The Cultural Psychology of Acculturation

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Abstract

This chapter lays the groundwork for a cultural psychology perspective on acculturation. We propose that acculturation is just another example of the mutual constitution of culture and psyche. When people have new cultural experiences, these may not only change how they feel and think *about* their new or heritage culture (explicit affiliation), but also align their thinking, feeling, and acting with the demands of the new cultural environment. To date, most research on acculturation has focused on the former: immigrant minorities' attitudes and identities that *explicitly* endorsed affiliations with their heritage and majority cultural context. Yet, an emerging line of research documents how acculturation affects emotion, personality and other psychological processes that reflect minorities' cultrual affiliations more *implicitly*. Reviewing both explicit and implicit acculturation studies through a cultural lense, we outline the important role of the socio-cultural context in shaping both the nature and the outcomes of minorities' acculturative changes. In closing, we set an agenda for how future research may advance our cultural psychological understanding of acculturation.

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Introduction

Exposure to another culture is an everyday reality for first-generation immigrants, but even second and later-generation minorities navigate between the heritage and the mainstream culture in their everyday lives.[1] In this chapter, we discuss the psychological consequences of having sustained contact with another culture, a process that has been termed 'psychological acculturation' (cfr. Berry, 1980; Berry & Sam, 1997; Graves, 1967). We suggest that acculturation may pertain to a range of different phenomena, going from simple likes and dislikes (e.g., getting used to spicy food or raw fish), changes in self-definition (e.g., considering oneself a member of the new majority culture) and 'deep' psychological processes such as emotion and personality. Acculturation is a key psychological process in increasingly diverse societies, where a substantial proportion of the population either migrated themselves or grew up in immigrant families (e.g., the percentage of immigrants is over 20% of the Western European, 36% of the Northern American, and 48% of the Australian population; Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2016; Humes, Jones, & Ramirez, 2010; Khoo, Mcdonald, Giorgas, & Birrell, 2002).

An important reason to study psychological acculturation is that it is thought to play an important role in producing health and wellbeing for minorities. Immigration, and the ensuing adjustment to a new culture, is stressful. However, there are large individual and group differences in the costs of immigration to minority members, and these cannot be explained by structural and economic factors alone (Corral & Landrine, 2008). Psychological acculturation has the potential to explain individual and group differences in immigrant minorities' healthy adjustment, and therefore, may provide leverage for intervention (Baysu & de Valk, 2012;

[1] Acculturation may also happen for majority members whose daily interactions with minority friends, colleagues or romantic partners brings them in contact with other cultures. Moreover, economic globalization and cultural exchange are conditions for acculturation as well. However, we will focus this chapter on minority acculturation, in part because this is the focus of existing research.

Berry & Sam, 1997; LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993; Levecque, Lodewyckx, & Vranken, 2007; Myers & Rodriguez, 2003; Organista, Organista, & Kurasaki, 2002; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001; Yu, Huang, Schwalberg, Overpeck, & Kogan, 2003).

In this chapter, we develop a cultural psychology perspective on acculturation. We build on the finding that culture 'wires' individuals who engage in the local meanings and practices in ways that equip them for the central cultural tasks (Kitayama, Park, Sevincer, Karasawa, & Uskul, 2009; Kitayama & Uskul, 2011); we propose that acculturation is a (partial) re-wiring that equips immigrant minority individuals to perform central tasks in the new culture. After outlining this cultural psychology approach in more detail, we first synthesize older research on acculturation, concerned mostly with identity and explicit cultural affiliation, and examine it through a cultural psychology lense. We then review newer cultural psychological research suggesting that immigrant minorities' participation in a new culture also produces effects on such 'deep' psychological processes as emotions and personalities; we refer to these effects as 'implicit acculturation.' We conclude by outlining future directions of a psychology of acculturation that includes both explicit and implicit domains of acculturation.

A cultural psychology approach to acculturation

A tacit assumption of much acculturation research has been that while cultural affiliation and identity of minorities change, the 'psyche itself' remains untouched. Thus, acculturation research has focused on the attitudes *about* the new (heritage) culture, the motivation *to be part of the new (old) culture*, feelings *about* being displaced, and cognitions *about* the new rules of engagement. However, changes in self-concept, motivational, emotional, and cognitive processes themselves have received little or no attention (but see the literature on frame-switching; e.g., Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martinez, 2000; Pouliasi & Verkuyten, 2007). Another case in point is language learning, which has been treated as a competency, rather than as the psychological transformation it is likely to be (Pavlenko, 2014).

In this chapter, we adopt a cultural psychology perspective on acculturation, and propose that new cultural experiences have the potential of deeply changing the psyche beyond how people feel and think *about* the new (or heritage) culture (see also Cresswell, 2009; De Leersnyder, 2014; Mahalingam, 2006). In taking a cultural psychological perspective on acculturation, we conceive of acculturation as an instance of the mutual constitution of culture and psyche. We propose that mutual constitution continues into adulthood, and does not stop after socialization in childhood. The engagement of individuals in everyday cultural routines, social interactions and institutions continues to shape their psyche (Boiger, De Deyne, & Mesquita, 2014; D'Andrade & Strauss, 1992; Fiske, Kitayama, Markus, & Nisbett, 1998; Markus & Hamedani, 2007; Markus & Kitayama, 1991b; Markus & Kitayama, 2003; Mesquita, 2003; Shweder, 1991). Acculturation, then, is the (partial) alignment of a wide range of psychological processes to the requirements of the *new* culture's everyday routines, social interactions and institutions. Engaging in the new culture's practices adds new experiences to existing ones, thereby shaping the psyche; these new experiences are likely to change, but not completely override previous experience. In that sense, the process is better thought of as *adding new wiring*, rather than *re-wiring*.

By taking a cultural psychology approach, we hope to advance acculturation research in several different ways. First, a cultural psychology approach extends the range of psychological phenomena to be studied in acculturation research. It suggests that there may be changes in psychological processes, in addition to the changes in the ways in which immigrant minorities explicitly position themselves towards the new mainstream and heritage culture. Thus, in addition to the commonly studied processes of acculturation attitudes and cultural identification (e.g., Benet-Martínez & Hong, 2014; Berry, 1974, 1980; Berry et al., 2006b; Lee & Tse, 1994; Phalet & Schönpflug, 2001; Phinney, 2000; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001; Phinney & Ong, 2007; Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010), experiences in the

majority culture may lead to changes in emotions, personality traits, self-esteem, and cognition that do not have cultural belonging as their object (e.g., De Leersnyder, 2014; De Leersnyder, Mesquita, & Kim, 2011; Güngör, Bornstein, et al., 2013; Heine & Lehman, 2004; Savani, Morris, Naidu, Kumar, & Berlia, 2011).

Second, a cultural psychological approach focuses on the role of context in acculturation. We are not the first to point out the significant role of context. Research has shown that society-level ideology and intergroup relations shape immigrant minorities' acculturation strategies and cultural identification (Berry, 1974, 2006; Berry et al., 2006b; Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal, 1997; Brown & Zagefka, 2011). We will discuss this research in the next section on acculturation in explicit domains. The important role of context has also been shown in research with biculturals. This research has found that bi-culturals selectively adopt acculturation strategies and change cultural identification to match the culture that is foregrounded within a given situation (e.g., Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2004; Doucerain, Dere, & Ryder, 2013; Phalet, van Lotringen, & Entzinger, 2000). Whereas acculturation research before us has thus included culture and context as significant factors in acculturation, foregrounding the role of context, as we will do in this chapter, leads to a more systematic questioning of the role of culture in the research findings than has been commonly found in the literature.

Taking the first two extensions together, we suggest that individuals who engage in a new cultural context will also undergo psychological changes that are not *about* the majority or heritage culture -- *acculturation in implicit domains.* We assume that this implicit acculturation occurs when psychological changes allow minority individuals to better accomplish the central cultural tasks in the majority culture (Kitayama et al., 2009). Thus minority individuals will undergo psychological changes that will equip them to successfully navigate the majority culture in which they participate. This idea is compatible with the finding of cultural frame-

switching -- defined as the "tendency to fluidly move between different cultural frameworks in response to cultural cues" (Hong et al., 2000, p. 709).We suggest that frame-switching may occur when the motivational, emotional, and cognitive processes that are adaptive to participation in the dominant culture differ from those adaptive in the heritage culture.

Third, our cultural psychology approach suggests that immigrant minorities who are psychologically equipped for the central tasks in the respective cultures of engagement, will experience higher wellbeing and better health than those who are less equipped. The prediction is based on the well-established finding that monoculturals who share the dominant patterns of self and social relationships, emotions, personality, self-evaluation, and cultural meanings experience higher wellbeing than those who deviate from the normative patterns of the dominant culture (Becker et al., 2014; De Leersnyder, Kim, & Mesquita, 2015; De Leersnyder, Mesquita, Kim, Eom, & Choi, 2014; Dressler, 2012; Fulmer et al., 2010; Kang, Shaver, Sue, Min, & Jing, 2003; Kitayama, Karasawa, Curhan, Ryff, & Markus, 2010; Kwan, Bond, & Singelis, 1997). The prediction is also consistent with early research on sojourners establishing a beneficial effect of the fit between immigrant characteristics and the demands of the context (e.g., Kealey, 1989).

A question that remains pertains to the boundary conditions of cultural fit: What happens if immigrant minorities perceive that they are not welcome to participate in the dominant culture? As we will see in the next sections, the benefits of psychological changes depend on the immigration climate. That too follows from a cultural psychology approach: When immigrant minorities are excluded from participating in the dominant culture, psychological fit will not be conducive to their wellbeing.

In the remainder of this chapter, we will synthesize existing research on psychological acculturation. The aim is not to provide an exhaustive overview of all empirical studies - which would be a tall order, given the more than 13,000 papers indexed in 2016 edition of the Web of

Science - but rather exemplify the existing research on acculturation, and organize it from a cultural psychology perspective. Our cultural approach will guide our synthesis of the research literature; yet, it is important to note that our ability to draw conclusions is at times limited by the fact that the research itself was not informed by a cultural psychology approach. We will describe acculturation research in different psychological domains (see Figure 1). On the one hand, we will describe changes in explicit cultural affiliation: the changes in attitudes *towards* heritage and mainstream culture, and cultural identity; on the other hand, we will describe changes in other psychological domains that implicitly reflect affiliation with the culture. For each of those domains, we will discuss evidence on (a) psychological changes associated with acculturation, and (b) the association of these changes with well-being and ill-being. Throughout our discussion of the literature, we highlight the role of socio-cultural context to the extent possible, given the available research.

(INSERT FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE)

Explicit acculturation

A large proportion of acculturation research in psychology has focused on the important topic of immigrant minorities' relation to their heritage and majority culture (Berry et al., 2006b; Schwartz & Unger, 2016), and the impact on immigrant minorities' social and psychological adjustment (Schwartz & Unger, 2016). Some of this research has shown that both psychological acculturation and its outcomes are dependent on the context; i.e., the majority climate of acculturation (Bourhis et al., 1997). All these findings will be discussed in more detail in this section.

Under the heading of explicit cultural affiliations, we will discuss the evidence from two lines of acculturation research that in many ways converge. One line of research focuses on immigrant minorities' specific attitudes towards their (new) majority and heritage cultures. These attitudes have been referred to as acculturation 'orientations', 'preferences' or 'strategies'

(Berry, 1990, 1994, 1997, 2006), and have been measured either as attitudes proper (e.g., 'I want to participate in mainstream customs and traditions') or as behaviors (e.g., 'I often participate in mainstream customs and traditions' (see Celenk & Vijver, 2011, for a discussion). Both measures tap into acculturation orientations, and acculturation research has made little distinction (see also Berry, 2006; Berry, Poortinga, Breugelmans, Chasiotis, & Sam, 2011).

