

Université de Montréal

**How participating in a new culture facilitates the
integration of the new identity: The additive and
subtractive processes**

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Résumé

Les phénomènes d'immigration et de globalisation influencent sans contredit l'identité culturelle des millions d'individus qui y sont chaque jour exposés. Ces répercussions sur l'identité culturelle sont majeures, car l'immigration et la mondialisation donnent l'opportunité de participer à un nouveau groupe culturel. Plusieurs études, effectuées dans le contexte d'immigration, ont démontré que la participation à un nouveau groupe (tel que parler la langue du groupe) pourrait encourager l'identification à ce groupe. Néanmoins, deux questions primordiales doivent être adressées afin de comprendre ce phénomène. Tout d'abord, 1) est-ce que la participation augmente l'identification au nouveau groupe culturel dans le contexte de mondialisation, un contexte grandement différent de celui de l'immigration? Et 2) est-ce que le fait d'accorder de l'importance à une nouvelle identité culturelle implique la diminution de l'importance accordée à l'identité d'origine ?

À cet égard, la présente thèse a pour premier but de déterminer si la participation à un nouveau groupe prédit une plus forte identification à celui-ci dans des contextes de mondialisation et d'immigrations. Le second objectif est de comprendre le patron d'identification qui marquera l'identité d'origine. Spécifiquement, lorsqu'un individu s'identifie à un nouveau groupe culturel, certaines circonstances pourront faire en sorte qu'il s'identifiera moins à son identité d'origine (patron soustractif de l'identification). Dans d'autres cas, l'ajout d'une nouvelle identité n'aura aucune incidence sur l'identité d'origine (patron additif de l'identification). Ces questions sont ici élucidées par trois articles. Le premier décrit les fondements théoriques de la présente thèse. Premièrement, il décrit le processus psychologique par lequel la participation a un impact sur l'identification au nouveau groupe culturel et, par conséquent, pourquoi ce processus devrait être applicable aux contextes de mondialisation et d'immigration. Deuxièmement, l'article propose que la perception de similarités entre la nouvelle identité et l'identité d'origine prédit le patron d'identification qui apparaîtra. Plus précisément, la perception de similarités permet aux deux identités culturelles de paraître cohérentes, ce qui facilitera le patron additif d'identification. En revanche, percevoir peu de similarités entre les identités suggère qu'elles sont incompatibles, ce qui entraînera un patron soustractif. Le second article utilise quatre études corrélationnelles pour tester l'hypothèse selon

laquelle la participation à un nouveau groupe prédit une plus haute identification à ce groupe (Hypothèse 1). Ceci est effectué dans différents contextes de mondialisation (trois études au Kirghizistan et une étude chez des Franco-Ontariens). L'article teste aussi si, selon le degré de similarités perçues entre les identités culturelles, l'augmentation de l'identification au nouveau groupe prédit soit de façon positive (Hypothèse 2a) ou négative (Hypothèse 2b) l'identification au groupe d'origine. Le troisième article présente des données expérimentales, offrant des indices sur le rôle causal de la participation sur ces changements identitaires (Hypothèses 1, 2a et 2b). Cet article teste aussi, pour la première fois, comment la valeur du nouveau groupe modère la relation entre la participation et les changements d'identité. Globalement, cette série d'articles démontrent théoriquement et empiriquement l'impact de l'adoption de comportements (participation à un nouveau groupe) sur le concept de soi et, plus précisément, sur les identités culturelles d'origines et du nouveau groupe.

Mots-clés : participation, identification, patrons d'identification, similarité

Abstract

Immigration and globalization impact the identities of millions of individuals. They do so by offering individuals opportunities to participate in new cultural groups and, therefore, to participate in the activities and behaviors that are typical of new cultural groups. Previous research suggests that participating in a new cultural group (e.g., using their language) can help immigrants identify more with their new group. That is, the more immigrants participate in the new group the more they identify to it. However, previous research has ignored 1) whether participation increases identification with the new group in the context of globalization, a context that drastically differs from immigration, and 2) how the newly added cultural identity will relate to the identity of origin.

In line with these questions, the first goal of the present thesis is to test whether participating in a new group will predict higher identification with the group across migration and globalization contexts. Secondly, research shows that identifying with a new cultural group may, under some circumstances, be associated with lower identification with the group of origin (subtractive identification pattern). In other cases, the addition of a new identity will not predict lower identification with the identity of origin (additive identification pattern). The second goal of this thesis is to understand which pattern of identification (additive or subtractive) will emerge as individuals participate in a new group. Three articles serve these goals. The first article lays down the theoretical foundation of the thesis. First, it described the psychological processes by which participation impacts identification with the new cultural group, and hence why this process should be applicable across immigration and globalization contexts; second, it proposes that perceived similarity predicts the identification pattern that will occur (additive or subtractive). More specifically, perceiving similarity promotes a sense of coherence between the two cultural identities that can facilitate the additive pattern. On the other hand, perceiving little similarities may suggest that the cultural identities are incoherent, resulting in a subtractive pattern. The second article makes use of four correlational studies (three studies in Kyrgyzstan and one study in a Franco-Ontarian community) to test the hypotheses that, in the context of globalization, participating in a new group predicts higher identification with it (Hypothesis 1), and that this increased identification with the new group will be either positively/neutrally (Hypothesis 2a) or negatively (Hypothesis 2b) associated with the group of origin, depending

on the perceived level of similarity between the cultural groups. The third article presents experimental data, offering evidence for the causal role of participation on identification shifts (Hypotheses 1, 2a and 2b), as well as testing for the first time how the value of the new group moderates the relation between participation and identity shifts. Overall, this series of articles provides theoretical and empirical evidence for the impact of actions (participation in a new group) on our self-concept, and more specifically on our cultural identities, both the new identities and the identities of origin.

Keywords: participation, identification, identification patterns, similarity

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List of Acronyms

B_x	Unstandardized coefficients
BII	Bicultural Identity Integration theory
CDMSII	Cognitive developmental model of social identity integration
CFI	Comparative fit index
F	In ANOVA, F ratio
H1	Hypothesis 1
H2a	Hypothesis 2a
H2b	Hypothesis 2b
J–N	Johnson–Neymann technique
RMSEA	Root Mean Square Error of Approximation
SD	Standard deviation
M	Mean
MCAR	Missing completely at Random
N	Total number of participants in the sample
n	Number of participants in that group
NBA	National Basketball Association
NHL	National Hockey Association
p	Page number
p	Probability of committing a Type 1 error
POW	Prisoner of War
r	Correlation coefficient
R^2	In regression, coefficient of determination
t	t-test coefficient
α	Cronbach’s alpha, scale’s internal consistency coefficient
χ^2	Chi-square coefficient

“Here’s to the security guards who maybe had a degree in another land. Here’s to the manicurist who had to leave her family to come here, painting the nails, scrubbing the feet of strangers. Here’s to the janitors who don’t understand English yet work hard despite it all. Here’s to the fast food workers who work hard to see their family smile. Here’s to the laundry man at the Marriott who told me with the sparkle in his eyes how he was an engineer in Peru. Here’s to the bus driver, the Turkish Sufi who almost danced when I quoted Rumi. Here’s to the harvesters who live in fear of being deported for coming here to open the road for their future generation. Here’s to the taxi drivers from Nigeria, Ghana, Egypt and India who gossip amongst themselves. Here is to them waking up at 4am, calling home to hear the voices of their loved ones. Here is to their children, to the children who despite it all become artists, writers, teachers, doctors, lawyers, activists and rebels. Here’s to international money transfer. For never forgetting home. Here’s to their children who carry the heartbeats of their motherland and even in sleep, speak with pride about their fathers. Keep on.”

Ijeoma Umebinyuo

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General Introduction

Statement of the Problem

Intercultural contact and exchange has often been the rule rather than the exception in human history. Written codes from the Sumerian empire in the year 3000 BC detail rules for protecting their culture from newly arriving cultural groups and from commerce with outsiders (Rudmin, 2003). The explicit rules of protectionism, assimilation and/or citizenship over ethnic privileges found in texts from ancient empires (such as the Egyptian, Persian and Roman empires; Rudmin, 2003) illustrate that contact with new cultures is not an exclusive experience of the present.

And yet, the 20th and 21st centuries have seen a dramatic increase in intercultural contact. Cheap means of transportation and the development of telecommunications make today's globe more connected than ever before (Arnett, 2002; Marsella, 2011). As a consequence, groups are not the only ones experiencing intercultural contact; instead, every single individual in every single cultural group is susceptible to being in contact with a new culture (Smith, Fischer, Vignoles, & Bond, 2013). Two global phenomena speak to this reality: mass migration and mass-media globalization.

The first phenomenon is mass migration. Internal migration, whether motivated by natural disasters, violence, or the search for economic stability, has allowed an estimated 229 million people around the globe to experience the different cultures coexisting within their own borders (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2013). Such is the case of the Chinese exodus from rural to urban environments, which has facilitated contact between different Chinese subcultures (Wakabayashi, 1990). A second form of migration, international migration, is often regarded as a more extreme form of intercultural contact. The United Nations (UN) reported that in 2013, 232 million people were living in a country other than their country of birth (Adams, 2015), more people than ever before in the history of humanity. In other words, at least 232 million people around the globe have left behind their immediate cultural, material and familial ties to create a new life in a new country. A Colombian who has migrated to Canada has left in Colombia many material goods, the social support of his family and close friends and,

importantly, a cultural framework in which he has navigated from birth. Upon his arrival to Canada, this Colombian migrant not only has to find a new source of income and social support, he is unavoidably confronted with a group that loves, works, plays, and lives in different ways. In other words, he is fully immersed in a new cultural group and is faced with the challenge of adopting a new cultural identity.

A second phenomenon illustrating the extent to which contact with new cultures is a daily reality for individuals is mass-media globalization (hereforth globalization for simplicity). Globalization refers to the spread of trans-planetary connection between individuals, such that any two people from anywhere in the world (and from any cultural group) can be linked to each other (Scholte, 2005). The advances in communication and transportation technology in the last half of the 20th century have accelerated the rate at which individuals from one country are exposed to new cultural groups. In 1962, 70% of the world was unaware of events beyond their village (Connor, 1994). Today, Facebook's 1.32 billion daily active users (Facebook, 2017) can find out in an instant the details of any natural disasters, terrorist attacks or election results occurring in any country. In addition, transnational institutions such as McDonald's (McDonald's, 2017) and IKEA (Inter IKEA Systems, 2014) can be found around the world. Even international university institutions such as the American University of Beirut, of Armenia, in Bulgaria, and of Central Asia, in Kyrgyzstan, have opened around the world. Through such institutions, a Kyrgyz student can be in contact with American culture within the borders of his own country and while living in his culture of origin.

At first glance, globalization appears to be a very different phenomenon from migration. The Colombian migrant has been plucked from his cultural group with as many material objects and psychological preparation as he can bring into the new country, and is now fully immersed in the new cultural group. While contact with the culture of origin is possible via telecommunication and by contacting other Colombian migrants in Canada, the migrant is essentially submerged in a new cultural framework. In contrast, the Kyrgyz student experiencing intercultural contact via globalization is exposed to the new American culture as presented in his university. This exposition is far more fragmented and superficial than in the immigration context, as the Americans in the university and the institution itself only present certain facets of American culture. In addition, the moment the Kyrgyz student leaves the university gates, he is once more fully immersed in his culture of origin. Globalization and immigration clearly

differ in the extent and depth in which individuals are in contact with, and hence influenced by the new cultural group. And yet, globalization and immigration share one important consequence: they both result in changes in cultural identities. Both the Colombian migrant and the Kyrgyz student now have access to new cultural identities, the Canadian identity and American identity, respectively.

Adopting a new cultural identity represents an important challenge for any individual. Indeed, the self is a fundamental psychological structure that is extremely complex, allowing individuals to experience a sense of continuity across time while simultaneously adapting to the requirements of the environment (Abrams, 1999; Baumesiter, 1998). Included in the self-concept is one's cultural identity, that is, the knowledge that one is a member of a cultural group (Taylor, 1997; Taylor & de la Sablonnière, 2014). This identity offers individuals an internalized framework i.e., the history, norms, values and behaviors that need to be endorsed and followed to be successful in one's culture across every facet of one's life, from work to love to fun. That is not to say that all individuals follow their cultural guideline to the letter; nonetheless, deviant as well as non-deviant individuals know the cultural scripts of how to live successfully in their cultural environment.

Because one's cultural identity is such a fundamental psychological structure, it does not easily change. Indeed, the self is selective, as not all experiences and environmental pressures become internalized as part of one's identity (Abrams, 1999). As such, we would expect individuals neither to readily accept new fundamental frameworks for existing (i.e., cultural identities) nor integrate them into their self-concept. And yet, a plethora of research shows that immigrants can feel part of the new cultural group (e.g., Berry, 2005; Phinney, 2003; Verkuyten, & Martinovic, 2012). More recent studies in the context of globalization (e.g., Arnett, 2002; Chen, Benet-Martínez, & Bond, 2008; Chen, Benet-Martínez, Wu, Lam, & Bond, 2013; Jensen, Arnett, & McKenzie, 2011) show that even in a context where contact with a new culture is weaker, cultural identity is impacted. Clearly, these forms of contact have the potential to change our cultural identities.

As such, one initial question that needs to be answered is: why, when in contact with a new cultural group, does one's cultural identity change? More specifically, what is being offered to individuals when in contact with a new cultural group that promotes the adoption of a new cultural identity? I will argue that both globalization and immigration offer individuals the

opportunity to participate in new cultural groups; it is when individuals participate in a new cultural group and engage in these behaviors that they can adopt the new cultural identity.

A second question that remains to be answered is whether this newly found sense of belongingness in the new cultural group could have consequences for the identity of origin. If the Colombian immigrant adopts the new Canadian identity, what will happen with his Colombian identity? Most identity integration theories suggest that adding a new cultural identity will have no impact on the identity of origin (Berry, 2005; Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). The Colombian migrant will hence be able to maintain his Colombian identity even if he is feeling increasingly Canadian. Despite such theories, empirical research shows that, sometimes adding a new cultural identity means subtracting from the cultural identity of origin (e.g., de la Sablonnière, Amiot, Cárdenas, Sadykova, Gorborukova, & Huberdeau, 2016). While feeling increasingly Canadian, the Colombian migrant may give less importance to his Colombian identity. Such a process implies more than losing a self-label. By giving less importance to his cultural identity of origin, this migrant is essentially losing a cognitive “lighthouse,” a fundamental psychological structure necessary for understanding his personal experiences and his place in the world. Losing such a central psychological structure can have detrimental consequences for personal well-being (Cameron, 1999; Phinney, 1995).

As such, it is essential to understand the conditions under which individuals are at risk of losing the lighthouse that is their cultural identity of origin. In the current thesis, I propose that when dissimilarities are perceived between groups, this implies that the two cultural identities are incoherent with each other. Thus, when dissimilarities are perceived, participating in a new cultural group means increasingly identifying with a group that is incoherent with one’s group of origin, an issue that is psychologically resolved by giving less importance to the group of origin.

General Objectives of the Current Thesis

The general objective of this thesis is to understand how intercultural contact impacts one’s cultural identities. This general objective concretizes in two specific goals. More specifically, the present thesis tests whether in the contexts of intercultural contact, namely immigration and globalization, 1) participating in a new group will predict and promote identification with it; and 2) whether the increase in identification with the new group will be

associated with lower identification with the group of origin when dissimilarities between groups are perceived.

Understanding how cultural identities are adopted, and in some cases subtracted, is essential, considering the primal role of cultural identities in guiding individuals' lives. More specifically, cultural identities offer individuals a road map illustrating who they are as a cultural group and how to succeed together. When this road map is clear (cultural identity clarity; Osborne & Taylor, 2010) and when it reflects where the group has been in the past, where it is in the present and where it is going in the future (cultural continuity; Chandler & Lalonde, 1998), individuals can then use the map to situate themselves at a personal level. By knowing my cultural group, I know who I am (Taylor & de la Sablonnière, 2014). Not only does knowing who "we are" allow an individual to know who "I am," this person also derives general well-being from his cultural identity (Osborne & Taylor, 2010; 2012). Indeed, there is ample evidence for the positive link between identities and well-being (Cameron, 1999; Hoyle & Crawford, 1994; for cultural identity, see Osborne & Taylor, 2012), as well as self-esteem (Cameron, 1999; Rowley, Sellers, Chavous, & Smith, 1998; for cultural identities, see Phinney, 1992; Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz, 1997; Osborne & Taylor, 2010). The link between cultural identities and self-esteem is particularly meaningful, as it illustrates how having a healthy cultural identity is associated with believing that one has positive self-worth. As such, by researching the addition and the subtraction of cultural identities, the current thesis offers insight into how having a malleable (cultural) road map can have consequences on one's self-worth and well-being.

In the following sections, we begin with a brief overview of the study of culture across different fields (section 2.1) as well as of cultural identity (section 2.2.), in order to understand its centrality for an individual's psychology (i.e., his beliefs, cognitions and behaviors). We then explore how one can acquire a new cultural identity. Intercultural contact is often presented as a necessary step for the adoption of this new identity (section 2.3). We argue that such contact is indeed fundamental to "know" this new cultural group; however, to go from "knowing a group" to "becoming a member of the group," a person needs to participate, i.e., adopt the behaviors that are typical to this collectivity. This relation should be manifested in both globalization and immigration contexts. The next sections present theoretical arguments supporting this contention (section 2.4) followed by the empirical evidence for this relation (section 2.5).

Having established the potential of participation in a new group in predicting identification with it, we then examine how adopting this new cultural identity can impact the identity of origin (section 2.6). While sometimes becoming a member of a new cultural group does not negatively impact the importance attributed to one's identity of origin (i.e., additive identification pattern), at other times, adding a new cultural identity means subtracting from the identity of origin (i.e., subtractive identification pattern). We propose that it is necessary to examine the perceived similarity between groups and their attributes (section 2.7) in order to understand when each of these patterns emerges. These theoretical propositions are further detailed in the first article of this thesis (see page 32) and empirically tested in the second (page 57) and third (page 99) article.

The Study of Culture: A Brief Overview

"A fish only discovers its need for water when it is no longer in it. Our own culture is like water to a fish. It sustains us. We live and breathe through it."

Trompenaars, 1994; p. 21

Culture is both omnipresent and invisible to the naked eye. As such, even though culture's influence on people is everywhere, from the expressions of each language to houses' architecture, its impact is often underestimated and undervalued. In addition, due to its abstract nature, there is no single definition of culture that is readily accepted by all social scientists. Instead, different fields tend to take on different definitions or perspectives of culture based on their research questions.

From an anthropological perspective, culture can be defined as "the traditions and customs that govern behavior and beliefs" (Kottak, 2012, p. 2). In other words, culture is the existing knowledge of a group, including the traditions and customs, which offer group members a shared representation of reality, guiding their beliefs and behaviors. Anthropologists study culture from several perspectives. For example, some focus on exploring the content of the culture itself (e.g., the customs of a particular cultural group); others study how this cultural knowledge allows for a shared understanding of the world and for exhibiting appropriate behavior (Valsiner, 2007). In most cases, culture's main goal is perceived to be the description and reinforcement of proper and improper behavior. This results in a certain homogenization of thought and behavior among group members (Kottak, 2012).

Another important aspect of culture in anthropology is the idea that it is transmitted through learning. The process of enculturation, or the process of learning one's culture, begins from an early age through active teaching and observational learning. Contact with one's cultural group allows young ones to learn about their culture explicitly, by hearing description of acceptable beliefs and behaviors, and implicitly, through observational learning (Kottak, 2012); children deduce, based on the reactions of others' behaviors, which behaviors are acceptable and which are not.

A second social science concerned with the study of culture is sociology. In this field, the structure of the social world — such as the social groups and institutions in society — is the hardware in which culture — the software — can emerge. The field of sociology is generally more concerned with the structure or hardware of society. Nevertheless, it reflects an awareness of how the software, or culture, of a society offers guidelines for behavior within its social structures (Ballantine & Roberts, 2011). One definition of culture offered in sociology is “the way of life shared by a group of people — the knowledge, beliefs, values, rules or laws, language, customs, symbols and material products within a society that help meet human need” (Ballantine & Roberts, 2011, p. 66). A condensed composition of culture offered from a sociological perspective is the symbols (i.e., physical symbols, symbolic systems and social codes) as well as the norms (behaviors, values and attitudes) of a group (Alexander, Thompson, & Desfor Edles, 2012).

In sociology, the study of culture can be approached by focusing on the first composites of its definition; that is, it can focus on investigating the symbolic systems of a society and how each behavior in groups is to some extent symbolic (e.g., the consumption of Hollywood films; O'Brien, Allen, Friedman, & Saha, 2017; see also Cordero, Carballo, & Ossandón, 2008). However, sociology has traditionally focused on the second composition of culture, inspecting how the norms and values of a society impact and are impacted by social structures and actions (Alexander et al., 2012). One example of this sociology of culture is the study by Inglehart and Baker (2000), which investigated whether economic development changed the norms and values of 65 societies, and, if yes, how such norms changed or remained the same.

A third field concerned with the study of culture is psychology. However, unlike anthropology where understanding the culture of a group is often the goal, psychology has been more intrigued by how culture impacts the way individuals think, feel and react (i.e., their

psychological mechanisms; Segall, 1984). To this end, the sub-field of cross-cultural psychology (and social psychology, to a certain extent; see Smith et al., 2011) has tested whether psychological factors such as personality (e.g., Yamaguchi, 2001), emotional expression (e.g., Fiske & Durante, 2016) and self-conceptions (e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1991) emerge similarly or differently across different countries (representing different cultures). However, this subfield along with the general field of psychology has been criticized for studying culture without truly defining and operationalizing the construct itself (Jahoda, 1984; Poorting, van de Vijver, Joe, & van de Koppel, 1987; Rohner, 1984). That is, psychology has often studied the impact of culture while ignoring the meaning and composition of culture. For example, only four of the twenty-one entries in the 2001 Handbook of Culture and Psychology offer a clear definition and operationalization of culture (Kashima, 2001; Kim, 2001; Matsumoto, 2001; Tanaka-Matsumi, 2001). This is partly because “from a methodological perspective, it is difficult to deal with culture as a variable” (van de Vijver, 2001; p. 79).

One way in which this criticism has been addressed by certain researchers is by specifying the definition and framework of culture employed when studying culture-related constructs. For example, some psychology researchers define culture as the shared meaning between group members that allows individuals to organize their experiences and make sense of their world (Valsiner, 2007). Such a framework has been described and used by Ryder and Chentsova-Dutton (2012) when examining why depression in Chinese populations is related to greater somatization (for a different example, see Hardin, Robitschek, Flores, Navarro, & Ashton, 2014). A more concrete definition of culture offered by Matsumoto is “a conglomerate of attitudes, values, beliefs, and behaviors [observed] across a wide variety of contexts” (2001, p. 186; see also Brislin, 1988; Matsumoto, 1994). Under this perspective, culture A is believed to hold a combination of cultural “traits” that impact the psychological functioning of its group members, marking culture A as different from culture B. Two such traits that have been widely examined in cross-cultural studies are individualism (i.e., an emphasis on the individual) and collectivism (i.e., an emphasis on the group; Triandis, 1995); studies examining cultural differences explained by individualism/collectivism have found, for example, that individuals from the collectivistic Japanese culture differed from the individualistic American culture in the judgment of others’ emotions (Matsumoto et al., 2002).

To summarize, there are three main social sciences concerned with the study of culture: Anthropology, sociology and psychology. The specifics of a group's culture are the focus of anthropology. In sociology, the interplay between the social structures and the culture of a group is examined. Lastly, psychology studies the impact of culture on how individuals think, act and feel.

Culture and Cultural Identity

Being a brief summary of the study of culture, the previous section ignores the many nuances that exist when studying culture within each field. It also disregards other fields that study the meaning and impact of culture (e.g., history; marketing; philosophy). Nevertheless, one broad line that emerges in the study of culture across anthropology, sociology and psychology is that culture can be conceived either as a *process* or as an *object*. Conceptualizing culture as a *process* means understanding the role of culture in coordinating the actions and cognitions of groups — and their members — in order to provide meaning to most (if not all) of life's events. An individual who receives flowers from a loved one understands this behavior as a demonstration of love only because their shared culture allows the giver and the receiver to give meaning to such behavior. Similarly, when faced with the loss of loved ones, people from a cultural group will act in ways that are acceptable and appropriate with the meaning of death vehiculated in their culture (e.g., the parting of the soul to be reincarnated; the end of a person's existence; the moment where we face God's judgment). Culture as a process entails its ability to give meaning to a group's environment, events, and behaviors, by offering instructions for most of life's events.

Culture as a process is not only found at a group level; it also exists at a psychological level, where it takes the form of cultural identities. Cultural identity is the self-knowledge of oneself as a member of a cultural group (Taylor, 1997; Taylor & de la Sablonnière, 2013; Taylor & de la Sablonnière, 2014). This self-knowledge or cognitive structure contains the cultural framework for how to successfully live from cradle to grave (Taylor & de la Sablonnière, 2014). In other words, it is the internalized life instructions offered by one's culture. All other identities or internalized instructions are prescribed by the broader cultural identity such that an individual may understand his age, family, gender and professional identities because he has a clear cultural identity. By offering an internalized framework for understanding life events from birth to death,

cultural identity is essentially the process by which culture helps individuals make sense of their environment.

A second way of understanding culture offered by anthropology, sociology and psychology is culture as an *object*, that is, as the specific characteristics or framework of a cultural group — the behaviors, attitudes, symbols, values, norms and traditions possessed by the cultural group. For example, the Chinese culture is known to value group cohesion more than the American culture, which in turn places great value on individualism (or the power of the individual; Oyserman, Coon, & Kimmelmeier, 2002). Conceptualizing culture as an object allows us to understand that any cultural group has its own specific characteristics, which may differ from the attributes of another cultural group.

Defining culture as an object also implies that the members of the cultural group may possess their culture, they can have the cultural attributes offered in the framework of their group. These cultural characteristics are internalized and stored in the cultural identity of individuals. For example, the cultural identity of the Colombian migrant has the typical characteristics of his Colombian group, the behaviors, attitudes, symbols, values, norms and traditions shared with other members of the Colombian group. One such attribute, for instances, may be the warmth towards strangers, which the Colombian believes most members of his cultural group share. That is not to say that all Colombians are warm with strangers or that the Colombian migrant necessarily exhibits this characteristic; it simply means that a typical member of this cultural group should possess this attribute and the Colombian migrant knows this.

Conceiving of cultural identity as an object essentially means that it stores the important attributes and properties of a cultural group; that is, cultural identity contains the prototype of the cultural group. According to cognitive psychology, a prototype of an object encompasses the most representative attributes of the objects within a category and the least representative of the items outside the category (Rosch, 1978). Social and cultural groups are also subject to prototypes, or the attributes and characteristics that best describe the group while distinguishing it from other collectivities (Hogg, 2006; Turner, 1987). The individual uses this cultural prototype — that is, his cultural identity — at the psychological level to guide his thoughts, feelings and behaviors. One important way in which cultural identities serve individuals is by aiding to “create and define the individual's place in society” (Tajfel, 1981, p. 255; Taylor, 1997;

Taylor & de la Sablonnière, 2014). Individuals can compare their own actions and thoughts to those contained in the cultural identity and estimate the extent to which they personally fit the prototype of their culture. The Colombian may consider himself as a very warm person because he believes he is warmer than most Colombians. If warmth were not an attribute of his cultural identity or prototype, then it would be more difficult for the individual to judge himself in this category. Instead, he would compare himself to the other specific attributes stored in his cultural identity. Basically, because culture is an object, it is a framework with specific attributes and characteristics that can be stored in cultural identities, which are, in turn, possessed and used by individuals.

In the present thesis I define culture and cultural identity both as *processes* and as *objects*. The culture of a group is a framework for understanding the events of one's life and one's environment, a framework that becomes internalized in the individual's self as a cultural identity. By offering individuals a framework for making sense of their world, culture and cultural identities are processes.

However, these frameworks have specific contents or characteristics that can vary from one group to another. More specifically, cultures have specific attributes, behaviors, attitudes, symbols, values, norms and traditions possessed by the group. These characteristics are internalized in the individual's cultural identity, which allows him to possess the attributes of his cultural framework (i.e., to have behaviors, attitudes, symbols, values, norms and traditions of the cultural group). This makes culture and cultural identities objects with specific attributes that individuals can possess ("This is my cultural group; I possess the characteristics of my cultural group.") In other words, a cultural identity is a framework that has specific characteristics (i.e., *an object*); this framework allows individuals to make sense of the world (i.e., *a process*).

By conceptualizing cultural identity simultaneously as an object and as a process, we are well equipped to understand how individuals learn about new cultural groups (i.e., the attributes or the object in the cultural identity), why individuals would give importance to new cultural identities (to make sense of their actions, i.e., the process in the cultural identity) and the conditions under which the cultural identity of origin might react negatively to the addition of new cultural identities (i.e., because the attributes or objects of the new cultural identity disrupt the process of the identity of origin). Cultural identity is hence formally defined as the

cognitive structure that possesses the specific framework of a cultural group — the behaviors, attitudes, symbols, values, norms and traditions (i.e., an *object*) — and that helps individuals make sense of their experiences (i.e., a *process*).

Seeing how cultural identities are important for processing life events and for guiding cognitions and behaviors, these identities are of concern to individuals, to the extent that some will die and kill to protect their cultural identities (e.g., Cornell & Hartmann, 2007). The importance of a cultural identity is reflected at the personal or subjective level by the degree of *identification with the cultural group*; that is, the extent to which being members of a cultural group is important to the person, as well as a source of value and emotional significance (Tajfel, 1978). When people strongly identify with their cultural identity, they see it as an important component of their self-concept (Turner, 1982). Identification with one's cultural group is so important that it has motivated important social movements such as the independence movements observed in Scotland, Quebec and Catalonia (Keating, 1997). Identification also has important protective functions, protecting individuals from negative events targeting them as group members (e.g., discrimination; Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999). By reflecting the extent to which the cultural identity is important to one's self, identification with one's cultural group can provide motivation and comfort.

Considering the psychological centrality of one's cultural identity and the extent to which individuals identify with (or attribute importance to) their cultural group, one would expect that this cognitive structure would remain constant and unchanged. And yet, research conducted in the contexts of immigration (Berry, 2005; Phinney, 2003; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012) and globalization (Arnett, 2002; Chen et al., 2008; Chen et al., 2013; Jensen et al., 2011) show that contact with new cultural groups can change one's cultural identities; a person in such contexts may come to identify with a new cultural group, and, in some cases, may change how he feels about the cultural identity of origin. How is it that contact with new cultural groups, through either immigration or globalization, promotes identification shifts with these groups? And, what is the consequence of adopting a new cultural identity for the identity of origin? These are the two questions that I will answer in this thesis.

Understanding Contact with a New Cultural Group

The question of how a person adopts and identifies with new cultural identities has been approached through three main theories in social and acculturation psychology: the acculturation strategies theory, the bicultural identity integration theory, and the cognitive developmental model of social identity integration. The acculturation strategies theory postulated by Berry (1997; 2005; 2010) was developed in the context of acculturation, where individuals are in contact with new cultural groups by either immigrating or residing in a pluralistic society. According to this theory, individuals can use one of four strategies when faced with a new cultural group. The integration strategy consists of adopting the new cultural group while identifying with the group of origin. The second theory on identity integration is the bicultural identity integration theory (BII; Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005). This theory was developed to understand how bicultural individuals, those who have access to two cultural groups and hence to two cultural identities, connect these identities. According to the BII model, two acquired cultural identities will be integrated when they are perceived as non-conflicting and close to each other, allowing for the creation of a mixed identity. Lastly, the cognitive developmental model of social identity integration (CDMSII; Amiot, de la Sablonnière, Terry, & Smith, 2007) takes a social, cognitive, and developmental perspective to explain the process by which new social identities become integrated in the self. By following four cognitive steps, an individual will achieve the integration of a new cultural identity, making it as important to the self as those identities already in the self.

These three approaches differ in how they conceive the adoption and integration of new cultural identities. Nevertheless, they coincide in acknowledging contact as the necessary first step for adopting a new cultural identity. For instance, contact with a new group is the trigger for accessing Berry's different acculturation strategies. Similarly, implicit in the BII theory is the idea that bicultural individuals have continuous contact with their two cultural groups, which makes individuals bicultural, and hence what enables identification with both cultures. Lastly, according to the CDMSII (Amiot et al., 2007), the process of integrating new identities begins with the imagined or actual contact with a new group. Indeed, it is usually believed that migrants living in contact with a culture different from their own for an extended period of time will integrate, to some extent, the new cultural identity (Cuellar, Arnold, & Gonzalez, 1995). Contact

with a new cultural group is hence theoretically seen as the trigger by which a person can identify with a new cultural group. But, what does contact with a new culture mean? And, how can contact help a person see himself as a member of the new cultural group? The answers to these questions are offered by research in intergroup contact (Pettigrew, 1997; Brown & Hewstone, 2005).

Concerning the first question, research on intergroup contact has usually defined contact as constant and profound interpersonal contact with members of another group (Pettigrew, 1997; Brown & Hewstone, 2005). The assumption behind this conceptualization is that groups and cultures are abstract, and hence one cannot be in contact with such entities. However, one can have contact with the representatives or members of a (cultural) group. For this reason, intergroup and intercultural contact usually refers to contact with a single member or multiple members of another group.

With respect to the second question, how contact can promote the adoption of the new identity, research in intergroup and intercultural contact remains relatively silent (for an exception, see Gartner, Dovidio, Nier, Banker, Ward, Houlette, & Loux, 2000; Munniskam, Verkuyten, Flache, Stark, & Veenstra, 2015; Turner, Hewstone, Voci, & Vonofakou, 2008). One of the reasons for this paucity is that the intergroup contact field has usually focused on whether contact can be used to improve intergroup relations. More specifically, positive and profound intergroup contact is seen as an important tool in reducing negative attitudes or prejudice towards the other group (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1997; Brown & Hewstone, 2005). As the focus has been on intergroup rather than intraindividual processes, these studies have generally neglected to test whether profound and positive contact is, indeed, the trigger by which individuals integrate a new (cultural) identity, as postulated by the three identity integration models. Nevertheless, contact research does offer an important insight into how positive and profound contact can help the adoption of the new cultural identity.

More specifically, studies have found that positive and profound contact decreases prejudice because it allows individuals to update their stereotypes (or prototypes) of the other group (Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Hewstone, Hasebrauck, Wirth, & Waenke, 2000; Johnston & Hewstone, 1992). According to this line of research, prejudice against a group is partly the result of having negative stereotypes or preconceptions of the group. For example, the Colombian migrant might be prejudiced against Canadians because he has the negative

stereotype that they are cold individuals; for this migrant, being cold is part of the Canadian prototype, along with their love of diversity and hockey. In order to decrease prejudice, Brown and Hewstone (2005) argue that the negative stereotypes associated with the group must change. The opportunity to change these stereotypes is offered by intergroup contact, and more specifically, by meeting members of the group that fit its prototype in most ways, but, importantly, do not fit the negative stereotype. In our case, the Colombian migrant could meet several Canadians that fit the Canadian prototype of the group in every way (e.g., love of diversity; love of hockey) except that they are not cold, hence disconfirming the negative stereotype. By offering disconfirming evidence in a positive environment, intergroup contact allows the Colombian migrant to change his prototype of the group, removing this negative characteristic from the Canadian prototype and becoming less prejudiced against this group (Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Richard & Hewstone, 2001). In other words, contact with the members of a group is essential in adapting the prototype of this group.

