and behavior questions. Here we see that contact to or exchange with another culture on a group level is contradictory to assimilation, because the existence of cultural specifities is a prerequisite for cultural exchange. As time goes on the exchange may lead to assimilation (or integration), but in the beginning there must be something to be assimilated.

The results further support the introduction of the new concept of *individualism* as an acculturation attitude. Individualism can be clearly differentiated from integration, assimilation and segregation. There are two important indications of the validity of the concept and the special meaning of individualism based on this selection of items. First, individualism and assimilation are positively correlated.

This means that the more the own heritage (social) identity is given up the more the personal identity is fostered. May be this association also indicates that strengthening the personal identity is a consequence of assimilation (in the sense of giving up social identity) more than a consequence of integration - which means aiming at a new social identity which has to be created. The negative correlation with the identity security item additionally supports the mutual exclusiveness of social and personal identity. In this context, the more the students maintain their ethnical (social) identity, they downgrade their personal identity and or vice versa. This is in line with Bourhis' acculturation model as well as with one of the basic assumptions of self-categorization theory.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

One may argue that the introduction of individualism as an acculturation attitude shifts the perspective on the acculturation process from an intergroup one to an interpersonal one. The focus of the concepts of integration, assimilation, and segregation primarily lies on the relationships between groups to one another and how their relationships change during the process of acculturation. With individualism the group level is left and now a personal or individual level is referred to. This shifting between levels of social categories can be seen as a discrepancy or inconsistency and thus as a weakness of the model. From a self-categorization-theory point of view the shifting between personal and social categories is a question of more or less and not one of qualitative differences. The change of categorization level from a social to a personal one may be preferred by individuals who stress their independence and individualism instead of sticking to social groups or heritage cultural groups. According to self-categorization theory one can assume that the influence of social categories on behavior is dependent on their salience. That means, depersonalization is not always in effect. Thus, downgrading social categories or at least a temporary moratorium of higher level categories may lead to attitudes and behavior which are in accordance with personal more than group norms. More important in this context is the assumption that the fading of social categories is associated by the fading of the above described cognitive and motivational based categorization effects in intergroup contexts. Thus, the tendency to establish a positive distinctive own group to the disadvantage of a specific relevant out-group may be minimized when referring to a personal level self-categorization.

In this sense the introduction of a lower level of categorization into a model of acculturation may be a broadening of the perspective realm and an improvement of the model. The inclusion of individualism as an acculturation attitude is justified on the basis of theoretical reasoning and may add to the acculturation model an alternative way of living together in a society with a variety of distinct ethnic groups.

REFERENCES

Allport, G. W., 1954. *The nature of prejudice*. Reading, Mass.

Amir, Y., 1969. Contact hypothesis in ethnic relations. *Psychological Bulletin, 71*, 319-342.

Berry, J.W. 1993. Ethnic identity in plural societies. In: Bernal, M.E. & Knight, G.P. (Eds.) *Ethnic identity*. New York: State University of New York Press, pp. 271-296.

Berry, J.W. & Annis, R.C., 1974. Multicultural stress. *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology, 5*, 382-406.

Berry, J.W., Kalin, R., & Taylor, D., 1977. *Multiculturalism and ethnic attitudes in Canada*. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services.

Berry, J.W., Kim, U., Power, S., Young, M., & Bujaki, M., 1989. Acculturation attitudes in plural societies. *Applied Psychology: An International Review, 38*, 185-206.

Bourhis, R.Y., Moise, C.L., Perreault, S., & Senécal, S., 1997. Immigration and multiculturalism issues in Canada: Towards an interactive acculturation model. In: Mummendey, A. & Simon, B. (Hrsg.) *Identität und Verschiedenheit: Zur Sozialpsychologie der Identität in komplexen Gesellschaften*. Göttingen: Hogrefe.

Bourhis, R.Y., Piontkowski, U., Florack, A., Hölker, P., Lintemeier, K., Schulze Eckel, M., & Suhl, U., 1993. *Immigrant-host community relations: An interactive perspective*. Sommerakademie auf Schloss Reisensburg, Interdisziplinäres Graduiertenkolleg, Universität Münster.

Dick, R. van, Wagner, U. Adams, C., & Petzel, T., 1997. Einstellungen zur Akkulturation: Erste Evaluation eines Fragebogens an sechs deutschen Stichproben. *Gruppendynamik*.

Graves, T. 1967. Psychological acculturation in a tri-ethnic community. *Southwestern Journal of Antropology, 23*, 337-350.

Hewstone, M. & Brown, R.,1986. Contact is not enough: An intergroup perspective on the 'contact hypothesis'. In: M. Hewstone & R. Brown (Eds.) *Contact and conflict in intergroup encounters*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, pp. 1-44.

Jöreskog, K.G. & Sörbom, D., 1993. *LISREL 8: Structural equation modeling with the SIMPLIS command language*. Chicago: Scientific Software International.

Moghaddam, F.M. & Taylor, D.M., 1987. The meaning of multiculturalism for visible minority immigrant women. *Canadian Journal of Behavioral Science, 19*, 121-136.

Redfield, R., Linton, R., & Herskovits, M.J., 1936. Memorandum on the study of acculturation. *American Anthropoligist, 38*, 149-152.

Sayegh, L. & Lasry, J.-C., 1993. Immigrants' adaptation in Canada: Assimilation, acculturation, and orthogonal cultural identification. *Canadian Psychology, 34*, 98-109.

Stonequist, E., 1935. The problem of the marginal man. *American Journal of Sociology, 41*, 1-12.

Tajfel, H., 1978. Social categorization, social identity, and social comparison. In: H. Tajfel (Ed.) *Differentiation between social groups: Studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations*. London: Academic Press, pp. 61-76.

Tajfel, H. & Turner, J.C., 1979. An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In: Austin, W.G. & Worchel, S. (Eds.) *The social psychology of intergroup relations*. Monterey, Calif.: Brooks/Cole.

Tajfel, H. & Turner, J.C., 1986. The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In: S. Worchel & W.G. Austin (Eds.) *Psychology of intergroup relations (2nd ed.)*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall, pp. 7-24.

Turner, J. C., Hogg, M.A., Oakes, P.J., Reicher , S.D. & Wetherell, M., 1987. *Rediscovering the social group*. New York: Basil Blackwell.

Bielefelder Arbeiten zur Sozialpsychologie