The other line of research focuses on cultural identity, and draws on Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986). Immigrant minorities may have a heritage and a majority culture identity, meaning that they feel like they belong to either or both of these cultural groups, and derive their positive sense of self from their membership in both groups (Deaux & Verkuyten, 2014). Cultural identity becomes salient, and may change, when immigrant minorities are exposed to cultural values and practices of the new majority culture. These changes are also considered forms of psychological acculturation. Cultural identity has been measured by questions on group membership (e.g., 'In terms of ethnic group, I consider myself to be Mexican American'), group affirmation and attachment (e.g., 'I am happy that I am a member of the Mexican American group') and group exploration (e.g., 'I participate in cultural practices of Mexican American group, such as special food, music or customs') (Phinney, 1992; Roberts et al., 1999).

In the following sections, we describe trends in the research on explicit acculturation. This research has been guided in large part by three questions. The first was whether it was *possible* to simultaneously have positive attitudes towards, or identify with, two cultures: Are cultural adoption and cultural maintenanince mutually exclusive or can they co-exist? The second question was how immigrants and their offspring *actually* relate to their two cultures: What are the different ways in which minority individuals relate to their culture of origin and the majority culture? The third question is about outcomes: Which types of acculturation

strategies are associated with the best outcomes? In the next sections, we describe research addressing each of these questions, with a particular focus on how context affects the answers.

Is it possible to affiliate with more than one culture?

Early acculturation research started from the assumption that immigrant minorities' endorsement of a new culture was inevitably linked to rejection of the heritage culture (Gans, 1979; Gordon, 1964; Park & Miller, 1921; Triandis, Kashima, Shimada, & Villareal, 1986), and that biculturalism was only a stop on the way to being fully acculturated (Gordon, 1964). In other words, early acculturation research assumed that acculturation was a unidimensional process. This position has received only limited empirical support. A uni-dimensional model better fits some findings (Flannery, Reise, & Yu, 2001; Laroche, Chankon, & Hui, 1997); it is the preferred model for first generation immigrants (Tsai, Levenson, & Carstensen, 2000), whose orientation on the majority culture does seem to come at the expense of maintaining the heritage culture; and for domains of acculturation that require an exclusive choice (e.g., preference for a 'marriage partner'; Lee & Frongillo, 2003).

However, the large majority of studies have found evidence for biculturalism. Starting with studies on acculturating indigenous groups in the United States, such as Chadwick and Strauss's (1975, in LaFromboise et al., 1993) study on native Americans in Seattle, researchers found that immigrant minorities who endorsed the majority culture did not abandon their heritage culture. For instance, a majority of second, third and fourth generation Chinese in the US identified as Chinese-Americans (Ting-Toomey, 1981). In some instances, later generations of immigrant minorities even revived elements of their heritage culture long after they had become full members of the majority culture. The anthropologist Roossens, for example, documented how later generations of fully assimilated minority groups in Zaire, Belgium, Bolivia, and Quebec were passionate about discovering and reviving the practices of their heritage culture (Roosens, 1989; see also Güngör De Bruyn, Phalet, & Kağıtçıbaşı, 2013;

Lambert & Taylor, 1988; Maliepaard, Gijsberts, & Lubbers, 2012). Thus, immigrant minorities do not *necessarily* relinquish their heritage culture when they become identified with the majority culture, and often identify to some degree with both.

Contemporary acculturation research has all but abandoned the unidimensional approach to acculturation, and replaced it with a bidimensional model. Biculturalism is now considered a possible end state of a process of acculturation. A large body of empirical evidence suggests that immigrant minorities are often affiliated to both the majority and the heritage culture (Berry & Sam, 1997; Phinney, 2000). One of the best-known bi-dimensional models was introduced by Berry (1980). It maps attitudes towards the majority culture independently from attitudes towards the heritage culture. In Berry's original version, the model proposed that immigrant minorities face two fundamental questions: "Is it of value to maintain my cultural heritage?" and "Is it of value to maintain relations with the larger society?" Later authors pointed out the asymmetry of these questions (Sayegh & Lasry, 1993): Endorsement of majority culture is phrased in terms of 'maintaining relations', whereas endorsement of heritage culture is not. Later scales that built on Berry's balanced the phrasing by probing for endorsement of values and engagement in practices of both the heritage and the mainstream culture (Bourhis et al., 1997), or by also probing for social contact with members of either culture (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000).

Adopting these balanced scales, many studies have supported the idea that adopting the majority culture and maintening the heritage culture are independent dimensions (e.g., Tsai, Ying, & Lee, 2000; Demes & Geeraert, 2013; Ryder et al., 2000; Celenk & Vijver, 2011; Zane & Mak, 2003; Zhang & Tsai, 2014). For example, Ryder and colleagues (2000) found the two dimensions to be orthogonal in five samples of East Asian Canadian students (see also Dere et al., 2010; Sanchez & Fernandez, 1993; Sayegh & Lasry, 1993).

Research on ethnic identity (Phinney, 1990) similarly finds that adoption of one cultural identity does not need to be at the expense of the other. For instance, a large-scale study on immigrant minorities in Australia yielded a positive relationship between ethnic and national identity, suggesting that those minority individuals who felt identified with their ethnic group tended to be the ones who felt most "Australian," too (Nesdale & Mak, 2000).

The question of whether it is *possible* to combine two cultures has been answered affirmatively. Immigrant minorities can be, and often are, part of two cultures. The exception are domains that require an exclusive choice (e.g., marriage).

How do minority individuals actually combine two or more cultures?

Different strategies

Most of the research pertinent to the question of how immigrant minorities combines their different cultures, tries to settle on a taxonomy of acculturation strategies. Researchers have proposed four acculturative 'strategies' or 'orientations' that combine and dichotomize the dimensions of heritage culture maintenance and majority culture adoption. Immigrant minorities are said to endorse an *integration* strategy when they are high on both maintenance and adoption. They are said to adopt an *assimilation* strategy when they are high on adoption and low on maintenance; a *separation* strategy when they are low on adoption and high on maintenance. And finally, immigrant minorities who neither maintain nor adopt are said to choose a marginalization or individualist strategy (Bourhis et al., 1997); marginalization is when minority people experience anomie and thus cultural alienation, and individualism when they simply prefer to be treated/treat others as an individual person rather than as a member of a cultural group (for a critical and thorough discussion of the marginalization concept, see Rudmin, 2006).

Despite the intuitive appeal for this fourfold typology, empirical findings to support it are rather limited. Notably, scales that are designed to measure the four strategies (e.g., Berry,

Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989; (Berry et al., 2006b); Kim, 1984) *assume* their existence, and by themselves do not provide evidence that the model best describes the different ways immigrant minorities come to terms with their two cultures (see Chirkov, 2009 for a similar critique). Yet, there is some bottom-up empirical support for the typology. In a large-scale study by Berry and colleagues (2006) on immigrant youth in 13 countries, a cluster analyses was used to classify the roughly 5000 participants based not only on their acculturation type, but also on other information. This analysis yielded four clusters of minority youth. The largest number of youth fell into what the authors called the '*integrated cluster*,' and these youngsters did not only endorse a preference for integration attitudes, but also tended to use both the mainstream and heritage languages and had a friendship network that included youth from both the heritage and the new culture. The second and third largest clusters represented youth endorsing a *separationist* (or 'ethnic') and an *assimilationist* (or 'national') acculturation orientation, respectively, as evidenced not only by their endorsement of the acculturation type, but also by friendship patterns, cultural identification, and language use. Finally, the analyses yielded a '*diffuse'* cluster including youth who rejected integration but accepted the three other styles, were highly proficient in their heritage language and mainly interacted with heritage culture peers. The four empirically derived clusters thus roughly corresponded to the four typologies; measures on identity, friends and language corroborated the four types of acculturation styles.

A somewhat similar, yet more elaborate, typology of acculturation strategies emerged from a study by Schwartz and Zamboanga (2008) that subjected the acculturation attitudes of 436 Hispanic Americans to a Latent Class Analyses. This analysis yielded six acculturation orientations, instead of the four that would be expected based on Berry's model. In addition to an assimilationist, separationist, and undifferentiated cluster, three types of integrationist (bicultural) clusters emerged: (a) a partial bicultural cluster with moderately positive attitudes towards both cultures, (b) a full bicultural cluster with highly positive attitudes towards both

cultures and (c) a bicultural cluster with moderately positive attitudes towards the heritage culture and highly positive attitudes towards American majority culture. The findings suggest that Berry's conception of 'integration' may encompass different acculturation strategies of combining heritage and host cultures.

The latter finding is consistent with a large literature on cultural identity suggesting that people interacting with others from multiple cultures are likely to "have attachments with and loyalties toward different cultures" (Cheng, Lee, Benet-Martínez, & Huynh, 2014, p. 277). Many studies have yielded bicultural identity as the dominant acculturation strategy among immigrant minorities (e.g., Berry, 1974; Berry, Kalin, & Taylor, 1977; Berry et al., 2006; Berry & Sam, 2003; Piontkowski, Florack, Hoelker, & Obdrzálek, 2000; Schwartz & Zamboanga, 2008; Swyngedouw, Phalet, & Deschouwer, 1999; Vanbeselaere, Boen, & Smeesters, 2003), but biculturalism may take on very different forms. For one, the degree of identification to either culture may differ (e.g., Cheng et al., 2014). For instance, Roccas and Brewer (2002) proposed (though did not conclusively test) the existence of four strategies for dual identifyers. Individuals may identify with the intersection of multiple social groups (e.g., Asian Americans), they may identify with one of two identities mainly (either Asian or American), they may compartmentalize (Asian at home, and American at work), and they may merge the identities (identifying with both Asian and American culture simultaneously) (for other typologies of multicultural identity, see (LaFromboise et al., 1993; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997).

In sum, several taxonomies of immigrant minorities' acculturation strategies have been proposed, and these taxonomies have facilitated our thinking about the ways in which immigrant minorities may negotiate multiple cultures. However, empirical evidence for the most commonly used taxonomy is surprisingly scarce, and suggests that the theoretical model can be refined. The ways in which immigrant minorities combine their different cultures (merge, compartmentalize, subject one to the other) should be subject of more research.

One approach that has advanced our thinking about the ways immigrant minorities combine cultural identities was taken by Benet-Martinez and her colleagues, who introduced the concept of Bicultural Identity Integration (BII). BII distinguishes between different types of bicultural identity. It is an individual difference variable that measures how bicultural individuals "perceive their mainstream and ethnic identities as compatible and integrated vs. oppositional and difficult to integrate" (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005, p. 9). (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005; Benet-Martinez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002; Huynh, Nguyen, & Benet-Martínez, 2011). Most research we will discuss in the next section has used a single scale for BII. However, later work on BII distinguishes between two dimensions: overlap versus dissociation between the two cultures, and harmony versus tension. The relationship between these two dimensions is modest at best. Moreover, overlap and harmony have both different antecedents and different consequences (Cheng et al., 2014).

In sum, acculturation research has yielded different taxonomies or dimensions of acculturation, each describing ways in which an immigrant minority individuals relate to the culture of origin and the new majority culture, respectively. There is some research showing that immigrants who both adopt the majority culture and maintain their heritage culture, combine these cultures in different ways. Insight in the taxonomy of acculturation strategies is an important first step to understanding the psychological processes underlying explicit affiliation with the two cultures, but by and in itself, it is not sufficient to understanding these processes. Research described in the next section, on the role of (cultural) context, reveals more about the psychological processes that constitute acculturation in explicit domains.