In line with previous theories on the integration of cultural identities and intergroup contact, I suggest that contact with the new culture is the first essential step towards identifying with it. More specifically, I propose that contact with a new cultural group affords individuals the opportunities to create and update the prototype of the new culture; in other words, it allows them to create and adapt the content of the new cultural identity so that they may “know the new group.” However, “knowing the new group” is different from “becoming a member of the new group.” The Colombian migrant may have a clear and updated prototype of the Canadian cultural group (i.e., the content of the new cultural identity) without seeing himself as a prototypical member of the cultural group (without identifying with it). To identify with the new cultural group, the individual must see that he personally fits the prototype of this cultural group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In the following section, I argue that participation in the new group is the process by which “knowing” becomes “being.”

Participation in a New Cultural Group and Identification with It: Theoretical Foundations

"You'll observe it as the road unfolds, that what you live is what you know."

L.A. Salami, 2016

Cultural identity has been defined as the part of the self-concept that individuals use to make sense of their experiences via the behaviors, attitudes, symbols, values, norms and traditions (i.e., the framework) promoted by a cultural group (see page 12). This definition highlights the two different elements of any cultural identity: the abstract components (values, attitudes, and beliefs as well as its meaning-making process) and the concrete elements (behaviors, symbols, traditions and norms), those that can be viewed and enacted by others. Participating in the new cultural group entails adopting and manifesting the concrete elements of the new cultural identity.

More specifically, participation in a new social group has been defined as engaging in behaviors or actions that are typically observed in the group, such as engaging in cultural traditions, social/work/education activities and relationships with members of new cultural group (Cárdenas & de la Sablonnière, 2017). If the Kyrgyz student wishes to participate in American culture at the American University of Central Asia, he may speak in English with English-speaking professors as often as he can because English is regarded as a typical American behavior in this specific context. The Colombian immigrating to Canada may participate in the Canadian culture by using the languages of the country (French in Quebec and English in the rest of the country) and watching hockey games, two behaviors that are typically observed in the Canadian culture. As illustrated by these examples, participating in a new cultural group is essentially implementing concrete elements of the new cultural identity, those found in its prototype. I propose that adopting these typical behaviors of the new cultural group will 1) trigger the process of perceiving oneself as fitting the prototype and 2) motivate the individual to change his identity to make it coherent with his actions (need for coherence; Banaji & Heiphetz, 2010; Cialdini, 2009; Fiske & Taylor, 2013; Swann, 1983), hence promoting identification with the new group.

According to Social Identity Theory (Hogg, 2005; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, 1987), group prototypes are used to categorize individuals as members of a group; when an individual fits a prototype, he is more likely to be thought of (or categorized) as belonging to that group. For example, if the Canadian prototype includes watching hockey, eating poutine and defending cultural diversity, then any individual that approaches this prototype (or whichever of these attributes is more salient at the moment) will be categorized as a Canadian. This categorization

process applies not only to the individuals we observe but also to ourselves, as we will self-categorize as members of a group based on how closely we are fitting the prototype of the group.

Indeed, individuals are sensitive to the extent to which they personally fit a prototype (Hogg, 2005) and seek information to confirm how well they match the prototype of a group (Haslam, Oakes, McGarty, & Onorato, 1995). If they find that they are close to matching the prototype of a cultural group, they will use this information to self-categorize as members of this collectivity, in turn identifying with it (Reinhard, Stahlberg, & Messner, 2009; Turner, 1982), acknowledging their membership to the cultural group, along with the evaluative and emotional attachment to it (Tajfel, 1978). The potential of the prototype in promoting self-categorization and identification is well illustrated by a study with bicultural individuals who were told that their score in a test was similar to the typical score of one of their cultural groups; after being told that their scores were close to the prototypical score of one of their cultural groups, they identified more with it (Schindler, Reinhard, Knab, & Stahlberg, 2016).

When individuals find themselves participating in a new cultural group for which they have developed a prototype (through contact), these actions should trigger perceived prototypicality of themselves as members of this new group. More specifically, by participating in the new cultural group that they are in contact with, the Kyrgyz student speaking in English and the Colombian immigrant watching hockey are getting closer to the prototype or the typical representation of the American and Canadian groups respectively. This, in turn, facilitates self-categorization, and hence identification with these new cultural groups.

Self-categorization was presented by Turner (1982) as a reaction to situational constraints (e.g., whether the situation calls for seeing oneself as an individual or as a member of a group); hence, self-categorization varies from one context to another. In a context where gender is the most relevant group distinction, such as when a teacher divides his classroom according to gender for an exercise, the children's gender identity becomes more important than the classroom identity, personal identity and cultural identity. The children in this exercise will self-categorize based on their gender, identify strongly with their gender, and act accordingly. However, once the exercise is achieved and students are no longer divided according to their gender, other groups (e.g., classroom identity) or even interpersonal identities (e.g., being a classmate) become more salient and self-categorization is again used to know how to act in this different environment. Considering its situational variability, one might wonder about the extent

to which self-categorization (promoted by perceived prototypicality) may encourage the new cultural identity to become permanently important for the self (i.e., identification), especially seeing that cultural identities are essential cognitive structure. In response to this, Abrams (1999) argues that the social groups that become integrated in the self and to which we attribute importance (i.e., identify with) are those in which we are constantly in contact with. Our world is organized in social groups, the most important of which we are in contact with and are constantly salient in our environment; this gives individuals the opportunity to constantly self-categorize with important collectivities, such as cultural groups, leading to identification and their permanent adoption in the self-concept. As such, for a person continuously in contact with a new cultural group through globalization or immigration, regularly participating in the new group should continuously activate this perceived prototypicality, progressively resulting in permanently identifying with the new cultural group.

Not only can participating in a new cultural group and adopting its cultural behaviors promote the perception of oneself as a prototypical member of the new group, it may also activate the need for consistency, hereby promoting identification with this new group. The need for consistency is the need to perceive oneself as having a consistent self-concept as opposed to one that varies across situations (Cialdini, 2009; Fiske & Taylor, 2013; Swann, 1983). Individuals are hence motivated to see coherence between their actions and their self, i.e., their attitudes (Banaji & Heiphetz, 2010) and their identities (Cialdini, 2009).

The need for coherence is well illustrated by two of the most influential attitude change theories, cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957) and self-perception theory (Bem, 1972). Cognitive dissonance theory postulates that individuals will experience discomfort after performing a behavior that is inconsistent with their attitudes (Festinger, 1957). To solve this discomfort (and satisfy the need for coherence), individuals can either change their behavior or their attitude. However, the behavior can no longer be changed (as it has already been performed); instead, what changes is one's attitude and personal views, making them coherent with the undertaken behavior. Bem's (1972) self-perception theory has a different take on attitude change by focusing on the individual as an observer of his own behavior. A person will observe himself taking an action and conclude that such action was taken because the person has a favorable attitude towards the action. In other words, the person satisfies the need for coherence by assuming that the undertaken action reflects his true attitudes.

Adopting even the smallest behavior — such as the smallest behavior of the new culture — implies commitment towards the attitudes behind the behaviors — such as the abstract elements of culture. This statement is supported by research on the foot-on-the-door technique (Freedman & Fraser, 1966), a technique where doing small actions (e.g., signing a petition against tuition hikes) results in agreeing to do greater related actions (e.g., protesting tuition hikes). The small action triggers a change in how individuals view themselves vis-à-vis the action they undertook; to remain consistent with their small action, individuals who sign a petition against tuition hikes will give new importance to this issue; and lastly, to remain consistent with their small actions and their newly found attitudes, they will agree to even greater actions. In the words of Freedman and Fraser:

Once the subject has taken some action in connection with an area of concern, be it surveys, political activity, or highway safety, there is probably a tendency to become somewhat more concerned with the area. The subject begins thinking about it, considering its relevance to him (pp. 201-202).

To be effective, however, individuals need to actively commit to the cause (Allison & Messick, 1988; Fazio, Sherman, & Herr, 1982); when individuals do not behave, the need for consistency is not triggered, no attitude change occurs and no further behavior is observed.

The power of actions to change attitudes and even the self itself goes beyond signing petitions and tuition increases. During the Korean war, the Chinese Communist Party successfully convinced American prisoners of war (POWs) that communism was acceptable in Asia by asking them to take on small, almost inoffensive actions, such as agreeing that capitalism was not 100% perfect and then writing this statement down (Segal, 1954). These small demands, once accepted, were followed by increasingly larger demands (e.g., writing paragraphs instead of one sentence); with each accepted demand, the POWs, military men who had been trained to hate and destroy communism, increasingly changed their self-concept vis-à-vis communism. A similar effect was reported by Grunberger (1971) in Nazi Germany, where the “German greeting” (Heil Hitler) was a “powerful conditioning device” (p. 27) for individuals who disagreed with Hitler and yet engaged in such behavior. The discomfort associated with engaging in a behavior that contradicted their self-views resulted in conforming to the beliefs, attitudes and meaning-system (i.e., culture) of Nazi Germany.

The need for consistency and its impact on personal views should also be observed when an individual participates in a new cultural group. More specifically, participating in a cultural social group necessitates performing a behavior (hence an active action) that is prototypical of the new group; for example, the Colombian immigrant needs to speak French or English (depending on the Canadian province) and watch hockey, while the Kyrgyz student needs to speak English at the American University. If these behaviors are not consistent with their current views of themselves as members of the new group, then these actions will activate the need for consistency and motivate individuals to change their attitudes, and their identities, to fit their behaviors, possibly promoting identification with the new cultural group.

To summarize, participating in the new group has the potential to promote one's membership to the new group via two mechanisms. First, performing these typical behaviors bring individuals closer to the prototype of the group, and hence to self-categorizing as a member of the new culture. Second, participating can trigger changes in the self-view to satisfy the need for consistency. Together, these two processes should allow participation to predict identification. In the following section, we explore empirical evidence for this statement in acculturation research.

Participation in a New Cultural Group and Identification with It: Empirical Support in Immigration

"Yes, just as you can identify a tree by its fruit,
so you can identify people by their actions."

Mathew 7:20, New Living Translation

Acculturation psychology is the branch of psychology specialized in examining how contact with a new cultural group impacts individuals. In fact, its primary concern is understanding the phenomenon of psychological acculturation itself, originally defined by Graves (1967) as the change in worldview that occurs in groups or individuals as a result of intercultural contact. Because this definition is broad, studies in this field examine how immigrants change in many ways, including cognitions, beliefs, and, importantly in our case, identification and behaviors. In fact, identification and participation are often seen as integral

aspects of acculturation (Berry, 1997; Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987; Gordon, 1964; Phinney, 2003).

As for how exactly participation and identification are related to each other, some researchers posit that they occur together and simultaneously, both being equally natural consequence of contact with a new cultural group. These researchers often use identification and participation interchangeably when describing acculturation changes (e.g., Berry, 2010; Cuellar, Arnold, & González, 1995; Kosmitzki, 1996; Snauwaert, Soenens, Vanbeselaere, & Boen, 2003). An example of research conceptualizing participation and identification at the same level is Berry's (1997) popular theory of acculturation strategies. This theory fits individuals into one of four acculturation strategies based on how much an individual wishes to maintain his cultural identity of origin while simultaneously wishing to have daily interactions (or participating) in the new culture. Under this perspective, identification and participation are at the same level, occurring together and simultaneously.

Other researchers see identification and participation in the new culture as two different yet related phenomena (e.g., Graves, 1967; Hutnik, 1986; Phinney, 2003; Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001; Rosenthal, Bell, Demetrious, & Efklides, 1989). For example, Graves (1967), one of the fathers of acculturation theory, postulated that identification was an antecedent of participation such that a person needs to develop a sense of belonging in the new cultural group to adopt its behaviors. This perspective has, however, received little support; for instance, Hutnik (1986) tested whether identification with the new culture and with the culture of origin (divided in four categories, based on levels of identification with both groups) predicted how much individuals adopted behaviors from the new cultural group and the group of origin (again divided in four categories based on levels of participation with both groups). The results show that the identification categories did not successfully predict how individuals participated in both cultural groups.

Other researchers postulated the opposite relation, where participation in the new culture would promote identification with the new culture (e.g., Phinney, 2003; Phinney et al., 2001; Rosenthal et al., 1989; Wong-Rieger & Quintana, 1987). It is this last relation that has received the strongest empirical support. For example, Phinney (2003) showed that interactions with Americans and English proficiency positively predicted levels of American identification among immigrants to the U.S.A. (see also Wong-Rieger & Quintana, 1987). Similarly, another

study found that immigrants more readily accepted adopting the behaviors of the new cultural group than its cultural identity (Snauwaert et al., 2003).

One recent study went one step further in attempting to disentangle the relation between participation and identification by simultaneously comparing the three possible relations theorized between participation and identification (Cárdenas & de la Sablonnière, 2017). To this end, Latin American immigrants living in Canada answered questionnaires and then three path analysis models were tested: the first model, whether participation in the new group and identification with it were correlated (but did not predict each other); the second, if identification promoted participation; and the third one, whether participation predicted identification. This last model, where participation in the new group predicts higher identification with it, received the strongest support. As such, the Colombian migrant's level of participation in the Canadian culture should predict his level of identification with this cultural group. This finding was replicated with a qualitative methodology, in which immigrants voiced experiencing identification with the new country only after participating in the new cultural group (Cárdenas & de la Sablonnière, 2017). This series of studies are essential since they constitute the initial step in understanding how an outsider develops identification with a new social group. However, two important caveats need to be highlighted.

First, the question of participation and identification has only been studied in immigration contexts; as such, the relation between these variables remains unknown in the context globalization. Globalization differs from immigration in important ways, one of which is the amount and depth of contact with the new cultural group. While an immigrant (such as the Colombian migrant) is usually immersed in a new cultural group and in contact with it for the majority of the day, a person in contact with a new group through globalization (such as the Kyrgyz student in Kyrgyzstan) is exposed for less time (for a few hours at the university) and only to certain aspects of the culture (in the previous example, those related to education). Despite the difference in depth of intercultural contact, both immigration and globalization are similar in that they offer individuals the opportunity to participate in new cultural groups. Once this opportunity is taken and an individual adopts the behaviors of the new cultural group, the psychological mechanisms promoting identification (the perceived prototypicality and the need for coherence) should be triggered, regardless of context. Thus, the first goal of this thesis is to test whether, in fact, participation in the new group can positively predict the level of

identification with it in the contexts of globalization and immigration, replicating previous findings (Cárdenas & de la Sablonnière, 2017) and extending them outside of the migration context.

Furthermore, the current thesis makes use of both correlational and experimental methodologies to probe how participation impacts identification. More specifically, previous studies in this field have exclusively used correlational methodologies, where only the association between these variables can be observed. The reason why this methodology has generally been preferred over experimental studies (which are capable of concluding cause and effect) is because of the complexity involved in recreating immigration changes in the laboratory. Indeed, migration is an important and far-reaching change, touching every single aspect of an individual's life. For this reason, it is difficult to translate this change into the controlled environment of the laboratory. Nevertheless, the field of acculturation psychology is in search of methodologies that complement correlational studies to draw clear conclusions about the acculturation phenomena, which invariably include participation and identification (Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2006; Ryder & Dere, 2010). As an answer to this criticism, the present thesis uses both correlational and experimental methodologies to test the hypothesis that, in the globalization context (four correlational studies) and in the immigration setting (an experimental study), we can expect participation to predict, and cause, higher identification with the new cultural group (Hypothesis 1).

Identification with the New Cultural Group and with the Cultural Group of Origin: The Additive and Subtractive Identification Patterns

As it has been previously demonstrated, there is sufficient theoretical and empirical evidence to postulate that doing the typical behaviors of a new cultural group can help an individual view himself as a member of this culture. If the behaviors of the new group favor identification with that new group, can it, as a consequence of this increased identification, also trigger dismissal of one's cultural identity of origin? Will the Kyrgyz student maintain a stable level of identification with Kyrgyz while he identifies more with the new American group? Or will identification with Kyrgyz decrease as identification with Americans increases?

Most psychological theories on how a person acquires and integrates into the self a new cultural identity suggest that identification with the new group and the group of origin are independent from each other such that adding a new cultural identity will have no consequence on the identity of origin. For example, the integration acculturation strategies theory (Berry, 1997) posits that an integrated individual gives high importance to both his new cultural identity and the cultural identity of origin. The cognitive developmental model of social identity integration (Amiot et al., 2007) defines integration as the process by which one identity becomes as important to an individual as the identities that are already in his self-concept. At the end of the integration process, the self is balanced and gives similar importance to both the new cultural identity and the cultural identity of origin. In other words, integrating a new cultural identity generally implies not only that one's cultural identity is unaffected by the new cultural identity but also that an individual is able to maintain his cultural identity of origin while being a member of the new group (e.g., Berry, 1997; Klandermans, Van der Toorn, & Van Stekelenburg, 2008). However, de la Sablonnière and colleagues (de la Sablonnière et al., 2016) argue that this assumption is not always true.

In line with previous theories, de la Sablonnière and colleagues (2016) argue that sometimes the addition of a new cultural identity will not have a negative impact on the identity of origin. This process was termed the additive identification pattern (de la Sablonnière et al., 2016), which was inspired by bilingualism research. Additive bilingualism occurs when learning a second language does not disrupt proficiency in the original language (Lambert, 1975, 1977; Lambert & Taylor, 1983; Louis & Taylor, 2001; Wright, Taylor, & Macarthur, 2000). Similarly, the additive identification pattern occurs when increased identification with the new cultural identity does not disrupt identification with the group of origin. In other words, identification with the new cultural identity is non-negatively related to identification with the group of origin. As such, the Colombian immigrant speaking French and, consequently, increasingly identifying more with Canadians will not necessarily identify more or less with Colombians when experiencing the additive identification pattern.

However, a different identification pattern, the subtractive pattern, may sometimes take place (de la Sablonnière et al 2016). The subtractive pattern of identification occurs when increased identification with a new group is accompanied by a decrease in identification with the group of origin. The subtractive identification pattern is inspired from subtractive

bilingualism, which occurs when a new language is being acquired while also impeding the development of the original language (Lambert, 1977; Lambert & Taylor, 1983; Wright et al., 2000). If the Colombian immigrant is experiencing the subtractive identification pattern, participating in the new group will increase identification with Canadians, but this increased identification will be accompanied by lower identification with Colombians until both levels of identification reach a similar level. This results in a negative association between identities.

Empirical research shows that, indeed, the relation between the new identity and the identity of origin is complex and manifests both additive and subtractive patterns. The complexity of this association is well illustrated in a large study conducted with 39 immigrant groups (for a total of 4703 adolescent immigrants) across thirteen countries. In this study, identification with the new group and with the group of origin were measured and correlated (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). If, as postulated by most integration theories, the two identities are independent and non-correlated, we would expect a significant correlation between these two cultural identities only 5% of the time on average or, in this case, a significant correlation in 1.95 of the 39 groups. The results show that 15 out of the 39 immigrant groups showed a non-significant correlation between identities, that is, 38.47% of the correlations (Phinney, Berry, Vedder, & Liebkind, 2006). Concerning the significant correlations, five showed a positive association while ten showed a negative correlation. Furthermore, the relation between identities varies from one study to another. In some studies, the new cultural identity and the cultural identity of origin are positively associated or not related at all (e.g., Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997), showing an additive identification pattern; in other studies, adding a new cultural identity means subtracting from the importance of one's identity of origin, resulting in a negative association between identities (e.g., de la Sablonnière et al., 2016). Clearly the relation between the new identity and the identity of origin depends on other variables. What these variables are has only recently become the object of inquiry.

Perceived Similarity and the Identification Patterns

Participating in a new social group can result in higher identification with the new group; this increased identification may reflect an additive identification pattern (positive or neutral relation between identities) or a subtractive identification pattern (negative relation between identities). According to de la Sablonnière and colleagues (2016), the pattern that will emerge

depends on the status differentials between groups. This assertion is based on social identity theory which postulates that individuals are motivated to belong to groups that provide them with a positive social identity and self-value (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Because groups that have higher perceived status have more potential for increased self-esteem, individuals will identify more strongly with such high-status groups. Belonging to low status groups in contrast can reflect poorly on individuals' self-concept, which in turn was proposed to trigger a process of disidentification (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Under this logic, increasingly identifying with a new group that is perceived as having a higher status than the group of origin, while simultaneously lowering their identification with their group of origin, would provide individuals with an opportunity to increase their own status at the expense of the identity of origin. The negative association between the new identity and the identity of origin should be stronger when the status differences are perceived as legitimate, as this indicates an acceptance of the status differentials (Bettencourt, Dorr, Charlton, & Hume, 2001). These hypotheses received support in three studies (de la Sablonnière et al., 2016), which showed that perceiving status differentials between one's original group and the new cultural group (Study 1; as well as the legitimacy of these status differences, Studies 2 and 3) moderated the relation between identification with the new group and identification with the group of origin.

Although attributing similar status to two groups predicts the identification pattern that emerges, it remains unclear whether any dissimilarity between cultural groups would also promote a subtractive identification pattern. More specifically, social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) proposes that the status of a group is one of the most important characteristics defining a group. However, status is only one of the many characteristics held by groups. If two groups are perceived as dissimilar in other important attributes, or even seen as generally dissimilar, these differences may predict the additive or subtractive identification pattern above and beyond status differentials.

The need for coherence may explain why perceived similarity between groups (in general or in other important attributes) can predict the identification pattern. As was described on page 19, the need for coherence is the need to perceive the self and its components as being coherent instead of varying across different situations (Cialdini, 2009; Fiske & Taylor, 2013; Swann, 1983). If an individual participates in the new group, the need for coherence would dictate that the importance attributed to this group in the self (i.e., identification) would increase.

Consequently to this addition, either the additive or the subtractive pattern will occur. If the new group is perceived as similar to the group of origin, this implies that new identity is similar to and, hence, coherent with the cultural identity previously in the self. Both cultural identities are giving similar or coherent frameworks; and, as the importance of the new one increases, the other can remain as important in the self (i.e., the additive identification pattern). The Kyrgyz student who perceives Americans and Kyrgyz as similar to each other would be able to maintain similar levels of Kyrgyz identification following participation in the American group and increased identification with them.

In contrast, when the new cultural group is perceived as different from the cultural group of origin, this implies that their life instructions or identities are also different to each other. As such, if participating in a new cultural group promotes the importance of the new cultural identity in the self, then the need for coherence dictates that the dissimilar identity of origin must become less important to the self (i.e. lower identification). The Kyrgyz student will identify less with Kyrgyz following participation in the American group and increased identification with them if he perceives that the American and Kyrgyz groups are not similar at all to each other.

Identity integration models further support the importance of perceiving similarity in the process of adding new cultural identities. For example, the cognitive developmental model of social identity integration posits that perceiving similarities between a new social group and the group of origin create cognitive links between possibly competing identities, which in turn facilitates identification with multiple groups (Amiot et al., 2007). The bicultural identity integration model (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005) also proposes that an integrated individual is one that perceives similarities between the attributes of his cultures (or little distance between identities). As such, perceiving similarities between one's groups is theoretically important in the process of adding new identities. Experimental work also shows that similarities aid the identity integration process. Considering how previous research suggests that perception of similarities is a function of global thinking (where the person focuses on abstract goals and groups), Mok and Morris (2012) promoted a global thinking style by having participants focus on the similarities between objects. While the participants who focused on similarities describe three similarities between pairs of banal objects (e.g., a pair of keys, a pair of socks), those focused on differences described three differences between these objects.

Compared to those who focused on the differences between the objects, those focused on similarities had higher identity integration (Study 3), illustrating the importance of similarity in the integration process.

In summary, participation in the new cultural group may result in either the additive identification pattern — where the two identities are non-negatively related — or the subtractive identification pattern — where they are negatively related to each other. Understanding when such patterns emerge is essential, considering how previous research has mostly disregarded the subtractive identification pattern, and hence the study of its possible negative consequences on the psychological well-being of those who lose their cultural identities.

The second goal of this thesis is to test whether perceived similarities predict the pattern that will occur. More specifically, the additive pattern is expected to occur when an individual participates in a cultural group that is seen as similar (both in general as in its specific attributes) to the cultural group of origin (Hypothesis 2a). Subtractive identification patterns will result when a person participates in a group that is perceived as dissimilar (both in general and its specific attributes) to the cultural group of origin (Hypothesis 2b).

Objective of the Current Work

The overall aim of the present thesis is to understand how contact with new cultural groups impact the identities of individuals, both the importance of the new cultural identity and of the identity of origin. More specifically, the first goal of this thesis is to test whether participation in the new group can positively predict (with correlational methodology) and cause (with an experimental study) higher identification with the new cultural group in the context of globalization and immigration. The second goal is to test whether, once participation has occurred, individuals will experience an additive or subtractive identification pattern based on the perceived similarities between the cultural groups and their attributes. Specific objectives and corresponding hypotheses can be summarized as follows:

Article 1: La participation et l'identification à un nouveau groupe social : fondements théoriques et conséquences pour l'identité d'origine

The goal of the first article was to expose for the first time the theoretical reasoning by which participating in a new cultural group can promote identity changes. This theoretical article presents the distinction between contact with and active participation in a new cultural group. It then presents the two psychological mechanisms (perceived prototypicality and need for coherence) by which participation should promote identification with the new group. Lastly, it presents the two factors that can predict how the new cultural identity adapts to the new identity (i.e., the identification pattern): status (as proposed by de la Sablonnière et al.) and perceived similarity. This article is in press at *Revue Québécoise de Psychologie*. The first author (Diana Cárdenas) wrote the article, and the second author (Roxane de la Sablonnière) supervised the writing process.

Article 2: Participation in a New Cultural Group and Patterns of Identification in a Globalized World: The Moderating Role of Similarity

The second article had two specific goals. The first one was to test whether participation in the new cultural group would predict identification with it outside of the immigration context. The second objective was to test whether similarities would help predict when higher identification with the new group would negatively predict the identity of origin. It was hypothesized that participating in a new group would predict higher identification with this group (Hypothesis 1), which would, in turn, predict identification differently based on levels of similarity. When similarities between groups and characteristics are perceived, an additive pattern (or non-negative association) would emerge (Hypothesis 2a); a subtractive pattern (or negative association) would surface when little similarities are perceived (Hypothesis 2b). These hypotheses were tested in four different contexts: Studies 1 to 3 took place at the American University of Central Asia, Kyrgyzstan, and Study 4 was conducted with Franco-Ontarians in Canada. These studies were conducted using a variety of correlational methods (cross-sectional, comparison of naturally occurring groups, and repeated measures).

This article is in the revision process at *Self and Identity* (invitation to resubmit). The first author of this article (Diana Cárdenas) collected data for the second wave of the fourth

study, analyzed the data for all the studies, and wrote the article; the second author (Roxane de la Sablonière) supervised all these processes. The four other authors (Galina L. Gorborukova, Geneviève A. Mageau, Catherine E. Amiot and Nazgul Sadykova) contributed by collecting data and/or providing feedback on the manuscript.

Article 3: Participating in a New Group and the Identification Processes: The Quest for a Positive Social Identity

The third article had two specific goals. The first one was to test with an experimental methodology — conducted with an immigrant population in Quebec (Canada) — whether participation in the new cultural group would increase identification with it and, in turn, predict lower identification with the group of origin when dissimilarities were perceived (Hypothesis 1). Furthermore, we started exploring the necessary conditions for participation to trigger the identification shifts previously identified. Considering social identity theory's proposition that individuals are motivated to belong to groups that provide them with positive value (Tajfel & Turner, 1979); the second goal of this study was to test whether the value attributed to the new group would change the way participation impacted the individuals' cultural identities. More specifically, it tested whether participating in a new cultural group increased identification, which then predicted identification with the group of origin, only when the new group was positively or neutrally valued (Hypothesis 2).

This article will be submitted to *Social Psychology*. The first author of this article (Diana Cárdenas) collected and analyzed the data and wrote the article; the second author (Roxane de la Sablonière) supervised all these processes.

Article 1: La participation et l'identification à un nouveau groupe social : fondements théoriques et conséquences pour l'identité d'origine

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LA PARTICIPATION ET L'IDENTIFICATION À UN NOUVEAU GROUPE SOCIAL : FONDEMENTS THÉORIQUES ET CONSÉQUENCES POUR L'IDENTITÉ D'ORIGINE¹

PARTICIPATION AND IDENTIFICATION WITH A NEW SOCIAL GROUP: THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS AND CONSEQUENCES FOR THE IDENTITY OF ORIGIN

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Le soi est grandement malléable et flexible : il s'adapte aux situations sans cesse changeantes de la vie. À titre d'exemple, une femme d'affaires, mère de deux enfants, se conduira différemment avec ses clients qu'avec ses enfants. Lorsqu'elle répondra à un appel téléphonique au travail, son identité professionnelle en tant que femme d'affaires primera sur ses autres identités. À l'inverse, lorsqu'elle jouera avec ses enfants, c'est son identité de mère qui aura une influence prédominante sur ses comportements. En plus de ces « adaptations temporaires », le soi s'ajuste aux transitions de vie en incorporant de nouvelles identités. Initialement, cette femme aura eu à développer son identité professionnelle peu après le début de sa carrière, ce qui lui aura permis d'intégrer ce nouveau rôle plus aisément et ainsi d'adopter des comportements cohérents à sa profession. Quant à son identité de mère, son intégration aura été possible grâce à la transition vers la maternité. L'incorporation de nouvelles identités est loin de dépendre seulement de situations hautement personnelles. Crucialement, pour le présent article, la création et l'incorporation de nouvelles identités découlent également de phénomènes sociaux d'ampleur, tels la mondialisation, l'immigration et l'exposition à des groupes culturels différents (Amiot, de la Sablonnière, Terry et Smith, 2007; de la Sablonnière, Aubin et Amiot, 2013; Fiske, 2015; Jensen, Arnett et McKenzie, 2011). Par exemple, un étudiant kirghize dans une université américaine en République kirghize sera exposé de manière accrue à la culture américaine, l'amenant de plus en plus à se définir lui-même comme Américain. Similairement, une Colombienne ayant récemment immigré au Canada s'identifiera progressivement à son nouveau groupe, celui des Canadiens ou des Québécois. Le phénomène d'intégration identitaire illustre la malléabilité du soi ainsi que la capacité des individus à s'adapter à d'importants changements identitaires.

1. Les résultats de ces études ont été détaillés dans deux autres articles (Cárdenas *et al.*, 2017b; Cárdenas et de la Sablonnière, 2017c). Le lecteur intéressé par la méthodologie et les analyses statistiques est invité à se référer à ces autres publications.
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L'objectif du présent article consiste à définir les fondements théoriques expliquant comment la participation à un nouveau groupe social modifie l'identification au nouveau groupe et au groupe d'origine. Plus précisément, cet article décrit deux mécanismes psychologiques (soit le besoin de cohérence, c.-à-d., le besoin de voir ses actions et pensées comme cohérentes, ainsi que la perception de typicalité, c.-à-d., lorsque l'individu se perçoit comme un membre typique du nouveau groupe; Hogg, 2006) expliquant pourquoi la participation à un nouveau groupe social entraîne l'identification à celui-ci. Ensuite, il explore comment cette nouvelle identité sera associée à l'identité d'origine. Selon de la Sablonnière et ses collaborateurs (2016), il y a deux façons par lesquelles l'identité d'origine s'organise à la suite de l'intégration de la nouvelle identité : l'identification au groupe d'origine peut diminuer (c.-à-d., un patron d'identification soustractif) ou demeurer inchangée (c.-à-d., un patron d'identification additif). Dans cet article théorique, nous proposons deux caractéristiques pouvant déterminer le patron d'identification : le statut et la similarité (voir Figure 1).

LE PROCESSUS D'INTÉGRATION DE L'IDENTITÉ ET L'IDENTIFICATION À UN NOUVEAU GROUPE CULTUREL

Afin de bien comprendre les patrons additifs et soustractifs d'identification, il est essentiel de comprendre le processus qui mène à l'intégration d'une nouvelle identité. Trois théories en psychologie sociale et en psychologie de l'acculturation visent à le caractériser : la théorie des stratégies d'acculturation (Berry, 2005; 2010), la théorie de l'intégration de l'identité biculturelle (Benet-Martínez et Haritatos, 2005) et le modèle cognitivo-développemental de l'intégration des identités sociales (Amiot *et al.*, 2007; de la Sablonnière *et al.*, 2013).

La théorie des stratégies d'acculturation avancée par Berry (2005; 2010) a été élaborée dans un contexte d'acculturation, où le contact avec de nouveaux groupes culturels est occasionné par l'immigration ou par le fait d'habiter une société pluraliste. Selon cette théorie, la rencontre avec un nouveau groupe culturel peut entraîner quatre réactions différentes, soit l'intégration, l'assimilation, la séparation ou la marginalisation. L'intégration se définit par l'établissement de contacts avec le nouveau groupe et une identification au groupe d'origine inchangée. L'assimilation, quant à elle, unit des contacts réguliers avec le nouveau groupe et un rejet de l'identité d'origine. À l'opposé, la séparation est caractérisée par peu de contacts avec le nouveau groupe, mais un maintien de l'identité d'origine. Finalement, la marginalisation correspond à un évitement des contacts avec le nouveau groupe et à l'abandon de l'identité d'origine.

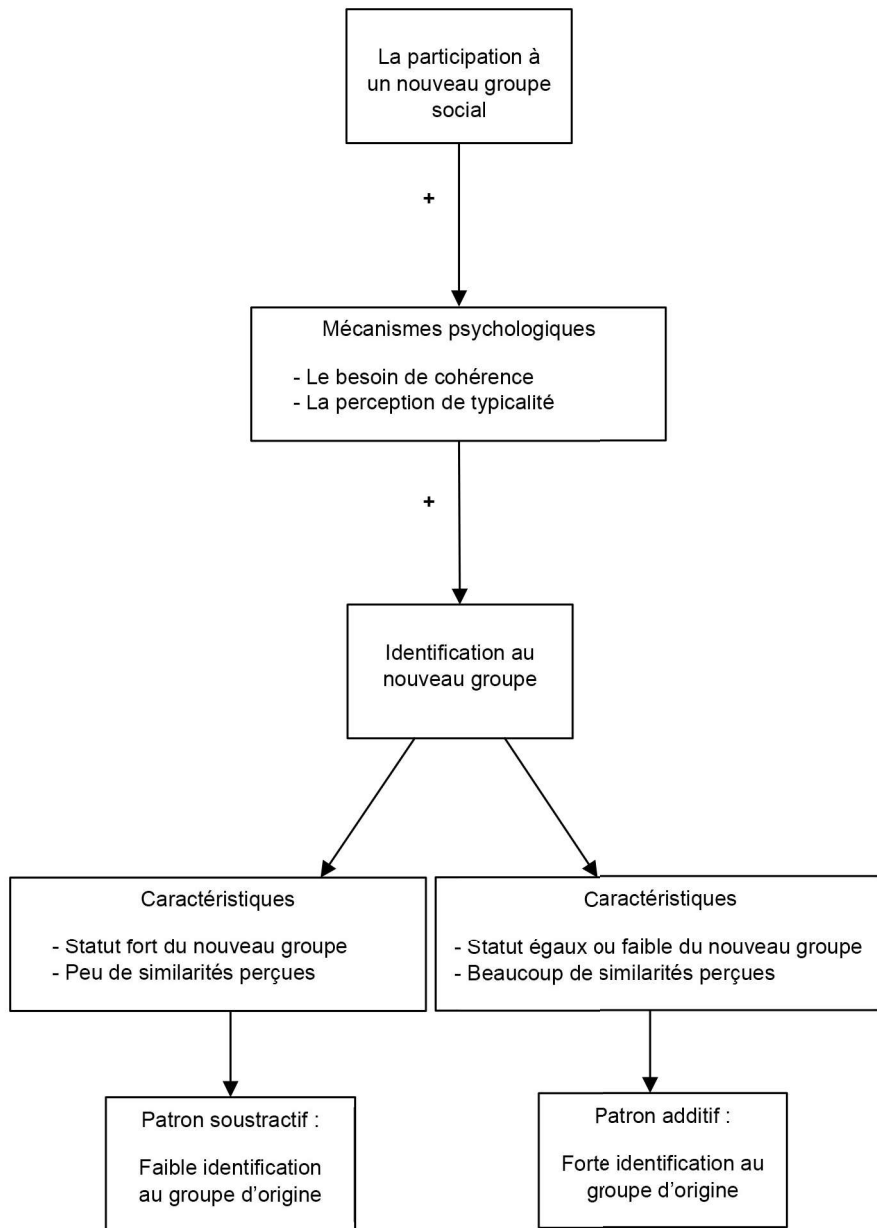


Figure 1. Modèle théorique.