The role of context

It is increasingly clear that the context of immigration determines which strategy of acculturation (type of cultural identity) immigrant minority individuals are most likely to adopt. Society-level ideology and intergroup relations shape immigrant minorities' acculturation

strategies and cultural identification. This was recognized by Phinney and Flores (2002) who pointed out that minorities who are rejected by the majority group may increasingly identify with their heritage culture, and use it as a buffer against the negative effects of rejection (see also Crocker & Major, 1989). In his early work on acculturation, Berry also suggested the inextricability of minority acculturation orientations and majority attitudes (e.g., Berry, 1974, 1984). Berry's view was that minorities will only choose for integration when the national context endorses multiculturalism (simultaneous endorsement of both heritage culture maintenance and majority culture adoption) (Berry & Kalin, 1995; Berry et al., 1977; Kalin & Berry, 1994). Without the national endorsement of multiculturalism, and particularly when the majority discriminates and excludes the minority, minority individuals are less likely to adopt the majority culture, and more likely to separate (i.e., to maintain the heritage culture at the exclusion of adopting the majority culture).

Social Identity Theory provides a theoretical framework for understanding these observations: When immigrant minorities perceive group boundaries to be permeable, and when becoming a full member of the majority culture is a viable option, they will engage in assimilation and integration – both types of acculturation that are high on the dimension of adopting the majority culture. In contrast, when immigrant minorities experience discrimination and do not feel welcome, they will likely segregate – a strategy that is low on the dimension of majority culture adoption (Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Schwartz, Benet-Martinez, et al., 2014).

The available empirical evidence supports the idea that a welcoming national context leads to more biculturalism, and that rejection or discrimination leads to more segregation. An example is the large cross-national youth study on acculturating minority youth discussed earlier. The study yielded more biculturalism in settler countries with a long history of cultural diversity and immigration (such as the United States and Canada), than in non-settler countries (such as the Netherlands and Germany), which are arguably less welcoming to immigrant youth

(Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006a). In settler countries, bicultural identity at the level of the minority group was reflected by zero or positive correlations between heritage and majority culture identity; in non-settler countries, the association at the level of the group tended to be negative, indicating that national identity came at the expense of heritage culture identity and vice versa. Indeed hyphenated identities are not common in Western European countries (Phalet & Kosiç, 2006).

In another study, minority groups who were welcomed more by the majority in a country were more likely to endorse an integration strategy than minority groups who were discriminated. Ex-Yugoslavs in Germany and Slovakia were much more likely to endorse an integration strategy than were Turkish minorities in Germany (46 vs. 20%; Piontkowski et al., 2000); separation was the dominant acculturation strategy among Turks in Germany (46%). The authors explain this finding by pointing to the higher levels of discrimination that Turkish immigrant minorities experience in Germany than ex-Yugoslavs in either country (which is corraborated by other studies; e.g., Diehl, Fischer-Neumann, & Mühlau, 2016). Indeed, adoption of a separation strategy was best predicted by minorities' perceived impermeability of group-boundaries (Piontkowski et al., 2000): Turkish minorities arguably coped with discrimination and exclusion by separating themselves.

Similarly, in a study with Turkish and Moroccan Muslim minorities in five different European cities, Fleischman and Phalet (2016) found that bicultural identification was more common in cities where Muslim minorities on average perceived lower discrimination based on their minority status. In these cities, minority individuals were mono- rather than bi-cultural. In a different study, Verkuyten and Yildiz (2007) found that perceived discrimination negatively predicted Turkish Muslims' national (Dutch) identity, particularly for individuals who were strongly identified as Turkish and/or Muslim. For those individuals, the national identity became less viable under conditions of discrimination.

Even when immigrant minorities have dual identities, the ways in which they negotiate and combine their two cultures may be very different, in part as a function of context. Benet-Martinez and colleagues found a clear association between BII and intergroup context. On the one hand, low BII is associated with the cultural isolation and discrimination of immigrant minorities (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005). This means that, in the context of (perceived) majority rejection, bi-cultural minority individials experience tension and dissociation between their two cultures. On the other hand, minorities who were part of highly interconnected and mixed-ethnicity friend networks, were high on BII; the association between BII and mixed-ethnic social networks held true even after controlling for levels of heritage and majority culture identity (Cheng et al., 2014; Mok, Morris, Benet-Martinez, & Karakitapoğlu-Aygün, 2007). In an inclusive majority context, minority individuals thus perceived harmony and overlap between their two cultures.

Minority strategies depend on the majority context, but majority views themselves are neither stable nor homogenous; they are dependent on majority's relationship with the minority. Brown and Zagefka (2011) illustrated the dynamic relationship between minority and majority acculturation ideologies, and suggested a feedback loop: Minorities want to participate in majority culture when they perceive the majority to be welcoming and inclusive (Zagefka & Brown, 2002); in turn, majorities are more welcoming of minorities they perceive to be motivated to participate in majority culture (Zagefka, Brown, Broquard, & Martin, 2007). A vignette study illustrated the malleable nature of majority attitudes: Italian majority participants in this study were more favorable towards minorities if the latter were described as wanting contact with the majority than if they were not (Matera, Stefanile, & Brown, 2011).

Majority views are not homogenous either. Whereas the dominant majority preference in Western European contexts is for minorities to assimilate, majority individuals who have contact with minorities are less opposed to minorities' maintenance of heritage culture, and

therefore, converge more with the minority preference for integration (e.g., Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003; Van Acker & Vanbeselaere, 2011; Vanbeselaere, Boen, & Meeus, 2006; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2004). Again, there may be a negative feedback loop between majority and minority acculturation preferences, in which a discrepancy in acculturation preferences may lead to less contact and perspective taking, which would be responsible for a larger discrepancy between majority and minority preferences for acculturation. Over time, differences between majority individuals who do and don't have contact may be thought to increase.

Finally, not only majority attitudes are variable: There is also evidence supporting situational variations in minorities' acculturation attitudes and preferences. For instance, one study found that Turkish and Moroccan minority youth in the Netherlands preferred cultural maintenance at home (private domain), but adoption of the Dutch mainstream culture outside the home (public domain; Phalet et al., 2000). Similarly, first generation Indians in the US preferred Indian food and clothing at home, but American food and clothing elsewhere (Sodowsky & Carey, 1988). Finally, Turkish Dutch minorities valued Turkish culture more positively for private domains (e.g., family and child-rearing practices), and Dutch culture more in public domains (e.g., education; Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2004; Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003). Therefore, depending on whether attitudes or behaviors refer to the public versus the private domain, immigrant minorities may endorse more cultural adoption/maintenance, respectively.

Which types of acculturation are associated with the best outcomes? (it depends on context)

Acculturation research promises a deeper understanding of the psychological strategies that lead to immigrant minorities' psychological wellbeing, health, and successful adjustment to majority culture (Mui & Kang, 2006; Oh, Koeske, & Sales, 2002; Ward, 1996; Zheng & Berry, 1991). Earlier work conducted in North Ametrican contexts has suggested that a bicultural or integrationist acculturation style constitutes the path to wellbeing and success. As

we will show below, research including other nations draws a picture that is slightly more complex. In this section, we make good on our promise to foreground the role of cultural context. It is our reading of the current literature that it depends on the context whether integration or biculturalism is in fact the most beneficial strategy of psychological acculturation. What follows is a synthesis of the evidence.

The consensus in acculturation research has long been that the best route to wellbeing and success was biculturalism or integration. For example, Berry and colleagues argued that "Acculturation strategies […] have substantial relationships with positive adaptation: integration is usually the most successful; marginalization is the least; and assimilation and separation strategies are intermediate," and that "This pattern has been found in virtually every study, and is present for all types of acculturating groups.." (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002, p. 368; see also Berry, 1997; Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987; Berry & Sam, 1997; Zheng & Berry, 1991).

Similarly, in one of the first review articles dedicated to biculturalism, LaFromboise and colleagues (1993) pointed to the risks for individuals who shed their culture of origin in favor of a new culture, and proposed instead that acquiring the majority culture, while also maintaining the culture of origin will produce the best outcomes for immigrant minorities. They cited research showing psychological ill-being of native American individuals who assimilated to the majority culture but encountered an impermeable barrier to their participation in it (Kerckhoff & McCormick, 1955, as cited in LaFromboise et al., 1993). According to LaFromboise et al., biculturalism will lead to better physical and psychological health for minority individuals, in part because it buffers against rejection by members of either culture. In the work of LaFromboise, biculturalism refers to a large variety of domains, including identification with and positive attitudes towards both cultures (LaFromboise et al., 1993). It is crucial to keep in mind that the research on which this consensus was based was conducted in

the US and Canada – contexts that are known for their multicultural policies. Research sampling from a broader range of cultures suggests that the adaptive value of integration and biculturalism is dependent on the context. A chapter drawing on the large-scale cross-cultural youth study on acculturation found that 'Separation' was no worse than 'Integration'; both strategies were positively related to psychological well-being (i.e. good mental health) and sociocultural well-being (i.e. social competence in managing daily life; Vedder, van de Vijver, & Liebkind, 2006). Assimilation did seem less beneficial to psychological wellbeing than either 'Integration' or 'Segregation', as it was only modestly related to sociocultural wellbeing, and not at all to psychological wellbeing. The research also suggested that perceived discrimination rendered integration strategies less likely. Therefore, immigrant minorities who experienced discrimination were more likely to resort to 'Segregation' which offered them alternative route to well-being from 'Integration.'

A meta-analysis on biculturalism by Nguyen and Benet-Martinez (2013) is inconclusive as well, as we will discuss below. The objective of the meta-analysis was precisely to test whether biculturalism was more beneficial to immigrant minorities than exclusive identification either with the dominant or with the heritage culture. A literature search obtained 83 studies in which biculturalism was measured and related to at least one domain of wellbeing. These studies measured biculturalism in terms of acculturation attitudes, behaviors, identities, and values. The meta-analysis yielded support for the benefits of biculturalism, when aggregating across different cultural (national) contexts. The authors compare the beneficial effects of biculturalism and either heritage or dominant culture identification for studies that use bidimensional measures, and find a larger association between wellbeing and biculturalism/integration (unweighted mean effect size r = .70), than between wellbeing and either the dominant (effect size r = .62) or the heritage culture orientation (effect size r = .56). However, these associations were all aggregated *across national contexts*.

There is reason to doubt that biculturalism was the most beneficial strategy in each national context. First, there was substantial variation in effect sizes across different studies (ranging from -.78 to +.87). Second, biculturalism was a much stronger predictor of wellbeing in the two thirds of the studies conducted in the US (r = .62) than the one third conducted in other, non-US cultural contexts (r = .32). Importantly, the meta-analysis never compares the impact of biculturalism as opposed to segregation or assimilation in the non-American cultural contexts (as authors acknowledge: Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013, p. 127). Therefore, the meta-analysis does not answer the question whether biculturalism is the most beneficial strategy in non-American immigration contexts as well.