La deuxième théorie portant sur l'intégration d'identités est la théorie de l'identité biculturelle proposée par Benet-Martínez et Haritatos (2005). Celle-ci fut conçue afin de décrire comment les personnes biculturelles se situent par rapport à chacune de leurs identités. Les personnes biculturelles sont en contact avec deux groupes culturels. Selon cette théorie, une personne biculturelle considérera ses deux identités comme compatibles (plutôt que conflictuelles) et proches (plutôt que distantes). Ainsi, un individu intégré créera une identité mixte ou hybride. Par exemple, l'immigrante colombienne se verra comme une Colombo-Canadienne et non simplement comme Colombienne et Canadienne. À l'opposé, des identités non intégrées apparaîtront comme conflictuelles et éloignées l'une de l'autre.

La troisième théorie, celle du modèle cognitivo-développemental de l'intégration des identités sociales (Amiot *et al.*, 2007; de la Sablonnière *et al.*, 2013), explique le processus par lequel les identités sociales sont intégrées. Elle soutient que l'intégration d'une nouvelle identité sociale se produit en quatre étapes : l'anticipation, la catégorisation, la compartimentation et l'intégration. L'anticipation débute avant même le contact initial avec le nouveau groupe. Déjà, une personne commencera à s'identifier à ce dernier, car elle projettera ses propres caractéristiques personnelles au nouveau groupe. La catégorisation a lieu lors des premiers contacts directs avec le nouveau groupe social. Durant cette phase, l'individu prend connaissance des caractéristiques du nouveau groupe sans s'y identifier. La compartimentation marque l'acquisition de la nouvelle identité, mais celle-ci demeure dissociée de l'identité d'origine. Finalement, l'intégration est atteinte lorsqu'une personne parvient à s'identifier de façon harmonieuse à la fois au nouveau groupe et au groupe d'origine. Selon cette théorie, lorsqu'une importance similaire est accordée à chacune des identités sociales, ces dernières seront considérées comme pleinement intégrées parce qu'elles contribuent au concept de soi de façon similaire et sans conflit.

Quoique ces trois théories diffèrent dans leur définition de l'intégration des identités et dans leur description des processus d'intégration, chacune reconnaît le contact avec un autre groupe comme étant un facteur essentiel à l'intégration de nouvelles identités. Spécifiquement, Berry (2005; 2010) définit le contact avec un nouveau groupe comme étant le facteur entraînant l'adoption des différentes stratégies d'acculturation. De nombreux chercheurs s'inscrivant dans cette perspective tiennent pour acquis que les personnes intégrées ou assimilées adoptent une nouvelle identité sociale grâce au maintien d'un contact important avec le nouveau groupe (p. ex., Allen, Vaage et Hauff, 2006; Hutnik, 1991; van Oudenhoven, 2006). De manière similaire, la théorie de l'intégration de l'identité biculturelle soutient implicitement l'idée qu'un contact constant avec deux groupes sociaux est nécessaire à la biculturalité, donc à l'identification à deux cultures (Benet-

Martínez et Haritatos, 2005; Benet-Martínez, Lee et Leu, 2006). Finalement, selon le modèle cognitivo-développemental de l'intégration des identités sociales (Amiot *et al.*, 2007; de la Sablonnière *et al.*, 2013), le processus d'intégration de nouvelles identités débute soit par des contacts imaginaires (c.-à-d., l'anticipation) ou réels avec le groupe (c.-à-d., la catégorisation). Ainsi, le contact constitue, en théorie, le fondement même de l'intégration identitaire. Conséquemment, cette perspective suggère que l'immigrante colombienne s'identifiera plus fortement aux Canadiens, par le simple fait qu'elle soit en contact avec ces derniers.

Le contact, quoique nécessaire, est toutefois loin d'être à lui seul un facteur suffisant pour favoriser l'identification à une nouvelle identité sociale. Par exemple, bien qu'il soit impossible pour les immigrants d'éviter d'entrer en contact avec la culture d'accueil, ils n'intégreront pas tous l'identité de cette culture. Même les personnes qui baignent dans deux cultures depuis l'enfance ne sont pas toujours en mesure de s'identifier à chacune de celles-ci. De plus, l'intégration de nouvelles identités consiste essentiellement en un processus cognitif complexe qui nécessite l'apprentissage de repères culturels pertinents ainsi que l'habileté de détecter et d'analyser de nombreux signaux culturels (Benet-Martínez, *et al.*, 2006), des expertises qui ne peuvent être acquises par le simple contact. Nous argumentons qu'il existe un facteur psychologique clé qui favorise l'intégration identitaire : la participation à un nouveau groupe social.

LES MÉCANISMES PSYCHOLOGIQUES QUI SOUS-TENDENT LA PARTICIPATION À UN NOUVEAU GROUPE SOCIAL

La participation à un nouveau groupe social est définie comme l'adoption de comportements ou la réalisation d'activités qui sont typiques du groupe d'accueil (les traditions culturelles, les activités sociales, éducatives ou occupationnelles) et les relations interpersonnelles avec les membres de ce même groupe (Cárdenas et de la Sablonnière, 2017a). Par exemple, pour l'immigrant arrivant au Canada, la participation au nouveau groupe social peut se traduire par de nouvelles amitiés avec des Canadiens, par le fait de côtoyer ces derniers au travail et aussi de célébrer des fêtes typiques du pays.

Les théories sur l'acculturation conçoivent la participation à un nouveau groupe social et l'identification à ce dernier comme étant étroitement liées. Certaines théories stipulent que la participation et l'identification se produisent simultanément (p. ex., Berry, 2010; Cuellar, Arnold et González, 1995; Kosmitzki, 1996; Snauwaert, Soenens, Vanbeselaere et Boen, 2003) tandis que d'autres suggèrent que l'identification est à la fois une condition essentielle à la participation et un facteur l'encourageant (p. ex., Graves, 1967; Hutnik, 1986). Toutefois, une troisième relation, où la participation

favorise l'identification à un groupe, reçoit un support empirique plus important que les deux autres (p. ex., Phinney, 2003; Phinney, Romero, Nava et Huang, 2001; Rosenthal, Bell, Demetriou et Efklides, 1989; Wong-Rieger et Quintana, 1987). En effet, ces trois propositions théoriques ont été comparées directement par Cárdenas et de la Sablonnière (2017a) qui ont établi, à l'aide de deux études empiriques, que la participation à un nouveau groupe culturel encourage l'identification à ce dernier. Dans une première étude, trois modèles d'analyses acheminatoires ont été comparés auprès de 143 immigrants latino-américains. Le premier modèle vérifiait si la participation à un nouveau groupe et l'identification à celui-ci étaient corrélées (mais ne se prédisaient pas); le second modèle testait si l'identification prédisait la participation et le troisième modèle examinait si la participation favorisait l'identification. Ce dernier modèle, où la participation à un nouveau groupe prédisait une plus forte identification à celui-ci, a reçu le plus fort soutien statistique. En effet, plus les participants indiquaient participer à leur nouvelle culture, plus ils indiquaient s'y identifier par la suite. Une deuxième étude qualitative a répliqué ces résultats. Lorsque des immigrants latino-américains devaient raconter leur histoire d'immigration, ceux-ci ont décrit l'importance de participer à la nouvelle culture afin de s'y identifier. Autrement dit, dans le récit d'immigration des participants, le thème de la participation à la nouvelle culture était suivi de l'identification à celle-ci.

Conséquemment, l'immigrante colombienne qui prend considérablement part à la culture canadienne s'y identifiera plus fortement. Ces recherches constituent le premier pas vers une meilleure compréhension du processus d'identification au nouveau groupe. Toutefois, elles ne définissent aucunement les mécanismes psychologiques nécessaires à cette relation. Ainsi, on ignore encore pourquoi la participation favorise l'identification à un groupe. Dans cet article, nous soutenons l'idée que la participation entraîne l'identification à un nouveau groupe social en déclenchant deux mécanismes psychologiques, soit le besoin de cohérence et la perception de typicalité.

Le premier mécanisme psychologique, soit le besoin de cohérence, est décrit comme le besoin de percevoir le soi comme étant cohérent plutôt que variant selon les situations (Fiske et Taylor, 2013 ; voir aussi Swann, 1983, pour la vérification du soi). En conséquence, les individus sont motivés à percevoir une cohérence entre leurs actions et leurs préférences personnelles, leurs émotions et leurs pensées ou, en d'autres mots, leurs comportements et leurs attitudes (Banaji et Heiphetz, 2010). Lorsqu'une personne prend part à des activités, ses attitudes préexistantes peuvent être modifiées ou remplacées par de nouvelles attitudes afin qu'actions et attitudes demeurent cohérentes. Par exemple, après avoir effectué une tâche ennuyante, il a été demandé aux participants de dire à un futur

participant que celle-ci était intéressante. Après avoir effectué ce comportement (avoir dit au futur participant que la tâche était intéressante), l'opinion des participants par rapport à la tâche est devenue positive (Festinger, 1957), donc leur attitude correspond à l'action posée.

Ce lien causal entre la réalisation d'une action et le changement d'attitudes personnelles a été démontré à maintes reprises. En effet, une méta-analyse a démontré que les expériences personnelles constituent un important facteur prédictif de la cohérence entre le comportement et les attitudes (Glasman et Albarracín, 2006). Quant au développement de nouvelles attitudes, deux des plus influentes théories sur le sujet, soit la théorie de la perception de soi (Bem, 1972) et la théorie de la dissonance cognitive (Festinger, 1957) situent le besoin de cohérence à la base des changements d'attitudes résultants de l'accomplissement d'une action. Plus précisément, la théorie de la perception de soi soutient que chaque individu observe ses propres actions (p. ex., observation de rapporter une tâche comme étant intéressante), ce qui lui donne les informations nécessaires sur lui-même afin d'adopter une attitude cohérente avec l'action réalisée (p. ex., penser que la tâche est intéressante). Quant à elle, la théorie de la dissonance cognitive avance que le fait d'accomplir un acte contraire à ses convictions (p. ex., rapporter une tâche comme étant intéressante alors qu'elle est réellement perçue comme ennuyante) produit un état d'inconfort. Cet inconfort entraînerait une modification d'opinion afin de combler un besoin de cohérence entre comportements et attitudes (p. ex. penser que la tâche est intéressante). Selon ces deux théories, une attitude sera modifiée lorsqu'elle est perçue comme incohérente avec une action, car une action ne peut pas être retirée. Ainsi, la nouvelle attitude sera ajustée aux comportements les plus récents.

Ce même besoin de cohérence devrait être attendu de la participation à un nouveau groupe social. Premièrement, ce type de participation demande d'adopter des comportements du nouveau groupe. Par exemple, une migrante colombienne qui participe à la culture canadienne pourrait célébrer des festivités canadiennes et travailler avec des collègues canadiens. Ainsi, la participation d'une personne à un nouveau groupe social aura un effet sur ses attitudes envers ce groupe. Deuxièmement, le soi et les attitudes sont étroitement reliés, la connexion entre le soi et les attitudes se traduisant même au niveau neuronal (Fiske et Taylor, 2013; Ochsner *et al.*, 2005). Concernant l'identification, plus spécifiquement l'identification à un groupe, elle est définie comme étant la connaissance qu'on appartient à un groupe, la valeur y étant attachée et son importance émotionnelle (Tajfel, 1978). Avec cette définition, on constate que celle-ci reflète une propension à se percevoir comme membre du groupe et, pertinent à notre discussion, à avoir une attitude positive envers celui-ci. Considérant que la participation à un groupe est une action et que l'identification est fondamentalement une

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attitude, la participation à un nouveau groupe social devrait créer un besoin de cohérence. Ceci motiverait une identification accrue à ce groupe. En d'autres termes, la personne serait motivée à ce que ses actions (participer à un nouveau groupe) soient en accord avec ses attitudes et son identité. Ainsi, la migrante colombienne travaillant avec des collègues canadiens s'identifiera plus aux Canadiens dans le but d'être cohérente avec ses actions dans ce contexte.

Un second mécanisme psychologique, la perception de la typicalité, explique pourquoi la participation à un nouveau groupe social favorise l'identification. Ce mécanisme se base sur les principes d'autocatégories avancés par la théorie de l'identité sociale (Turner, 1987). Selon ces principes, les individus catégorisent leur propre personne et les autres (d'où le terme *autocategorisation*) comme membres d'un groupe en fonction de leur correspondance au modèle de ce groupe (Hogg, 2005; 2006). Le modèle d'un groupe réfère à « un ensemble plus ou moins défini d'attributs (les perceptions, les attitudes, les émotions et les comportements) reliés les uns aux autres d'une façon significative » (Hogg, 2006, p. 118, traduction libre). Par exemple, le modèle canadien peut comprendre des attributs tels que le caractère aimable des gens, leur passion pour le hockey, leur préférence pour le sirop d'érable ainsi que leur ouverture à la diversité. Bien que certains de ces attributs se verront accorder une importance accrue dans certains contextes, ils sont suffisamment stables et constants (Hogg, 2006) pour que les individus puissent juger du degré avec lequel une personne correspond au modèle des Canadiens.

De plus, les humains sont intrinsèquement sociaux. Ils sont donc sensibles à leur degré de correspondance personnelle avec le modèle d'un groupe (ou leur niveau de typicalité; Hogg, 2005). En effet, des études révèlent que les individus sont constamment à la recherche d'informations leur permettant de juger leur correspondance à différents modèles (Haslam, Oakes, McGarty, Turner et Onorato, 1995). Cela leur permettra de s'autocategoriser comme membre de certains groupes, ce qui transforme leurs attitudes et leurs comportements et, conséquemment, favorise leur identification à ces groupes. Par exemple, lorsque des personnes biculturelles apprennent que leurs résultats à un test sont similaires à ceux obtenus par des membres de l'un de leurs groupes culturels, celles-ci s'identifient plus fortement à ce groupe (Schindler, Reinhard, Knab et Stahlberg, 2016). Quant aux personnes en contact avec un groupe, mais qui n'en sont pas membres, leur participation à ce dernier déclencherait le mécanisme de typicalité, facilitant leur autocategorisation en tant que membre de ce groupe. Le maintien de cette participation activerait la typicalité de façon continue, entraînant une hausse de l'identification au groupe. Ainsi, la migrante colombienne travaillant avec des Canadiens et

prenant part aux fêtes canadiennes constatera que ses actions correspondent au modèle du Canadien dont les membres travaillent aussi avec des Canadiens et célèbrent aussi des fêtes canadiennes, ce qui la conduira à s'identifier plus à ce groupe.

En résumé, Cárdenas et de la Sablonnière (2017a) ont récemment mis en évidence que la participation à un nouveau groupe social permettrait de prévoir une identification accrue à ce groupe. Dans le présent article, nous avons présenté deux mécanismes psychologiques, soit le besoin de cohérence et la perception de la typicalité, qui déterminent cette relation (voir Figure 1). Comprendre ces mécanismes s'avère essentiel pour les chercheurs et les intervenants souhaitant favoriser une identification accrue des élèves à leur nouvelle école ou encore hausser l'identification des immigrants à leur nouveau groupe culturel. De surcroît, cette compréhension permettra une étude plus poussée des conditions favorisant ces mécanismes.

LA PARTICIPATION À UN NOUVEAU GROUPE SOCIAL : LES PATRONS ADDITIF ET SOUSTRACTIF DE L'IDENTIFICATION

Si la participation à un nouveau groupe social augmente l'identification à celui-ci, quelles en sont les conséquences pour l'identité d'origine? Une immigrante colombienne maintiendra-t-elle un niveau d'identification stable envers son groupe d'origine, alors qu'elle s'identifie plus fortement au groupe canadien (c.-à-d., un patron additif de l'identification)? Ou, au contraire, l'identification au groupe d'origine diminuera-t-elle en fonction de l'identification au groupe d'accueil (c.-à-d., un patron soustractif de l'identification)? Dans les paragraphes suivants, les patrons additif et soustractif de l'identification seront présentés.

L'intégration identitaire est définie comme le processus par lequel une identité acquiert autant d'importance que celles déjà présentes dans le soi (Amiot *et al.*, 2007; de la Sablonnière *et al.*, 2016). À son aboutissement, chacune des identités intégrées sera aussi importante dans la définition de soi, ce qui permet de garantir un équilibre harmonieux dans le soi (c.-à-d., un soi qui donne de l'importance à toutes les identités culturelles et qui est donc en équilibre; de la Sablonnière, Debrosse et Benoit, 2010). En considérant cette définition de l'intégration, il est possible pour une nouvelle identité de prendre une importance croissante dans le soi sans affecter la place occupée par les autres. Cela constitue le patron additif de l'identification (de la Sablonnière *et al.*, 2016) qui s'inspire des recherches sur le bilinguisme. En effet, le bilinguisme additif se produit lorsque l'apprentissage d'une langue seconde ne diminue pas les compétences dans la langue maternelle (Lambert, 1977 ; Lambert et Taylor, 1983; Wright, Taylor et Macarthur, 2000). De manière similaire, le patron additif de

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l'identification se produit lorsque l'identification à une nouvelle identité sociale augmente sans entraîner d'effet négatif à l'identité d'origine (voir Figure 2). En ce qui a trait à l'immigrante colombienne travaillant avec des Canadiens et s'identifiant de plus en plus à ces derniers, son niveau d'identification envers les Colombiens restera semblable malgré l'adoption d'une nouvelle identité. En d'autres termes, l'identification au nouveau groupe augmente tandis que l'identification au groupe d'origine demeure stable. Les deux identités seront intégrées lorsqu'elles atteindront une importance équivalente et, conséquemment, l'équilibre dans le soi sera rétabli.

Cependant, un patron d'identification soustractif peut également prendre place. Ce dernier réfère à une augmentation de l'identification au nouveau groupe, accompagnée d'une diminution de l'identification au groupe d'origine. Ce patron d'identification s'inspire aussi des recherches sur le bilinguisme. Le bilinguisme soustractif se produit lorsque l'apprentissage d'un nouveau langage fait obstacle au développement de la langue maternelle (Lambert, 1977 ; Lambert et Taylor, 1983; Wright *et al.*, 2000). À la suite de sa participation au groupe canadien, une migrante colombienne présentera le patron soustractif de l'identification si son identification aux Canadiens s'accompagne d'une diminution d'identification envers les Colombiens. Le déclin de l'identification au groupe d'origine se poursuivra jusqu'à ce que le niveau d'identification à chaque groupe soit similaire, marquant le rétablissement de l'équilibre dans le soi. Il est important de noter que le patron soustractif de l'identification représente une forme d'intégration des identités dans la mesure où il permet l'identification à plusieurs groupes, de la même manière que le bilinguisme soustractif permet l'utilisation de deux langages.

La participation à un nouveau groupe social accroît l'identification à ce dernier, mais peut entraîner soit un patron additif de l'identification soit un patron soustractif de l'identification. Pour cette raison, il est essentiel de déterminer les facteurs, ou caractéristiques des groupes, qui favorisent l'un ou l'autre de ces patrons. Le présent article met en évidence deux caractéristiques susceptibles de déterminer le patron d'identification qui prendra place. Il s'agit 1) du statut du groupe et 2) de la différence perçue entre la participation à chacun des groupes.

D'abord, les recherches récentes ont démontré que la nature du patron d'identification dépend de la différence de statut perçue entre les cultures (de la Sablonnière *et al.*, 2016). Le statut se définit comme la perception de la position d'un groupe fondée sur des éléments valorisés par un groupe (Sachdev et Bourhis, 1987; Tajfel et Turner, 1979) tels que les avantages économiques ou ceux reliés à l'éducation. Selon la théorie de l'identité

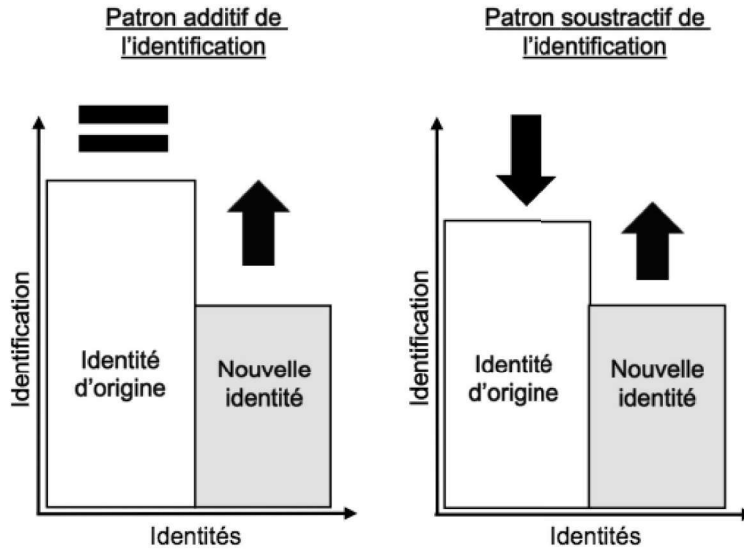


Figure 2. Figure illustrant les patrons additifs et soustractifs de l'identification.

Note. Une variante de cette figure est originalement parue dans de la Sablonnière *et al.*, 2016

d'élever leur valeur personnelle. Ainsi, un groupe jouissant d'un statut plus élevé sera enclin à augmenter la valeur personnelle de ses membres, faisant en sorte que les gens souhaiteront s'y identifier davantage (Easterbrook et Vignoles, 2012; Tajfel et Turner, 1979). Au contraire, un groupe dont le statut est inférieur n'exercera aucun attrait sur une personne, entraînant une désidentification à celui-ci (Tajfel et Turner, 1979). Compte tenu de l'importance du statut dans les processus d'identification ou de désidentification, un patron d'identification soustractif découlera de l'impression que le statut du nouveau groupe est supérieur à celui du groupe d'origine. De plus, ce patron devrait être exacerbé lorsque les différences de statut sont considérées comme légitimes, car cette perception indique une adhésion aux statuts véhiculés. Cette hypothèse reçoit le support de trois études récentes (de la Sablonnière *et al.*, 2016; deux conduites au Canada et en République kirghize) qui ont vérifié si le statut (ainsi que la perception de la légitimité dans les études 2 et 3) modérait la relation entre l'identification au nouveau groupe et l'identification au groupe d'origine. En effet, lorsque les individus s'identifiaient fortement au nouveau groupe et que celui-ci était perçu comme ayant un statut élevé, ils démontraient une plus faible identification à leur groupe d'origine. Ainsi, les résultats de ces études confirment que les caractéristiques d'un groupe influencent la nature du patron d'identification.

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Chez les individus participant à un nouveau groupe social, les différences de statut attribuées aux groupes devraient influencer le type de patron d'identification qui se produit. Plus précisément, la perception du statut déterminerait si la participation à un nouveau groupe résulte en un patron additif ou soustractif d'identification. Par exemple, si un migrant colombien perçoit le statut des Canadiens comme étant supérieur à celui des Colombiens, travailler avec des Canadiens et donc s'identifier plus à ce groupe prédit une plus faible identification aux Colombiens (patron soustractif). Si, par contre, il perçoit les statuts des deux groupes comme étant égaux ou bien celui des Colombiens comme supérieur, son processus d'intégration identitaire ne sera pas accompagné d'une diminution d'identification au groupe d'origine (voir Figure 1).

Une seconde caractéristique de groupe devrait influencer le type de patron d'identification : la similarité perçue entre la participation au nouveau groupe et au groupe d'origine. En effet, il a été démontré que la similarité entre les groupes influence les relations intergroupes (p. ex., van Oudenhoven, Judd et Hewstone, 2000), l'adaptation des immigrants (Berry, 2006) et le processus d'intégration d'identités (Mok et Morris, 2012). De surcroît, le modèle cognitivo-développemental de l'intégration des identités sociales propose que l'intégration de l'identité est le résultat de similarités perçues entre les caractéristiques de deux groupes (Amiot *et al.*, 2007; de la Sablonnière *et al.*, 2013). Ces similarités, notamment concernant des activités, des gestes et des actions, facilitent la création de liens cognitifs entre les identités préexistantes et les nouvelles identités, favorisant ainsi l'intégration de ces dernières. Si l'établissement de similarités entre les groupes est essentiel à l'intégration de l'identité (p.ex., Mok et Morris, 2012), ce phénomène pourrait aussi influencer le type de patron d'identification prenant place. Plus précisément, si la participation à un nouveau groupe social, comme le fait de travailler avec des Canadiens, est perçue comme similaire à la participation au groupe d'origine, soit travailler avec des Colombiens, prendre part aux activités du groupe d'accueil faciliterait la création de liens cognitifs entre les deux identités, et ce, sans demander une réorganisation majeure du soi. Il résulterait de cette situation un patron additif de l'identification, c'est-à-dire que l'identification aux Canadiens augmenterait alors que l'identification aux Colombiens demeurerait inchangée.

À l'opposé, si la participation au nouveau groupe social est liée à des activités perçues comme différentes de celles du groupe d'origine (p. ex., travailler avec des Canadiens est différent que de travailler avec des Colombiens), la création de liens cognitifs entre les deux identités sera difficile, car ces liens sont le produit de la perception de similarités (Amiot *et al.*, 2007). Dans ce cas, l'identification accrue induite par la participation demande des changements majeurs dans le concept de soi afin d'incorporer

l'identité du nouveau groupe. Cela entraîne un patron soustractif de l'identification, c'est-à-dire une plus grande identification aux Canadiens et une moins grande identification aux Colombiens.

L'importance de la perception des similarités dans la prédiction du patron d'identification est également soutenue par le besoin de cohérence (Fiske et Taylor, 2013; Swann, 1983). Selon ce principe, l'être humain cherche à percevoir ses actions, ses nouvelles identités et ses identités d'origines comme cohérentes et compatibles. Donc, la participation à un nouveau groupe social entraîne l'adoption d'un patron d'identification cohérent avec les actions posées. Si participer au nouveau groupe social est semblable à participer au groupe d'origine, les actions liées à la participation se révéleront cohérentes avec les deux identités. Cela facilitera une identification au nouveau groupe sans impact négatif sur l'identification au groupe d'origine (patron additif de l'identification). Cependant, si la participation aux deux groupes est perçue comme dissemblable et si l'adoption de comportements du nouveau groupe promet un besoin de cohérence, alors l'identification au nouveau groupe augmentera au détriment de l'identification au groupe d'origine (patron soustractif de l'identification; voir Figure 1).

En résumé, la participation à un nouveau groupe social peut entraîner soit un patron additif ou soustractif de l'identification. Dans le présent article, nous suggérons que deux éléments soient susceptibles de déterminer ce patron d'identification : l'impression de différences de statuts entre les groupes et percevoir la participation au nouveau groupe comme similaire à participer au groupe d'origine. Spécifiquement, participer à un groupe dont le statut ou les activités sont perçus comme comparables à ceux du groupe d'origine devrait entraîner un patron additif de l'identification. À l'opposé, un individu pour qui la participation aux différents groupes est dissemblable ou qui conçoit le statut social du nouveau groupe comme supérieur au sien vivra un patron soustractif d'identification. Examiner ces deux caractéristiques permettrait de mieux comprendre et de mieux prédire l'émergence de chacun des patrons d'identification.

DISCUSSION

L'objectif général de cet article consistait à exposer un modèle théorique qui caractérise le rôle clé que la participation à un nouveau groupe social a sur l'adaptation du concept de soi à une nouvelle identité sociale. Nous avons décrit deux mécanismes psychologiques expliquant pourquoi la participation à un nouveau groupe a le potentiel d'accroître l'identification à ce dernier. Nous avons émis l'hypothèse que la participation active à la fois le besoin de cohérence et la perception de la typicalité, ce qui augmente l'identification au nouveau groupe social. Ensuite, deux patrons d'intégration

par lesquels l'identité d'origine s'adapte à la nouvelle identité, soit le patron additif et le patron soustractif d'identification, ont été décrits. Deux caractéristiques de groupes — les différences des statuts et la perception de similitudes entre la participation au groupe d'origine et celle au nouveau groupe social — ont été présentées comme ayant le potentiel de déterminer quel patron d'identification est suivi par un individu. Par ce modèle théorique, nous désirons comprendre à quel point la participation à un nouveau groupe peut exercer une influence sur le noyau identitaire.

Des études empiriques sont essentielles au soutien des hypothèses présentées dans cet article. À cet effet, cinq études ont été menées⁴ (Cárdenas, de la Sablonnière, Gorboukova, Mageau, Amiot et Sadykova, 2017b; Cárdenas et de la Sablonnière, 2017c). Elles démontrent que la participation à un nouveau groupe prédit l'identification à celui-ci qui, en retour, prédit une faible identification au groupe d'origine (patron d'identification soustractif) lorsque peu de similarités sont perçues entre les deux groupes. Dans une première étude effectuée auprès d'étudiants kirghizes de l'Université américaine de l'Asie centrale (Kirghizstan), nous avons testé si participer à la culture américaine prédisait une plus forte identification à ce groupe culturel. En outre, nous avons testé quel patron d'identification (soit additif ou soustractif) était présent chez les étudiants de cette université. Étant donné que la mission de cette institution favorise généralement la perception de similarités, nous avons postulé que les résultats démontreraient un patron additif d'identification. Les résultats d'une analyse de médiation démontrent que, en effet, participer à la culture américaine prédit une plus forte identification aux Américains. Cela, à son tour, prédit une plus forte identification aux Kirghizes (patron additif). Dans une deuxième étude, nous avons testé si, effectivement, l'université américaine était un contexte qui promeut les similarités et, donc, le patron additif. À cette fin, nous avons comparé cette université à une université kirghize traditionnelle (l'Université Nationale kirghize au nom de Jusup Balasagyn), une institution qui n'a pas une mission encourageant les similarités, donc qui encouragerait un patron soustractif chez ses étudiants. Nous avons répliqué les résultats de l'étude précédente à l'université américaine. Par contre, à l'université kirghize, l'identification aux Américains prédisait une plus faible identification aux Kirghizes, ce qui supporte un patron soustractif d'identification lorsque des similarités ne sont pas promues. Si l'étude précédente présumait que les deux institutions promouvaient à différents degrés la perception de similarité entre les Américains et les Kirghizes, la troisième étude a directement mesuré ce construit chez des étudiants de trois universités kirghizes différentes. Cette fois, des analyses de médiation modérée ont démontré que, effectivement, la perception de

4. Les résultats de ces études ont été détaillés dans deux autres articles (Cárdenas *et al.*, 2017b; Cárdenas et de la Sablonnière, 2017c). Le lecteur intéressé par la méthodologie et les analyses statistiques est invité à se référer à ces autres publications.

similarités modère le lien entre l'identification aux Américains et l'identification aux Kirghizes. Lorsque très peu de similarités étaient perçues entre ses groupes, un patron d'identification soustractif ressortait.

Deux études supplémentaires ont été effectuées hors du Kirghizistan afin de vérifier le modèle dans différents contextes. Une étude chez des Franco-Ontariens, utilisant une méthodologie de mesures répétées, a démontré que, lorsque les Franco-Ontariens parlaient anglais avec des amis ou la famille, ils s'identifiaient plus aux anglophones. Ceci, au moment de la première enquête aussi bien que cinq ans plus tard. Ainsi, la participation prédit l'identification au nouveau groupe même dans ce contexte. En ce qui concerne les patrons d'identification, l'identification aux anglophones cinq ans plus tard prédisait une identification aux francophones plus faible lorsque peu de similitudes entre l'anglais et le français étaient perçues. Ces résultats répliquent donc les études au Kirghizistan. Finalement, une étude expérimentale chez des immigrants au Canada a démontré que les immigrants qui participaient à la culture québécoise étaient soumis aux mêmes changements identitaires que les participants des études précédentes. Cet effet n'était pas observé chez les immigrants qui ne participaient pas à la culture québécoise (opérationnalisé comme l'action de regarder la vidéo d'un match de basketball). Ainsi, l'ensemble de nos travaux offre une fondation solide à notre modèle qui conçoit que la participation à une culture influence les processus identitaires.

Malgré ces résultats, plusieurs éléments du modèle doivent encore être testés. Mentionnons les mécanismes psychologiques favorisant l'identification au nouveau groupe (le besoin de cohérence et la perception de la typicalité) et l'importance du contact avec un nouveau groupe comme première étape du processus de changement identitaire. En plus de vérifier le modèle au complet tel qu'émis dans cet article, les études futures devront approfondir d'autres facteurs pouvant prédire la nature du patron d'identification. Par exemple, il a récemment été démontré que les politiques d'immigration influencent la façon dont les habitants d'un pays réagissent à la présence des immigrants (Guimond *et al.*, 2013) de même que leurs réactions par rapport à des différences culturelles (Mahfud, Badea, Guimond, Anier et Ernst-Vintila, 2016). Il est possible que, dans les pays ayant adopté le multiculturalisme, les immigrants puissent percevoir plus facilement les similarités intergroupes, entraînant ainsi un patron additif de l'identification. Au contraire, dans les pays prônant des politiques d'assimilation, considérer l'intégration de l'identité du groupe comme un processus à somme nulle (c.-à-d., où il est possible de garder une ou l'autre des identités, mais pas les deux) est susceptible d'entraîner un patron soustractif de l'identification.

Il sera aussi crucial d'explorer les conséquences psychologiques du patron soustractif de l'identification. D'une part, lorsqu'une personne vit le patron soustractif, son identité d'origine perd de son importance et est remplacée par une nouvelle identité. Ainsi, cette situation peut s'apparenter à un deuil dans le concept de soi et réduire le bien-être (voir Cameron, 1999, pour le lien entre identification et bien-être). D'autre part, un tel processus se révèle parfois nécessaire, voire bénéfique. Par exemple, un homme homophobe qui devient de plus en plus conscient de ses propres tendances homosexuelles devra remplacer ses attitudes négatives par des attitudes positives envers l'homosexualité s'il veut accepter sa propre homosexualité (p. ex., Jaspal et Cinnirella, 2010). Assurément, dans le but de favoriser la cohérence du concept de soi, de nouvelles mentalités doivent parfois remplacer les anciennes et le processus soustractif peut, dans certaines situations de conflits importants, jouer ce rôle et accroître le bien-être.

En conclusion, notre monde est sans cesse changeant. Il est donc inévitable d'entrer en contact avec de nouveaux groupes. Notre article présente la participation à une nouvelle culture comme un facteur ayant le potentiel de modifier le concept de soi, ce qui pourrait ouvrir de nouvelles voies de recherche afin de comprendre les phénomènes d'identifications et de faciliter l'adaptation de personnes qui sont en contact avec de nouveaux groupes.