Research from Western European contexts suggest that biculturalism is not invariantly beneficial, but that its adaptive value depends on context. One study with Turkish Belgian young adults found biculturalism to be either the best or the worst strategy for school success, depending on the level of discrimination experienced (Baysu, Phalet, & Brown, 2011). Biculturalism was associated with the best school careers (as retrospectively reported) when minorities had experienced low levels of discrimination. However, biculturalism predicted the worst school careers for minorities who had experienced high levels of discrimination. In contrast, separated and assimilated minorities did no worse in school when discriminated against than when not discriminated against. Biculturalism, and not the other two strategies, made immigrant minorities vulnerable. It thus appears that biculturalism is a successful strategy in nations/contexts that allow for co-existence of ethnic and national identities, but not in contexts that offer less opportunity to be part of both cultures. As Schwartz and colleagues phrase it: "On the surface, biculturalism may seem to be an obviously preferable strategy, offering 'the best of both worlds' to the acculturating migrant (…) but migrants may often find themselves 'caught between two worlds'" (Schwartz, Vignoles, Brown, & Zagefka, 2014, p.

77; see also Rudmin, 2003). When immigrant minorities are caught between two worlds, biculturalism appears to be less beneficial.

In sum, we suggest acculturation strategies and cultural identification derive meaning from the specific immigration context. This is consistent with a cultural psychology perspective in which the meaning of behavior necessarily derives from the cultural context in which it occurs. Integration or biculturalism are not by themselves beneficial, but they may be healthy ways of psychological acculturation when the dominant culture is inclusive of minorities. It is conceivable that the role of immigration context may have become invisible to researchers, because many of the early acculturation studies were conducted in countries with a tradition of immigration and an ideology of multiculturalism (Canada, US). Based on recent findings from other immigration contexts, we suggest that the level of discrimination and inclusiveness determines whether segregation becomes a more beneficial strategy than integration. Future research on the role of acculturation strategy on wellbeing should take the (national) immigration context into consideration

We are certainly not the first to take context into consideration. It is the key tenet of the Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM) developed by Bourhis and colleagues (1997) that the fit between the acculturation attitudes of minority and majority groups, rather than the acculturation strategy itself, predicts minority wellbeing –both psychological and social wellbeing. In a nationally representative study of Belgian middle schools, Celeste, Meeussen, Verschueren and Phalet (2016) put the IAM to the test by investigating how the fit between minority acculturation strategies and the acculturation preferences of their majority peers predicted the social well-being of minority students. Controlling for minorities' own acculturation preferences, the fit between acculturation norms in Turkish and Moroccan minority youth and their Belgian classmates predicted peer rejection. Minority students' biculturalism was only associated with less peer rejection when the majority classmates also

favored biculturalism. Notably, when the majority endorsed a norm for assimilation, minorities with a preference for integration (biculturalism) were more likely to be rejected by their peers than other minority kids, even the ones who preferred segregation. It is important to note that this type of misfit between the majority preference for assimilation and the minority preference for integration (biculturalism) is found to be very prevalent in Western European contexts (see above; Vanbeselaere et al., 2006; research by Celeste and her colleagues (2016) found that it comes at a high cost for minority individuals, at least in terms of peer rejection).

Minority group members' *perception* of majority group members' expectations, and majority *perception* of minority acculturation attitudes may be as powerful in predicting wellbeing as the actual attitudes held on both sides (see Concordance Model of Acculturation (CMA); Piontkowski et al., 2002). For instance, when immigrant minority members perceive that the majority wants them to assimilate more than they feel comfortable with, this may result in lower well-being, especially among respondents high on conformity (Roccas, Horenczyk, & Schwartz, 2000). Perceived conflict between in-group and out-group acculturation expectations also impacts psychological and social well-being. For example, Israeli immigrant adolescents from the former Soviet Union felt caught between what they perceived to be the expectations from their two reference groups, and this affected their wellbeing. Those who perceived their Israeli peers to expect more assimilation and less segregation than they themselves felt comfortable with, were low on socio-cultural well-being (primarily school adjustment); those who perceived their co-ethnics to expect less assimilation and more segregation than they felt comfortable with, were low on psychological well-being (Horenczyk & Sankevich, 2006).

Explicit Acculturation: Conclusion

Immigrant minorities position themselves in regard to both their heritage and their dominant culture. We have called this positioning *explicit acculturation*, because it involves an explicit affiliation with either culture or both. We reviewed the extant literature to answer

three questions. The first was if it is possible to affiliate with more than one culture? The answer is clearly affirmative. Biculturalism is possible and widespread. The second question was in what different ways minority individuals actually combine two or more cultures. To our surprise, we found a dearth of descriptive evidence on the *actual* strategies that immigrant minority members adopt to combine their different cultures. There is some evidence to support Berry's influential framework of acculturation that proposes independent dimensions of adoption of the majority culture and maintenance of the heritage culture. However, it also seems clear that there may be many different ways for minority members to integrate their different cultures, and with exception of research on BII, little is known about the ways minorities integrate their different cultures. We also examined the conditions under which certain strategies of acculturation prevailed, and found that immigrant minorities negotiate their cultural affiliation within the space created by majority-minority relations (Wakefield et al., 2011). When the majority is accepting of diversity, or when intergroup relations are harmonious and inclusive, the most common type of affiliation for minorities is integration or biculturalism. When the majority context is less welcoming, and when there is discrimination, immigrant minorities *as a group* are more likely to choose ethnic identity/segregation. The third question we tried to answer was: Which types of acculturation are associated with the best outcomes? Our answer is that it depends on the context. Integration and bicultural identity are conducive to positive outcomes when the majority context is inclusive, but in the absence of majority acceptance and support, segregation and ethnic identity may serve minority individuals better.

Implicit Cultural Affiliation

With some notable exceptions that we will describe below, acculturation research has focused on immigrant minorities' explicit affiliation with majority and ethnic culture. From a cultural psychology point of view, minorities who engage in a majority culture face many more

tasks than to explicitly position themselves in regard to their cultural groups. They interact with majority others, and during these interactions develop (new) self and other understandings. They negotiate the practices and institutions of the majority culture, and in so doing, use the majority language as well as engage in the system of meanings and meaning making of the new culture. On an everyday basis, immigrant minorities thus judge, feel, and act in the situations they encounter in the majority culture. These 'basic' psychological processes - cognition, emotion, acting, self, meaning making (e.g., values) - acculturate; i.e., change because of engaging in the majority culture. We propose that these changes occur because of affordances, constraints, and reward structures available in the majority culture, and do not require that immigrant minorities identify with, or *want* to be part of the majority culture. Shifts in basic psychological processes towards the majority norm reflect acculturation, but are implicit ways of affiliating.

Acculturation thus involves all processes that are subject to systematic and meaningful cultural differences (e.g., self, emotion, values, cognition), and that help a minority individual to be successful in the 'cultural tasks' of the new or majority culture (Kitayama et al., 2009; Markus & Hamedani, 2007; Shweder, 1995). These psychological processes may be thought to constitute 'cultural competence', as an early review called it (LaFromboise et al., 1993). The authors of that review proposed that biculturals need to develop "cultural competence" in two cultures, and defined cultural competence as a "multilevel continuum of social skills and personality development", including to "(a) possess a strong personal identity, (b) have knowledge of and facility with the values of the culture, (c) display sensitivity to the affective processes of the culture, (d) communicate clearly in the language of the given cultural group, (e) perform socially sanctioned behavior, (f) maintain active social relations with a group, and (g) negotiate the institutional structures of that culture" (p. 396). They note that "the length of this list reflects the difficulty involved in developing cultural competence, particularly if one is

not raised within a given culture" (p. 396), and "assume that the more levels in which one is competent, the fewer problems an individual will have functioning effectively within two cultures" (p. 396).

If we accept the basic premise of cultural psychology - that psyche and culture are mutually constitutive - and apply it to acculturating individuals, then immigrant minorities who participate in two (or more) cultures become bicultural with respect to all psychological processes implicated in their contexts of participation. These processes include, or may even go beyond, the different aspects of competence listed by LaFromboise and colleagues. In the next sections, we discuss two domains of implicit cultural affiliation: emotion and personality. These two domains are representative, but not exhaustive of research on implicit acculturation (see also Heine & Lehman, 2004; Güngör, Coskan, De Leersnyder, Phalet, & Mesquita, 2014; Zhang & Li, 2014).

Emotion

Emotional acculturation is an important aspect of becoming part of a culture. In order to fit and get along, individuals need to have the right emotions. Emotional acculturation is not only a necessary, but also a deep way of becoming part of a new culture; it involves being able to make meaning of new situations according to majority goals and values, and thus to share a social reality with majority others.

Emotions differ systematically across cultures in ways that tie individuals to the values and goals that are central in their cultures (e.g., Boiger, Güngör, Karasawa, & Mesquita, 2014; Boiger, Mesquita, Uchida, & Barrett, 2013; Kitayama, Mesquita, & Karasawa, 2006; Mesquita, 2003; Mesquita, De Leersnyder, & Boiger, 2016; Mesquita & Leu, 2007; Tamir, Bigman, Rhodes, Salerno, & Schreier, 2015; Tsai, Knutson, & Fung, 2006). In a culture that values autonomy, individuals are more readily angry (US, Western Europe) than in a culture that values interpersonal harmony (East Asian cultures) (Mesquita, Marinetti, & Delvaux, 2012;

Solomon, 1978). One way to understand these cultural differences is that individuals appraise events and situations from the perspective of the cultural values (De Leersnyder, 2014; De Leersnyder, Koval, Kuppens, & Mesquita, 2017; Mesquita, De Leersnyder, & Albert, 2014) Therefore, if a person moved from a culture that gives primacy to achievement and self-direction to a culture that prioritizes interpersonal harmony, they should come to experience less anger over time. This is an example of 'emotional acculturation.'

The first evidence for emotional acculturation came from a study comparing emotional experiences in immigrant minority groups in two national contexts, US and Belgium (De Leersnyder et al., 2011); participants were adult Korean Americans in the US and Turkish minorities in Belgium. These specific immigrant groups were chosen because the emotional patterns that are typical for their heritage culture are known to differ from those that are typical for their majority culture (De Leersnyder et al., 2015; Kitayama et al., 2006; Mesquita, 2001); acculturation of emotions should involve measurable shifts, therefore.

Emotional acculturation was measured by calculating the fit of minority participants' emotional experiences to the average emotional experience of majority members in similar situations. In the study, we asked both majority and minority participants to describe a recent emotional situation from their own daily life that matched a given prompt. Prompts were chosen to be cross-culturally relevant and to cover a large range of emotional situations. The eight prompts that were used in the study varied according to valence (positive or negative), autonomy versus relatedness promotion, and context (work/school or home). An example of a prompt for a negative relatedness-promoting emotional situation in a work or school context would be: "Please think about a recent occasion at school or at your work in which you felt bad about your relationships with others (e.g., feeling ashamed, guilty, indebted...)". After participants described the situation that they had encountered, they rated their experience in that situation with respect to 20-30 emotions that covered the full range of the emotional domain.

When we calculated emotional fit, we included those emotions that were equivalent in meaning across different groups. This method yielded emotional profiles for each participant in each type of situation. We calculated emotional fit by means of profile correlations (Figure 2).

(INSERT FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE)

Figure 2. Example of an emotion pattern: Belgian respondent in a negative disengaged situation (De Leersnyder, Mesquita, & Kim, 2011).

We compared the (Fischer transformed) profile correlations of Korean and European Americans, respectively, with the average European American emotion pattern in similar situations; and similarly, we compared the profile correlations of Turkish Belgian and Belgian participants, respectively, with the average Belgian emotion pattern in similar situations (see Figure 3, De Leersnyder et al., 2011). The emotional fit of immigrant minority groups was consistently lower than that of majority individuals[2]; yet, indicative of emotional acculturation, the fit of second generation immigrants was higher than that of first (De Leersnyder et al., 2011). Lower fit in the first generation immigrant minorities was *not* caused by random answers: The variance did not differ between first generation immigrant minorities and the majority group.

(INSERT FIGURE 3 ABOUT HERE)

Furthermore, emotional fit was associated with the time spent in the new culture and the age of immigration, which is another indication that emotions acculturate (De Leersnyder et al., 2011). Moreover, immigrant minorities' number of social contacts with majority members, which can be considered a measure of immersion in the culture, was predictive of their emotional fit with the mainstream culture – for Korean minorities, social contact predicted

[2] When calculating the emotional fit for majority individuals, we omitted their emotional profile from the majority average. Thus we prevented that emotional fit scores for majority individuals would be conflated.

emotional fit in both positive and negative situations; for Turkish minorities, it predicted emotional fit in negative situations only. The negative intergroup climate for Turks in Western European countries, as compared to the US climate for Koreans at the time of the study, may explain these differences, although the underlying process is yet unclear.

Further evidence for emotional acculturation comes from a large representative study in Belgian middle schools, where we oversampled the minorities (the same study as reported by Celeste et al., under review). This study included minorities (N > 1100) from around one hundred different countries of origin, but about 25% of them were of Turkish and Moroccan descent, two of the largest minority groups in Belgium. We used a similar method to the one described for the adult study, and found that minorities' emotional fit with the majority average was higher in each subsequent generation, until in the third generation, it was no longer distinguished from the fit of majority youth; again, these findings are suggestive of emotional acculturation (Jasini, De Leersnyder, Phalet, & Mesquita, 2016a) (Figure 3). When we calculated emotional fit, based on the average emotions of majority students in the *classroom*, the patterns of fit across generations of immigrants were similar to those obtained with the average emotions of all majority students in the sample.

Emotional acculturation in context.

Research on emotional acculturation suggests an important role for context. When minority individuals engage in social relations with others in the culture, their emotions acculturate. As part of our representative study in Belgian middle schools, we found that minority students nominated as friends by their majority peers were more emotionally acculturated. One interpretation of this finding is that minorities' emotions are 'socialized' during interactions with majority classmates, in much the same way infants learn during their interactions with caregivers (Saarni, 2008). This means that contexts that allow immigrant minorities to have interactions with majority others, will promote emotional acculturation.

We also found that minority adolescents who reported speaking their heritage language (e.g., Turkish, Moroccan) at school were less emotionally acculturated, as measured by their emotional fit with the average Belgian student in our sample (Jasini et al., 2016a). If heritage and majority language are a zero-sum game, these were the minority students who did not engage with Belgian majority students as much, possibly because of discrimination and rejection.

Data from the first two waves of the longitudinal part of the nationally representative school study in Belgium suggested that an unwelcoming context, as measured by peer rejection and teacher discrimination, longitudinally predicted lower emotional fit one year later (Jasini, De Leersnyder, Phalet, & Mesquita, 2016b). This finding speaks to the importance of acculturation context to an implicit domain of psychological change such as emotions. Kids who encountered discrimination were less likely to have emotions similar to their majority peers one year later than did kids who had met with more welcoming environments.

Not only fit with majority culture emotions, but also fit with the heritage culture emotions seems to be achieved during interaction with others from the culture. There is some initial evidence that social engagement in heritage culture contexts also predicts fit with the heritage culture emotions. When we looked at the emotional fit of the Korean American adults with Koreans in Korea, and of Turkish Belgian adults with Turks in Turkey (De Leersnyder et al., 2011), we found that those with heritage culture friends had higher fit (De Leersnyder et al., 2015). Yet again, immigrants who socially engaged in the pertinent cultural context had the emotions of the heritage culture.

Finally, several studies suggest that emotional experiences tend to fit the demands of the cultural context, either heritage or majority. In a daily diary study (Perunovic, Heller, & Rafaeli, 2007), Asian Canadians reported more Asian emotions when interacting with other Asian Canadians than when they interacted with European-Canadians. The authors measured

'Asian emotions' in terms of dialecticism: the co-occurrence or compatibility of positive and negative emotions. They found that Asian Canadians reported higher compatibility of positive and negative emotions in the context of interactions with co-ethnics than in the context of interactions with majority (Euro-Canadian) others.

In one of our own studies with Korean Americans and Turkish Belgians, we found that minority emotions fit the majority emotions at work, and the heritage emotions at home (De Leersnyder et al., 2015); when aggregating across different contexts, the levels of minorities' fit to heritage and majority culture were of comparable size.[3] The finding suggests that minority individuals 'regulate' their emotions to fit the demands of the cultural context. It also suggests that learning to have the emotions of the new culture does not necessarily mean losing one's ability to feel in ways that fit the heritage culture.

In an experiment from our own lab we manipulated the cultural context, and observed differences in emotions *expressed*. The design was based on the paradigm of cultural frame-switching (e.g., Hong et al., 2000). In the current experiment, Turkish Belgian biculturals were assigned either to a Belgian or to a Turkish setting (De Leersnyder & Mesquita, 2014). Culture was cued by the study location (Belgian community center vs. social room in the mosque), the ethnicity of the experimenter and the confederate (Belgian, Turkish), and the language spoken during the experiment (Dutch, Turkish). In the Belgian context, we expected autonomy to be salient, and in the Turkish context, community (Shweder, Much, Mahapatra, & Park, 1997). Consistent with previous research (Rozin, Lowery, & Haidt, 1999), we also expected that autonomy violations would elicit more anger, and violations of community values more contempt. In our experiment the confederate misbehaved several times in ways that were scripted and standardized across experimental conditions.

[3] The emotional fit of immigrant minorities was smaller for home situations than for work situations. This renders another explanation of the emotional acculturation data --that emotional fit of immigrant minorities is lower simply because they do not understand the majority culture situations—less likely. In fact, emotional fit with majority culture was lower at home, where the heritage culture still plays a big role.

Some of these misbehaviors were violations of autonomy (as pilot-tested in both Belgian and Turkish contexts), and they were followed by more observed anger rather than contempt in both conditions. Other misbehaviors were clear-cut violations of community, and they were associated with contempt rather than anger, also across the Belgian and Turkish conditions. When misbehaviors were ambiguous violations that could be interpreted to pertain to either autonomy or community, we expected biculturals to interpret those violations according to the salient values in the cultural condition, and thus show anger in the Belgian and contempt in the Turkish condition. Most importantly, we expected that biculturals would express different emotions, depending on the cultural condition to which they were assigned. As expected, we found relatively more anger than contempt in the Belgian condition where we expected biculturals to interpret the ambiguous misbehaviors as violations of autonomy. In the Turkish condition, we expected community values to be salient, and therefore, more contempt than anger. The findings confirmed the expectation that cultural contexts, given differences in salient values, give rise to different observed emotions. In the Turkish condition, biculturals expressed much less anger than in the Belgian condition. However, we did not find more contempt than anger as we had expected; for a reason to be further explored, we found that the levels of expressed anger and contempt were similar in the Turkish condition.

Emotional Acculturation and Wellbeing

Evidence that emotional acculturation is conducive to wellbeing is limited. The strong association between social contact and emotions suggests that emotional acculturation promotes socio-cultural wellbeing, but cross-sectional research does not adequately distinguish between cause and effect. Our longitudinal study with minority students in Belgian middle schools points to the positive influence that minorities' emotional acculturation has on their contact with majority peers. Emotional fit in the first year predicted self-reported number of Belgian friends the next year.

A large-scale study among immigrant minority women from Haiti, the Dominican Republic, the English-speaking Caribbean and Eastern Europe, found an association between the lack of emotional fit with US emotions and somatic complaints, another aspect of wellbeing (Consedine, Chentsova-Dutton, & Krivoshekova, 2014). In this study, emotions were measured as trait anger and trait anxiety.

Although we know of no other evidence for the link between emotional acculturation and wellbeing, indirect support for the significance of emotional fit comes from findings with monoculturals. In one study, we found that European American, Korean and Belgian monoculturals whose emotions during relational situations were more like those of others in their culture reported higher relational wellbeing (De Leersnyder et al., 2014). In other research, we have found that individuals reported higher *psychological wellbeing* (i.e., feeling good about oneself, having no symptoms of depression) when their emotions were more similar to those of others in their culture. However, the link between emotional fit and psychological wellbeing was significant only for emotional fit in situations that were particularly instrumental to the central cultural goals. Fit in autonomy-promoting situations at work for European Americans, relatedness-promoting situations at home for Koreans, and both autonomy- and relatedness-promoting situations for Belgians was associated with higher psychological wellbeing (De Leersnyder et al., 2015). Together, these findings suggest that emotional fit with one's culture is beneficial in certain situations. It is not clear under what circumstances the same would be true for biculturals; future research should address this question.

Summary of Emotional Acculturation

Emotions form one domain of implicit acculturation. As individuals engage in a new culture, they start experiencing emotions that are more similar to those of the majority culture; that is, emotions that reference the new culture's values. Acculturation towards the new culture's emotions is not at the exclusion of heritage culture emotions. Rather, engaging in the heritage

culture (e.g., by having heritage culture friends) independently predicts fit with the average heritage emotions. We also have some indication that the culture of the specific interaction context primes emotional patterns that fit the pertinant culture.

Personality

Personality traits describe systematic individual differences in behavior (Buss & Craik, 1983; Church, Katigbak, Miramontes, & Del Prado, 2007). Extraverts tend to be assertive, outgoing and energetic, and introverts are less assertive, keep to themselves more, and like quiet or calm. Personality traits correspond to stable behavioral tendencies, either across (Kwan, Bond, & Singelis, 1997) or within situations (Fleeson, 2001). An example of the latter would be that an individual is an extravert at home, and an introvert in big groups. Acculturation of personality, thus conceived, implies a shift in the behavioral tendencies of immigrant minority individuals because of their exposure to the majority culture.

Culture importantly accounts for variability in personality (e.g., Allik & McCrae, 2004; Güngör, Bornstein, et al., 2013; McCrae et al., 2010; Schmitt, Allik, McCrae, & Benet-Martínez, 2007; Chopik & Kitayama, 2017). For instance, North Americans are more extraverted and open, and less neurotic and agreeable than East Asians (e.g., Allik & McCrae, 2004; Güngör, Bornstein, et al., 2013; McCrae, Yik, Trapnell, Bond, & Paulhus, 1998). This means that individuals may undergo changes in personality profile, simply because they are exposed to other cultural influences. For instance, moving to North America may afford extraversion (sample items: energetic, enthusiast), because everyday life consists of high activation activities (e.g., Tsai, Miao, & Seppala, 2007). Similarly, moving to Japan may afford neuroticism (sample items: tense, irritable, moody) because of the relative acceptance of negative emotions in East Asian cultural contexts (e.g., Miyamoto, Ma, & Petermann, 2014). Several studies suggest the acculturation of personality (see Gillin & Raimy, 1940 for the earliest one).

On the one hand, some studies have yielded personality profiles of immigrant minorities that averaged between those of the new majority and those of the heritage culture. For instance, aggregating across different generations, McCrae and colleagues found that Chinese Canadians' scores on the Big Five averaged between Chinese people from Hong Kong and European Canadians (McCrae et al., 1998). In one of our own studies (Güngör, Bornstein, et al., 2013), we compared the personality profiles reported by first generation Japanese American mothers with those of their native counterparts in Japan as well as North America. Calculating each participant's fit with the average Japanese and the average European American personality profile, respectively, we found that the personality profile of these Japanese American mothers was dissimilar from the Japanese average personality, but has not shifted towards the European American profile (there were no differences in fit between the Japanese American mothers and their Japanese counterpart with respect to fit to the European American personality pattern). The absence of Japanese cultural affordances thus seems to have been more powerful in constituting personality changes than the presence of American cultural affordances.