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RÉSUMÉ

Le soi est malléable et capable d'intégrer de nouvelles identités sociales. Des recherches ont démontré que la participation à un nouveau groupe social prédit une plus forte identification à ce dernier. Par contre, ces recherches n'expliquent pas les mécanismes psychologiques responsables de cette identification accrue ainsi que ses conséquences sur l'identité d'origine. Dans cet article, nous proposons un modèle théorique qui caractérise ces éléments. Nous proposons que la participation à un nouveau groupe active 1) le besoin de cohérence et 2) la perception de typicalité. Ces deux mécanismes mènent à une plus forte identification à la nouvelle culture. Cette plus forte identification au nouveau groupe social peut être associée soit positivement (c.-à-d., patron additif) soit négativement (c.-à-d., patron soustractif) à l'identification au groupe d'origine. Dans ce modèle théorique, nous proposons que la relation entre la nouvelle identité et l'identité d'origine dépende du statut et des similarités perçues.

Lorsque de grandes différences sont perçues et que le nouveau groupe est vu comme ayant un fort statut, une relation négative est attendue.

MOTS CLÉS

intégration des identités; participation dans la nouvelle culture; patron d'identification; différences culturelles

ABSTRACT

The self is a malleable structure, capable of integrating new social identities. Research shows that participating in a new group predicts stronger identification with this group. However, previous literature does not specify the psychological mechanisms that could be responsible for this increase in identification with the new group, nor its consequences on the identity of origin. In the current article, we present a theoretical model in order to account for these missing explanations. More specifically, we propose that participating in a new group will activate 1) the need for coherence and 2) the perception of prototypicality. These two mechanisms promote stronger identification with the new cultural group. This stronger identification can, in turn, either be positively (i.e., an additive pattern) or negatively (i.e., a subtractive pattern) associated with the group of origin. In the current theoretical model, we propose that the relation between the new identity and the identity of origin depends on the perceived status and the perceived similarities between the groups. When great differences between groups are perceived, and when the new group is seen as having a high status, we expect a negative relation between identities to emerge.

KEY WORDS

identity integration; participating in the new culture; identification patterns; cultural differences

**Article 2: Participation in a New Cultural Group and
Patterns of Identification in a Globalized World: The
Moderating Role of Similarity**

Revise and resubmit in Self and Identity

RUNNING TITLE: PARTICIPATION AND IDENTIFICATION PATTERNS

Participation in a new cultural group and patterns of identification in a globalized world:
The moderating role of similarity

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Abstract

Globalization impacts the identities of millions. This research first investigates whether, in the context of globalization, participating in a new cultural group predicts higher identification with it. Second, it tests whether the increase in identification with the new group is positively or negatively associated with the identity of origin, depending on the perceived similarity between groups. Studies 1 and 2 (in Kyrgyzstan) showed that participating in the American group predicted greater identification with Americans who positively predicted identification with Kyrgyz in a context promoting similarity; when similarities were not promoted (Study 2), a negative association between identities emerged. Studies 3 (in Kyrgyzstan) and 4 (in Canada) replicated these findings measuring similarity and with a repeated measures methodology (Study 4).

Keywords: participation; identification; identification patterns; globalization.

Participation in a new cultural group and patterns of identification in a globalized world: The moderating role of similarity

Globalization, the “increasing interconnectedness of societies, economies, and cultures (Rosenmann, Reese & Cameron, 2016, p 202), has had and continues having an immense impact on people’s lives. Cheaper means of transportation have allowed for goods to be available around the globe and for the emergence of tourism as a form of economy in many countries. Television, the internet and social media facilitate the flow of ideas from one continent to the next within seconds (Marsella, 2011). Our world has never been more connected, which invariably means that we have never been more in contact with cultural groups different from our own (Arnett, 2002; Marsella, 2011). The high number of international migrants around the globe (Adams, 2015) is one example of globalization; in 2013, 232 million people were living in a country other than their country of birth. Another example is the increased number of institutions and media originating from any country that can be easily found in a different country, such as the American University that can be found in Kyrgyzstan (a small country in Central Asia). Clearly, globalization profoundly impacts the lives of individuals.

One way in which globalization affects individuals is by giving them the opportunity to come into contact with other cultural groups (Fiske, 2015), giving individuals the opportunity to learn about the new group, create affective ties, change negative attitudes towards the new group and reappraise one’s own group (Pettigrew, 1998). Importantly, and beyond its ability to encourage intergroup contact, globalization offers individuals the opportunity to participate in activities and behaviors that are typical of or expected in new cultural groups (i.e., participating in a new group) while still being embedded in their culture of origin. In the context of immigration, a recent article by Cárdenas and de la Sablonnière (2017a) showed that Latin American immigrants living in Canada who participated in Canadian culture by engaging in its typical behaviors and engaging in relationships with Canadians were more likely to identify with the new Canadian group, attributing greater importance to this cultural group. However, it remains unknown whether this relation can be generalized in a more subtle setting of globalization, one where people are in contact with new cultural groups via its institutions and media, while continuing to live in their country of origin. In this context, individuals retain all of their cultural landmarks; thus, participation in the new culture is not as essential as it would be in the case of immigration. Considering that both immigration and globalization offer individuals opportunities to participate in the culture, albeit to a different

degree, the first goal of this article is to explore whether participation in a new cultural group can impact identification with this new cultural group even when individuals remain fully imbedded in their group of origin.

A second question that remains unanswered is whether acquiring a new cultural identity by participating in the new group has repercussions for one's original cultural identity. Research shows that the relation between new identities and identities of origin is indeed complex. Sometimes, adopting a new social identity can result in a subtractive pattern of identification, where increased identification with a new group is accompanied by decreased identification with the group of origin (i.e., subtractive identification pattern; de la Sablonnière, Amiot, Cárdenas, Sadykova, Gorborukova, & Huberdeau, 2016; Phinney, Berry, Vedder, & Liebkind, 2006). In other cases, increased identification with a new group may result in no change or even in higher identification with the group of origin; this additive pattern of identification, allows for a positive or neutral relation between identities (e.g., Phinney et al., 2006). Even though both patterns of identification have been reported, the circumstances under which a higher identification with the new cultural group (that ensues from participating in it) will result in additive versus subtractive pattern of identification remain under-examined. In a series of four studies, we test the proposition that perceptions of similarity or dissimilarity between a new group and one's group of origin will predict which specific identification pattern will occur. Together, these studies shed light on how individual's self-concept adapts to the ubiquitous phenomenon of globalization.

Participation in a New Cultural Group and Identification with the New Group in the Context of Globalization

Research shows that group identification, which is the sense of belonging to and being close to one's group, can be impacted by a set of different factors, including contextual/environmental factors (e.g., discrimination; de Vroome, Verkuyten, & Martinovic, 2014), personal (sharing goals with the new group; Zhang & Chiu, 2012), and cognitive variables (need for cognition, Kashima & Pillai, 2011). However, many of these factors cannot be controlled or are not easily modified by individuals to create change in their group identification. Lately, a new factor, which is under the control of individuals, was proposed by Cardenas and de la Sablonnière (2017a). They suggested that participating in a new culture, that is, engaging in behaviors or actions that are typically observed in the new group (e.g., adopting the new language, engaging in cultural traditions, social/work/education activities and relationships with members of

this new cultural group), will promote identification with the new group (Cárdenas & de la Sablonnière, 2017a) by activating two psychological mechanisms (Cárdenas & de la Sablonnière, 2017b). First, participation promotes the perception that one is a prototypical member of the new group (Hogg, 2005; 2006) for example an immigrant participating in Canadian culture by watching hockey is adopting characteristics contained in the Canadian prototype, and hence better fitting the prototype of Canadians. The closer one is to fitting a prototype, the more likely one is to self-categorize as a member of that group and identify with it (Hogg, 2005; 2006). The second mechanism activated by participation is the need for consistency between one's actions and attitudes (or in this case, identities; Fiske & Taylor, 2013; see also Swann, 1983). The immigrant participating in the Canadian culture will attempt to make his inner attitudes (and identities) coherent with the actions he took; the action of participating in a new group is coherent with the migrant's self if he is becoming a member of the Canadian group, thus increasing identification with the new group. Cárdenas and de la Sablonnière (2017b) theorized that these mechanisms explain why participation in a new group would promote stronger identification with the new group.

The relation between participation and identification with the new group was tested in two empirical studies conducted among Latin American immigrants in Canada (Cárdenas & de la Sablonnière, 2017a). In the first study, path analyses showed that the theoretical model where participation predicted identification presented the best fit to the data compared to models where participation and identification were simply correlated or where identification predicted participation. In the second study, qualitative analyses of immigration narratives revealed that only when immigrants participated in the new cultural group did they feel a sense of belonging to this new group. These studies, thus, support the contention that participation predicts identification; the more Latin American immigrants participated in the Canadian culture, the more they identified with this cultural group.

While increasing our understanding of the process by which an outsider develops identification with a new cultural group, these findings remain to be replicated in the more subtle context of globalization, and more specifically, in contexts where a specific new cultural identity is being promoted from within one's country of origin. Studies have found that being in contact with new cultural groups within the borders of one's own country can touch individuals' identities in a like manner to immigration (Chen, Benet-Martinez. & Bond, 2008; Chen, Benet-Martinez,

Wu, Lam, & Bond, 2013; Arnett, 2002; Jensen, Arnett, & McKenzie, 2011). One reason for this may be that globalization also offers individuals the opportunities to partake in the new cultural group and participate in it. Indeed, globalization involves sharing intangible (such as ideologies and identities) and tangible resources (such as objects and institutions) across borders. This allows individuals to acquire knowledge about new cultural groups as well as the opportunity to participate in it. Importantly, we argue that even if individuals remain embedded in their culture of origin and are not required to participate in the new group out of necessity (unlike when they immigrate), engaging in the behaviors of the new group and participating in it can engage the psychological mechanism responsible for the increase in immigrants' identification (i.e., prototypicality and need for consistency; Cárdenas & de la Sablonnière, 2017b). This process should take place, albeit possibly to a less strong extent as the influence of the new cultural group in the more subtle context of globalization should be duller. We thus expected that participating in a new cultural group while still remaining in one's cultural group of origin predicts higher identification with this new group (Hypothesis 1 or H1), as observed in the context of immigration.

In addition to overlooking the role of participation in the new culture as a predictor of identification with a new group outside of the context of immigration, previous research has yet to offer answers as to how participating in a new group while remaining embedded in one's culture of origin can impact the relation between identification with this new group and the group of origin. More specifically, an increase in identification with new groups can sometimes be positively and sometimes negatively associated with one's original cultural identity. Thus, it remains unclear whether the increase in identification with the new group that results from participation will be positively or negatively associated with the cultural identity of origin.

Participating in a New Cultural Group and the Additive/Subtractive Patterns of Identification

According to the cognitive developmental model of social identity integration, a new identity becomes integrated when it becomes as important in one's self-concept as the social identities that were previously in the self (Amiot et al., 2007). When two identities are integrated, the self is in balance and the new identity and the identity of origin are important in defining the individual's self-concept. As such, it is possible for a new identity to gain importance in the self without it impacting the identification levels of the identities that were previously in the self.

This process of adding new identities without it impacting negatively on the identities of origin has been labelled the additive pattern of identification (de la Sablonnière et al., 2016) and is inspired by bilingualism research. Additive bilingualism occurs when learning a second language does not disrupt proficiency in the original language (Lambert, 1977; Lambert & Taylor, 1983; Louis & Taylor, 2001; Wright, Taylor, & Macarthur, 2000). Similarly, the additive pattern of identification occurs when increased identification with the new social identity does not negatively impact on the identity of origin; instead, these identities are positively related or unrelated to each other. For example, a Kyrgyz student who speaks English with professors in an American university — and consequently identifies more with Americans — experiences the additive identification pattern if this identification increase is not accompanied to lower identification with Kyrgyz.

However, a different identification pattern, the subtractive pattern, is also possible. This pattern of identification refers to instances where an increase in the identification with a new group is accompanied by a decrease in identification with the group of origin, resulting in a negative association between the two identities (de la Sablonnière et al., 2016). The subtractive pattern of identification is also inspired by bilingualism research, and more specifically by subtractive bilingualism, which arises when acquiring a new language impedes the development of the original language (Lambert, 1977; Lambert & Taylor, 1983; Louis & Taylor, 2001; Wright et al., 2000). For example, the Kyrgyz student participating in the new American culture, who increasingly identifies with Americans and who, as a result, reports a decrease in Kyrgyz identification is experiencing the subtractive identification pattern.

An important contribution of de la Sablonnière and colleagues (2016) was in theorizing conditions under which the additive versus the subtractive pattern occurs. More specifically, these authors were the first to propose that status and legitimacy impact the emergence of subtractive identification patterns. This assertion is based on social identity theory, which postulates that individuals are motivated to belong to groups that provide them with a positive social identity and self-value (Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Because groups that have higher perceived status also have more potential for increased self-esteem, individuals will tend to identify more strongly with such high status groups. In contrast, belonging to low status groups can reflect poorly on individuals' self-concept, which in turn was proposed to trigger a process of disidentification (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Under this logic, increasingly identifying with a new group that is

perceived as having a higher status than the group of origin, while simultaneously lowering their identification with their group of origin, would provide individuals with an opportunity to maximize their own self-value. Decreasing identification with the group of origin would, in turn, result in a negative association between identities. This subtractive pattern should be stronger when the status differences are perceived as legitimate, as this indicates an acceptance of the status differentials (Bettencourt, Dorr, Charlton, & Hume, 2001). These hypotheses received support in three studies (de la Sablonnière et al., 2016), which showed that status differentials between one's original and new cultural groups (Study 1) and the legitimacy of these status differences (Studies 2 and 3) moderated the relation between identification with the new group and identification with the group of origin.

Perceived Similarity and the Identification Patterns

Although differences in the value attributed to different groups seem to impact the pattern of identification towards these groups, it is still not clear whether it is specific differences in value differentials (implied by status and legitimacy) that influence identification patterns or if any differences between cultural groups would promote a subtractive identification pattern. Given the difficulty involved when attempting to integrate contradictory aspects of self (e.g., Festinger, 1957), we can indeed expect that perceiving similarities between a new group and one's group of origin will impact whether an additive or subtractive pattern of identification will emerge, over and above legitimate status differentials (see also Cárdenas & de la Sablonnière, 2017b). Specifically, we propose that, following participation in a new group, perceived similarities between the new cultural group (e.g., Americans) and the group of origin (e.g., Kyrgyz) should result in additive identification pattern (i.e., a positive or neutral relation between the new identity and the identity of origin), whereas perceived dissimilarities should predict the subtractive identification pattern (i.e., a negative relation between the new identity and identity of origin).

These hypotheses are in line with the cognitive developmental model of social identity integration, which posits that perceiving similarities between a new social group and the group of origin create cognitive links between possibly competing identities, which in turn facilitates the identification with multiple groups (Amiot et al., 2007). Experimental work also shows that bicultural individuals who focused on similarities between banal objects (e.g., keys and socks) reported that their cultural identities were closer and more coherent than those who focused on the differences between the objects (Mok & Morris, 2012, Study 3). Hence, perceiving similarities

between groups appears to foster the establishment of cognitive links between one's identities. When identities are similar and cognitive links between identities are formed, they become interdependent, where the activation of one identity activates the other. Hence, a strong identification with the new identity and the identity of origin is more likely, resulting in a positive relation between these two identities (an additive pattern). In contrast, if an individual perceives differences between cultural groups, the cognitive links between the identities will be hindered, such that when one identity is activated the other one is repressed. This in turn would result in a negative association between the new identity and the identity of origin, or in the subtractive pattern of identification.

The role of perceived similarity in predicting the patterns of identification may be particularly important when individuals are participating in a new group because this behavior likely activates the need for consistency (Fiske & Taylor, 2013; Swann, 1983). The need for consistency involves the motivation to perceive oneself as having a consistent self-concept as opposed to one that varies across situations (Fiske & Taylor, 2013; Swann, 1983). This means that individuals are motivated to see coherence between their behaviors and their attitudes (Banaji & Heiphetz, 2010). As such, when they engage in new behaviors, their attitudes will tend to be modified, and some new attitudes may develop, so as to establish coherence with the novel actions they have undertaken (for theoretical explanations for this phenomenon see the theory of cognitive dissonance, Festinger, 1957, and self-perception theory, Bem, 1972).

In accordance with the need for consistency, individuals who participate in a new group will be motivated to organize their self-concept so that their behaviors (i.e., their participation in the new group), as well as their personal attitudes (e.g., their identification) towards the new group and their group of origin are consistent and coherent with each other. More specifically, if they participate more in a new group, their identification with this new group will increase so that their self-concept is coherent with their actions. In turn, if similarities between these two groups are perceived, the increased identification with the new group should be positively associated (or at least not negatively) associated with the identity of origin (i.e., additive pattern of identification) because in this case the characteristics of the new identity are seen as coherent and consistent with the identity of origin. Both identities can thus be endorsed (H2a). In contrast, if the groups are perceived as being different, then participating in the new group will foster identification with this new group but this should result in a negative relation between the new identity and the identity of

origin; in this case, the increase in importance of the new group identity should result in a negative relation between the new identity and the identity of origin (H2b).

Hypotheses and Overview of Studies

In the present article, we present four studies that investigate how individuals' self-concept adapts to the ubiquitous phenomenon of globalization, and more specifically when a new cultural group is promoted while the individual remains embedded in their culture of origin. We hypothesize that participation in a new cultural group increases identification with the new group while remaining in one's cultural group of origin (H1; Studies 1 to 4), and that the relation between the increased new identity and the identity of origin will be either positive/neutral (H2a; Studies 1 to 4) or negative (H2b; Studies 2 to 4), depending on the perceived similarities between the new and original cultural groups. Bringing these hypotheses together into a single model (Studies 3 and 4), we postulate a moderated mediation, where identification with the new group will mediate the relation between participation in the new culture and identification with the culture of origin, and that this mediation, and more specifically the link between identification with the new group and the group of origin, will vary as a function of perceived similarity between groups.

Study 1 was conducted at the American University in Kyrgyzstan, a university that promotes similarity between cultural groups and nations through its mission. This study tested whether participating in the new cultural group promoted by the institution (the United States of America) positively predicts identification with this new group (H1). Given that the university promotes similarities between the two cultural groups, identification with the new group should, in turn, positively predict identification with the group of origin (H2a). Study 2 compared two universities in Kyrgyzstan, the American University that fosters similarities between cultural groups and another university which does not promote such similarities, and tests whether the mediation models, which link participation in a new group to identification with the group of origin via identification with the new group, are different in the two universities. It was expected that in the university promoting similarities, participation in the new group will positively predict identification with the new group, which in turn will positively predict identification with the culture of origin. A negative association between identities was expected in the university that does not promote similarities between the two cultural groups.

Study 3, also conducted in Kyrgyzstan, explicitly measured perceived similarity between groups and tested whether such similarity moderates the proposed mediation model. Study 4 aimed

at replicating the results of Study 3 with two important changes: The study was conducted in a different cultural context (Franco-Ontarians in Canada) and employed a repeated measures methodology. Testing the hypotheses in a different cultural context allowed us to whether results can be generalized to another population, while using a repeated measures methodology allowed for a more stringent test of our hypothesis, where the relation between group participation and subsequent identification patterns was observed over a five-year interval.

Study 1

Study 1 aimed at testing whether participation in a new cultural group predicts identification with it (H1), and whether identification with this new group, in turn, positively predicts identification with the group of origin when similarity between cultural groups is promoted (H2a). These hypotheses were tested at the *American University of Central Asia* (or the *American University* in this article). The *American University* is a university in Kyrgyzstan established in 1993 with the aim of promoting the American style of liberal arts education. The mission of this university is to create a space where students can be educated in the American liberal arts tradition, learning the principles of global citizenship, democratic values, and critical thinking (“Mission, Values, and Goals,” n.d.). The emphasis on global citizenship transmitted throughout the university courses can promote the additive pattern by helping individuals think about the commonalities between their group identities. More specifically, situations and settings that present abstract information (such as democratic values and global citizenship) promote a global thinking style (e.g., Mok & Morris, 2012) in which individuals are more likely to focus on the global commonalities between distinct objects, individuals, and identities, instead of on their specific differences. By encouraging a global thinking framework when reflecting upon the American and Kyrgyz cultural groups, the *American University* represents a context that promotes the perception of similarities between these two cultural groups, and hence encourage the additive pattern of identification.

In addition, contact with Americans and foreigners at this university is frequent such that students have several occasions to participate in the American cultural group within the walls of the university. This in turn creates a perfect setting for testing this study’s hypotheses in the context of globalization, where one is in contact with a new group while remaining fully imbedded in one’s cultural group of origin. One way in which the university promotes participation in the American cultural group is by offering courses in English and providing students with opportunities to speak

in this new language. In the present article and across the four studies presented below, speaking the language associated with the new group is used as a measure of participation in the new group. Language is an observable behavior strongly associated with a group, becoming a salient characteristic of the group itself (Bourhis, 2001; Abrams & Hogg, 1987). As such, language has been described as “both a symbol and a tool of membership, functioning simultaneously as the means of communication and as a meaning-laden indicator of group membership” (Waldinger, 2015, p. 45). Because language has both a functional and a symbolic role, using the language of a new cultural group is an action “that [is] typically observed in the new group” (Cárdenas & de la Sablonnière, 2017a, p. 16), and hence a form of participation in the new group. We expected that speaking English, as a form of group participation, would positively predict identification with Americans (H1), which would in turn positively predict identification with Kyrgyz in this similarity-promoting context (H2a).

Methods

Participants and procedure.

Two hundred fifty-seven first-year university students took part in the first wave of the study, which consisted of answering a questionnaire in class during their first week of class (Time 1 or T1 in the first week of September). Considering how the present study focuses on identification with Kyrgyz, only participants who reported being born in Kyrgyzstan were kept, for a final sample of 218 at T1. Of the initial sample, 158 participated in the second phase, completing the questionnaire in the middle of their second semester (T2; March and April). Participants who completed a single wave of the study did not differ from those who completed both waves on the main variables (all t values < 1.09 ; $p < .279$). Women represented 60.6% of the sample, and the mean age of participants was 17.89 ($SD = 1.08$). Most participants reported Kyrgyz as their mother tongue (55.1%), followed by the Russian language (35.6%).

Materials.

Participation in the American group. Individuals were asked to report the number of hours that they spoke with professors in English per week. This measure of participation was chosen because it allows people to report on a specific and clear behavior without confounding it with other behaviors or with attitudes. By teaching in English at the American University, all English-speaking professors were subjectively associated with the American group regardless of original nationality.

Identification with Kyrgyz and American groups. A cognitive identification scale adapted from Jackson (2002) was employed in the present study (see also de la Sablonnière et al., 2016) to measure identification with Kyrgyz and with Americans. Cognitive identification refers to the awareness that one is a member of a social group (Ellemers, Kortekaas, & Ouwerkerk, 1999; Jackson, 2002) and the scale contains five items per group. An example of an item is “I identify with Kyrgyz” (1 = *do not agree at all*; 5 = *completely agree*). The alphas for Kyrgyz group identification (T1 = .81 and T2 = .85) and American identification (T1 = .74 and T2 = .74) were adequate.

English competency. Previous studies have shown that competency in a new language is positively related to identification with the group associated with the language (e.g., Phinney, 2003). To ensure that it is participation in the new group by using its language that promotes identification with the new group, as opposed to perceived competency in the language, the current studies measured and controlled for English competency. Subjective perception of competency in English was measured by asking participants how well they read, wrote, spoke, and understood English (1 = *not at all*; 5 = *fluently*; α T1 = .87; α T2 = .81).

Results

Preliminary analyses. Data were inspected for missing data, univariate and multivariate outliers, as well as data normality. Considering the dropout rate of 26.55% from T1 to T2, the EM imputation procedure, based on multiple imputed data sets, was used to replace missing data. It should be noted that only three individuals answered the question about speaking English with a professor at T1. Since this measure was collected within the first week of their first academic year, participants may have considered that answering this question would be misleading given the limited opportunities they have had to engage in this behavior. Missing data for this variable were thus not imputed; rather, we chose to ignore this variable and use the T2 measure of group participation instead. Little’s missing completely at random (MCAR) test indicated that data are probably not missing completely at random, $\chi^2(1, 7334) = 25569.51, p < .001$. As recommended by Enders (2010), twenty data sets were computed and then merged into one data set in order to be analyzed by PROCESS.

Two univariate and multivariate outliers were found, who felt highly incompetent in English (a z score of -5.17) and were hence removed from the analyses. As for the normality of

the data, all variables had acceptable levels of kurtosis and skewness at Time 1 and Time 2 (Kline, 1998). For means, standard deviations, and correlations see Table 1.

Main analyses. Mediation analyses were performed with PROCESS (Hayes, 2013) on SPSS, to test whether identification with Americans at Time 2 mediated the relation between the number of hours spoken with professors at Time 2 and identification with Kyrgyz at Time 2 after controlling for T1 levels of identification with Americans and Kyrgyz, as well as English competency (T1 and T2). As can be seen in Table 2, the more hours participants spoke in English with professors at T2, the more they identified with Americans at T2 ($B_a = 0.0357$), and higher identification with Americans predicted higher identification with Kyrgyz at T2 ($B_b = 0.1444$), although this last effect was marginal. More importantly, the 95% confidence interval for the indirect effect of hours spoken in English on Kyrgyz identification through American identification ($B_{ab} = 0.0052$) based on 5000 bias-corrected bootstraps was above zero (0.0001 to 0.0159) indicating that the indirect effect was significant. The direct effect of hours speaking with professors did not reach significant, $B_{c'} = 0.0219$, $p = .234$.

Overall, these results support our hypotheses that participating in the new American group predicted higher identification with this new group (H1), which in turn positively predicted identification with the group of origin (additive pattern of identification; H2a). Nevertheless, the present study took place in the particular setting of the *American University of Central Asia*, a university that, through its mission and its application, promotes a more global thinking style that underscores group similarities, which in turn should encourage the additive pattern of identification. The subtractive pattern of identification may, however, still occur in settings that do not promote similarities through their global thinking style. One such setting is the *Kyrgyz National University named after Jusup Balasagyn* (or *Kyrgyz University* in this article), the oldest university in the country whose general mission is to form the next generation of Kyrgyz professionals. As the national university, it places an emphasis on traditional post-Soviet style of education and focuses on local citizenship and values (instead of global citizenship). As such, this university should promote a more local and detailed-oriented thinking style, which in turn could make it difficult to perceive abstract commonalities between objects, identities, and groups (Mok & Morris, 2012). Given the sharp contrast between the *American* and the *Kyrgyz Universities* missions, comparing these universities would allow us to compare the identification patterns of participants from two different settings, one that promotes the perception of similarities through

global thinking style (i.e., the *American University*) and another that does not promote such a global thinking style (i.e., the *Kyrgyz University*).

Study 2

Study 2 aimed at replicating and comparing the results from Study 1 in the *American* versus the *Kyrgyz University*. It was expected that in both universities the number of hours spoken in English with professors would promote identification with Americans (H1), which would in turn predict identification with Kyrgyz. However, the nature of the mediation was expected to differ in the *American* versus the *Kyrgyz University*; at the *American University*, it was expected that the American identification would have a non-negative association with Kyrgyz identification (i.e., additive identification pattern; H2a) while at the *Kyrgyz University*, identification with Americans was expected to negatively predict identification with Kyrgyz (i.e., subtractive pattern of identification; H2b). This pattern of results was expected even when controlling for English competency.

Method

Participants and procedure.

A total of 304 university students were recruited in two Kyrgyz universities during class. Only participants who were born in Kyrgyzstan and who identified their university as either the *American University* ($n = 105$) or the *Kyrgyz University* ($n = 172$) were kept for the analyses, resulting in a final sample of 277. Women represented 64.7% of the sample (70.5% in the *American University* sample and 61.6% in the *Kyrgyz University* sample), and the mean age of participants was 19.16 with a standard deviation of 2.53 ($M = 19.51$, $SD = 1.51$ in the *American University*; $M = 18.94$, $SD = 3.08$ in the *Kyrgyz University*). Most participants reported Kyrgyz as their mother tongue (90.6%; 82.9% in the *American University*; 98.3% in the *Kyrgyz University*), followed by the Russian language (6.6%; 14.3 % in the *American University*; 1.7% in the *Kyrgyz University*), and other languages (2.3%; 1.9% in the *American University*; 0% in the *Kyrgyz University*).

Materials.

Participation in the American group. The same measure of group participation employed in Study 1 was used (the number of hours that they spoke with professors in English per week).

Identification with Kyrgyz and American groups. Instead of focusing on the cognitive sense of group belongingness, Study 2 measures situational identity, or how one identifies with particular cultural groups in various situations. This measure better captures whether group participation impacts identification across different situations. A shortened version of the Situated Identity Questionnaire (SIQ, Clément & Noels, 1992), previously adapted to the context of Kyrgyzstan, was used to assess identification with both Kyrgyz and American cultures (de la Sablonnière et al., 2016). Respondents indicated the extent to which they felt Kyrgyz and American on two consecutive 5-point scales (1 = *do not agree at all*; 5 = *completely agree*) in 14 everyday scenarios (e.g. When I am at my university; When I think about politics). Total scores were computed separately for the Kyrgyz and American identities. Reliabilities for the Kyrgyz and American identities were adequate ($\alpha = .93$ and $.92$, respectively).

English competency. Subjective perception of competency in English was measured as in Study 1 by asking participants how well they read, wrote, spoke and understood English (1 = *not at all*; 5 = *fluently*; $\alpha = .94$).

Results

Preliminary analyses and descriptive statistics. Data were inspected for missing data, univariate and multivariate outliers, as well as data normality. A total of 198 participants had no missing data on the main variables; missing data were handled with the same procedure as in Study 1 (the EM imputation procedure, merging 20 computed data sets; Little's MCAR $\chi^2(1, 12092) = 11885.215, p = .909$).

The main variables had acceptable levels of skewness and kurtosis (Kline, 1998). Lastly, although three univariate and multivariate outliers were identified, results were identical when the outliers were removed; these participants were thus kept in all subsequent analyses. Table 3 presents the means, standard deviations, and correlations of the main variables.

Main analyses. Moderated mediation analyses were performed with PROCESS (Hayes, 2013) in SPSS to test whether identification with Americans mediated the relation between the number of hours spoken with professors and identification with Kyrgyz, and if this mediation was moderated by membership to the *American* versus the *Kyrgyz University*. The results presented in Table 4 show that the more hours participants spoke in English with professors, the more they

identified with Americans ($B_a = 0.0331$). Results also show that both identification with Americans ($B_{b1} = 0.9308$) and University ($B_{b2} = 1.9991$; coded as follows *American University* = 1 and *Kyrgyz University* = 2) predicted higher identification with Kyrgyz, but so did the interaction between university membership and identification with Americans ($B_{b3} = -0.5918$), indicating that the relation between identification with Americans and identification with Kyrgyz varies across universities. Additionally, the indirect effect of hours spoken in English on identification with Kyrgyz via identification with American was also moderated by university membership (the index of moderated mediation is -0.0196 , with a 95% confidence interval ranging from -0.0352 to -0.0087 based on 5000 bias-corrected bootstraps). Further inquiry revealed that at the *American University*, hours spoken with professors had a positive indirect effect on identification with Kyrgyz through identification with Americans ($B_{ab1 \text{ American University}} = 0.0112$ with a 95% confidence interval ranging from 0.0051 to 0.0239 ; SE of the bootstrap = 0.0051); in other words, speaking in English predicted an additive pattern of identification. In contrast, hours spoken with professors at the *Kyrgyz University* had a negative indirect effect on identification with Kyrgyz through identification with Americans ($B_{ab2 \text{ Kyrgyz University}} = -0.0084$ with a 95% confidence interval ranging from -0.0156 to -0.0036 ; SE of the bootstrap = 0.0029), revealing a subtractive pattern of identification.

The results from the mediated moderation analyses support the hypotheses that participating in a new cultural group by speaking its language predicts higher identification with the new group (H1), which then predicts identification with the group of origin. The direction of this relation was different in the two universities: an additive identification pattern was observed in a context that promotes similarities (*American University*; H2a), whereas a subtractive pattern was noted in a context that does not promote such similarities (*Kyrgyz University*; H2b). Yet, differences in perceived similarity were only presumed in this study such that it is not possible to know whether the differences observed between the two universities were not influenced by variables other than perceptions of similarity. The following study goes a step further by sampling participants from three Kyrgyz universities, directly measuring their perceived similarity between Kyrgyz and Americans and testing its role in predicting the additive versus subtractive patterns of identification.

Study 3

This study, conducted in Kyrgyzstan, was designed to test the hypotheses that the number of hours spoken in English with professors will promote identification with Americans (H1), which in turn will predict identification with Kyrgyz; this relation should be moderated by perceived similarities, revealing an additive identification pattern when high similarities between the cultural groups are perceived (H2a) and a subtractive identification pattern when little such similarities are perceived (H2b). This moderated mediation was expected even when controlling for English competency and for university affiliation (n American University of Central Asia = 148; n Kyrgyz Russian Slavic University = 90; n Bishkek Humanities University = 145). We controlled for university affiliation to ensure that it was the perceived level of similarity, and not the specific mission of each university, that impacts the identification patterns.

Additionally, since previous research shows that status and legitimacy can also predict the emergence of the subtractive pattern of identification (de la Sablonnière & al., 2016), the present study extends Study 2 by testing whether perceived similarity predicts identification patterns over and above the impact of status and legitimacy¹.

Methods

Participants and procedure. Three hundred and ninety Kyrgyz from three universities took part in this study during one of their classes; as in Studies 1 and 2, only participants born in Kyrgyzstan were kept ($N = 383$). In the present sample, 70.8% were women and the mean age was 20.65 ($SD = 4.38$). Most participants mentioned Kyrgyz as their mother tongue (95.3%).

Materials.

Participation in the American group. Participation was measured by asking individuals to report the weekly number of hours spoken with professors in English.

Identification with Kyrgyz and American groups. Identification was measured with the same adapted version of the Situational Identification Scale employed in Study 2 (see also de la Sablonnière et al., 2016). Reliabilities for the Kyrgyz and American identities were adequate ($\alpha = .92$ and $.92$, respectively).

Similarity. Perception of similarity was measured with the following single item: How similar are Kyrgyz and Americans? (1 = *not similar at all*; 5 = *extremely similar*).

English competency. Subjective perception of competency in English was measured by asking participants how well they read, wrote, spoke and understood English ($\alpha = .94$).

Status. Status was measured with a single item (Terry & O'Brien, 2001): "What is the social status of Kyrgyz people compared to Americans?" (1 = *much lower*; 5 = *much higher*). The score was reversed so that a high score meant that Americans had a higher perceived status than Kyrgyz.

Legitimacy. Legitimacy was measured by a single item that asked participants how legitimate was the status differential between Kyrgyz and Americans (Terry & O'Brien, 2001; 1 = *totally legitimate*; 5 = *totally illegitimate*). This item was also reversed so that a high score reflects high legitimacy.

Results

Preliminary analyses and descriptive statistics. Data were inspected for missing data, univariate and multivariate outliers as well as data normality. Three hundred forty-one participants had no missing data in the main variables; missing data were handled with the same procedure as in Studies 1 and 2 (the EM imputation procedure, merging 20 computed data sets; Little's MCAR test $\chi^2(1, 10845) = 11191.76, p = .010$).