Without any information about the process of acculturation, these studies should be interpreted with caution. It is possible that the different personality profiles of immigrant minority and heritage culture samples may be due to self-selection as much as to the process of acculturation. In Mc Crae's study, Chinese immigrants to the US may be self-selected to be more American than their compatriots who stayed in China; and similarly in our own study with Japanese American mothers, it is possible that Japanese mothers who moved to the United States were, to begin with, less similar to the Japanese average of extraversion and conscientiousness than their counterparts who stayed in Japan.

Research showing that immigrant minorities resemble the majority culture's personality profile more with each subsequent generation, is more convincing in this regard. Self-selection does not explain the generational pattern of increased fit. In a study by Benet-Martinez and

Karakitapoglu-Aygun (2003), first-generation Asian Americans were found to be less extravert and open, and more conscientious than later generations of Asian Americans. The research did not distinguish between shedding heritage culture personality, and acquiring majority culture personality. It is conceibable that increased engagement of second and later generations of immigrants in majority culture contributes to a more acculturated personality than that of first generation immigrants.

Personality, or the stable behavioral tendencies that it represents, may also differ by context (Fleeson, 2001). For biculturals, personality profiles may differ per relevant cultural context. Several studies are suggestive of this idea. In one study, bilingual Mexican Americans who completed the Big Five Questionnaire were more extraverted, agreeable, and conscientious in English than in Spanish – and these differences were analogous to the differences between North American and Mexican personality profiles (Ramírez-Esparza, Gosling, Benet-Martinez, Potter, & Pennebaker, 2004). Interestingly, biculturals' personality profiles correlated highly in English and Spanish (mean *r*. = 80), suggesting that "individuals tend to retain their rank ordering within a group but the group as a whole shifts" (Ramírez-Esparza et al., 2004, p. 115).

That these findings are not necessarily due to language use only, is suggested by an observational study with Hong Kong Chinese-English bilinguals. Bilinguals were observed by others as they conversed with either Caucasian or Chinese interviewers. Observers perceived the bilinguals to be more extraverted, open and assertive when they talked with Caucasian than with co-ethnic Chinese interviewers, regardless of the language of the interview (English, Chinese). The researchers' interpretation is that the "presence of a native English speaker is strong enough to prime these Western traits and elicit accommodating patterns, regardless of the language used" - a phenomenon that has also been referred to as the 'interlocutor effect' (Chen & Bond, 2010, p. 1525).

But is personality acculturation beneficial? Evidence is both scarce and mixed. Some studies have found that personality fit with the majority culture, not the personality profile itself, is associated with immigrant minorities' wellbeing (e.g., lower levels of depression) (e.g., Ward & Chang, 1997); yet, other studies have found the personality profile itself is predictive of well-being and that fit with the majority culture is not (Ward, Leong, & Low, 2004 fit here measured as discrepancy scores). More research on this topic is needed. We predict that personality fit is more important to immigrant minorities' wellbeing insofar as the associated behavioral tendencies are culturally defining. For example, it may be more important to fit with regard to Openness (e.g., imaginative, artistic, unconventional) than with regard to Agreeableness in the US, because of the high value attached to uniqueness (Kim & Markus, 1999). We also predict personality fit with the majority culture is particularly important in domains where immigrant minorities engage with the majority culture; for instance, it would be more important that immigrant minorities in the US be Open in academic environments than at home. Research on the effects of personality acculturation on wellbeing would benefit from such theorizing.

Summary of Personality Acculturation

Personality may be another domain of implicit acculturation. Because cultures systematically differ in the kinds of behavior they afford, we expect that exposure to a new culture may lead to changes in personality (i.e., the disposition to certain kinds of behavior). Taken together, different types of research suggest that acculturation of personality may indeed occur. On the one hand, several studies have shown that immigrant minorities' personality profiles fall in between those of their heritage and majority culture counterparts. On the one hand, there are studies showing generational increments of personality fit with the majority culture. Less is known about the conditions under which personality acculturation occurs in immigrant minorities, and positively contributes to minority adjustment.

Implicit Cultural Affiliation: Conclusion

There is acculturation of 'deep' psychological processes, such as emotions and personality. When immigrant minorities engage in majority cultural contexts, they may come to feel and behave in ways that suit the majority culture; that is, their emotions and personality (behavioral tendencies) may change to fit the demands of the cultural tasks. Due to a scarcity of research, there is yet very little evidence that cultural fit of those deep psychological processes contributes to wellbeing. The role of context is similarly understudied. However, so far we have found evidence that an unwelcoming environment interferes with acculturation of implicit domains: Discrimination longitudinally predicted less emotional fit with the majority culture one year later. We predict that acculturation occurs primarily with respect to the psychological domains that are culturally central (e.g., anger in a culture of autonomy; openness in a culture that values uniqueness); the jury is still out on this prediction. Similarly, we expect that those psychological changes that are central to the individual's functioning in the majority culture impact their wellbeing most. A lot of research remains to be done in this area. Finally, we have found for both emotions and personality that the relevant cultural context determines which emotions and personality traits are activated. Therefore, it may be more productive to look at the acculturation of implicit domains as a situated process than merely as an individual difference variable.

How do changes in explicit and implicit cultural affiliation relate?

We have distinguished between explicit domains of acculturation, in which an individual explicitly determines their position with regard to each culture of engagement, and implicit domains of acculturation, which concern individuals' fit with majority psychological processes. An important question is how the two relate. Do minority individuals who identify with the majority culture, or who want to be part of it, think, feel, and act more like majority individuals than minority members who distance themselves from the majority culture and

segregate? And how does biculturalism in explicit domains of acculturation (e.g., simultaneously identifying with both the heritage and the majority culture) affect biculturalism in implicit domains (e.g., emotional frame-switching)? By trying to answer these questions, we will be able to draw a more complete picture of the acculturation process.

The relationship between explicit and implicit domains of acculturation is not straightforward. There is some research that shows that explicit acculturation does indeed predict acculturation in implicit domains. Japanese exchange students in Canada who endorsed the Canadian lifestyle (i.e., who endorsed either assimilation or integration on Berry's questionnaire of acculturation types; Berry et al., 1989; in Heine & Lehman, 2004), reported higher levels of self-esteem than those who did not (Heine & Lehman, 2004, study 2c). Because self-esteem has been found to be higher in North American than Japanese contexts (Heine, Lehman, Markus, & Kitayama, 1999), the finding is indicative of the relationship between explicit and implicit acculturation. Similarly, Chinese Canadians' willingness to adopt Canadian culture predicted independence in self-construal, whereas their preference for maintenance of the Chinese culture predicted their interdependence (self-construal measured by Singelis in- and interdependence scale; Singelis, 1994; Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000). Again, independent self-construals are more prevalent in the North American context, and interdependent self-contstruals in East Asian contexts (Markus & Kitayama, 1991a); the finding suggests that explicit and implicit acculturation go hand in hand.

In other research, Asian Americans' acculturation attitudes towards the dominant US culture (measured by the SMAS-DSI; Eap et al., 2008) were positively associated with Extraversion and Conscientiousness, personality traits that have been found to be more common among European American than Asian American individuals, but they were negatively related to Neuroticism, a personality trait that was more prevalent in Asian American than European American contexts. In our own study on personality acculturation with Japanese American

mothers, we found that immigrant mothers whose attitudes towards European American culture were more favorable (as measured by the Japanese American Acculturation Scale; (Suinn, Rickard-Figueroa, Lew, & Vigil, 1987), better fit the American levels of Openness, Neuroticism and Conscientiousness, the personality traits that differed most between European American and Japanese contexts (Güngör, Fleischmann, Phalet, & Maliepaard, 2013).

In contrast, in emotional acculturation research with adult samples of Korean Americans and Turkish Belgians we failed to find an association between explicit and implicit acculturation, with one exception that will be discussed below (De Leersnyder et al., 2015). We used the Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA; Ryder et al., 2000) to measure explicit acculturation (i.c. acculturation strategies). Our studies yielded two different subscales of the VIA (for majority culture): one describing the adoption of majority values, customs and traditions, the other the desire for contact with majority others. We failed to find a relationship between acculturation of values, customs, and traditions and emotional acculturation: Wanting to be part of majority culture was not predictive of feeling the right emotions. In Belgium, we also failed to find a link between wanting contact with majority others and emotional acculturation. However in the US context, wanting contact with majority others was related to emotional acculturation. In the American context, explicit acculturation predicted implicit acculturation. The reason that desire for contact predicted emotional acculturation in Korean Americans, but not in Turkish Belgians, may be that it was differentially related to actual contact in those two immigration contexts: Korean Americans who wanted contact with the majority reported having majority contacts, but Turkish Belgians wanting contact with majority Belgians were often unable to realize this desire (i.e. zero correlation between desired aand actual contact with majority). Therefore, the relationship between explicit and implicit acculturation may have depended on the possibility to realize explicit acculturation preferences. Immigrant minorities' desire to be part of majority culture may only predict implicit domains

of acculturation to the extent the majority culture is welcoming and inclusive. As we have seen before, this is not always the case. In fact, research in Western European contexts suggests that immigrant minorities tend not to be accepted unless and until they become completely indistinguishable from the majority (Van Acker & Vanbeselaere, 2011), a feat that is hard to accomplish (and conceivably undesirable) for many.

Research on individual differences in bicultural identity integration (BII) also teaches us about the relationship between explicit and implicit acculturation, and the importance of context for this relationship (e.g., Cheng et al., 2014). In frame-switching studies, individuals identifying with two cultures do not always show preferences or behavior that fits the cued cultural context. Several studies have suggested that whether biculturals show psychological tendencies that are consistent with the context they are in (i.e., whether they show implicit acculturation), depends on their BII. Compared to individuals high on BII, individuals low on BII show less implicit acculturation. Studies focusing on implicit acculturation have made use of a cultural frame-switching paradigm (Hong et al., 2000). Whereas individuals high on BII showed responses that were consistent with the majority culture when the majority culture was primed, individuals low on BII showed more heritage culture responses when the majority culture was primed (Mok & Morris, 2013). Thus, high BII individuals showed assimilative, and low BII individuals showed contrastive cultural frame switching.

Mok & Morris (2013) explain contrastive cultural frame-switching from biculturals' self-protective motives: Low BII-individuals, cued with one cultural identity, perceive threat to the other. Contrastive frame-switching is seen as an attempt to re-affirm the threatened culture. Mok & Morris (2013) suggest that the contrast effect should occur both ways for low BII individuals, yet to our best knowledge, evidence that priming the heritage culture would also threaten the majority culture is nonexistent. In one of their studies, Mok & Morris (2013, study 1) tested contrastive processes after the heritage culture had been cued, but found no contrast.

In a footnote, the researchers raise the possibility of methodological weaknesses in the design of their study. However, it is also possible that low BII individuals' perception that their the heritage culture identity is threatened after having been cued with majority culture, is uniquely tied to experiences of discrimination in the majority culture (and that a similar threat might simply not exist in the other direction).