The main variables were normally distributed, showing normal ranges of skewness and kurtosis except for group participation (kurtosis = 3.30) and similarity (kurtosis = 9.10). Log transformations successfully normalized these two variables. The results with the transformed variables were very similar to the non-transformed data, and hence the non-transformed variables were kept in the following analyses for ease of interpretation. Lastly, eight univariate and multivariate outliers were identified. Results remained unchanged when the outliers were removed and they were hence kept in the main analyses. Table 5 presents the means, standard deviations, and correlations among the main variables.

Main analyses. PROCESS (Hayes, 2013) on SPSS was employed to test whether identification with Americans mediated the relation between number of hours spoken in English with professors and identification with Kyrgyz, and whether this mediation was conditional (or moderated) by perceived similarity. Four covariables were utilized in this study, namely university membership, English competency, status, and legitimacy ensuring that our results were not due to other differences between universities. The results presented in Table 6 supported the hypotheses. More specifically, the more hours participants spoke in English with professors, the more they identified with Americans ($B_a = 0.0298$), and higher identification with Americans predicted lower identification with Kyrgyz ($B_{b1} = - 0.4990$). Similarity did not significantly predict lower

identification with Kyrgyz ($B_{b2} = -0.2119$), but its interaction with American identification did ($B_{b3} = 0.1562$), indicating a moderating effect on the relation between identification with Americans and identification with Kyrgyz.

The analysis also showed the indirect effect of hours spoken in English on identification with Kyrgyz via identification with American to be moderated by similarity (the index of moderated mediation is .0047, with a 95% confidence interval ranging from .0003 to .0117 based on 5000 bias-corrected bootstraps)². Considering the evidence for a moderated mediation, and to further explore the moderation of similarity, the Johnson–Neymann (J–N) technique was utilized. The J–N technique identifies the range of similarity scores at which the relation between identification with Americans and Kyrgyz becomes significant (Hayes, 2013). Results show that the effect of identification with Americans on identification with Kyrgyz is negative and significant at a similarity score of 2.1991 and below (unstandardized coefficient = 0.1553, with a 95% confidence interval ranging from -0.3108 to 0.0000; SE of the bootstrap = 0.0029). In other words, only for individuals who scored 2.1991 or lower on perceived similarity between Kyrgyz and Americans does identification with Americans predict negatively and significantly identification with Kyrgyz (i.e., the subtractive pattern of identification). For individuals scoring above 2.1991 in similarity, identification with Americans no longer predicted identification with Kyrgyz (i.e., an additive pattern of identification).

Overall, these results support our hypotheses that participating in the American group by speaking English with professors promotes identification with Americans (H1) and that identification with Americans mediated the relation between number of hours spoken in English with professors and identification with Kyrgyz in a way that was also moderated by perceived similarity. Speaking English with professors promoted a subtractive pattern of identification when there was little perceived similarity between Americans and Kyrgyz (H2b). In contrast, speaking English encouraged an additive identification pattern when moderate and high levels of similarity were perceived (H2a). This pattern was obtained even when controlling for variables that have previously shown to promote identification patterns (status and legitimacy), the degree of English competency, as well as for university membership.

The results from the previous three studies support the importance of participating in a new cultural group via linguistic behaviors in predicting identification with this new cultural group. They also highlight how perceived similarity (assumed to differ across contexts in Study 2 and

explicitly measured in Study 3) helps us understand when the additive versus subtractive identification pattern is likely to occur following participation in a new culture. The goal of Study 4 is to investigate these relations over time and in a different cultural context (i.e., with Franco-Ontarians).

Study 4

The fourth study tests whether the impact of participating in a new group can be observed using a repeated measures design and with Franco-Ontarians who participate in the English culture. More specifically, it tests whether participating in a group at Time 1 predicts identification with the new group at Time 1 and at Time 2 (H1), and whether this increased identification with the new group at Time 2 results in different levels of identification with the group of origin as a function of perceived similarity between the two groups (H2a and H2b). By using a repeated measures methodology, this study offered a more stringent test of the proposed relations as well as the longer-lasting effects of participation on identity processes over time. Additionally, the present study tested the proposed relations with Franco-Ontarian high school students in Canada. These students come from Francophone families but are living in an Anglophone province (Ottawa) and community (Cornwall). Thus, although they use their mother tongue (French) at school, they are surrounded by Anglophone culture and group, allowing them to easily participate in the Anglophone culture in daily life. By changing the setting and population, Study 4 tests the replicability of the previously obtained results and the validity of the hypotheses beyond the Kyrgyz context.

Methods

Participants and procedure. A total of 268 high school students from a French high school in Ontario participated in the first wave of the study (T1). Considering how the present study assumes Francophone identity to be the identity of origin, only participants who identified French as their mother tongue were kept (N final = 171). The second wave of the study (T2) took place five years after the initial wave. Participants were contacted through e-mails and mail addresses they had provided in the first wave. A total of 39 francophone participants completed the second wave of the study (T2). Participants who participated in both waves of the study did not differ from those who only participated to T1 on any of the main T1 variables (all t values < 1.65; p < .104). In the present sample, women represented 63.2% of the sample, and the mean age of participants was 14.62 (SD = 1.70) at T1 and 20.06 (SD = 1.76) at T2.

Measures. Participation in anglophone culture, and identification with Anglophones and Francophones were measured at T1 and T2, while similarity and the control variables (status, legitimacy and English competency) were only measured at T2. Different measures of participation in the Anglophone culture and similarity were utilized in this study to ensure that our results generalize across measures, hence strengthening our conclusions. More specifically, since students were in a French high school, the measure of group participation focuses on speaking English with friends and family members rather than with teachers. The measure of similarity focuses on the similarities between the characteristics of the groups (in this case between English and French language, as language is a highly defining characteristic of the Anglophone versus Francophone cultures).

Participation in Anglophone culture. Participation was measured at T1 and T2 by asking individuals with three items what language they used more often when they were speaking with friends and family (1 = *Only French*; 5 = *Only English*). The alpha levels were acceptable (α T1 = .73 and α T2 = .79).

Identification with Anglophones and Francophones groups. Identification was measured at T1 and at T2 with a shortened version of the Situated Identity Questionnaire (Clément & Noels, 1992). Four items were used to measure identification with Anglophones and Francophones. The internal reliability scores were acceptable at T1 (α Anglophone identification = .75; α Francophone identification = .76) and T2 (α Anglophone identification = .89; α Francophone identification = .79).

Similarity. Similarity between languages was measured with five items that evaluated the extent to which the English and French languages are similar to each other (1 = *Do not agree at all*; 7 = *Very strongly agree*). Similarity was only measured at T2 with items such as: the English language and the French language are similar (α = .76).

English competency. Subjective perception of competency in English at T2 was measured by asking participants how well they read, wrote, spoke and understood English (α = .89).

Status. Status at T2 was measured with a single item (Terry & O'Brien, 2001) that asked participants how Francophones are seen compared to Anglophones in their city (1 = *Inferior*; 7 = *Superior*).

Legitimacy. Legitimacy at T2 was measured by a single item that asked participants how legitimate was the status differential between Anglophones and Francophones (Terry & O'Brien, 2001; 1 = *totally illegitimate*; 7 = *totally legitimate*).

Results.

Preliminary analyses and descriptive statistics. Data were inspected for missing data, univariate and multivariate outliers as well as data normality. Little's missing completely at random (MCAR) test indicated that data were probably not missing completely at random, $\chi^2(1, 10845) = 11191.76, p = .010$. Considering the high dropout rate, the missing data were estimated using the full information maximum likelihood in MPLUS (Allison, 2012). This statistical program has been shown to outperform other procedures with high numbers of missing data (Buhi, Goodson, & Neilands, 2008; Schlomer, Bauman, & Card, 2010). Skewness and kurtosis levels were acceptable across all variables (Kline, 1998). Table 7 presents the means, standard deviations, and correlations.

Main results. The moderated mediation was tested by using the equations developed for PROCESS (Hayes, 2013) in path analysis (in the MPLUS program; Stride, Gardner, Catley & Thomas, 2015). Figure 1 depicts the tested model, where the use of English T1 predicted identification with Anglophones at T1 (a_1), which in turn predicted identification with Anglophones at T2 (d), to predict identification with Francophones T2 (b_2). In addition, similarity at T2 was modeled to moderate the link between identification with Anglophones at T2 and identification with Francophones T2 (b_4). Lastly, identification with Francophones T1, status T2, legitimacy T2 and English competency T2 were added as control variables (predicting identification with Francophones T2) to ensure that the moderated mediation existed beyond the influence of these variables.

The indices of fit indicate that the model fit well the data: $\chi^2(8, N = 171) = 7.75 (p = .458)$, RMSEA = .00 ($p = .725$) and CFI = 1.00. As can be seen in Figure 1, our hypothesis of moderated mediation is supported by the data. Specifically, the more individuals use English with friends and family at Time 1, the more they identified with Anglophones at Time 1 ($B_{a1} = 0.604, p < .001$), which predicted higher identification with Anglophones at Time 2 ($B_d = 0.768, p = .05$). Identification with Anglophones T2 did not predict identification with Francophones T2 ($B_{b2} = -0.158, p = .415$); however, the interaction term between similarity T2 and identification with Anglophones T2 did ($B_{b4} = -0.281, p = .048$), indicating a moderating effect on the relation between identification with Anglophones T2 and identification with Francophones T2.

The analysis also showed the indirect effect of using English T1 on identification with Francophones T2 via identification with Anglophones T1 and T2 to be moderated by similarity T2

(the index of moderated mediation is .115, with a 95% confidence interval ranging from .002 to .404 based on 5000 bias-corrected bootstraps). In other words, the effect of using English T1 on identification with Francophone passes through identification with Anglophones T1 and, then, identification with Anglophones T2, a mediation that is moderated by similarity. The mediation paths via identification with Anglophones at T1 alone (indirect effect index = .105, a 95% confidence interval ranging from -.300 to .511), or via identification with Anglophones at T2 alone (index of moderated mediation = .115, a 95% confidence interval ranging from -.046 to .422) were not supported by the data.

Considering the evidence for a moderated mediation, and to further explore how similarity moderates the mediation, the J–N technique was utilized. Results show that the conditional effect of identification with Anglophones at Time 2 on identification with Francophones at Time 2 is negative and significant at a similarity score of 1.59 and below (unstandardized coefficient = -0.200, with a 95% confidence interval ranging from -0.747 to -0.001). That is, perceiving very little similarities between French and English results in a subtractive pattern of identification, where the relation between identification variables is negative.

In order to provide further evidence for the validity of the model, a reversed model was also tested. In this reversed model, identification with Francophones T1 was the independent variable while using English T2, the dependent variable. The mediating variables (identification with Anglophones at T1 and at T2), the moderating variable (similarity T2), and the control variables remained unchanged (except for the addition of using English T1 instead of identification with Francophones T1). This model had lower fit indexes than the original model, $\chi^2(8, N = 171) = 13.34, p = .101, RMSEA = .06, p = .314, CFI = .96$, and, importantly, the only variable to significantly predict using English T2 (the dependent variable) was using English T1, $B = 0.74, p = .012$.

To summarize, the results from Study 4 support our hypotheses that participating in the Anglophone group by using English with friends and family impacts identification with Francophones at Time 1 and in turn at Time 2 (H1). The results also offered support for H2a and 2b, that the relation between identification with Anglophones and identification with Francophones at Time 2 is dependent on the perceived similarities between the groups' characteristics, in this case, language. These results, while correlational, support a directional link where participation predicts identification patterns over a five-year period.

Discussion

In a world that is increasingly connected, individuals have contact with and access to what takes place within other cultural and social groups, allowing them to directly participate in these new cultural groups within the borders of their own groups. In the present article, four studies examined how participating in a new group by using its language impacted group identities. More specifically, these studies tested whether, contact with a new cultural group from within one's country of origin, participating in a new group would predict higher identification with this group (H1), and whether this increased identification would result in a non-negative relation with the identity of origin (an additive identification pattern) or in a negative relation between both identities (subtractive pattern of identification). It was hypothesized that an additive pattern would be observed when the groups are perceived as similar (H2a) while a subtractive pattern would emerge when individuals perceive that the new group and their group of origin are dissimilar to each other (H2b).

The results support our hypotheses. Study 1, conducted in a university that promoted similarities, showed that participation in the new group predicted identification with this new group, which in turn positively predicted identification with the group of origin. Study 2 compared two universities; one that promotes similarities to other that does not. The results of this study showed that, in the university promoting similarity, participation in the new group predicted higher identification with this group, which in turn predicted higher identification with the group of origin (i.e., additive identification pattern). The subtractive identification pattern was, however, observed at the university that did not promote similarities, where identification with the new group negatively predicted identification with the group of origin. Study 3 replicated these findings by explicitly measuring perceived similarity. More specifically, participating in the new group predicted the subtractive pattern of identification only when very few similarities were perceived between the new group and the group of origin. Study 4 provided further support for this hypothesis by showing that participating in a new group impacts identification with the group of origin across time, that this relation is mediated by identification with the new group, and that the subtractive pattern of identification emerges as a function of the perceived dissimilarities between groups' characteristics.

An important theoretical implication of these results is that they highlight how our actions can impact our self-concept. Indeed, the link between behaviors and attitudes have been widely

studied, and research ranging from the classic Stanford prison experiment (Zimbardo, 2007) to studies on the foot-in-the-door phenomenon (Freedman & Fraser, 1966) illustrate that when we take actions, our beliefs, feelings, and thoughts reorganize to become coherent with our behavior. In the present study, we extend such logic to the realm of cultural identities and self-concept. More specifically, results from four studies demonstrate that taking actions that are associated with the new group (i.e., participating in the new group) are linked to the importance that individuals give to this group in their self-concept and the importance given to the group of origin. In other words, we are how we act, even at a social-cultural level.

A second theoretical implication concerns the role of similarity in predicting the additive and subtractive pattern of identification. Similarity was found to predict the pattern of identification emerging from participating in a new cultural group, over and above status and legitimacy, even though these variables had been previously found to predict the identification patterns (de la Sablonnière & al., 2016). It would seem that when increased identification with a new group results from participation, the perceived similarity between groups is an important predictor of the relation between the two identities. Understanding the emergence of the additive and subtractive patterns is important because it clarifies when and how individuals are at risk of losing their identity of origin when developing identification with a new cultural group. Most current identity integration theories (Berry, 2001, 2005, 2010; Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005) generally assume that new cultural identities can be added freely while the importance of the identity of origin remains unchanged. In the present article, and contrary to the current zeitgeist, we illustrate that under certain circumstances, adopting a new identity can mean losing one's identity of origin. As such, individuals may rightfully fear and be threatened by contact with new groups and their cultural identities. On the other hand, experiencing subtractive identity integration might be a valuable strategy by which the self-concept reorganizes when the two identities are very different from each other. Some researchers have postulated that being bicultural implies lower well-being because individuals are divided between two allegiances (Glaser, 1958), particularly if the norms of the groups appear incompatible (Bochner, 1982). When little similarity between the groups is perceived, a decrease in identification with the group of origin might ensure a sense of overall coherence while still allowing the individual to acknowledge his origins, maximizing one's well-being.

Limitations and Future Research

The main limitation of the studies presented above is their correlational nature, which does not allow us to establish cause and effect relations. While Study 4, with its repeated measures methodology, offers initial support for the directionality of the relation between participation in a new group and identification patterns, future research should employ longitudinal methodologies (more than two measurement waves) and experimental designs to specifically test the causal relations hypothesized in this article. Beyond employing different methodologies, future studies could focus on furthering our understanding of the impact that participation in a new group has on identification patterns. Indeed, while the present studies consistently found that participating in the new group predicted identification with the new group, it did not explore the exact mechanisms by which participation helps identification.

Cárdenas and de la Sablonnière (2017b) postulated two mechanisms by which participation promotes group identification. They postulated that the need for coherence (Fiske & Taylor, 2013; Swann, 1983) can motivate people who participate in a new group to identify more strongly with this new group; to preserve coherence within the self, behaviors indeed should reflect one's identities. They also postulated that participating in a group activates the process of self-categorizing as a member of the new group. More specifically, participating in a group is essentially adopting a behavior that is prototypical of the group (Hogg, 2005). Enacting a prototypical behavior facilitates the process of self-categorizing and identifying as a member of the new group because the person sees himself as fitting the prototype of the group. Future studies could test whether these two mechanisms explain the impact of participation on identification and their relative complementarity.

Future research could also focus on further dissecting and understanding the role of similarity in predicting identification patterns. On the one hand, similarity was postulated to help create cognitive links between identities and facilitate their simultaneous importance. On the other hand, research shows that when a superordinate identity is presented as being very similar to the identity of origin, individuals can feel that the distinctiveness of their identity of origin is threatened (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000). As such, a very high degree of similarities between groups could actually produce the subtractive identification pattern so to preserve the distinctiveness of at least one identity. Although this specific effect was not observed in the present studies, future research could investigate perceived similarity and the need for distinctiveness simultaneously to disentangle these two concepts. Furthermore, in the present article we assume that dissimilar

groups are seen as inherently incompatible. However, groups may be seen as different yet complementary in their function (e.g., Costa-Lopes, Vala, & Judd, 2012), in which case an additive pattern of identification could be expected. Future research can hence further illuminate why, when and how similarity predicts the additive versus subtractive identification patterns.

In a similar line of thought, perceived dissimilarity may result in the subtractive identification pattern particularly for individuals' who are low in social identity complexity (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). Social identity complexity refers to the subjective experience that one's multiple identities are interrelated and overlap. An individual that sees himself as belonging to groups that do not overlap, i.e., whose members do not overlap, has a highly complex sense of self. In contrast, when a person sees himself as belonging to groups that highly overlap, that is, that share the same group members, the individual has low social identity complexity. We could postulate that the subtractive identification pattern would be a strategy favored by those with low social identity complexity, as individuals manage the lack of overlap between identities by distancing themselves from the cultural identity of origin. This subtractive pattern would allow individuals to maintain a self that is of little complexity. In contrast, the perception of dissimilarity may no longer predict a subtractive pattern in individuals who have a highly complex self-structure, as they are able to maintain membership with multiple groups that do not overlap.

To conclude, in a world where contact with a new social and cultural group is increasingly unavoidable, the present study highlights how such contact impacts identity processes. In this article it was argued that globalization offers individuals the possibility to participate in a new group, a behavior that promotes identification with this new group, and can potentially trigger lower identification with the group of origin when dissimilarities are observed. Yet, it also shows that one does not need to lose one's identity of origin when integrating a new identity. As such, it offers a better glimpse of the consequences of globalization for the self.

NOTES

1. Some of the data from this study were originally presented in a previous article (de la Sablonnière et al., 2016): the identification variables (identification with Americans and identification with Kyrgyz) as well as status and legitimacy. However, the present article tests a moderated mediation with a different independent variable (number of hours spoken with professors) and moderating variable (similarity), and hence makes a different contribution to the literature.
2. When status and legitimacy were not controlled for, the results were very similar to those obtained when controlling for status and legitimacy. The more hours participants spoke in English with professors, the more they identified with Americans ($B_a = 0.0318, p < .001$), and higher identification with Americans predicted lower identification with Kyrgyz ($B_{b1} = -0.4771, p < .001$). Similarity did not significantly predict lower identification with Kyrgyz ($B_{b2} = -0.1627, p = .2082$), but its interaction with American identification did ($B_{b3} = 0.1376, p = .0492$), indicating a moderating effect on the relation between identification with Americans and identification with Kyrgyz. The analysis also showed the indirect effect of hours spoken in English on identification with Kyrgyz via identification with American to be marginally moderated by similarity (the index of moderated mediation is .0044, with a 95% confidence interval ranging from -.0001 to .0117 based on 5000 bias-corrected bootstraps).

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Table 1

Study 1: Means and Correlations

	Mean (SD)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Identification with Kyrgyz T1	3.57 (1.12)	-	.17*	.00	.59***	.03	-.04	.08
2. Identification with Americans T1	2.71 (0.85)		-	-.02	.05	.24***	.02	.06
3. Competency English T1	4.30 (0.64)			-	.05	-.04	.60***	.17*
4. Identification with Kyrgyz T2	3.43 (0.91)				-	.11	.04	.14
5. Identification with Americans T2	2.40 (0.66)					-	-.06	.15*
6. English competency T2	4.24 (0.45)						-	.17*
7. Hours spoken in English T2	6.18 (2.78)							-

Notes. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Table 2

Study 1: Model Coefficients for Mediation Analyses

Independent variables		Dependent variables						
		Identification with Americans T2 (M)			Identification with Kyrgyz T2 (Y)			
		Unstandardized coefficient	SE	p	Unstandardized coefficient	SE	p	
Hours spoken in English T2 (X)	<i>a</i>	0.0357	0.0160	.0270	<i>c'</i>	0.0219	0.0185	.2388
Identification with Americans T2 (M)		-	-	-	<i>b</i>	0.1440	0.0785	.0671
Identification with Americans T1		0.1815	0.0521	.0006		-0.0845	0.0612	.1689
Identification with Kyrgyz T1		-0.0164	0.0395	.6779		0.4859	0.0452	<.0001
English competency T1		-0.0155	0.0859	.8568		0.0160	0.0982	.8709
English competency T2		-0.1171	0.1220	.3381		0.1050	0.1396	.4528
Constant		2.3119	0.4578	<.0001		0.9286	0.5534	.0948
		$R^2 = .0812$				$R^2 = .3719$		
		$F(5, 212) = 3.7456, p = .0029$				$F(6, 211) = 20.8234, p < .0001$		

Table 3

Study 2: Means and Correlations for the American University and the Kyrgyz University

	American University <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	Kyrgyz University <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	1	2	3	4
1. Identification with Kyrgyz	3.82 (1.03)	4.33 (0.75)	-	.29**	.11	.03
2. Identification with Americans	2.55 (0.88)	2.31 (0.96)	-.30***	-	.00	.26**
3. English competency	4.39 (0.51)	3.52 (1.00)	-.11	.40***	-	.20*
4. Hours spoken in English	8.84 (6.37)	6.11 (6.80)	-.05	.35***	.48***	-

Notes. Correlations above the diagonal are the correlations for the American University; correlations below the diagonal are those for the Kyrgyz University. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Table 4

Study 2: Model Coefficients for Moderated Mediation Analysis

Independent variables		Dependent variables						
		Identification with Americans (<i>M</i>)			Identification with Kyrgyz (<i>Y</i>)			
		Unstandardized coefficient	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	Unstandardized coefficient	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	
Hours spoken in English (<i>X</i>)	<i>a</i>	0.0331	0.0086	.0001	<i>c'</i>	-0.0002	0.0085	.9828
Identification with Americans (<i>M</i>)		-	-	-	<i>b</i> ₁	0.9308	0.1986	<.0001
English competency		0.2128	0.0613	.0006		0.0405	0.0160	.5479
University		-	-	-	<i>b</i> ₂	1.9991	0.3206	<.0001
Identification with Americans X University		-	-	-	<i>b</i> ₃	-0.5918	0.1166	<.0001
Constant		1.3471	0.2223	<.0001				
		$R^2 = .1486$				$R^2 = .1600$		
		$F(2, 274) = 23.9022, p < .0001$				$F(5, 271) = 10.3267, p < .0001$		

Note: University was coded so that *American University* = 1 and *Kyrgyz University* = 2

Table 5

Study 3: Means and Correlations

	Mean (SD)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Identification with Kyrgyz	4.34 (0.76)	-	-.35***	-.15**	.05	-.20***	-.16**	-.08
2. Identification with Americans	1.85 (0.82)		-	.37***	.03	.35***	.12*	-.01
3. Hours spoken in English	5.01 (6.72)			-	.03	.53***	.04	.12*
4. Perceived similarity	1.31 (0.65)				-	.00	-.17**	-.03
5. English competency	3.62 (1.04)					-	.06	.15**
6. Status	4.56 (0.76)						-	.15**
7. Legitimacy	3.65 (1.20)							-

Notes. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Table 6

Study 3: Model Coefficients for Moderated Mediation Analysis

Independent variables		Dependent variables						
		Identification with Americans (M)			Identification with Kyrgyz (Y)			
		Unstandardized coefficient	SE	<i>p</i>	Unstandardized coefficient	SE	<i>p</i>	
Hours spoken in English (<i>X</i>)	<i>a</i>	0.0298	0.0072	<.0001	<i>c'</i>	0.0013	0.0070	.8542
Identification with Americans (<i>M</i>)		-	-	-	<i>b</i> ₁	-0.4990	0.1076	<.0001
English competency		0.1674	0.0444	.0002		-0.0601	0.0426	.1595
Status		0.1132	0.0509	.0267		0.1077	0.0490	.0284
Legitimacy		-0.0596	0.0326	.0681		-0.0410	0.0309	.1851
University		-0.0502	0.0575	.3831		-0.0084	0.0544	.8768
Similarity		-	-	-	<i>b</i> ₂	-0.2119	0.1320	.1093
Identification with Americans X Similarity		-	-	-	<i>b</i> ₃	0.1562	0.0720	.0306
Constant		0.8873	0.3142	.0050		6.0219	0.3655	<.0001
			$R^2 = .1888$				$R^2 = .1570$	
			$F(5, 376) = 17.5023, p < .0001$				$F(8, 373) = 8.6838 p < .0001$	

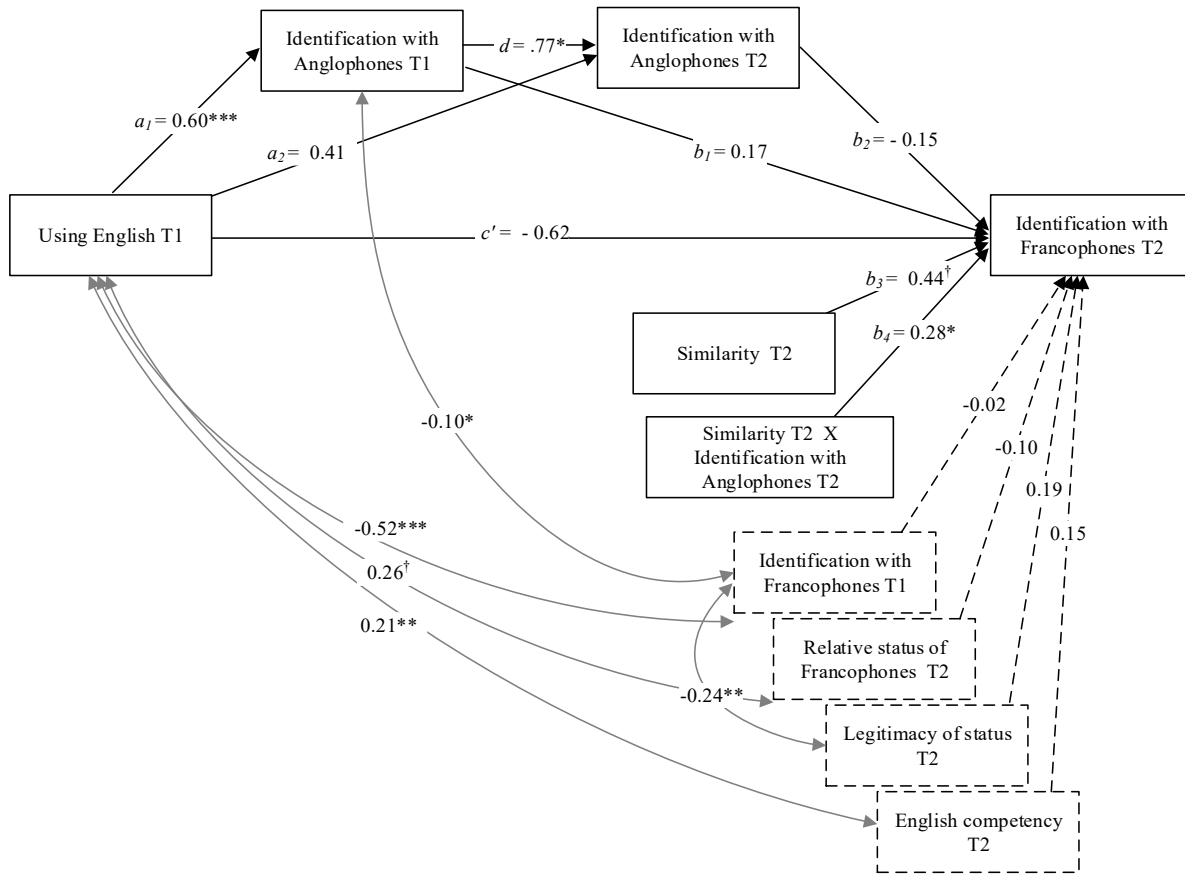
Table 7

Study 4: Means and Correlations

	Mean (<i>SD</i>)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Identification with Francophones T1	3.36 (0.89)	-	-.51***	-.65***	.31***	-.33***	-.03	-.04	.20**	-.44***
2. Identification with Anglophones T1	3.53 (0.88)		-	.61***	-.33***	.57***	-.14 [†]	.27***	.18*	.21**
3. Using English T1	3.53 (0.89)			-	-.45***	.48***	.15*	.24***	-.07	.41***
4. Identification with Francophones T2	4.95 (1.43)				-	-.36***	.25***	-.33***	.23**	-.15*
5. Identification with Anglophones T2	4.48 (1.58)					-	-.25***	.19**	.09	.09
6. Similarity T2	2.57 (1.09)						-	-.26***	-.19**	.12
7. Status T2	3.32 (1.21)							-	-.26***	.00
8. Legitimacy T2	4.48 (1.36)								-	-.29***
9. English competency T2	6.54 (0.34)									-

Notes. [†] $p < .10$ * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Figure 1. *The Moderated Mediation Tested in Study 4.*



Notes. Only the significant covariances are added in the figure for the sake of simplicity. $^\dagger p < .10$; $* p < .05$; $** p < .01$; $*** p < .001$.

**Article 3: Participating in a New Group and the
Identification Processes: The Quest for a Positive Social
Identity**

RUNNING TITLE: PARTICIPATION AND THE VALUE OF A GROUP

Participating in a new group and the identification processes: the quest for a positive social
identity

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Abstract

Immigration is accompanied by changes in the identities of immigrants; they can now identify with the new cultural group and, under some circumstances, they will identify less with their cultural group of origin. Previous research suggests that participation in the new cultural group can predict these identity shifts (higher identification with the new group, in turn predicting lower identification with the group of origin, when little similarities between groups and their characteristics are perceived). However, these studies have exclusively used correlational methodologies, and hence it is unclear whether participation could cause these identity shifts. Furthermore, previous research has ignored that individuals will tend to dissociate from groups that have a negative value. As such, when a group is negatively valued, individuals may not identify with it, even after participating in a new group, so as to preserve a positive social identity. The present article used an experimental methodology to test whether participation caused an increase in identification with the new cultural group, which in turn predicted lower identification with the group of origin when the groups were perceived as dissimilar; furthermore, it tested whether participation would create this identity shifts only when the new group had been attributed a positive or neutral value. An experimental design was created where immigrants living in Quebec, Canada, either participated in the new cultural group by watching hockey (a typical behavior in Quebec) or did not participate (by watching basketball). In addition, three levels of participation were created to manipulate the value of the group: one in which Quebec's team won (positive value), another one in which they tied (neutral value), and one more in which they lost against an American team (negative value). The results of path analyses show that, compared to the group watching basketball, groups that watched Quebec's team win or tie identified more with Quebecers, which in turn predicted lower identification with their country of origin when few similarities were perceived between the characteristics of the new group and group of origin.

Keywords: participation, identification, identification patterns, social identity, value

Participating in a new group and the identification processes: the quest for a positive social identity

In Canada, roughly 20% of the population is born in another country (Morency, Caron-Malenfant, & MacIsaac, 2017). High immigration rates are also seen in the U.S.A. (13%; Grieco, Acosta, de la Cruz, Gambino, Gryn, Larsen, Trevelyan, & Walters, 2012), Australia (28.2%; Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017), and the United Kingdom (14%; White, 2017), showing that the immigration issue is one that crosses borders. These newcomers often find themselves with a new repertoire of behaviors typically associated with the new cultural group. For example, immigrants can learn the language, accents and expressions of the new group; they can also create friendship bonds with members of the new cultural group; they may even engage in sports activities associated with the new cultural group. These are some of the ways in which immigrants participate in their new country. However, such behaviors are not the only ones that change; the cultural identities of immigrants are also subject to shifts. Even more, as they increasingly identify with a new cultural group, they sometimes identify less with their group of origin.

Recent research suggests that both behavioral and identity shifts are related, such that participating in a new cultural group can be useful to predict variations in the cultural identities of individuals. More precisely, Cárdenas and colleagues (Cárdenas, de la Sablonnière, Gorborkova, Mageau, Amiot, & Sadykova, 2017) showed in a series of studies that participating in the new cultural group predicted higher levels of identification with it (see also Cárdenas & de la Sablonnière, 2017a); higher identification with the new group in turn predicted lower levels of identification with the group of origin when individuals perceived dissimilarities between these collectivities (Cárdenas et al., 2017). With their correlational methodology, these studies highlight that participation can successfully predict identification with a new group and, in turn, with the group of origin.

However, without experimentally manipulating participation in the new group and observing its effects on identity, it remains unknown whether participation and identification shifts simply occur together or whether participation has the actual potential to impact identification. It is only with a controlled experiment that we can isolate participation in the new group as capable of increasing identification with this collectivity, in turn decreasing identification with the group of origin (when differences are perceived).

Not only does previous research prevent us from assuming causality, it neglected to consider that individuals wish to belong to groups that are well seen and that have a positive value (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Indeed, the value attributed to a group impacts individuals' motivation to associate with the group. For example, individuals belonging to groups with negative characteristics will tend to disassociate from them (Jackson, Sullivan, Harnish, & Hodge, 1996; Sachdev & Bourhis, 1987). Thus, the positive impact of participation on identification with the new group might be conditional to the group's value. More specifically, an immigrant may not be inclined to identify with a negatively valued new group, even after participating in it.

The present article has two goals. The first one is to use an experimental design to test whether participating in a new group (as opposed to not participating) triggers identity shifts (i.e., increased identification with the new group which will decrease identification with the group of origin when differences between groups are perceived). The second goal of the study is to test whether the value of the new group determines the impact of participation on identity shifts. As such, the current article offers insight not only into how behaviors directly impact the identity of immigrants, but also into how individuals seek to fulfill their desire to belong to positively valued groups in the context of immigration.

Participating in the New Group, Identification with the New Group, and Identification with the Group of Origin

The adoption of new characteristics and identities in immigrant populations has been a source of inquiry since the early 1900. For instance, in 1936, Redfield, Linton and Herskovits offered an initial theoretical framework for describing how and why immigrants would integrate the traits of the new cultural group, emphasizing the personality of the individual and its difference with the personality of the new group. In line with this early discussion, previous research has focused on how personal (personality; Redfield et al., 1936; sharing goals with the new group; Zhang & Chiu, 2012), cognitive (need for cognition, Kashima & Pillai, 2011) and contextual/environmental factors (e.g., discrimination; de Vroome, Verkuyten, & Martinovic, 2014) can help immigrants identify more with a new group (for more factors, see Berry, 2001). However, these factors are often outside the control of the individual, who cannot readily change his social environment, his personality or his cognitions. Cárdenas and de la Sablonnière (2017a) proposed participating in the new cultural group, the behaviors directly employed by immigrants, as an important factor that promotes identification with the new culture. Participating in a new

group was defined as engaging in behaviors or actions that are typically observed in the new group (e.g., engaging in cultural traditions, social/work/education activities and relationships with members of this new group; Cárdenas & de la Sablonnière, 2017a). It was proposed that participation in a new group activates two psychological mechanisms: the perception that one is a prototypical member of this group (Hogg, 2005; Turner, 1987) and the need for consistency between one's actions and identity (Cialdini, 2009; Fiske & Taylor, 2013; see also Swann, 1983). It is through these proposed mechanisms that participation in a new group increases identification with the new group (Cárdenas & de la Sablonnière, 2017b).