Supportive of our view that contrastive frame-switching should be understood from discrimination and exclusion from the majority context particularly, is the finding that low BII (i.e., low perceived harmony and blendedness of the two cultures) is tied to strained intergroup relations (e.g., discrimination). This seems to be the context in which majority culture is perceived to threaten the heritage culture. Individual differences in cultural frame-switching can be understood, then, from the context in which bicultural identity integration (BII) is formed. As Cheng et al. conclude: "*Both* high and low BII biculturals engage in cultural frame switching; they both possess two cultural frames of reference and can switch their [psychological processes] in response to cultural cues. However, high and low BIIs tend to respond to cultural cues in different ways, with high BIIs often engaging in assimilative cultural frame switching and low BIIs often engaging in contrastive cultural frame switching" (Cheng et al., 2014 p. 283).

Putting the elements together, these studies yield interesting insights into the relationship between explicit and implicit acculturation. Even when immigrant minorities have the 'cultural competence' (LaFromboise et al., 1993) or when they have 'two minds' (Hong et al., 2000), they may not always act, think or feel in ways that would be most adaptive in the majority cultural context; if they are low on BII, they are likely to act, think or feel in ways that are right by their heritage minority culture, when navigating the majority culture. Under circumstances of discrimination, exclusion, and troubled intergroup relations, minority individuals are less likely to behave in ways that reveal an implicit affiliation with the majority

culture. Therefore, an unfavorable immigration context is very likely to foster psychological responses that impede minority individuals' successful navigation of the majority context. Clearly, the relationships between cultural context, explicit acculturation, and implicit acculturation deserve more attention, as they will teach us how, and under what circumstances, immigrant minorities do well.

Explicit affiliation does not need to precede implicit affiliation. It is possible that implicit affiliation comes first. For instance, it is possible that feeling as the majority (heritage minority) culture does is the basis for cultural identification. This would be consistent with a literature on couples and groups showing that similarity in attitudes, personality, and emotions is associated with relationship satisfaction and group identification (Anderson, Keltner, & John, 2003; Barsade, 2002; Delvaux, Meeussen, & Mesquita, 2015; Gonzaga, Campos, & Bradbury, 2007), respectively. It is possible that, under some circumstances, shifts in the patterns of feeling, thinking and acting make minority individuals feel more part of the majority culture, and are an incentive to share majority customs and traditions.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have outlined the cultural psychology of acculturation. We propose to extend the range of phenomena that traditionally have been studied by acculturation psychology, and ask the open question: How do psychological processes change, when individuals engage in new cultural contexts? A cultural psychology of acculturation goes beyond studying immigrant minorities' explicit positioning towards the heritage and majority culture, and even beyond their cultural identity. It assumes that acculturation may occur with respect to all psychological processes that are culturally constituted, even processes that have not traditionally been part of acculturation research, such as emotions and personality.

No privileged domain.

Acculturation may take place in all, or some psychological domains. Together, changes in the various psychological domains constitute psychological acculturation. No single process is privileged, and as Schwartz and his colleagues noted: "The construct [of acculturation] should be labeled appropriately – such as 'behavioral acculturation,' 'value acculturation,' or 'identity-based acculturation'." (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010, p. 244), because "changes in one dimension of acculturation may not mean that other dimensions are changing at the same rate or in the same direction, and the fact that one dimension is changing does not guarantee that others will change as well" (pp. 245-246; see also Birman, 1994; Dere, Ryder, & Kirmayer, 2010; Keefe & Padilla, 1987; LaFromboise et al., 1993; Padilla, 1980; Phinney & Flores, 2002; Schwartz, Montgomery, & Briones, 2006; Snauwaert, Soenens, Vanbeselaere, & Boen, 2003; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980). Although acculturation can be studied for different psychological domains separately, the ultimate goal of acculturation research should be to gain an understanding of the temporal and causal dynamics between changes in different domains of cultural affiliation.

Implicit cultural affiliation.

This chapter highlights the role of implicit acculturation, which traditional acculturation models neglected. Research addressing implicit cultural affiliation has taken various forms. Some studies show that exposure to majority culture predicts improved fit with majority culture psychological tendencies. Immigrant minorities over time (or across generations) acquire the psychological responses that are typically found in the majority culture. Our own research on emotional acculturation is an example (e.g., De Leersnyder, Mesquita, & Kim, 2011).

A second type of research on implicit acculturation used a frame-switching paradigm showing that, on average, biculturals primed with the heritage culture show psychological tendencies that are typical of that culture, and biculturals primed with majority culture show

psychological tendencies commonly found in the majority culture (e.g., De Leersnyder & Mesquita, 2014). The research is important in that it shows that acquisition of majority culture psychological tendencies does not need to come at the expense of heritage culture psychological processes. It also suggests that, on average, immigrant minorities are capable of flexibly regulating their psychological responses to fit the immediate cultural context. Frame-switching studies, however, are neither informative of the process of acquisition of new psychological responses, nor of individual differences in the ability to adapt the psychological processes to the cultural context.

Research on Bicultural Identity Integration has advanced our understanding of individual differences in frame-switching (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005). Whereas individuals high on the Bicultural Identity Integration scale (BII), assimilated to the salient majority culture context, individuals low on BII responded with heritage culture responses when primed with the majority culture. Low BII individuals experience conflict between their cultures, and contrastive priming can be understood as a way of protecting the heritage culture identity when it is perceived to be challenged by the majority culture.

However, it is not known whether frame-switching is the norm in immigrant minorities. In early work, LaFromboise et al. (1993) suggested several different ways in which biculturals could manage the 'cultural competencies' of their different cultures. One of which was alternation, for which 'frame-switching' studies provide evidence. But another was 'fusion', meaning that new psychological tendencies emerge that integrate elements from both cultures. Research on bilingualism finds that first-language competencies may shape second-language competencies, and conversely, that acquisition of a second language may change one's sensibilities in the native language (Pavlenko, 2014; Dewaele, 2010). Analoguously, the psychological effects of living in the majority culture may depend on earlier learning in the first or native culture. At this point, our insights into these processes are extremely limited.

What are the underlying processes?

Very little is known about the processes linking cultural exposure with changes in either implicit or explicit cultural affiliation; neither do we have information about the processes linking these acculturative changes to immigrant minorities' wellbeing. Sure enough, the term 'acculturation process' has been used in the literature, but it refers to either the correlation between certain antecedents and acculturative changes, or between acculturative changes and wellbeing. As an example of the former, several studies have shown *that* there is 'intergenerational transmission' of perceived discrimination, cultural identity and values, such that parents and children are similar in these domains (Phalet & Schönpflug, 2001). While the finding of similarity between parents and children is indeed suggestive of intergenerational transmission, the process itself has hardly been specified.

Studying these processes would mean studying the different ways in which minorities' cultural affiliations, both explicit and implicit, change through minority engagement in the majority culture. Several mechanisms may be involved. First, immigrant minorities are likely to imitate majority responses (and vice versa); majority responses would thus serve as models. Modeling is an important process of infant and child learning (e.g., Eisenberg, Cumberland, & Spinrad, 1998); it is also thought to play a prominent role in cultural learning (Boyd & Richerson, 1996; Caldwell & Millen, 2009; Tomasello, Kruger, & Ratner, 1993). One question would be under what conditions immigrant minorities imitate the behavior of majorities, given that imitation is a selective process that is most likely to be operative when there is a connection between individuals (Hatfield, Cacioppo, & Rapson, 1994; Lakin, Chartrand, & Arkin, 2008).

A second type of mechanisms involve learning from the perceived consequences of behavior. It is possible that immigrant minorities learn from experience, or from observing other people (sometimes referred to as 'emulation', Tomasello, 2010), what types of feelings, thoughts, and acts are rewarding in a given cultural context. The reward may consist of social

approval and friendship, of being taken seriously and having job success, and of being able to convey your needs and navigate cultural institutions. In all those cases, having experienced, first or second hand, how to behave in ways that work within the context may lead to psychological changes. Immigrant minorities must have had the experience (even the vicarious experience) of a behavior being rewarded, to adopt it. And, in the case of observational learning, they must see majority experiences as relevant to themselves. It is possible that, in less inclusive environments, immigrant minority individuals do not believe that acting like the majority will get them similar rewards (and they may be right), in which case emulation is less effective in bringing about psychological change.

Third, communication between immigrant minorities and majorities may lead to psychological change, if it leads to the intercultural negotiation and convergence of meaning making, a process described in psycholinguistic work on the convergence of meaning (e.g., Clark & Wilkes-Gibbs, 1986). During interactions, immigrant minority and majority individuals will come to shared understandings of their social environment, by finding a mutually recognizable interpretation of the world. Again, very little is known about the processes by which this happens.

Future research should study the processes of modeling, experience-based and observational learning, and the convergence of meaning. Insight into the mechanisms involved should provide insight into the dynamic and temporal unfolding of acculturation, but it will also inform interventions that may help the millions of immigrant minorities have a good life in their cultures of settlement.

Context is everything

The cultural psychological approach ties in with work by other acculturation researchers (e.g. Bourhis et al., 1997; Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Phalet & Kosiç, 2006) that shows how cultural context shapes acculturation. For instance, biculturalism or integration attitudes are

more likely to develop in contexts that are welcoming, but segregation is more common when minorities live a life of discrimination and exclusion. Perhaps more unique to the cultural psychology perspective is the finding that the most *adaptive* psychological responses differ by context. Whereas bicultural identity is adaptive when the majority favors cultural pluralism (Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013), segregation and assimilation seem to be more beneficial when the majority context is reticent about diversity, possibly because these latter strategies protect minorities against majority rejection (Baysu et al., 2011). Minority acculturation strategies are most beneficial when they fit the expectations and affordances of the majority cultural context.

Research on the role of the larger sociocultural context in *implicit* acculturation is scarce; the exception is research on the role of BII in frame-switching, which involves fully bicultural individuals. Once biculturals have acquired cultural competencies in both cultures, a hostile or hierarchical intergroup climate appears to increase the likelihood that biculturals are contrastive in response to being cued by the majority context. We know much less about the influence a hostile or hierarchical intergroup climate has on the process of acculturation itself; that is, the process towards being fully competent in two cultures. It is possible that hostile or hierarchical intergroup climates slow down the changes in implicit affiliation with the majority culture, or prevent them from happening altogether. In a similar way, we lack knowledge about the consequences of implicit acculturation to wellbeing, and on the role of context therein. It is conceivable, for instance, that identification or emotional acculturation are only beneficial when the context is inclusive to begin with: Some degree of acceptance may be necessary before emotional similarity can make a difference in interethnic interaction.

Future research on acculturation should also take into account that many of the contexts that we encounter are multicultural. Immigrant minorities are likely to interact with people from different ethnic backgrounds within the same setting (Doucerain et al., 2013) and to speak

different languages (Dewaele, 2010). The majority culture may not always be the standard of acculturation, as increasingly many immigrant minorities live in 'superdiverse' environments (Meissner & Vertovec, 2015).

Acculturation research informs cultural psychology

Importantly, we found that acculturation is situated: The extent to which immigrant minorities adopt majority psychological tendencies varies across situational contexts. Both explicit and implicit cultural affiliation have been found to differ by cultural setting. Differences in acculturation strategies were found for private vs. public settings (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003); and emotional acculturation differed between (heritage culture) home and (majority culture) work settings (De Leersnyder et al., 2015). Cultural frame-switching or alternating could be observed for different contexts, but we know it can also be cued also by the language of interaction or the current interaction partner (Dewaele, 2010; Pavlenko, 2014).