The relation between identification and participation was initially tested among Latin American immigrants in Canada (Cárdenas & de la Sablonnière, 2017a). They answered a questionnaire and then three models were tested with path analyses: the first model tested whether participation in the new group and identification with it were correlated (but did not predict each other); the second, whether identification predicted participation; and the third model, whether participation promoted identification. This last model, where participation in the new group predicts higher identification with it, received the strongest support, a finding later replicated with a qualitative methodology (Cárdenas & de la Sablonnière, 2017a).

A second series of studies conducted in the context of globalization not only replicated these findings but also showed that participation in a new group could have a trickle-down effect on the identity of origin via the newly acquired identity (Cárdenas et al., 2017). More specifically, these studies found that participating in the new group increased identification with it, which in turn negatively predicted identification with the group of origin when the new group and the group of origin were perceived as dissimilar to each other. If we take as an example a Colombian that immigrated to Canada, as he increasingly works with Canadians and watches hockey with them, he will increasingly identify with Canadians; this, in turn decreases his identification with Colombians if he perceived Canadians and Colombians have dissimilar attributes. Such a pattern of identification, where high identification with a new group is accompanied by low identification with the group of origin is entitled the subtractive pattern of identification (de la Sablonnière et al., 2016; see also Repke & Benet-Martínez, 2017).

This subtractive pattern stands in contrast to the additive pattern of identification, where increased identification with the new group is positively (or at least not-negatively) related to the identification with the group of origin (de la Sablonnière et al., 2016). In other words, if the

Colombian immigrant perceived Canadians and Colombians as having similar characteristics, he would experience the additive pattern of identification, where participation in the new Canadian culture increased his identification with Canadians; this in turn would have either a positive impact or no impact at all on his identification with Colombians. Results from four correlational studies showed that participating in a new group resulted in an additive pattern when the group of origin and the new group were perceived as more similar to each other (Cárdenas et al., 2017); when dissimilarities were perceived, the subtractive pattern emerges.

Overall, these findings highlight how engaging in typical behaviors of the new group can predict the way individuals associate with their new groups and, as a consequence, with their groups of origin. However, the methodology used in previous studies prevents us from assuming that participation causes identity changes. More specifically, previous studies exploring the relation between participation, identification with the new group, and identification with the group of origin have only used correlational designs. As such, it is impossible to establish whether participation in a new group increases identification with the new group, an increase that is associated with the additive/subtractive patterns of identification.

Correlational studies, and particularly cross-sectional methodologies, are the preferred methodology in acculturation psychology, the branch of psychology examining how individuals change following cultural exchanges (Ryder & Dere, 2006). This methodology is usually preferred to experimental methods because they allow researchers to examine culture in its natural setting. Experiments, on the hand, require bringing culture and the changes it produces into the lab, an important challenge considering the abstract nature of culture. Nevertheless, there is evidence that it is possible to study cultural changes in the lab. For example, the independent or interdependent self-construals and its cross-cultural differences have been manipulated by asking individuals of Chinese or North American origin to think about either the commonalities or the differences with their friends and families (Trafimow, Triandis, & Goto, 1991). In another study, the clarity of cultural identity was manipulated using computer-mediated communication and its impact on well-being was then examined (Usborne & Taylor, 2012). While these experiments might not replicate all of the elements of culture in the lab, the components they do manipulate further the field's understanding of how culture impacts individuals by isolating one specific factor and testing its causal impact on the individuals.

Considering, first, the correlational evidence that participation predicts identification with the new group and, hence, the group of origin, and, second, that the impact of culture can be examined with experimental designs — to a certain extent — the first goal of this article is to use an experimental methodology to ascertain whether participation in the new group can increase identification with the new group, and the subsequent additive or subtractive patterns of identification.

The Need for a Positive Social Identity and Participation in the New Group

Not only have previous studies limited themselves to predictive instead of causal links, this literature has assumed that the moment an individual participates in the new group, the psychological mechanisms that promote identification with the new group (i.e., perceived prototypicality and need for consistency) will be activated, triggering the identity changes previously observed (increased identification with the new group, decreased identification with the group of origin if differences are perceived). In other words, it assumes that the effect of participation on the new cultural identity, and hence the cultural identity of origin is unconditional. This assumption is, however, unwarranted, given that previous studies have ignored the need for a positive social identity.

According to social identity theory (Tajfel, 1981, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), individuals are inherently motivated to have a positive social identity. More specifically, social groups can be evaluated positively or negatively compared to relevant outgroups. Social identity theory posits that an individual will attempt to belong to groups that are perceived as having a positive value because this satisfies his or her need for a positive social identity. Indeed, the “value-laden nature of group membership” is an essential aspect of group membership (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994, p. 78), guiding the perceptions and actions of the individuals.

When a person’s need for a positive social identity is not being satisfied by the group, individuals will negotiate their memberships to enhance their social identity. This can be done by identifying less with their current group, leaving it and/or joining a group with positive characteristics (Mummendey, Kessler, Klink, & Mielke, 1999; Sachdev & Bourhis, 1987; Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In other words, individuals can put either psychological (recategorizing themselves) or physical (social mobility, physically leaving their group) distance between the negatively evaluated groups and themselves, hence protecting their social identity.

Studies have confirmed that individuals will disassociate from their groups when they are negatively valued (e.g., Bettencourt, Charlton, Dorr, & Hume, 2001; Jackson et al., 1996; Mummendey et al., 1999; Sachdev & Bourhis, 1987). For example, in a study by Sachdev and Bourhis (1987), participants were explained that creativity was an important asset for their academic and professional life; they were then assigned into different groups after completing a creativity test. In the high value/low value condition, participants were assigned into either a high-creativity group or a low-creativity group based on fake results on their creativity test. In the neutral condition, participants were divided into two normally and equally creative groups. After their assignment into the high/medium/low-valued group, participants' identification with their group was assessed. The results from this study show that participants in the high-creativity group identified more with their group than participants in the medium and low-creativity groups.

In addition, participants were asked how much they believed that participants in the high and low-creativity groups would identify with their respective groups. Results show that participants expected those in the high-creativity group to identify more with their group, and those in the low-creativity group to identify less with it. Another study in a similar vein found that individuals who were randomly assigned to a group with negatively valued characteristics distanced themselves from their groups by stating that they were different from the group (i.e., that they did not fit the prototype) as opposed to individuals who were not told that their group was negatively valued (Jackson et al., 1996). Overall, research from a social identity theory framework has supported the contention that individuals will identify less with groups that have negative value.

Even in immigration literature, the value of the new group has received some attention. For example, Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, and Senécal (1997) presented a model explaining how immigrants adopt a new culture and how they continue to enact their culture of origin. The central question of this model is whether immigrants consider that it is valuable to adopt the culture of the new country. If it is not valuable for immigrants to adopt the new cultural group, then they will engage in a series of strategies were the new culture is rejected.

To summarize, there is evidence that individuals will disassociate and identify less with groups that have a negative value. That is, when a group has negative characteristics that devalue the group, and hence devalue a person's social identity, individuals will reject the idea that they fit the prototype (e.g., Jackson et al., 1996) and disidentify (e.g., Sachdev & Bourhis, 1987). In the

context where an individual is participating in a new cultural group, the negative value associated with the group might cancel the positive impact of participation on identification. In other words, the Colombian immigrant participating in the Canadian group should normally identify more with Canadians. However, if this immigrant perceives that the Canadian group has a negative value, then participating in Canadian culture may not lead the individual to perceive himself as a prototypical member of the Canadian group, hence not increasing identification with Canadians. As identification with Canadians is not increasing, identification with Colombians should remain stable and unchanged.

Context of the Study

The goal of the present study is to replicate and extend previous findings where participation in the new group predicted identification with the new group and the additive/subtractive identification patterns. By using an experimental design, the present study will test whether participating in the new group increases identification with the new group, and whether this increase in identification with the new group would result in an additive (i.e., non-negative relation) versus a subtractive (i.e., a negative relation) pattern of identification based on perceived dissimilarities in the groups' characteristics (i.e., a moderated mediation). Furthermore, we extend previous findings by testing whether the value attributed to the group in which one participates can determine if participation triggers the identification changes previously described. More specifically, we test whether participation impacts identification with the new group and the group of origin if the new group has positive or neutral value. If the new group has a negative value, then identification with the new group will not increase. To fulfill these goals and experimentally manipulate participation in the new cultural group, the present study makes use of sports.

The power of games and sports on people has been long acknowledged. In Roman times, bread and games is said to be all that was required to keep the populace happy (Juvenal as cited in Mastin, 2009). Today, we are not that different from the Ancient Romans: the Olympics events hold the eyes of the entire world for two whole weeks (Roxborough, 2016); soccer fans engage in bloody fights with the fans of other teams (e.g., "Hincha del América muere tras riña entre barras en Cali," 2017); losing the hockey Stanley Cup can result in a city riot (CBC News, 2011). Clearly, sports and games hold a power over communities and cultural groups, to the extent that they have become an important expression of cultural (Bernache-Assollant, Chantal, Bouchet, Lacassagne,

2016) and national identities (Maguire & Tuck, 2005). Moreover, Houlihan (1997) argues that “the participation in major sports events as spectators has the element of ritual and emotional appeal capable of sustaining the ‘imagined community’ of the nation” (p. 121). In other words, non-athletes participate in the sport, and hence in the enactment of a national identity by following individual athletes and national teams.

Such is the case of hockey in the province of Quebec, Canada. In this Canadian province, four out of ten Quebecers consider themselves fans of the Canadiens of Montreal, a professional hockey team playing in the National Hockey League (Côté, 2012). In 2016, roughly 1.4 million television sets in Quebec (with a total population of 8.18 million) tuned in to the first game of the Canadiens in the NHL Series (Lemieux, 2015). Even when the Canadiens were outside of the series in 2017, 851 000 people tuned in to watch a hockey match (“La cote du hockey de la LNH en hausse à TVA Sports,” 2017). Côté (2012) argues that hockey and the Montreal Canadiens took the place that the Catholic church had in defining Quebec’s identity, putting hockey at the center of Quebec’s society. For example, after surveying 70,000 Quebecers, he found that if the Canadiens of Montreal were to move to another city, half of Quebecers would consider this a great loss to Quebec’s society. Indeed, hockey and the Montreal Canadiens team hold a great symbolic value to Quebec’s identity, which manifests in the typicality of watching a hockey game, behavior easily observed by outsiders (e.g., Ransom, 2014).

In the present study, we make use of watching hockey as a typical Quebecer behavior to experimentally manipulate participation in the new culture. More specifically, watching a five-minute-long video of the Montreal Canadiens playing against the Rangers of New York was conceptualized as participating in Quebecer culture. In contrast, watching a video of a basketball game where the Miami Heat played against the Dallas Mavericks was operationalized as not participating in the Quebecer culture. Watching basketball was chosen as a control to watching hockey because basketball does not have the same popularity as hockey in Quebec. For example, while the province of Quebec has hockey, football and soccer professional teams, it does not have any basketball team. Professional basketball is also rarely watched in Quebec. Only one of the three existing sports chains in Quebec transmits certain games of the National Basketball Association (or NBA; Brousseau-Pouliot, 2011). Considering how basketball has certain parallels with hockey (e.g., team sport, one item is passed from a teammate to another teammate, scoring

goals/hoops is the goal), while also lacking in prominence in Quebec's culture and the media, it was chosen as a control to participation.

The hypothesis tested below is that immigrants watching hockey (as opposed to watching basketball) will identify more with Quebecers and, therefore, identify less with their country of origin if they perceive little similarity between hockey and their national sport (replicating the moderated mediation from Cárdenas et al., 2017). However, this moderated mediation should only occur when the Montreal Canadiens are winning and tying their game against the Rangers. When the Montreal Canadiens lose the game to the Rangers, we would not expect identification with Quebecers to increase, and the moderated mediation to predict identification with the country of origin to be inexistent.

Method

Participants. A total of 199 first-generation immigrants to Quebec, Canada, were recruited to participate in this study. From this initial sample, one participant was removed because the person was born in Canada; another one had Quebecer parents and lived in the United States for only two years; and thirteen more individuals, because they guessed the goal of the study. A final sample of 184 was kept for analysis. The mean age of participants was 29.60 ($SD = 12.20$), and participants were from 62 countries of origin, ranging from Algeria to Zanzibar; the country of origin most often reported was France ($n = 37$). On average, participants had resided in Canada for 146.81 months ($SD = 124.93$). Most participants had become Canadian citizens ($n = 118$). The mother tongue most often reported was French ($n = 57$), followed by Arab ($n = 33$), and by Spanish ($n = 27$).

Procedure. The study was presented to participants as an investigation concerning the impact of immigration and sports on the self-concept and the well-being of individuals. Participants were invited to take part in an online survey via social media as well as by publishing pamphlets around the university and community centers. The online survey, hosted by Fluid Survey, began with a consent form, followed by questions concerning participants' involvement in three sports (hockey, golf, and basketball). They were, then, randomly assigned to one of four conditions in which a five-minute video was presented; the content of the video differed across the four conditions. In the basketball condition ($n = 40$), participants watched a summary of a basketball game between the Miami Heat and the Dallas Mavericks. Those in the hockey-loss condition ($n = 47$) watched the summary of a game where the Montreal Canadiens lost to the New

York Rangers; in the hockey-tie condition ($n = 51$), the Montreal Canadiens and the Rangers tied; and in the hockey-win condition ($n = 46$), the Montreal Canadiens won against the Rangers. We ensured that participants watched the whole video by allowing them to move to the next part of the survey only after the five minutes of the video had elapsed. Participants then answered measures of identification and of similarity.

The two main conditions, the basketball (control) condition and the hockey-win condition were pre-tested before the collecting data by having immigrants either watch the basketball video ($n = 8$) or the hockey-win condition ($n = 14$) in the lab. Results from this pre-test showed that the hockey-win condition had a higher mean of identification with Quebecers ($M = 2.07$; $SD = 1.14$) than the basketball condition ($M = 1.50$; $SD = 0.76$), and while the difference was non-significant ($t(20) = 1.26$, $p = .222$), it allowed us to estimate the largest effect size we should expect (Cohen's $d = .50$) and the sample size required to see a significant effect in identification with Quebecers ($N > 179$) if we had four conditions and four control variables (status, legitimacy, playing basketball, and playing hockey) in G-power.

Measures. Single items were used for most of the variables in order to ensure the attention of participants, and hence the seriousness of their answers.

Identification. The present article took place in Quebec, Canada. The province of Quebec is different from other Canadian provinces in two ways. First, they have a unique identity, distinct from Canadian identity, greatly based on the French heritage and language. Second, Quebec shares jurisdiction with the rest of Canada in terms of immigration: Quebec selects the immigrants it desires in its territory, and Canada officially accepts them in the country (Gouvernement du Québec, 2006). The fact that Quebec has distinct and unique identity compared to Canadians, and that it is in control of the immigration influx in the province allows immigrants to quickly distinguish between the Canadian and the Quebecer groups — recognizing that the primary identity of their environment is the Quebecer identity. For this reason, in the present article, we focused on identification with Quebecers.

The Single Item Identification Scale (Reysen, Katzarska-Miller, Nesbit, & Pierce, 2013) was used to measure identification with Quebecers and with the country of origin. This scale was chosen because it taps at self-categorization and should be sensitive to our manipulation. Participants answered the following question using a scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*): In general, I identify with [Quebecers/members of my country of origin].

Similarity. Based on Cárdenas and de la Sablonnière (2017), similarity was measured with a single item stating that hockey was similar to the sport of their country of origin (1 = *Strongly disagree* to 7 = *Strongly agree*).

Control variables. Seven control variables: playing basketball, playing hockey, time since immigration, contact with Quebecers, status, legitimacy, and the interaction between status and legitimacy were utilized in this study to ensure that the results observed were not due to differences in these variables.

Three demographic variables were controlled for, the number of hours that participants played hockey and basketball, as well as time since immigration. Participants reported how often per month they played basketball and hockey (1 = *Never* to 7 = *10 times per month or more*). These variables were controlled for to ensure that it was our manipulation — and not participants' engagement in these sports — that which impacted the identification patterns. Additionally, time since immigration has been known to impact identity processes (Berry, 2001) and was hence controlled for.

Furthermore, contact with a new group has been proposed (Petigrew, 1997) and showed (e.g., Gartner, Dovidio, Nier, Banker, Ward, Houlette & Loux, 2000; Munniskam, Verkuyten, Flache, Stark & Veenstra, 2015) to promote identification with the new group. In order to ensure that participation in the laboratory promoted identification with Quebecers above and beyond general contact with Quebecers, we evaluated with four items (1 = *None* to 7 = *Really many*): how many of their friends, colleagues, and neighbors were Quebecers, and the general amount of contact with this group (alpha = .76).

Lastly, status and legitimacy were controlled for considering that these variables have been known to predict the subtractive identification pattern (de la Sablonnière et al., 2016). Considering that the present study aims at replicating the impact of similarity on the subtractive identification pattern, status, legitimacy and the interaction between them were controlled to ensure that the impact of similarity exists beyond these variables. They were measured by asking participants what status Quebecers had in comparison to the people in their country of origin (1 = *Very low* to 7 = *Very high*) and whether this status differential was legitimate (1 = *Not at all legitimate* to 7 = *Very legitimate*).

Results

Preliminary Analysis. Data were inspected for missing data, univariate and multivariate outliers as well as data normality. No participant had missing data in the main variables of the study and no univariate and multivariate outliers were identified. The main variables had normal ranges of skewness and kurtosis (Kline, 1998); however, closer inspection of the similarity variable revealed a U-distribution of the scores, with 26.6% of participants selecting the lowest value (1 in the Likert scale) and 24% selecting the highest value (7 in the Likert scale). The remaining 50% of the sample was distributed similarly between the middle values (2 to 6 in the Likert scale). Considering its lack of normality, MLR analysis was employed in MPLUS. This option permits the usage of non-normal variables by using maximum likelihood estimates with robust standard errors (Wang & Wang, 2012).

Lastly, two participants identified hockey as the sport of the country of origin. One participant who watched the basketball video also identified basketball as the national sport of his country. Considering that watching a video of their national sport could have potentially impacted our results, the analyses were conducted with and then without these three participants; the results remained the same when removing the three participants, and hence they were kept in the following results. For means, standard deviations and correlations, see Tables 1 and 2.

Main Analysis. The moderated mediation was tested by using the equations developed for PROCESS (Hayes, 2013) in path analysis (in the MPLUS program; Stride, Gardner, Catley, & Thomas, 2015). Because bootstraps cannot be calculated while using the MLR, they are not presented below. Figure 1 illustrates the tested model. Conditions were dummy coded to compare the basketball (control) condition to the three hockey conditions. The three dummy variables predicted identification with Quebecers (a_1 = Basketball/Hockey lose; a_2 = Basketball/Hockey tie; a_3 = Basketball/Hockey win), which in turn predicted identification with the country of origin (b_1). Similarity (b_2) and the interaction between similarity and identification with Quebecers (b_3) also predicted identification with the country of origin. Status, legitimacy, and the number of times per week that participants played basketball as well as hockey were added as control variables.

The indices of fit indicate that the model fit well the data: $\chi^2(4, N = 184) = 2.35$ ($p = .670$), RMSEA = .00 ($p = .820$) and CFI = 1.00. As can be seen in Figure 1, our hypothesis of moderated mediation is supported by the data. Specifically, compared to individuals who watched basketball, participants in the hockey tie condition ($a_2 = 1.13$, $p < .001$) and the hockey win condition ($a_3 =$

0.99, $p = .002$) identified more with Quebecers. In turn, identification with Quebecers predicted lower identification with the country of origin ($b_1 = -0.57, p < .001$), a relation that was moderated by similarity ($b_3 = 0.06, p = .013$).

The results also revealed the indirect effect of Basketball/Hockey tie and Basketball/Hockey win on identification with the country of origin via identification with Quebecers to be moderated by similarity (Basketball/Hockey tie index of moderated mediation = 0.07, $p = .022$; basketball/hockey-win index of moderated mediation = 0.06, $p = .035$). In other words, compared to individuals who watched basketball, individuals who observed the hockey win and the hockey tie video experienced higher identification with Quebecers, which in turn predicted lower identification with their country of origin, but these mediations depended on the perceived level of similarity. The indirect effect of Basketball/Hockey-tie on identification with country of origin was negative when similarity levels were very low (a value of 1: indirect effect = -0.58, $p = .001$) or medium (a value of 4: indirect effect = -0.38, $p = .002$), but were not different from zero when similarity levels were very high (a value of 7: indirect effect = -0.19, $p = .145$). A similar pattern emerged for the indirect effects of Basketball/Hockey-win (a value of 1: indirect effect = -0.51, $p = .003$; a value of 4: indirect effect = -0.34, $p = .005$; a value of 7: indirect effect = -0.17, $p = .148$). As for the indirect effect of Basketball/Hockey-lose on identification with the country of origin, it was found not to be significantly different from zero (index of moderated mediation = 0.03, $p = .139$).¹

In order to further validate the hypothesis, an opposite model was tested. In this opposite model, the dummy variables predict identification with the country of origin, which in turn predicts identification with the country of origin in interaction with similarity. The fit of this model was slightly lower than the original model, though it remained acceptable, $\chi^2(3, N = 184) = 1.089$ ($p = .395$), RMSEA = .00 ($p = .494$) and CFI = 1.00. As for the links in the model, two of the dummy variables (Basketball/Hockey win; Basketball/Hockey-tie) and the new mediator (identification with country of origin) significantly predicted identification with Quebecers (the new dependent variable); however, the dummy variables did not predict the new mediator. As such, there was no sign of an indirect effect (all $ps > .071$) or of a moderated mediation (all indexes of moderated mediation $ps > .237$).

To summarize, results supported our hypotheses: participating in a new group that was positively or neutrally valued (i.e., when the Canadians won or tied) increased identification with

the new group, triggering lower identification with the group of origin when differences between group characteristics were perceived. In contrast, participating in the new group did not predict identification with it when the group was negatively valued.

Discussion

Immigration is a source of profound change in the lives of those who have left their country of birth and now reside in a new country. In the current article we examined whether a specific aspect of immigration - participating in a new cultural group - has the potential to change the identities of immigrants. Previous research suggests that participation in a new group was accompanied by higher identification with the new group, which predicted lower identification with the group of origin when differences were perceived. However, this moderated mediation had only been observed with correlational data (Cárdenas & de la Sablonnière, 2017; Cárdenas et al., 2017), where causality cannot be assumed. The first objective of the article was to establish the causal link between participation and the identification shifts previously observed. The second objective was to test whether participating in a new group would increase identification with it when this group was positively, neutrally or negatively valued. Based on social identity theory, it was proposed that participation in the new group would result in identity shifts if the new group was positive or neutrally valued; if the new group had a negative value, then participation in the new group would not be enough to increase identification with the new group.

To these ends, an experimental methodology was employed where immigrants either participated in the Quebecer group (by watching a hockey video of the Montreal Canadiens) or did not participate (by watching a basketball video). Value was manipulated by presenting hockey videos where the Montreal Canadiens won (positive value), tied (neutral value), or lost (negative value) a hockey game. The results show that compared to immigrants watching a basketball game, those who watched a hockey game where the Montreal Canadiens won or tied the game identified more with Quebecers; this increase in Quebecers identification predicted lower identification with country of origin when individuals perceived little similarities between hockey and their national sport, replicating previous correlational studies (Cárdenas et al., 2017). In contrast, those who watched the Montreal Canadiens lose the game did not identify more with the new group than participants watching basketball, giving no evidence for a moderated mediation.

As it is widely known, immigration is an extremely complex process; thus, the identity shifts experienced in immigration can be the result of any of the multiple changes experienced

during the immigration process. Given this reality, most research done with immigrants, particularly research in acculturation, is plagued with questions of how to successfully operationalize and measure the changes caused by immigration (Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2006; Ryder & Dere, 2006; Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000). Based on previous studies supporting the role of participation in predicting identification with the new group (Cárdenas & de la Sablonnière, 2017a; Cárdenas et al., 2017) and in consequence the group of origin (Cárdenas et al., 2017), the present article took the stand that participation can be an important source of change in immigrants' identities. This proposition was tested by experimentally manipulating participation in the new group, the results offering initial support for the causal impact of participation on identity shifts. These results also parallel the results obtained in the field of attitude change, where a myriad of experimental studies have consistently shown that adopting behaviors can cause one's attitude to change (Bem, 1972; Festinger, 1957). While identities and attitudes are different from each other, this study shows that cultural identities, as attitudes, have the potential to be modified by one's actions.

Beyond replicating previous findings with an experimental methodology, the present study specified, for the first time, the conditions under which participating in a new group will impact one's identities. In line with social identity theory, it was theorized and found that individuals would not identify with a group that would add negative value to their social identity (Quebecers that lose when playing hockey). In conditions where the new group had a positive or a neutral value, then the general principle by which participating in the new group increased identification was expected and indeed found. The proposition that the value attributed to a group can impact how we manage our identities is further supported by a second theoretical framework: the phenomenon of basking in reflected glory (Cialdini et al., 1976). Cialdini and colleagues observed that university students were more likely to display the jersey of their university when the school had won a football game in the previous weekend. In contrast, when the team lost, fewer university jerseys were observed in campus; the loss of their team did not encourage individuals to associate with their group through their clothes, but instead motivated them to cut off reflected failure. In addition, when the school team won, individuals were more like to use the "we" pronoun to describe the victory of their group (e.g., we played hard); when the team lost, "they" pronouns were heard more often (e.g., they lost this game). Similar findings have been obtained in the realm of political parties (Miller, 2009; Poorthuis, Thomaes, Denissen, van Aken, & Orobio de Castro,

2012), where the signs of the winning political parties are displayed for a longer time in people's houses than signs of the losing party.

In the current study, watching the Montreal Canadiens lose appears to have canceled the impact of participation on identification in order to cut off reflected failure. In contrast, when the Montreal Canadiens won, participants basked in the reflected glory of Montreal Canadiens and further identified with Quebecers after participating in the group. Lastly, in the condition where the Montreal Canadiens tied the game, participants wished neither to bask in reflected glory nor cut off reflected failure; in such condition, participating in the Quebecer group was enough to promote identification with it. Overall, these findings highlight the impact of participation in a new group on individual's cultural identities, as well as how the need for a positive social identity can influence when such process takes place.

Future Studies

The current study is one of the few (or any, to our current knowledge) studies to experimentally study the way in which immigrants change (or acculturate). As with any experimental design, the current experiment presents a simplified version of phenomenon occurring in the real world; participating in a new group involves much more than watching a five-minute sports video. While cognizant that the current experimental manipulation does not represent the full extent of participation in a new group, it does answer the call for understanding the process by which immigrants change (Ryder & Deves, 2006). Further experimental studies manipulating other forms of participation (e.g., language, new food, friendships) as well as longitudinal data can offer further support for the causal effect of participation on identification with the new group and with the group of origin.

In the article, the focus was placed on the value of the new group as a factor to consider when immigrants participate in the new group. Future studies could investigate other factors that can possibly impact how participation promotes identification shifts. For example, the hostility level towards immigrants in the receiving country may impact the relation between participation and identification processes. Indeed, many of the adaptation models developed to understand immigrants' adaptation (see Berry, 2001; Bourhis et al., 1997) acknowledge that the reaction of the receiving country to immigrants is an important determinant of their adaptation. If an immigrant participates in the new cultural group while perceiving hostility from the new cultural group, then participation may not be enough to promote identification with the new group; while

his participation might imply that he is a prototypical member of the group, his “fellow” group members are telling him that he is not. Instead, hostility from the new group might increase identification with the country of origin as a defense against rejection (e.g., the rejection-identification model; Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999).

While the cause and effect relation between participation in the new group and identification with it remains to be further replicated in other contexts and with other behaviors, the results from this study suggest possible interventions that could be employed to help immigrants develop identification with the new group. Field workers could potentially make use of these findings to encourage immigrants’ satisfaction and sense of belonging in the new group. Similarly, government programs designed to help immigrants adapt to the new country may include typical behaviors that are well valued to encourage identification with the new group.

To conclude, immigration and globalization are global phenomena that impact the identities of millions of individuals. Studying the factors that promote identity changes (such as participation and the value of the group) allows researchers to further understand the psychological mechanisms by which individuals adapt to new groups, providing further insights into the malleability of cultural identities.

Notes

1. A second way in which we ensured that the non-normality (i.e., the U-shaped distribution) of similarity did not impact our results was by dividing the continuous similarity variable into a categorical variable, low similarity (scores between 1 and 3) and high similarity (scores between 5 and 7), and examining if the results were replicated with this transformed variable. Individuals who scored 4 in similarity were removed for the sake of this supplementary analysis ($n = 18$). The results with the categorical similarity were very similar to those with the continuous similarity: $\chi^2(4, N = 166) = 2.161$ ($p = .705$), RMSEA = .00 ($p = .833$) and CFI = 1.00. Compared to individuals who watched basketball, participants watching the Canadiens lose did not identify more with Quebecers ($a^1 = 0.28, p = .455$). However, compared to watching basketball, participants in the hockey tie condition ($a^2 = 1.00, p = .002$) and the hockey win condition ($a^3 = 0.84, p = .015$) identified more with Quebecers. In turn, identification with Quebecers predicted lower identification with the country of origin ($b^1 = -0.90, p < .001$), as did the interaction between similarity and identification ($b^3 = 0.38, p = .004$). Similarity did not predict identification with the country of origin ($b^2 = 0.13, p = .572$). Similarly to the original results, the indirect effect of basketball/hockey-tie and basketball/hockey-win on identification with the country of origin via identification with Quebecers was moderated by similarity (Basketball/Hockey tie index of moderated mediation = 0.38, with a 95% confidence interval ranging from 0.090 to 0.770 based on 5000 bias-corrected bootstraps; Basketball/Hockey win index of moderated mediation = 0.32, with a 95% confidence interval ranging from 0.042 to 0.696 based on 5000 bias-corrected bootstraps). Overall, the results with the categorical variable of similarity replicate those presented in the results section of the article.

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Table 1

Means and Correlations

	Mean (SD)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Identification with Quebecers	4.51 (1.69)	-	-.39***	.07	-.07	.10	.04	.01	.35***
2. Identification with country of origin	5.38 (1.56)		-	.06	-.06	-.16*	.04	.14 [†]	-.09
3. Similarity	3.91 (2.33)			-	-.05	.05	.02	.15*	.07
4. Status	4.56 (1.01)				-	.20**	.04	-.04	-.16*
5. Legitimacy	4.33 (1.49)					-	.04	-.19**	-.07
6. Play Hockey	1.15 (0.53)						-	.10	-.02
7. Play Basketball	1.33 (0.67)							-	-.10
8. Months since immigration	146.81 (124.59)								-

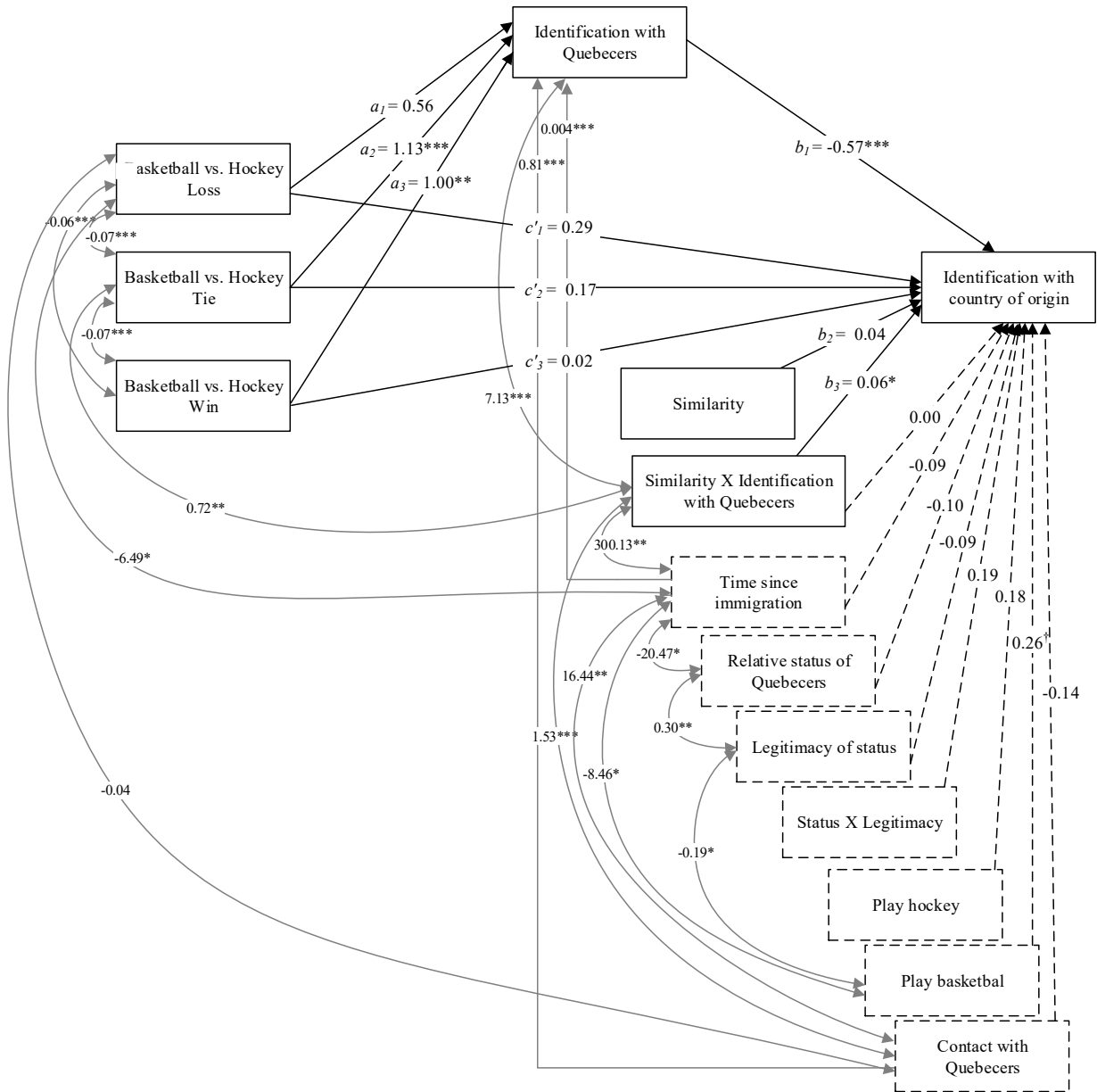
Note. [†]< .10; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Table 2

Means across Conditions

Conditions	<i>n</i>	Identification with Quebecers <i>Mean</i> (<i>SD</i>)	Identification with Country of Origin <i>Mean</i> (<i>SD</i>)
1. Basketball video	40	3.85 (1.75)	5.63 (1.48)
2. Hockey lose video	47	4.13 (1.66)	5.68 (1.34)
3. Hockey tie video	51	5.10 (1.51)	5.24 (1.58)
4. Hockey win video	46	4.80 (1.63)	5.00 (1.76)

Figure 1. The path analysis testing the mediated moderation.