The situated nature of acculturation may be taken as a model for cultural psychology to think about feelings, cognition, and action *generally*. It is possible that each of us flexibly moves between different settings, such as home, work, friends. We may all learn situation-specific traits, selves, emotions, thoughts, and acts (Mesquita, Barrett, & Smith, 2010; Coşkan, Phalet, Güngör, & Mesquita, 2016), and our psychological responses may always be prompted in response to situational cues, and fit the demands of the specific context. Frames of meaning vary (if only slightly) between one situation and the next, even within a culture; but this is all the more true for people who move between cultures.

Figure 1

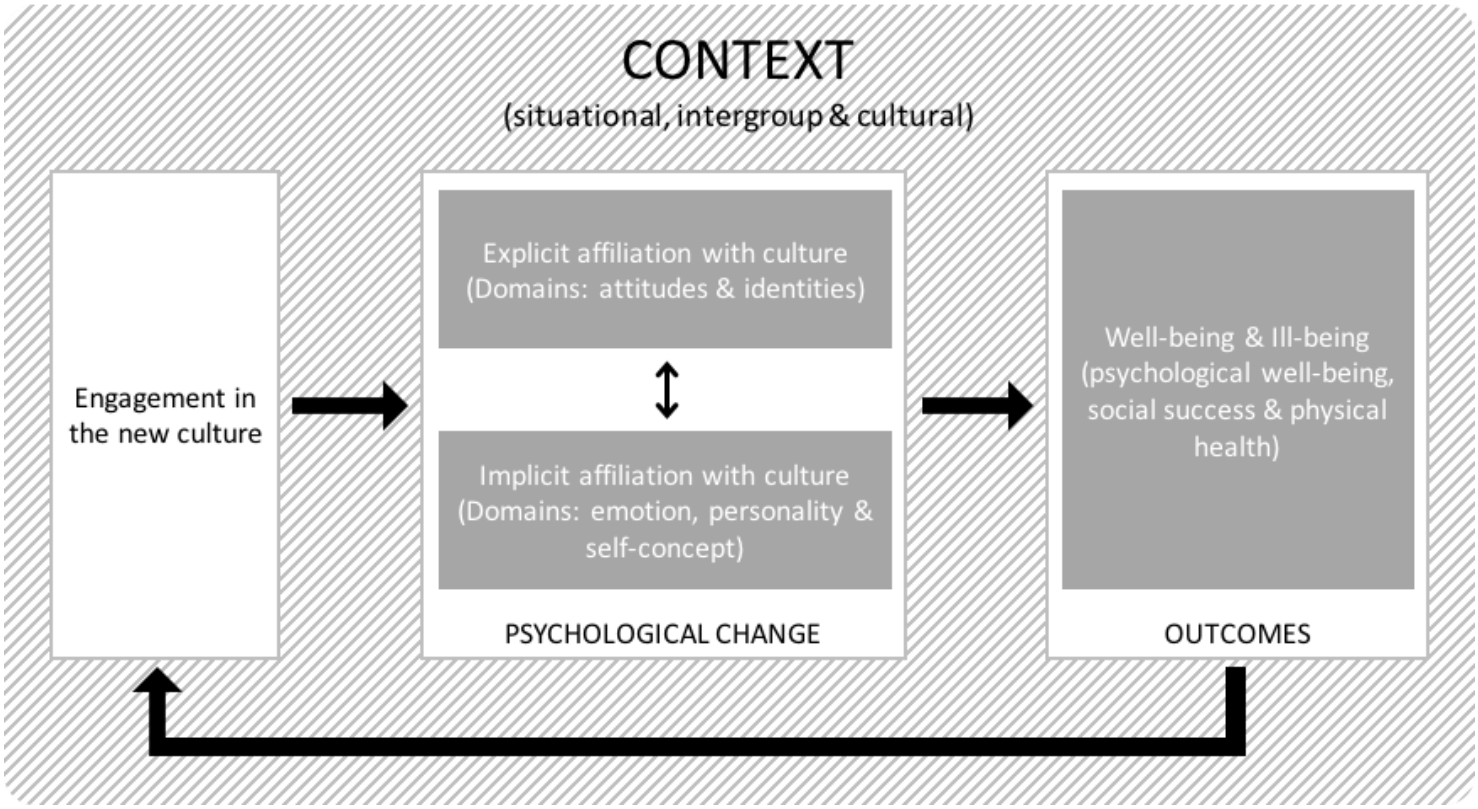

CONTEXT
(situational, intergroup & cultural)
Engagement in the new culture
Explicit affiliation with culture (Domains: attitudes & identities)
Implicit affiliation with culture (Domains: emotion, personality & self-concept)
PSYCHOLOGICAL CHANGE
Well-being & Ill-being (psychological well-being, social success & physical health)
OUTCOMES

Figure 2. Example of an emotional profile reported in a negative disengaged situation

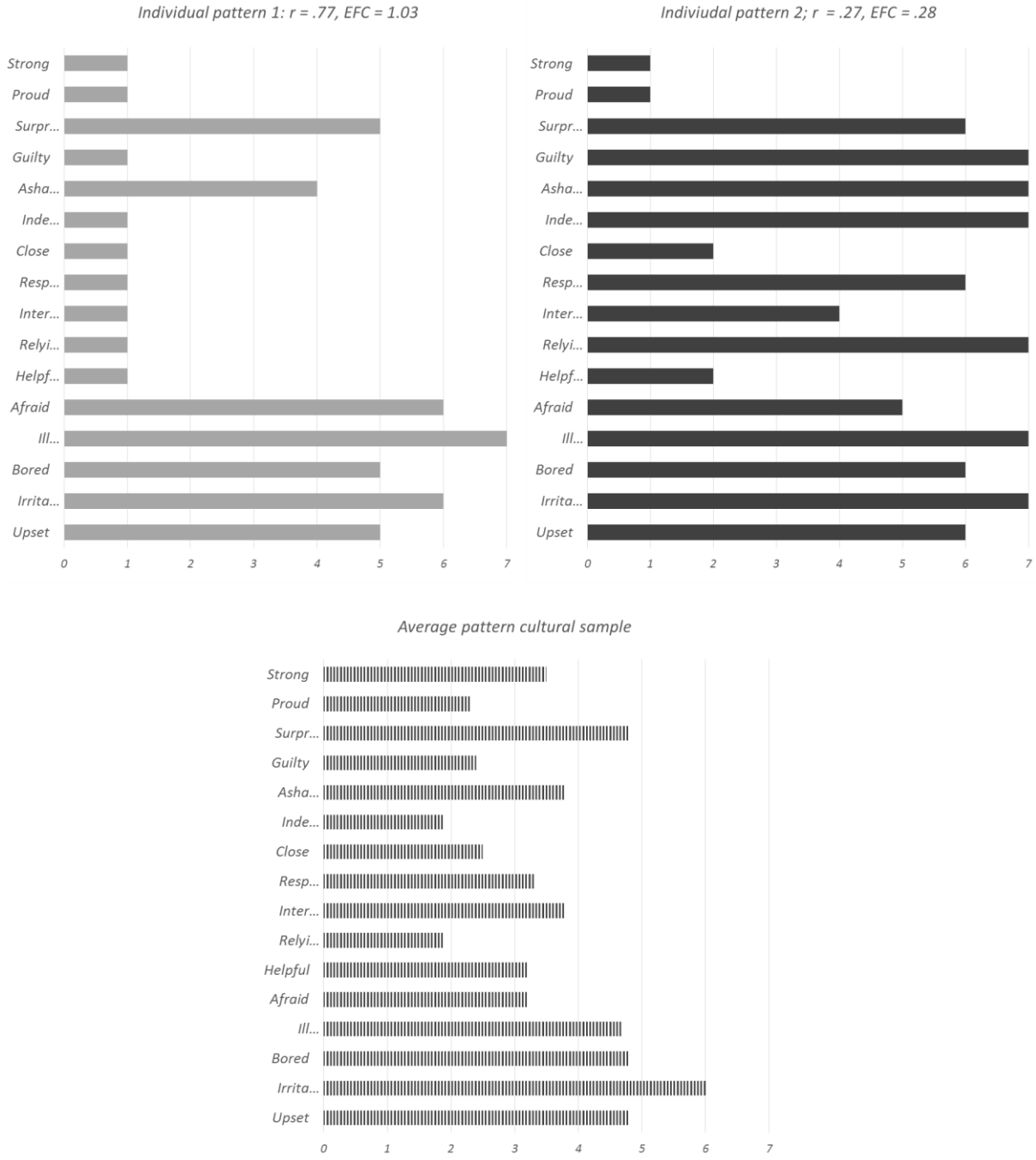
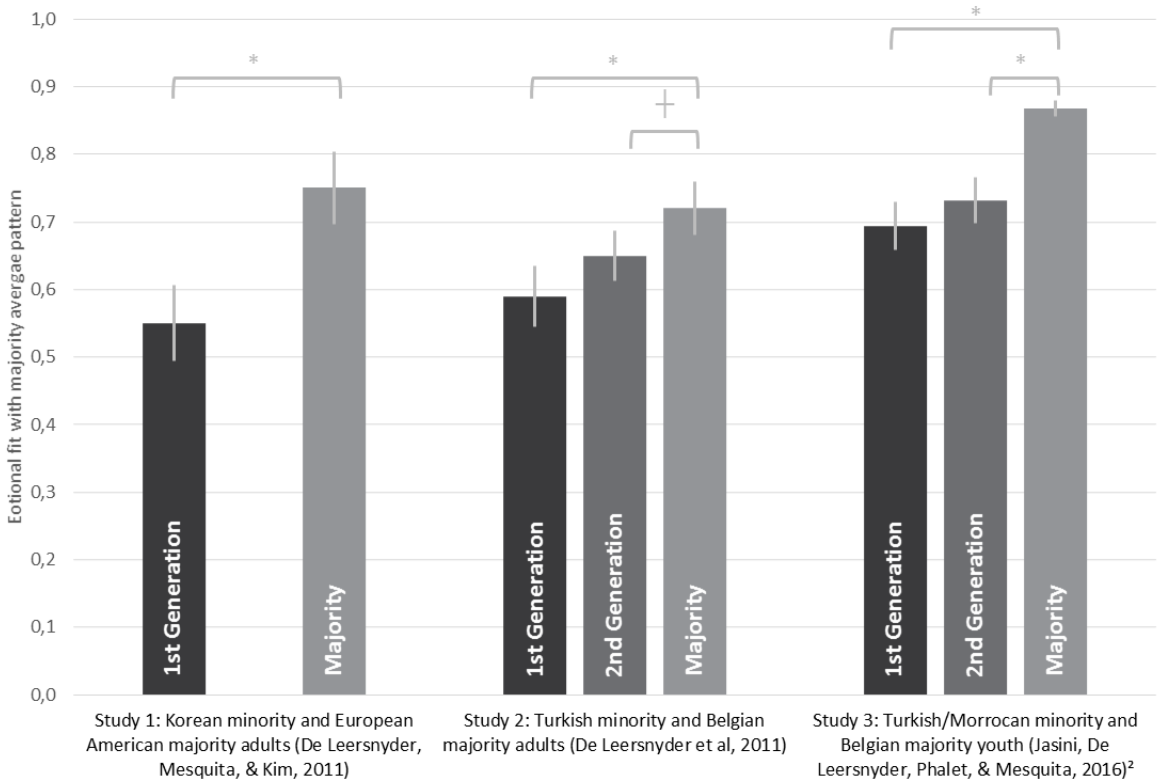


Figure 3. Group differences in emotional fit to the average majority member



Note: * $p \leq .05$, + $\leq .10$.

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