Note. Only the significant covariances are added in the figure for the sake of simplicity. $^{\dagger}p < .10$; $^*p < .05$; $^{**}p < .01$; $^{***}p < .001$.

General Discussion

Discussion of Results

The general objective of this thesis was to understand how, in the context of globalization and immigration, cultural identities change; namely, how individuals adopt new cultural identities and, sometimes, lose their cultural identity of origin. Answering this question is critical, considering the ubiquity of globalization and immigration as well as their consequence for cultural identities worldwide. Their ubiquity and consequences are exemplified here with two phenomena: the increasing immigration rate in Canada, and the international prevalence of American television shows such as *Friends*.

High immigration rates can be seen around the world. The immigration rate in the U.S.A. is 13%; (Grieco, Acosta, de la Cruz, Gambino, Gryn, Larsen, Trevelyan, & Watters, 2012), in Australia, 28.2% (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017), and in the United Kingdom, 14% (White, 2017), showing that immigration is being experienced worldwide. Just in Canada, the arrival of Syrian refugees in 2016 resulted in the highest number of newcomers in this country since 1971 (Grant, 2016), providing thousands of migrants with opportunities to identify with the new Canadian cultural group. The year of 2017 manifested early signs of a possibly greater migration movement into Canadian land; following the inauguration of Donald J. Trump as the president of the U.S.A. in January, refugee seekers in the U.S.A. crossed on foot the Canadian border, walking in deep snow and dangerously cold conditions that resulted in frostbite (Kassam, 2017). In August 2017, 50,000 Haitians followed a similar path into Canada, out of fear of deportation from the U.S.A. (Stevenson, 2017). Farah Larrieux, a Haitian migrant who has lived in the U.S.A. for 12 years and contributed economically to this country, is now considering whether to follow the footprints of her fellow Haitians into Canada (Stevenson). The Syrian refugees, the migrants who suffered from frostbite, and Farah are examples of intercultural contact in one country at one point in time; and yet, they also represent the billions of migrants who can now adopt new cultural identities.

Cultural identity shifts are not only reserved for migration; individuals also experience cultural transformations as a result of the pervasiveness of globalization. This pervasiveness is exemplified by the international presence of American television shows such as *Friends*, a show

that follows the misadventures of six close friends in New York. I remember in the early 2000s watching the show *Friends* in Colombia, when I was still a teenager, and gaining through it a limited, fragmented and yet real understanding of the American culture. This understanding inspired me to “hang out” in coffee shops with my friends as this group of Americans did. Similar reports of adopting American behaviors and values are reported in India (i.e., sexual openness and beauty standards; Rogers, Singhal, Vasanti, Thombre, Chitnis, Sengupta et al., 2003) and in South Korea (gender values; Kang & Morgan, 1988) in connection with watching American shows. Considering that Netflix, a relatively cheap online video provider with a heavy American content, is offered in every country except for China, North Korea, Crimea, and Syria (Netflix, 2017), and that there are 3.6 billion people with access to the internet (Statista, 2017), the entire world is being offered opportunities to transform their cultural identities. The potentially worldwide impact of migration and globalization on cultural identities demands a careful study of this phenomenon.

In this thesis, I argued that, in both contexts of globalization and immigration, when individuals participate in a new cultural group and behave as a typical member of this collectivity, these behaviors will be associated with, and even promote, greater identification with this group. Furthermore, I proposed that higher identification with the new group would predict lower identification with the group of origin (i.e., the subtractive identification pattern) under one specific condition: when little similarities between groups were perceived. The theoretical and empirical articles in this thesis provide support for these arguments, furthering our understanding of how the cultural identities of billions of individuals change when they experience globalization and immigration. These findings are discussed in the following sections.

Article 1: La participation et l'identification à un nouveau groupe social : fondements théoriques et conséquences pour l'identité d'origine

The goal of this first article was to lay the theoretical foundations for the proposed model. In it, we introduced for the first time why contact with a new group is a necessary and yet insufficient condition encouraging identification with this new group. While contact allows the person to gain knowledge about the culture of the group, it is too passive to promote the cognitive processes promoting identification. It was argued that instead, participation in the new

cultural group by adopting the typical behaviors of this group is needed. Participating in a new cultural group was theorized to 1) allow a person to see himself as a prototypical member of the new group, and 2) activate the need for coherence, which together, would promote identification with the new group. Following participation, and hence the increase in identification with the new group, the identity of origin could either remain the same/increase in importance (i.e., an additive identification pattern), or decrease in relevance (i.e., a subtractive pattern). Having presented both additive and subtractive patterns, the article proposes two specific factors that would promote the emergence of an additive vs. subtractive pattern. The first factor is the status differentials between the new group and the group of origin, a factor previously shown to predict the subtractive identification pattern (de la Sablonnière et al., 2016). The second is the perceived similarity between groups, a variable that had not been considered in previous research on the identification patterns.

The theoretical arguments introduced in this article represent an important first step in understanding how participation promotes identification with the new group, which can then predict identification with the group of origin. With the theoretical foundation laid, we were then able to extend these psychological processes beyond the immigration context and into the globalization context.

Article 2: Participation in a New Cultural Group and Patterns of Identification in a Globalized World: The Moderating Role of Similarity

The mission of the second article was to test the theoretical model proposed in Article 1, in the context of globalization. To do this, four correlational studies were conducted. The first study tested at the *American University* (i.e., the *American University of Central Asia* in Kyrgyzstan), whether participation in the American group (operationalized as speaking in English with professors) would predict higher identification with Americans. This study also tested whether an additive identification pattern would emerge in this university, as the *American University* generally promotes similarities through its mission. A mediation analysis showed that, indeed, participation predicted higher identification with Americans, which in turn positively predicted identification with Kyrgyz. The second study compared two universities, the *American University* (which promotes similarities through its mission) and the *Kyrgyz University* (a university whose mission does not necessarily promote similarities). In line with

Study 1, it was found that at the *American University*, participation positively predicted identification with Americans, which in turn positively predicted identification with Kyrgyz, revealing an additive identification pattern. However, identification with Americans negatively predicted identification with Kyrgyz at the *Kyrgyz University*, hence showing a subtractive pattern when similarities are not generally promoted.

In order to ensure that it was perceived similarity and not other contextual variables that promoted the identification patterns, a third study was conducted in Kyrgyzstan. In this third study, participants from three different universities were explicitly asked how similar they perceived Americans and Kyrgyz to be. A moderated mediation analysis revealed that participation positively predicted identification with Americans; in turn, this identification with Americans negatively predicted identification with Kyrgyz but only when little similarities between groups were perceived.

Lastly, a fourth study was conducted with Franco-Ontarians, in Canada, to replicate the pattern of results previously obtained. This study used a repeated measures methodology, with a five-year difference between measures. The results show that when Francophone participants in Ontario used English with friends and family, they identified more with Anglophones at Time 1 and then at Time 2. In turn, identification with Anglophones at Time 2 predicted lower identification with Francophones when little similarities between English and French were perceived.

The findings of these studies suggest that participating in a new cultural group by using its language is associated with developing a sense of belonging to this group. These results mirror those previously observed in the context of immigration (e.g., Cárdenas & de la Sablonnière, 2017) but in a context where intercultural contact is more hidden (i.e., globalization), offering further support for the predictive ability of participation on identification with the new group across contexts and populations.

The results of Article 2 also revealed that while participation positively predicted identification with the new group, these high levels of identification would negatively predict identification with the group of origin when little similarities between groups were observed. In other words, participating in the new group was associated with the emergence of a subtractive identification pattern when dissimilarities were perceived. In previous research, status differentials were proposed as the main variable predicting the subtractive pattern (de la

Sablonnière et al., 2016). The results of Article 2 show that perceiving dissimilarities between groups and their characteristics is an important predictor of shifts in the self-concept; the perception of similarities was important even when controlling for the impact of status differentials. These findings suggest that perceiving groups as sharing similarities contributes uniquely to our understanding of how the self-concept reorganizes, above and beyond the impact of status.

Article 3: Participating in a New Group and the Identification Processes: The Quest for a Positive Social Identity

The third article had two main goals. The first goal was to further test the theoretical model presented in Article 1 (i.e., participation would promote identification with the new group, which would predict lower identification with the group of origin when dissimilarities between groups are perceived), and replacate findings from Article 2. However, unlike Article 2, an immigrant population was recruited, and, importantly, an experimental methodology was employed to test whether the causal impact of participation could be assumed.

Furthermore, the second goal of this study was to begin testing the conditions under which participation would successfully promote identification shifts. More specifically, based on social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), it was proposed that the impact of participation on identification with the new group would depend on the value attributed to this collectivity. More specifically, if a new group was assigned a positive or neutral value, it was expected that participation would trigger the identity shifts previously described. If, however, the new group was attributed a negative value, then it was expected that participation would not promote identification with the new group (and the ensuing subtractive pattern under conditions of dissimilarities).

The results of this study showed that compared to immigrants who did not participate in Quebec's culture (operationalized as watching a basketball video), those who participated in Quebec's culture (i.e., watched a hockey game) identified more strongly with Quebecers, which in turn negatively predicted identification with their country of origin when dissimilarities were observed. This relationship held when the video reflected a positive or neutral value on the new group (when the Canadiens of Montreal won or tied the game in the video); participation was

unsuccessful in promoting identification when the group had a negative value (the Canadiens lost).

With its experimental methodology, this study adds to current literature by providing initial evidence for the causal impact of participation on identity processes. In a field heavily reliant on cross-sectional correlational studies, experimental manipulations such as this one offers researchers an alternative way of testing and replicating their hypothesis. In our case, it offers the first insight into the causal role of participation on identification. Furthermore, by exploring the value associated with the new group, these results also highlight individuals' motivation to avoid associating with and belonging to groups that are negatively valued (Tajfel, 1978). As such, Article 3 offers an important piece of insight: Participation does not always promote identification shifts. If participation is to touch one's identities, certain basic conditions, such as the non-negative value of the new group, need to be present. What other basic conditions might be, and how they can modify the impact of participation on identification, is the mission of future research.

Theoretical Implications

The present research program contributes to the literature on intercultural contact and the adoption of new cultural identities. Three main theoretical contributions are highlighted in this section: first, specifying for the first time how intercultural contact can change the identities of individuals (i.e., via participation); next, examining whether the psychological mechanism promoting identification can be applied to a variety of contexts, ranging from a context where intercultural contact is palpable (i.e., migration) to a context where such contact is less obvious (i.e., globalization); and last, furthering our understanding of how new identities and identities of origin relate to each other (i.e., the additive and subtractive identification patterns).

First, concerning the power of intercultural contact, we presented three main theories — the theory of acculturation strategies (Berry, 1997), the bicultural identity integration theory (BII; Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005), and the cognitive developmental model of social identity integration (CDMSII; Amiot et al., 2007) — which highlight contact with new cultures as the trigger allowing the adoption of the new identity. Nevertheless, adopting a new cultural identity is more than simply taking on a new cultural label; identifying with a new cultural group means internalizing a second set of life instructions (values, beliefs, attitudes, behaviors,

traditions and symbols) into the self. In other words, identifying with a new cultural group is no small feat. As such, simple face-to-face contact with new cultures might not be enough to trigger profound changes in the self. Is there evidence that intergroup contact promotes identification?

It depends on how intergroup contact is operationalized. Intergroup contact has been operationalized as: positive contact (i.e., equal status, common goals, cooperation and support from the system) with the other group; and number of friendships with members of the other group (Pettigrew, 1997; 1998). Few studies have examined whether positive contact with groups promotes identification with this group; when this relation is tested, little evidence for the relation has been found (e.g., Pereira, Green, & Visintin, 2017). Nevertheless, there is some evidence that when contact is operationalized as *friendship*, contact positively predicts including in the self the new group (e.g., Turner, Hewstone, Voci, & Vonofakou, 2008). The main reason postulated for this relation is because individuals include in their self-concepts their friends (Aron & Aron, 1996); if their friends are from another cultural group, then they also include their friend's cultural group (Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997). However, in the words of Wright and colleagues, "this route [to adopting a new identity] is rather remote," especially considering that cultural identities are such central psychological structures.

In this thesis, I proposed that contact with a new cultural group, including having numerous friends from this new culture, could promote identification by offering individuals the opportunity to gain knowledge on the culture of this group, that is, to create and update the prototype of this group. Furthermore, contact offers individuals more than mere knowledge: it provides them with multiple opportunities to participate in the new group. For example, the Colombian migrant in Canada may, through contact with this culture, learn to associate watching hockey with the Canadian cultural group. Nevertheless, he will personally adopt this typical behavior when members of the new group offer him the opportunity to watch a hockey game with them. In time, the behavior might become autonomous and he might watch hockey on his own, or invite his friends over to watch the game; however, if he does not have close friendships with Canadians, then it is less likely for the migrant to be offered the opportunities to participate in the Canadian cultural group. As such, it is not simply having friends or intercultural contact that promotes the adoption of the new identity, but rather what this contact offers, mainly, the opportunities to participate in the new group. This central theoretical reasoning is detailed for the first time in this thesis.

Second, the findings from this thesis suggest that participation is useful in order to understand identity shifts across migration and globalization contexts. This proposition was advanced because the psychological mechanism by which participation promoted identification with the new group (i.e., perceived prototypicality and need for coherence) as well as the additive/subtractive identification patterns (i.e., perceived similarity) were assumed to be basic psychological processes shared by most. As such, I expected them to predict identification shifts in any context of intercultural contact. Was this assumption reasonable?

So far, there was no empirical evidence for this assumption, as all studies testing the relation between participation and identification had solely been conducted in the context of migration (e.g., Cárdenas & de la Sablonnière, 2017; Hutnik, 1986; Phinney, 2003; Rosenthal et al., 1987). Furthermore, migration and globalization differ in terms of the nature and breadth of intercultural contact. When immigrating, individuals are constantly being offered opportunities to participate in the new group because of the strong and far-reaching presence of the new cultural group in the migration context. On the other hand, the subtle, discrete, and specific nature of intercultural contact in the context of globalization means that participation is often restrained to a very specific life sphere.

Not only are there leaps of difference between migrating to Canada and watching *Friends*, the proposed psychological mechanisms and ensuing hypothesis were derived from studies conducted with the so-called WEIRD populations — i.e., White, Educated, Industrialized, Rich and Democratic (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010). In fact, most of the studies in psychology are conducted with these populations, including those on social identity theory (from which the perceived prototypicality mechanism is derived), and attitude change literature (from which the need for coherence is inferred). Thus, it remained uncertain whether the hypotheses presented in this thesis would hold outside WEIRD populations, and whether they would hold similarly in migration and globalization settings.

The assumption that participation in the new group can predict identification shifts across populations and contexts received support in this thesis. More specifically, we conducted studies with Kyrgyz, Franco-Ontarians, and with immigrants in Canada, across two countries and in contexts of immigration and globalization. Our hypotheses, that participation would predict/promote higher identification with the new group, which would in turn predict identification with the group of origin (the direction of the relation depending on perceived

similarity), were confirmed across these differing settings and communities. Even an experimental study, a methodology fairly difficult to adapt and employ in acculturation research, showed the same consistent pattern of results. Hence, there is compelling evidence to make the case that participation can predict identification with new groups in a variety of contexts, ranging from very noticeable to more subtle conditions of intercultural contact.

Thirdly, this thesis furthers our understanding of how new identities and identities of origin relate to each other. Acculturation — which often includes identification with cultural groups — was defined by some researchers as an unidimensional construct, where acculturation/identification with the new group would be at one end of the continuum while acculturation/identification with the group of origin would be at the other end of the continuum (e.g., Gordon, 1964). Such a conceptualization implied that a person could feel part of only one culture at the time, and hence had to choose between the new group and the group of origin. A second conceptualization that emerged was that acculturation was a bidimensional construct (Berry, 1997; Sayegh & Lasry, 1993), implying that a person could adopt a new culture (and identity) and simultaneously maintain his culture (and identity) of origin. Ryder, Alden and Paulhus (2000) simultaneously tested both unidimensional and bidimensional conceptualizations of acculturation and found stronger support for the independent bidimensional model. This bidimensional conceptualization, particularly Berry's acculturation strategies (Berry, 1997) has inspired a plethora of studies, which, consequently also assumed identification with a new group and with the group of origin to be independent. But are cultural identities always independent?

Previous research had tested one specific condition under which the independence between identities would not bear, and that is when the new group and the group of origin had status differentials (de la Sablonnière et al., 2016). However, groups are not only defined by status. A new group possesses other important characteristics that may or may not be similar to those of the group of origin; status differentials might be one of the many characteristics in which groups are dissimilar to each other. As such, status differentials may become less important when the general similarity between groups is assessed or when other important attributes are considered. This is so, considering how individuals are motivated to create coherence within the self (Cialdini, 2009), even when integrating cultural identities. Based on this, it was postulated that assigning increased importance to a new cultural identity would

predict lower importance of the cultural identity of origin when the groups and their characteristics were perceived as dissimilar.

The results from Article 2 and Article 3 are in line with previous research, showing that the self is a flexible structure, capable of becoming increasingly complex and adding new cultural identities as a response to new and constant environments (Baumeister, 1998; Showers & Zeigler-Hill, 2003). Nevertheless, the self seems to adapt in such a way as to maintain and reflect overall coherence within its structures, even at the expense of one's cultural identity of origin when dissimilarities are perceived.

Taken together, findings from this thesis fulfill their goal of shedding light into how identities react and change when in contact with new cultural groups, contributing to the social psychological study of acculturation changes.

Practical Implications

The goal and hypotheses tested in this thesis were essentially theoretical; as such, one needs to be careful when deriving practical implications and interventions from current theoretical findings. Further research is necessary to fully grasp the impact of participation on the identification processes and how to successfully transform this information into applicable tools. Nevertheless, the findings in this thesis offer some insight into how government agencies and field workers should react when confronted with three specific phenomena: integration of immigrants, its impact on the collective efforts of migrants, and the impact of globalization on cultural diversity.

The first practical implication of the current findings concerns how government agencies and field workers in countries with high immigration rates can favor the integration of migrants into their society: by developing tools so that immigrants can participate in the new cultural group. More specifically, if receiving countries are to benefit from high immigration rates, it is in their best interest to promote the successful adaptation and inclusion of immigrants in the economic, social and cultural domains of their society. One way of succeeding such a goal is to promote identification with the new group. Indeed, research shows that individuals who identify strongly with a group are more likely to follow their social norms (Neighbors et al., 2010) and promote the well-being of their group (van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008). Therefore, migrants who identify with their receiving country will probably also follow the norms of the

new country and promote its well-being. Fostering identification may even prevent homegrown terrorism and the radicalization of young second and third-generation migrants by allowing susceptible youth to find a place to belong when facing identity crisis (King & Taylor, 2011). Given the results of this thesis, and if further research continuously shows that participating in a new cultural group helps immigrants integrate the cultural identity of the receiving country, then immigration policies and practical tools may be developed to encourage immigrants to participate in the receiving country. These “participation” tools will not only allow migrants to develop a sense of belonging in the new country but will also motivate them to contribute to the economic and social well-being of the new country.

One important tool for participation that needs to be further developed is equal accessibility to employment. Immigrants in Canada generally have higher unemployment rates than the general population, despite being equally or more qualified (Statistics Canada, 2017); they have lower income compared to non-migrants (Picot & Hou, 2014); and, their diplomas are often unrecognized as they are often asked to pursue a second diploma (Houle & Yssaad, 2010). These inequalities are perpetuated by policies that, while using neutral and non-discriminatory terminology, translate into denying migrants equal access to employment, an important aspect/requirement for participation. A change in policies by governments is, hence, required. A government that endorses policies guaranteeing equal access to employment of migrants would help them participate in the new culture, and, importantly, would send a clear message of inclusion and acceptance of migrants to its society and its members (e.g., Guimond et al., 2013).

The second practical implication of our findings involves the role of governments and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in ensuring that migrants will stand for their rights. As has been previously noted, intergroup contact is a successful tool for decreasing prejudice against other groups (e.g., Pettigrew, 1997). However, positive contact also has a dark side: it diminishes motivation for collective action in disadvantaged groups (Wright & Lubensky, 2009). According to Wright and Lubensky, positive contact makes the new advantaged group identity more important than their identity of origin (i.e., the subtractive identification pattern); as identification with this group decreases, so does group members’ anger about the inequality experienced due to their minority status, quenching their motivation to create social movements for improving its conditions (Tausch, Saguy, & Bryson, 2015). Such findings imply that

participating in the new group and its accompanying rise in identification with the new group (and sometimes decrease in identity of origin) might have negative consequences for the social well-being of migrants in their new country. Based on current findings, governments, NGOs, and field workers should be aware that promoting participation in the new group implies that migrants will be less likely to take action and improve their condition as a group, settling instead in disadvantaged positions. Beyond being aware, these entities can actually prevent the negative outcome of participation by reminding migrants that, as members of the new group (and contingent on their legal status), they have the same rights as any other member. Indeed, increased identification with Canadians can promote migrants' collective action (Klandermans et al., 2008; Scuzzarello, 2015) by allowing them to appropriate themselves with the legal rights that come with their membership to the new country. However, the appropriation of their legal rights demands knowledge of such rights. Governmental and non-governmental institutions are responsible for making migrants aware of their rights. Hence, in the same way that policies should promote the creation of tools for participation, such tools would need to be accompanied by readily accessible information on the legal rights of migrants.

A last practical implication of our findings concerns the challenge of protecting one's cultural identities in a globalized world. Currently, the entire planet is being offered opportunities to participate in new cultures in their own borders through the internet, social media and the presence of western (and other big) companies/institutions (Scholte, 2005). Based on the results of this thesis, individuals who are in contact with a new group and participate in it in the context of globalization are likely to adopt the cultural identity of the new group as well as, sometimes, lose their identity of origin. As such, the fear is that countries will find their cultural identities replaced by external cultural groups, creating "one homogeneous worldwide culture in which all children grow up wanting to be like the latest pop music star, eat Big Macs, vacation at Disney World, and wear blue jeans, baseball caps, and Nikes" (Arnett, 2002, p. 779; see also Smith et al., 2013). Such scenario, however, is avoidable.

Globalization has not only allowed the adoption of new cultural identities, it has given rise to a phenomenon where these global identities are integrated along with national/ethnic cultural identities (Arnett, 2002), combining elements of both identities within the self. Thus, it is possible to adopt new cultural or even global identities, while simultaneously maintaining one's cultural identity of origin. Based on present results, this additive pattern should occur

when similarities are perceived between the new group and the group of origin. In other words, one way in which governments can protect their cultures and cultural identities from being subtracted in the age of communication is by recognizing the similarities between new cultures and the culture of origin. That is not to say that simply recognizing similarities between new and original cultures will ensure that the culture of origin remains; governments need to take concrete steps to ensure that their citizens see the value and relevance of their culture of origin, its language, and/or its religion (e.g., Scholte, 2002). Additionally, policies need to be enacted so that individuals can easily participate in their culture of origin and see the value in this participation, as engaging in these behaviors will likely promote identification with their culture of origin. If countries, cultural groups, and individuals successfully rise up to the challenge of building, defining, giving value, and participating in their own cultural institutions while simultaneously promoting their similarities with the cultures promoted by globalization, globalization is unlikely to mark the death of diverse cultural identities.

To summarize, the findings in this thesis offer insights into how to successfully promote identification in migrants, how this participation can impact the collective effort of migrants, and how to face the cultural challenges involved in globalization. How such insight could be specifically applied to each context and be transformed into interventions requires further research.

Limitations and Future Research

Despite the theoretical contributions of the current thesis and its practical implications, there are various limitations and possibilities for future studies. Five specific limitations and opportunities for future research are discussed below, each focusing on a specific part of the model. First, the methodological and empirical shortcomings of the current studies are discussed. Second, two variables that can modify the link between participation in the new group and identification with it are introduced (i.e., personality and discrimination). Third, the need to dissect the meaning of “similarity” is discussed. Fourth, the possible consequences of experiencing a subtractive versus an additive pattern of identification are presented. Fifth, we consider alternative ways of statistically testing the additive identification pattern.

Methodological and Empirical Shortcomings

One important limitation concerns the methodological challenge involved in studying cultural identities and participation. For example, having a 5-year period between Time 1 measures and Time 2 measures in Study 4 of Article 2 (the repeated measures study), allowed us to understand how participation predicts identity shifts through time. Nevertheless, this came to a loss of a great number of participants. Future research with shorter periods between measures could be employed to grasp identity shifts in time without having important attrition rates. Another example of the methodological limitations is solely having conceptualized participation as using a language (Article 2) and watching the national sport (Article 3) of a group. The use of two operationalizations of participation gives us an initial clear, if somehow simplistic, picture of participation. Nevertheless, if a more complete picture of participation and its consequences is to emerge, it is essential to test whether other typical behaviors can be operationalized in the lab and in the real world, and whether these forms of participation predict the identification patterns.

In line with this limitation, participation in the new group was defined as engaging in behaviors or actions that are typically observed in the group, such as engaging in cultural traditions, social/work/education activities and relationships with members of the new cultural group (Cárdenas & de la Sablonnière, 2017). These exact behaviors are, however, extremely difficult to universally define because they differ from one cultural group to another, and from one context to another. Speaking English might not be generally associated with American culture; nevertheless, some restaurants in the U.S.A. have highlighted English as a typically American behavior by refusing to serve individuals not speaking this language (e.g., Coomarasamy, 2006); a similar process emerges at the *American University of Central Asia*, where English is readily associated with Americans. As such, the question of operationalizing participation requires reflection and a deep understanding of the new cultural group as well as of the context in which the study will take place. While I believe that the behaviors chosen in this thesis accurately represent participation in the new group, future research could develop the characteristics necessary for a behavior to be considered a true form of participation in the new group.

Furthermore, the model as a whole remains to be tested. More specifically, in the introduction of the thesis and in Article 1, it was proposed that participation activated perceived prototypicality and need for coherence, and that the activation of these mechanisms promoted identification with the new group. Nevertheless, the presence of such mechanisms was not evaluated either in the correlational studies (Article 2) or in the experimental study (Article 3). Hence, it remains unclear whether perceived prototypicality and need for coherence are truly the mechanisms by which participation predicts and promotes identification with the new group.

Strengthening and Weakening the Relation Between Participation and Identification

Does participating in a new group always successfully predict identification with the new group? As with all psychological processes, the relation between participation and identification is probably dependent on factors that are unique to the individual (individual factors) as well as those present in their context (social factors). What these factors are, remain to be studied. In Article 3, we examined whether the value attributed to a group could be one such factor; nevertheless, other important individual and social factors can also impact the relation between participation and identification. In this subsection, we explore two possible moderating factors that have theoretical (in the field of psychology) and practical (in the life of individuals) importance: personality, an individual factor, and discrimination, a social factor.

Personality traits impact our lives, including our job performance (Goldberg, 1993), well-being and positive affect (DeNeve & Cooper, 1998), substance abuse and mental health issues (Kotov, Gamez, Schmidt, & Watson, 2010) and, importantly in our case, the way individuals adapt to new cultural environments (Kossic, 2006) and integrate their cultural identities (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). Three specific personality traits seem to impact how bicultural individuals participate and integrate new cultural identities (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005): Openness to experience, neuroticism and agreeableness. Openness to experience predicted how competent individuals felt in their cultural groups as well as the perception of compatibility in their cultural identities. Neuroticism positively predicted the stress experienced when speaking the new language and interacting with others, as well as the sense of conflict between identities. Lastly, agreeableness negatively predicted the stress experienced in intercultural interactions. These results highlight a certain personality pattern

that, if possessed, may complicate the relation between participation and identification. More specifically, if an individual is low in openness to experience, he will neither wish nor seek to participate in the new cultural group, cutting off this promoter of identification; individuals high in neuroticism may experience high levels of stress when speaking the new language and thus might not benefit from participating in the group in this way. Lastly, individuals low in agreeableness may be stressed about having negative interactions with members of the new cultural group; this stress might cancel the impact of participation on identification. Individuals with low openness to experience, high neuroticism and low agreeableness may, hence, encounter particular difficulties when participating in the new group, which can nullify its impact on identification with the new group.

Beyond these individual factors, social variables, such as the perception of prejudice and discrimination in one's context, might also hinder the predictive impact of participation on identification. Prejudice is defined as having a negative prejudgment or attitude towards an individual based on group membership; discrimination refers to unfair treatment or behavior towards a group and its members (e.g., Brown, 2001). These two are strongly related to each other and can have detrimental consequences for physical (for a meta-analysis, see Pascoe & Richman, 2009) and mental health (for a meta-analysis, see Schmitt, Branscombe, Postmes, & Garcia, 2014) of disadvantaged minorities. Schmitt and Branscombe (2005) argue that discrimination is particularly destructive to minorities because it implies that one's group is excluded from the dominant majority while simultaneously suggesting that one's group is devalued. This same logic should apply at the personal level; if a person experiences discrimination, it signifies that the individual is being excluded from the majority group — i.e., is being rejected as a member of the new group — while also being psychologically forced into his group of origin.

This means that when an individual is participating in a new cultural group while simultaneously sensing discrimination from this new cultural group, he is experiencing two contradictory effects. His actions tell him that he fits the prototype of the group, but people in his environment are telling him that, in fact, he is not a member of the group. As such, perceived discrimination should impede on identification with the new group even when a person is participating in the new group.

What does Similarity Mean?

In the current thesis we exposed the complex relation between identification with a new group and identification with a group of origin; while most theories present them as independent constructs, empirical research shows that in many cases they are related to each other. Perceived similarity was proposed as a variable that could help us understand and predict when an additive versus a subtractive identification pattern would emerge because, it was argued, groups that are perceived as dissimilar will have identities that are difficult to embody simultaneously in a coherent fashion; having to choose between one cultural identity or the other, the person will most likely choose the one that is coherent with his actions (i.e., participation in the new cultural group). Nevertheless, perceived similarity needs to be further dissected.

First, two dissimilar cultural identities may not be necessarily incoherent with each other; one cultural identity may, for example, place great importance on dining table manners while another one may instead give great importance to treating elderly people with respect. While a person might perceive that the groups (and hence, their cultural identities) are dissimilar to each other, the group identities may not be incoherent, as the individual can easily be respectful with elderly people and show dining table manners. Dissimilar groups may not necessarily contradict each other. Thus, adding a cultural identity from a group dissimilar from the group of origin might, in this case, allow a person to experience the additive identification pattern. In fact, individuals can even perceive that the differences between their groups complement each other (Costa-Lopes, Vala, & Judd, 2012). By distinguishing between perceiving groups as dissimilar versus as having contradictory information, future research can better understand the conditions under which the subtractive identification pattern occur.

Second, previous research in social identity theory suggests that individuals are motivated to perceive their group not only as having positive characteristics but also as being distinct from other groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; see also Brewer, 1991). When a person perceives that his group is too similar to another group, intergroup conflict (such as ingroup bias) emerges in order to create psychological distinctiveness between groups (e.g., Brewer & Weber, 1994). In fact, Hornsey and Hogg (2000) found that in conditions where the distinctiveness of a group identity is threatened, perceiving similarities between groups had a negative effect on intergroup relations. If the distinctiveness of a group was not threatened, then

perceiving similarities between groups helped intergroup relations. Under this logic, adopting a new cultural identity of a group that is very similar to the group identity already in the self might sometimes violate the need for distinctiveness, since the new group does not appear to respect and accept the unique aspects of the group of origin. This need for distinctiveness may even cancel the integration of the new cultural identity, even after participation, in order to maintain the distinctiveness of the identity of origin. As such, an important question for future research is to understand if there is an optimal level of similarity between groups that will allow the integration of the new cultural identity (i.e., respecting the need for distinctiveness) while allowing the person to see the new group as similar to the group of origin (i.e., promoting the additive identification pattern). I would expect that this optimal level of similarity could be achieved by acknowledging both the unique characteristics of the group while simultaneously recognizing that, in general, the groups do possess attributes that overlap. By recognizing both the similarities and distinctions between groups, optimal levels of similarity may be achieved.

One social variable that might allow for the optimal level of similarity between groups and identities to emerge is the presence of multicultural policies. Multiculturalism is a policy that promotes cultural diversity as a national feature, allowing immigrants and cultural minorities to adopt the mainstream culture while keeping their culture of origin. The assumption behind multiculturalism is that promoting diversity allows individuals to feel that their culture of origin is secure, which in turn allows the person to open up to mainstream culture and adopt the mainstream culture (e.g., Moghaddam & Solliday, 1991). Multiculturalism often stands in contrast to assimilation, a policy where cultural diversity is believed to be detrimental to the social well-being of countries and, thus, should be minimized (e.g., Moghaddam & Solliday, 1991). Immigrants and cultural minorities should hence shed their cultural identities in the “melting pot” and have only the cultural identity of the majority. Assimilation demands uniformization while multiculturalism allows groups to maintain their distinctiveness. By allowing groups to maintain their unique aspects, multiculturalism policies provide social, cultural, and political structures that respect the need for group distinctiveness (e.g., Brewer, 1991; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000; Vignoles, Chryssochoou, & Breakwell, 2000). When participating in a new cultural group in the context of multiculturalism, individuals may feel that they can keep their cultural identity of origin along with its unique aspects; as the uniqueness

of their culture of origin is not being threatened by the new cultural group, the adoption of this new cultural identity is facilitated.

Nevertheless, our findings also suggest that perceiving similarities is important if the additive pattern is to occur. As such, if multiculturalism promotes diversity to the extent that it presents cultural groups as being exceedingly distinct and dissimilar to each other, the addition of the new cultural identity will probably result in the subtraction of the identity of origin. In answer to multiculturalism's emphasis on the diversity of groups, Moghaddam (2012) proposed omniculturalism, where groups are first and foremost recognized as having a common humanity, and hence sharing critical similarities that need to be respected. Only when these human similarities are acknowledged, can we recognize the characteristics that distinguish groups from each other without falling into pitfalls of extreme dissimilarities, such as dehumanizing the other group; in our case, the presence of omniculturalism may allow the emergence of the sought-after additive identification pattern.

Consequences of the Subtractive Patterns of Identification

Considering how the additive and subtractive patterns have only recently been studied, the consequences of these patterns remain to be understood. One important consequence of the additive versus the subtractive patterns of identification that remains unknown is whether both patterns of identification truly result in identity integration. According to Amiot and colleagues (2007; see also Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005), two cultural identities are integrated when they become equally important to the self. Based on this definition, both additive and subtractive patterns of identification should result in identity integration: in the case of the additive pattern, the new identity gains in importance until it reaches a high importance in the self, akin to the importance of the identity of origin; in the subtractive pattern, the importance of the new identity increases as the identity of origin decreases until they reach a comparable level. As long as the importance of both identities has reached a similar level, identity integration has been achieved regardless of the identification pattern. Is it really the case? A recent study (Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2016) shows that individuals may give great importance to hybrid identities (e.g., Colombo-Canadian in the case of the Colombian migrant) while having variable levels of identification with each cultural identity. In other words, both identities can be equally important to the self-definition without having to give each identity a very high level of importance. As

such, it appears possible that both patterns of identification could promote the successful integration of cultural identities, even if in the case of the subtractive pattern, the identity of origin is less important than it previously was.

Lastly, one important question that remains to be answered pertains to which pattern of identification will benefit most individuals' well-being. The additive identification pattern is assumed to lead to high levels of identification with both the new group and the group of origin; in contrast, the subtractive pattern is assumed to lead to lower (yet parallel) levels of identification with both groups (de la Sablonnière et al., 2016). Having high levels of identification (hence the additive pattern of identification) is often presented as the best option for experiencing personal well-being (Berry, 1997; 2005; 2010; Berry et al., 1987). As such, the subtractive identification pattern, which results in low levels of identification with both identities, should also result in lower well-being. However, there is evidence that having low levels of identification with two cultural groups is not necessarily associated with lower well-being, as long as individuals give parallel importance to both identities (e.g., Carpentier & de la Sablonnière, 2013; de la Sablonnière, Debrosse, & Benoit, 2010). As such, the subtractive identification pattern may not necessarily result in lower well-being when compared to the additive pattern. This may be particularly true considering how the subtractive pattern appears to play an important role in maintaining coherence and continuity in the self when there is conflicting or at least dissimilar information. When individuals are confronted with two incoherent identities, diminishing the importance of the cultural identity of origin might actually benefit the individual by allowing him to solve the internal conflict within the self (Baumeister, Shapiro, & Tice, 1985); this in turn would result in well-being. Understanding the consequences of the additive and subtractive pattern for well-being is important, considering how both identification patterns emerge in contexts that we are all exposed to.

Statistically Testing the Additive Identification Pattern

Since the emergence of Berry's strategies of acculturation, and the accompanying multiculturalism movement, the field of acculturation and cultural identities have adopted a position where adding a new identity has no negative consequence for the identity of origin, a phenomenon we labelled the additive identification pattern. In the current thesis, it is questioned whether this is always the case, or whether the subtractive pattern can also emerge, where adding

a new identity does have a negative consequence on the identity of origin. The additive and subtractive identification patterns were operationalized in this thesis by the direction of the relationships between the new identity and the identity of origin. If adding a new identity has no negative consequence for the identity of origin, we expect a non-negative relation between identities, ranging from no relationship between them (a correlation or $r = 0$) to a positive relationship between identities (or $r = +$). The subtractive pattern would be reflected in a negative relationship between identities (or $r = -$).

Thinking of the additive identification pattern as a non-negative relation between identities is in line with previous discussions of how cultural identities are reorganized, where the zeitgeist is simply that there is a non-negative impact of new cultural identities. The best example is Berry's (1997, 2005) acculturation strategies, where acculturation and identification with the new group and with the group of origin are seen as independent from each other.

However, proposing a lack of negative impact is problematic when transforming this assumption into a hypothesis testable with inferential statistics, as we find ourselves proposing the null-hypothesis, or at least, proposing the null-hypothesis ($r = 0$) and/or a positive relation ($r = +$). More specifically, the question answered in inferential statistics is to what extent we can assume that the observed correlation r is different from 0. Inferential statistics begin with the assumption that most correlations drawn at random from a population will be close yet somewhat different from 0 because of sampling error. Thus, in inferential statistics, 0 is the reference by which all numbers are judged and tested. If we find a correlation with a probability $p < .05$, then we can be 95% confident that the observed correlation does not include $r = 0$ and thus that there is very likely an actual relation between the variables. When the hypothesis of additive identification pattern is tested correlations and inferential statistics (i.e., an $r = 0$ and an $r = +$), these correlations are likely to occur 97.5% of the time by chance. In other words, such hypothesis (that there is non-negative effect of adding a new identity) can hardly be falsified with current statistics used in psychology. This problem becomes exacerbated by small sample sizes, as these may lack the statistical power to detect a significant negative relationship between identities, and they may wrongfully conclude that an additive pattern is taking place.

In the current thesis, postulating an additive pattern that includes the null hypothesis ($r = 0$) as well as a positive relation ($r = +$) is less problematic because we are often testing it in comparison to the subtractive pattern ($r = -$), which can only emerge 2.5% of the time.

Furthermore, the two studies that directly examined the additive pattern of identification without the interaction of similarity (Article 1, Study 1, *American University* in Kyrgyzstan; Article 1, Study 2 *American University* in Kyrgyzstan), found a positive and significant relation between identities. Thus, while theoretically the additive pattern of identification includes any non-negative relations with the identity of origin, empirically, when the additive pattern is explicitly tested in the thesis, these relations are significantly positive. This provides a certain level of confidence on the results.

Nevertheless, while the current conceptualization of the additive identification pattern is on the pulse of the current zeitgeist, while this thesis does have hypotheses that are falsifiable, and while the additive results obtained in the current findings do not include a null relation between identities, it must be acknowledged that the current operationalization of additive identification pattern is problematic for those interested in solely examining (and promoting) this pattern. How can we test whether the additive pattern of identification is a real phenomenon versus if it is just an event likely to occur by chance? How can one know whether interventions are successfully promoting the additive pattern above and beyond doing nothing?

An alternative would be to change the nature of the statistical question by shifting from inferential statistics to Bayesian statistics. In inferential statistics, the question is to what extent can we assume that the observed correlation is different from 0. In Bayesian statistics, the question is no longer whether a number can be assumed to be different from 0. In other words, 0 is no longer the number by which all other numbers are judged. Instead, Bayesian statistics are concerned with testing whether our assumptions about the distribution of correlations is correct. More specifically, Bayesian statistics are built in such a way that we no longer need to assume that most correlations will occur around 0, i.e., that the distribution of correlations is centered around zero. We can have *a priori* assumptions that, for example, when dissimilarities are perceived the distribution of correlation scores can be found between -1 and -.25 (based on effect sizes by Cohen, 1992), showing a subtractive pattern; when similarities are perceived, we can assume the additive pattern of identification to manifest itself with a distribution of correlation scores between -.25 and 1. After these *a priori* assumptions are formalized, data (both in the form of correlational and experimental studies) can be gathered in order to test to what extent (or to what likelihood) our *a priori* assumptions about the distributions of scores is in line with the data gathered. Thus, these analyses tell us about the credibility of our previous

assumptions based on gathered data. Not only will Bayesian statistics test whether our previous assumptions about the distribution of correlations (i.e., negative or subtractive when dissimilarities; neutral/positive or additive when similarities) are credible, they will also correct our assumptions by providing *a posteriori* assumptions that better fit the data. For instances, it might be the case that an additive pattern of identification is best reflected in a distribution of correlations that ranges from -.05 to .50, as opposed to the *a priori* assumption of -.25 to 1. Future studies employing Bayesian statistics can hence test what extent it is valid to assume that additive patterns truly emerge, and hence, that the identity of origin does not suffer when identifying with new groups (i.e., either $r = 0$ or $r = +$).

The opportunities for future research presented above highlight both the progress that has been made towards understanding the link between participation, identification with the new group, and identification with the group of origin, as well as the need to pursue further research. Future studies on these questions will continue to elucidate the interplay between our behaviors and our cultural identities in an ever-changing world.

Conclusion

Massive migration and globalization impact our world today. And yet, they are simply two examples of the many pervasive and dramatic social changes experienced around the world today (de la Sablonnière, 2017). These dramatic changes, which profoundly impact individuals as well as societies, will continue to increase in rate (Nolan & Lenski, 2010), touching billions of people around the world (Weinstein, 2010). Indeed, our world is defined by fast-paced, profound and pervasive changes (Smith et al., 2013). As globalization and migration are reflections of these changes, they will continue to be a reality in what remains of the 21st century and possibly beyond.

Considering the imminent reality of such changes and its impact in our core as individuals, who we are, the current thesis has hopefully contributed to understanding how individuals can successfully adapt their internal compass, their cultural identities, to adequately and safely navigate through the strong and ever turbulent winds that change their lives.

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Annex A: Consent Form (English, Study 1 Article 1)

Dear participants,

You know that Kyrgyzstan is a very multi-national country- we have a great number of different nationalities living here, some of which have lived here for years and others that are rather new. That is why the American University- Central Asia in collaboration with the Civic Education Project is conducting a survey concerning the idea of how people of different nationalities relate to their own and other ethnic groups, what languages they speak, and how they behave in different situations. As there are over 50 different nationalities living here, we cannot possibly study all of them all at once.

Therefore, in this particular questionnaire, we are interested mostly in Kyrgyzs, Russians, and Americans. However, we are planning to extend our survey to other nationalities later. Even if you do not belong to any of these nationalities, you still can answer the questions. Since some of the questions concern your language skills. Given that these skills can change over time, we would like to ask you the same kind of questions not only now, but also at the end of this academic year (in April). In order to find you at the end of the second semester, we would like to have some of your contact information. You can provide your e-mail, phone or some other information that will help us to contact you. Please remember that you are participating in this study voluntarily. If you do not wish to be part of this survey, you can stop answering the questions at any time. If you have any comments or questions regarding this questionnaire, please call the Psychology Department of AUCA.

Your confidentiality is guaranteed.

This questionnaire is comprised of four sections. We ask you to answer all the questions carefully. If some of the questions are not clear, please ask the assistant to help you. If the assistant is not around, leave the question you do not understand and continue answering the other questions. It will take you about 15 to 20 minutes to answer all of the questions.

Thanking you in advance for your collaboration in this survey,
Psychology Department of AUCA

Annex B: Consent Form (Russian, Study 1 Article 1)

*Как вы знаете, Кыргызстан является многонациональной страной, где проживает много разных народов. Поэтому кафедра психологии Американского университета - Центральная Азия в сотрудничестве с Канадским университетом Мак Гилл проводит опрос. Его цель- выяснить, как люди разных национальностей относятся к своей и другим этническим группам, на каких языках они говорят и как они себя ведут в различных ситуациях. Подобные исследования уже были проведены в США и Канаде. Учитывая то, что в нашей стране живет более пятидесяти национальностей, мы не можем изучать все национальности одновременно. Поэтому в данном опроснике мы уделяем внимание только трем национальностям: кыргызам, русским, и американцам. Однако в будущем мы планируем изучение и других наций. **Даже если Вы не относите себя к указанным национальностям, Вы все равно можете ответить на данные вопросы.***

Так как некоторые вопросы касаются Ваших языковых навыков и так как эти способности меняются со временем, мы хотели бы задать Вам подобные вопросы не только сейчас, но и в конце этого учебного года (в апреле или мае). Для этого мы хотели бы получить информацию о том, как найти Вас в конце второго семестра. Вы можете дать Ваш электронный адрес, телефон или любую другую контактную информацию. Помните о том, что Вы участвуете в этом опросе по собственному желанию и можете прекратить отвечать на вопросы в любое время. Если у Вас возникнут какие-либо вопросы об этом опроснике, пожалуйста, позвоните на кафедру психологии АУЦА.

*Данный опросник состоит из трех частей. Мы просим Вас отвечать на вопросы внимательно. Если Вам не ясны некоторые из вопросов, пожалуйста, попросите ассистента помочь Вам. Если ассистента нет рядом, пропустите непонятный вопрос и продолжайте отвечать на другие вопросы. Ответы на все вопросы займут приблизительно 25-35 минут. Заранее благодарим Вас за участие в этом опросе,
Кафедра психологии, Американский университет - Центральная Азия, Кыргызстан
Кафедра психологии, университет Мак Гилл, Канада*

Annex C: Consent Form (English, Study 2 Article 1)

Dear participants,

You know that Kyrgyzstan is a very multi-national country- we have a great number of different nationalities living here, some of which have lived here for years and others that are rather new. That is why the American University- Central Asia in collaboration with the Civic Education Project is conducting a survey concerning the idea of how people of different nationalities relate to their own and other ethnic groups, what languages they speak, and how they behave in different situations. As there are over 50 different nationalities living here, we cannot possibly study all of them all at once.

Therefore, in this particular questionnaire, we are interested mostly in Kyrgyzs, Russians, and Americans. However, we are planning to extend our survey to other nationalities later. Even if you do not belong to any of these nationalities, you still can answer the questions. Since some of the questions concern your language skills. Given that these skills can change over time, we would like to ask you the same kind of questions not only now, but also at the end of this academic year (in April). In order to find you at the end of the second semester, we would like to have some of your contact information. You can provide your e-mail, phone or some other information that will help us to contact you. Please remember that you are participating in this study voluntarily. If you do not wish to be part of this survey, you can stop answering the questions at any time. If you have any comments or questions regarding this questionnaire, please call the Psychology Department of AUCA.

Your confidentiality is guaranteed.

This questionnaire is comprised of four sections. We ask you to answer all the questions carefully. If some of the questions are not clear, please ask the assistant to help you. If the assistant is not around, leave the question you do not understand and continue answering the other questions. It will take you about 15 to 20 minutes to answer all of the questions.

Thanking you in advance for your collaboration in this survey,
Psychology Department of AUCA

Annex D: Consent Form (Russian, Study 2 Article 1)

*Как вы знаете, Кыргызстан является многонациональной страной, где проживает много разных народов. Поэтому кафедра психологии Американского университета - Центральная Азия в сотрудничестве с Канадским университетом Мак Гилл проводит опрос. Его цель- выяснить, как люди разных национальностей относятся к своей и другим этническим группам, на каких языках они говорят и как они себя ведут в различных ситуациях. Подобные исследования уже были проведены в США и Канаде. Учитывая то, что в нашей стране живет более пятидесяти национальностей, мы не можем изучать все национальности одновременно. Поэтому в данном опроснике мы уделяем внимание только трем национальностям: кыргызам, русским, и американцам. Однако в будущем мы планируем изучение и других наций. **Даже если Вы не относите себя к указанным национальностям, Вы все равно можете ответить на данные вопросы.***

Так как некоторые вопросы касаются Ваших языковых навыков и так как эти способности меняются со временем, мы хотели бы задать Вам подобные вопросы не только сейчас, но и в конце этого учебного года (в апреле или мае). Для этого мы хотели бы получить информацию о том, как найти Вас в конце второго семестра. Вы можете дать Ваш электронный адрес, телефон или любую другую контактную информацию. Помните о том, что Вы участвуете в этом опросе по собственному желанию и можете прекратить отвечать на вопросы в любое время. Если у Вас возникнут какие-либо вопросы об этом опроснике, пожалуйста, позвоните на кафедру психологии АУЦА.

*Данный опросник состоит из трех частей. Мы просим Вас отвечать на вопросы внимательно. Если Вам не ясны некоторые из вопросов, пожалуйста, попросите ассистента помочь Вам. Если ассистента нет рядом, пропустите непонятный вопрос и продолжайте отвечать на другие вопросы. Ответы на все вопросы займут приблизительно 25-35 минут. Заранее благодарим Вас за участие в этом опросе,
Кафедра психологии, Американский университет - Центральная Азия, Кыргызстан
Кафедра психологии, университет Мак Гилл, Канада*

Annex E: Consent Form (English, Study 3 Article 1)

Title of the research: Impact of multiculturalism on well-being
Researcher : Roxane de la Sablonnière, Ph.D
Professor, Psychology Department, University of Montreal

A) INFORMATION TO PARTICIPANTS

1. Research goals.

This research project aims at better understanding how the individuals who live through significant social changes come to incorporate, in the way that they define themselves, the different social identities of the newly formed groups and the ones from the groups to which they belonged before the social change occurred. Specifically, this study aims at determining the best way to organize the multiple social identities of individuals who have more than two social groups.

2. Participation to the research

Your participation in this research will consist of completing a questionnaire about your identification to each cultural group to which you belong. It is estimated that the questionnaire will take about 30 minutes to be filled out. There are no anticipated risks associated with participating in this study.

To insure the success of this research you will need to answer our questions with the most sincerity. Our questions do not have “right” or “wrong” answers. We do not have the slightest idea of what you should feel and think, but we would like to know what you feel and think in reality.

3. Confidentiality

We guarantee your confidentiality. The information you provide will remain confidential. A number will be assigned to each participant and only the principal investigator and / or the person authorized to that effect will have a list of participants and their numbers. In addition, information will be kept in a locked filing cabinet located in an enclosed office. No information identifying you in one way or another will be published. This personal information will be destroyed 7 years after the end of the project or no later than June 1, 2017. Only data that do not allow identification will be retained after that date.

4. Advantages and disadvantages

By participating to this research, you can contribute to the advancement of knowledge on social integration and identity. Specifically, you will help us determine if there is an optimal way to organize various social identities in the definition of self.

It is possible that the process of recounting your story may create sensitive or touching reflections or bring about unpleasant memories. If this occurs, please speak with the research assistant. If appropriate, the research officer will refer you.

5. Right to withdraw

Your participation in our research is voluntary. You may stop answering the questions at any time.

If you do not understand a question or cannot answer it, skip it. At the same time, we ask for your patience. It may seem that some of the questions are repetitive. However, they all study different, even though close, aspects of social psychology. Please, do not discuss your answers while filling out the questionnaire.

B) CONSENT

I declare that I have taken into account the information mentioned above, that I have obtained satisfying answers to my questions concerning my participation to this research, and that I understand the goal, the nature, advantages, and inconveniences of participating in this research. After some reflection, I freely accept to take part in this research. I know that I understand that I can withdraw from the research at any time, without having to justify my decision or give prior notice.

Signature : _____ Date : _____
Last Name : _____ First Name : _____

I declare that I have explained the goal, nature, advantages, risks and inconveniences of the study and have answered to the best of my knowledge to the questions asked.

Signature of the researcher _____ Date: _____
(or her representative)
Last Name : _____ First Name : _____

Если у Вас появились вопросы или предложения по поводу данного исследования, обращайтесь, пожалуйста, к Галине Горборуковой по телефону.

Any complaint in relation to this research must be addressed to the ombudsman of University of Montreal.

Annex F: Consent Form (Russian, Study 3 Article 1)

Проект: Изучение гражданской идентичности

Исследователи: Роксана де ля Саблоньер профессор кафедры психологии Монреальского Университета, Канада и Галина Горборукова доцент кафедры социологии Американского Университета в Центральной Азии, Бишкек.

А. Информация для участника опроса

Цели исследования: Данное исследование поможет исследователям Кыргызстана и Канады оценить изменения в кыргызском обществе за последние десятилетия. Являясь непосредственным участником происходящих в республике событий, Вы, как никто другой, сможете описать свое отношение ко всему, что происходит и происходило в стране.

Участие в проекте: Для успеха данного исследования Вам нужно максимально искренне ответить на поставленные вопросы, на которые не может быть «правильных» или «неправильных» ответов. У нас нет ни малейшего представления о том, что Вы должны думать и чувствовать, но мы хотим узнать, что Вы думаете и чувствуете на самом деле.

Конфиденциальность: Мы гарантируем вам полную конфиденциальность Ваших ответов. Каждому вопроснику будет присвоен соответствующий номер, а Ваше имя будет известно только исследователям данного проекта. Заполненные вопросники будут храниться в течение 7 лет в закрытом месте. В анализе будет использована обобщенная информация.

Преимущества и недостатки: Вы можете получить информацию о результатах исследования. Если Вы столкнетесь со сложностями во время заполнения опросника, вы можете обратиться непосредственно к исследователю.

Ваши права: Ваше участие в исследовании добровольно. Вы можете прекратить отвечать на вопросы в любое время. Если Вам не понятен какой-либо вопрос или Вы не можете на него ответить, пропустите его. В то же время, мы просим Вас проявить терпение. Вам может показаться, что некоторые из вопросов повторяются, но, на самом деле, они все исследуют различные, хотя и близкие, аспекты социальной психологии. Пожалуйста, ни с кем не обсуждайте ответы во время заполнения опросника, которое займет около 30 минут.

Б) Ваше согласие

Я подтверждаю, что я ознакомился с вышеизложенной информацией, я добровольно участвую в данном проекте, я понимаю цели проекта, его преимущества и недостатки. Я понимаю, что мое участие является добровольным и я могу отказаться от заполнения вопросника в любое время, не объясняя мотивов своего отказа.

Ваша подпись: _____ Дата: _____

ФИО: _____

Я подтверждаю, что я объяснила цели и задачи данного проекта, его преимущества и недостатки и на вопросы респондентов я предоставляла исчерпывающие ответы.

Подпись исследователя: _____ Дата: _____
(или их ассистентов)

ФИО: _____

Если у Вас появились вопросы или предложения по поводу данного исследования, обращайтесь, пожалуйста, к Галине Горбуковой по телефону .

Заранее благодарим Вас за участие в этом опросе!

Annex G: Consent Form (Time 1, Study 4 Article 1)



Étude sur les l'identité culturelle et la satisfaction de vie



Cher Monsieur, chère Madame,

Il y a quelques années, vous avez participé à une **étude** réalisée par l'Université de Montréal afin de mieux comprendre les relations parent-enfant, l'identité culturelle, le succès scolaire et la satisfaction de vie. Merci beaucoup. Nous vous écrivons aujourd'hui parce que vous avez accepté d'être invité(e) à participer à l'étude de suivi.

Cette étude de suivi consiste à **remplir un questionnaire en ligne**, ce qui devrait prendre environ **20 minutes** de votre temps. Bien que vous ayez accepté d'être contacté pour cette étude de suivi, sachez que votre participation est entièrement volontaire.

Nous tenons à préciser qu'il n'y a pas de bonnes ni de mauvaises réponses. Nous vous demandons simplement de répondre honnêtement aux questions. Votre avis est très important pour nous, puisque le fait de mieux saisir votre expérience nous permettra de tracer un meilleur portrait de votre situation. Les informations fournies ne serviront que pour des fins de recherche et resteront **confidentielles**; seules des moyennes de groupe seront rapportées.

Vous remarquerez aussi que certaines questions se ressemblent. Malgré leur ressemblance, chacune d'entre elles est importante pour nous permettre de mieux comprendre ce que vous vivez. Nous vous demandons donc de répondre à toutes les questions de façon spontanée sans trop vous attarder aux questions précédentes.

Si vous avez des questions concernant le projet, n'hésitez pas à nous contacter.

Nous vous remercions de votre précieuse collaboration à cette étude!

Annex H: Consent Form (Time 2, Study 4 Article 1)



Étude sur les relations parent-enfant, l'identité culturelle, le succès scolaire et la satisfaction de vie



Cher(e) étudiant(e),

Nous vous invitons à participer à une **étude** réalisée par l'Université de Montréal afin de mieux comprendre les relations parent-enfant, l'identité culturelle, le succès scolaire et la satisfaction de vie.

Votre avis est donc très important, puisque le fait de mieux saisir votre expérience nous permettra de tracer un meilleur portrait de votre situation. **La participation à l'étude requiert environ 30 minutes de votre temps**. Les informations fournies ne serviront que pour des fins de recherche et resteront **confidentielles**; seules des moyennes de groupe seront rapportées.

Dans les pages qui suivent, nous vous demandons d'indiquer à quel point vous êtes en accord avec les phrases qui sont présentées. Nous tenons à préciser qu'il n'ya pas de bonnes ni de mauvaises réponses. Nous vous demandons simplement de répondre **honnêtement** aux questions.

Vous remarquerez aussi que certaines questions se ressemblent. Malgré leur ressemblance, chacune d'entre elles est importante pour nous permettre de mieux comprendre ce que vous vivez. Nous vous demandons donc de répondre à toutes les questions de façon spontanée sans trop vous attarder aux questions précédentes.

Si vous avez des questions concernant le projet, n'hésitez pas à nous contacter.

Nous vous remercions de votre précieuse collaboration à cette étude!

Université 
de Montréal

Fonds de recherche
sur la société
et la culture
Québec 

Annex I: Consent Form (Pre-Manipulation, Article 2)

Formulaire de consentement

A) RENSEIGNEMENTS AUX PARTICIPANTS

1. Objectifs de la recherche. Ce projet de recherche vise à étudier comment les sports et l'immigration influencent le concept de soi, le bien-être et la mémoire.

2. Participation à la recherche. Votre participation consiste à répondre à un questionnaire et regarder une vidéo en ligne. Au total, la participation à la recherche requiert environ 30 minutes.

3. Confidentialité. Les informations que vous nous donnerez seront confidentielles. De plus, les renseignements recueillis seront conservés dans un ordinateur avec mot de passe. Aucune information permettant de vous identifier d'une façon ou d'une autre ne sera publiée. Toute information sera détruite sept ans après la dernière publication.

4. Avantages et inconvénients. En participant à cette recherche, vous pourrez contribuer à la recherche et à l'avancement des connaissances en psychologie sociale. Par contre, il est possible que votre participation à cette étude suscite des réflexions ou des souvenirs émouvants ou désagréables. Si cela se produit, n'hésitez pas à contacter l'agent(e) de recherche. S'il y a lieu, l'agent(e) de recherche pourra vous recommander à une personne-ressource.

5. Droit de retrait. Votre participation est entièrement volontaire. Vous êtes libres de vous retirer en tout temps pendant l'étude, sans préjudice et sans devoir justifier votre décision. Si vous décidez de vous retirer de la recherche, vous pouvez communiquer avec le chercheur par téléphone ou courriel (voir bas de cette page). Si vous vous retirez de la recherche, les données recueillies au moment de votre retrait seront détruites.

B) CONSENTEMENT

En répondant au questionnaire, vous indiquez que vous acceptez de participer à cette recherche. Pour toute question relative à la recherche, ou pour vous retirer de la recherche, vous pouvez communiquer avec Diana Cárdenas. Toute plainte relative à votre participation à cette recherche peut être adressée à l'ombudsman de l'Université de Montréal.

Annex J: Consent Form (Post-Manipulation, Article 2)

Formulaire de consentement

A) RENSEIGNEMENTS AUX PARTICIPANTS

1. Objectifs de recherche. Vous avez pris part à une étude de nature expérimentale visant à manipuler la participation à la culture canadienne/québécoise. L'étude avait pour but de déterminer l'effet de participer à la culture canadienne/québécoise sur le sentiment d'appartenance à cette culture. Le but véritable de l'étude ne vous a pas été dévoilé avant la fin de celle-ci afin d'éviter d'influencer vos réponses aux questionnaires.

Pour cette recherche vous avez été assigné à l'un de quatre groupes: un groupe a regardé une vidéo de basketball (comportement contrôle); un deuxième groupe a regardé une vidéo de hockey (comportement typique).

Par conséquent, nous vous demandons de nous informer si vous voulez toujours que nous utilisions les réponses auxquelles vous avez répondu. Si vous en êtes en accord, veuillez cliquer sur "soumettre" pour nous transmettre vos réponses.

2. Confidentialité. Il s'agit d'une étude anonyme. Personne ne pourra vous identifier. De plus, les renseignements collectés seront conservés dans un classeur sous clé, situé dans un bureau fermé. Ces renseignements personnels seront détruits après 7 ans, soit au plus tard le 31 mars 2021. Seules les données ne permettant pas de vous identifier pourront être conservées après cette date. Aucune information permettant de vous identifier d'une façon ou d'une autre ne sera publiée.

3. Avantages et inconvénients. En participant à cette recherche, vous contribuez à la recherche et à l'avancement des connaissances en psychologie sociale. Par contre, il est possible que votre participation à cette étude ait suscité des réflexions ou des souvenirs émouvants ou désagréables. Si cela se produit, n'hésitez pas à contacter l'agent(e) de recherche. S'il y a lieu, l'agent(e) de recherche pourra vous recommander à une personne-ressource.

4. Droit de retrait. Votre participation est entièrement volontaire. Vous êtes libres de vous retirer, sans préjudice et sans devoir justifier votre décision. Si vous décidez de vous retirer de la recherche, vous pouvez fermer la page web sans soumettre vos réponses.

B) CONSENTEMENT

En soumettant vos réponses, vous indiquez que vous acceptez de participer à cette recherche.

Pour toute question relative à la recherche, ou pour vous retirer de la recherche, vous pouvez communiquer avec Diana Cárdenas (étudiante au doctorat en psychologie à l'Université de

Montréal). Vous pouvez communiquer avec Roxane de la Sablonnière, Ph.D. Toute plainte relative à votre participation à cette recherche peut être adressée à l'ombudsman de l'Université de Montréal. Notez que l'ombudsman de l'Université de Montréal accepte les appels à frais virés.

Annex K: Measures (English and Russian Measures Study

1 Article 1)

1. Participation

How often do you speak with your English-speaking professors each week?: _____ (how many hours)

Общаетесь ли Вы с преподавателями на английском языке? Если да, то приблизительно сколько часов в неделю? _____

2. Identification with Kyrgyz

1. I identify with Kyrgyz
2. Being Kyrgyz is an important part of my identity
3. It is important to me that others identify me as a Kyrgyz
4. Kyrgyz have a number of things in common with each other
5. I am very interested in what others think about Kyrgyz

1. Я отношу себя к кыргызам
2. Быть частью группы «кыргызы» важно для моей личности
3. Для меня важно, чтобы другие принимали меня за кыргыза
4. У кыргызов много общего между собой
5. Мне очень интересно узнать, что другие думают о кыргызах

3. Identification with Americans

1. I identify with Americans
2. Being American is an important part of my identity
3. It is important to me that others identify me as American
4. Americans have a number of things in common with each other
5. I am very interested in what others think about Americans.

1. Я отношу себя к американцам
2. Быть частью группы «американцы» важно для моей личности
3. Для меня важно, чтобы другие принимали меня за американца
4. У американцев много общего между собой
5. Мне очень интересно узнать, что другие думают о американцах

Annex L: Measures (English and Russian Measures Study

2 Article 1)

1. Participation

How often do you speak with your English-speaking professors each week?: _____ (how many hours)

Общаетесь ли Вы с преподавателями на английском языке? Если да, то приблизительно сколько часов в неделю? _____

2. Identification with Kyrgyz and Americans

1. When I am in my university, I feel... (Kyrgyz; American)
 2. When I think about where I would want to settle down, I feel... (Kyrgyz; American)
 3. When I write something personal for myself (not including school work), I feel... (Kyrgyz; American)
 4. When I think about my life's goals, I feel... (Kyrgyz; American)
 5. When I participate in celebration of New Year, I feel... (Kyrgyz; American)
 6. When I prepare food, I feel... (Kyrgyz; American)
 7. When I think about my future or present spouse or intimate partner, I feel... (Kyrgyz; American)
 8. When I think about politics, I feel... (Kyrgyz; American)
 9. In my social contact with representatives of Russian nationality, I feel... (Kyrgyz; American)
 10. In my social contact with representatives of Kyrgyz nationality, I feel... (Kyrgyz; American)
 11. In my social contact with Americans, I feel... (Kyrgyz; American)
 12. When I watch the news on television, I feel... (Kyrgyz; American)
 13. When I travel, I feel... (Kyrgyz; American)
 14. When I am with my friends, I feel... (Kyrgyz; American)
-
1. Когда я в своем вузе, я чувствую себя ... (Кыргызом; Американцем)
 2. Когда я думаю о том, где бы я хотел(а) жить, я чувствую себя ... (Кыргызом; Американцем)
 3. Когда я читаю газету, я чувствую себя ... (Кыргызом; Американцем)
 4. Когда я думаю о моих жизненных планах, я чувствую себя ... (Кыргызом; Американцем)
 5. Когда я праздную Новый Год, я чувствую себя ... (Кыргызом; Американцем)

6. Когда я готовлю еду, я чувствую себя ... (Кыргызом; Американцем)
7. Когда я думаю о своем/ей будущем/ей супруге, я чувствую себя ... (Кыргызом; Американцем)
8. Когда я думаю о политике, я чувствую себя ... (Кыргызом; Американцем)
9. Когда я общаюсь с представителями русской национальности, я чувствую себя ... (Кыргызом; Американцем)
10. Когда я общаюсь с представителями кыргызской национальности, я чувствую себя ... (Кыргызом; Американцем)
11. Когда я общаюсь с американцами, я чувствую себя ... (Кыргызом; Американцем)
12. Когда я смотрю новости по телевизору, я чувствую себя ... (Кыргызом; Американцем)
13. Когда я путешествую, я чувствую себя ... (Кыргызом; Американцем)
14. Когда я со своими друзьями, я чувствую себя ... (Кыргызом; Американцем)

Annex M: Measures (English and Russian Measures Study

3 Article 1)

1. Participation

How often do you speak with your English-speaking professors each week? _____ (how many hours)

Общаетесь ли Вы с преподавателями на английском языке? Если да, то приблизительно сколько часов в неделю? _____

2. Identification with Kyrgyz and Americans

1. When I am in my university, I feel... (Kyrgyz; American)
 2. When I think about where I would want to settle down, I feel... (Kyrgyz; American)
 3. When I write something personal for myself (not including school work), I feel... (Kyrgyz; American)
 4. When I think about my life's goals, I feel... (Kyrgyz; American)
 5. When I participate in celebration of New Year, I feel... (Kyrgyz; American)
 6. When I prepare food, I feel... (Kyrgyz; American)
 7. When I think about my future or present spouse or intimate partner, I feel... (Kyrgyz; American)
 8. When I think about politics, I feel... (Kyrgyz; American)
 9. In my social contact with representatives of Russian nationality, I feel... (Kyrgyz; American)
 10. In my social contact with representatives of Kyrgyz nationality, I feel... (Kyrgyz; American)
 11. In my social contact with Americans, I feel... (Kyrgyz; American)
 12. When I watch the news on television, I feel... (Kyrgyz; American)
 13. When I travel, I feel... (Kyrgyz; American)
 14. When I am with my friends, I feel... (Kyrgyz; American)
-
1. Когда я в своем вузе, я чувствую себя ... (Кыргызом; Американцем)
 2. Когда я думаю о том, где бы я хотел(а) жить, я чувствую себя ... (Кыргызом; Американцем)
 3. Когда я читаю газету, я чувствую себя ... (Кыргызом; Американцем)
 4. Когда я думаю о моих жизненных планах, я чувствую себя ... (Кыргызом; Американцем)
 5. Когда я праздную Новый Год, я чувствую себя ... (Кыргызом; Американцем)

6. Когда я готовлю еду, я чувствую себя ... (Кыргызом; Американцем)
7. Когда я думаю о своем/ей будущем/ей супруге, я чувствую себя ... (Кыргызом; Американцем)
8. Когда я думаю о политике, я чувствую себя ... (Кыргызом; Американцем)
9. Когда я общаюсь с представителями русской национальности, я чувствую себя ... (Кыргызом; Американцем)
10. Когда я общаюсь с представителями кыргызской национальности, я чувствую себя ... (Кыргызом; Американцем)
11. Когда я общаюсь с американцами, я чувствую себя ... (Кыргызом; Американцем)
12. Когда я смотрю новости по телевизору, я чувствую себя ... (Кыргызом; Американцем)
13. Когда я путешествую, я чувствую себя ... (Кыргызом; Американцем)
14. Когда я со своими друзьями, я чувствую себя ... (Кыргызом; Американцем)

3. Similarity

How similar are Kyrgyz and Americans?

Насколько похожи киргизы и американцы?

Annex N: Measures (French Measures Study 4 Article 1)

1. Participation

1. Quelle langue utilisez-vous normalement avec vos frères et sœurs ?
2. Quelle langue utilisez-vous normalement avec vos amis ?
3. Quelle langue utilisez-vous normalement avec votre partenaire ?

2. Identification with Francophones and Anglophones

1. Lorsque j'ai des contacts avec d'autres étudiants, je me sens (francophone/anglophone)
2. Lorsque j'écoute de la musique, je me sens (francophone/anglophone)
3. Lorsque je pense aux relations entre francophones et anglophones, je me sens (francophone/anglophone)
4. Lorsque je suis avec mes ami(e)s, je me sens (francophone/anglophone)
5. Lorsque je suis à la maison, je me sens (francophone/anglophone)

3. Similarity

1. Le français et l'anglais sont des langues semblables.
2. Écrire en anglais est similaire à écrire en français.
3. Parler en anglais n'est pas du tout comme parler en français.
4. Lire en anglais est similaire à lire en français.

Annex O: Measures (French Measures Article 2)

1. Identification measures Quebec and country of origin

De façon générale, je m'identifie aux Québécois.

De façon générale, je m'identifie à mon pays d'origine.

2. Similarity measure

Le hockey au Québec est semblable au sport national de mon pays d'origine.