CULTURE, SELF–UNDERSTANDING AND THE BICULTURAL MIND

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Dedicated to Charilaos and the bicultural children of the first study.

Chapter 1

Introduction and overview

1.1 Prologue: Motivation

-"*You look awful today*", whispered Esmeralda to Petra , a colleague whom she was hoping to befriend, upon arriving at her workplace, a large international IT company in Amsterdam, "*You must not have slept well*".

-"*Oh no, no I am fine*", answered Petra, clearly irritated by this remark.

"*I found her reaction very much unfriendly and distant. I would never have expected that she would react like that, I thought we were somehow closer together*", is what Esmeralda later relates about this episode.

Esmeralda comes from Spain and it follows from her Spanish cultural experience that making a very personal remark to someone she considers close to her, displays a positive and caring attitude that actually helps in establishing friendships. For someone like Petra, with a Dutch cultural background, such a comment is easily understood in a negative way or even (mis)interpreted as a form of veiled criticism on irresponsible behavior. Indeed, looking very tired, possibly implying that you did not go to bed on time even though you have to work the next day, is certainly not valued in a Dutch working environment. A comment phrased negatively - but meant positively - certainly comes across as confusing to a Dutch person and clashes with the valued concepts of directness and clarity.

In this simple everyday example, both Esmeralda and Petra, each using their own cultural knowledge, make different attributions regarding the other's behavior. Differences in culture often hinder communication and result in misunderstandings, ranging from innocent incidents between individuals, to appalling wars between nations or ethnic groups. These differences, historically rooted, but also influenced by contemporary factors, may be subtle, and some are more central or basic than others. The scientific study of the ways in which social and cultural factors shape human behavior is the domain of cross-cultural psychology. Findings from cross-cultural studies are of interest to the field of psychology as they provide empirical evidence that cultural context influences behavior, affect and cognition. The amount of empirical evidence has grown impressively and is remarkably consistent across many cross-cultures studies (see Oyserman, Coon, & Kemelmeier, 2002, for a review of the literature). Interest in cross-cultural comparative research has grown substantially over the last thirty to forty years. This is, for example, reflected in the increasing number of papers in various psychological Journals including the Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology and in psychology textbooks (Lonner, Smith, van de Vijver & Murdock, 2010).

1.2 Overall goals

Research in cross-cultural psychology aims at studying and comparing how cultural context influences the ways people think, feel and behave, whether at the level of society, groups or individuals. The critical goal is to investigate whether, and to what extent, culture influences psychological functioning. To this end, a wide range

of psychological domains can be examined using different theoretical and methodological perspectives.

1.3 Questions

To understand the impact of culture, questions such as the following are addressed in cross-cultural research: Do individuals in one society make sense of themselves and their lives in different ways than individuals in other societies? Are there aspects of self-understanding specifically emphasized in one cultural context, but not in the other, and, if so, how can these differences be related to psychological well-being? Are certain values more important in the one compared to the other cultural context? Do people from different cultures differ in the ways they reason about social behavior? How do individuals experience their own culture in our rapidly globalizing world? How do individuals enculturated in two cultures deal with different and even conflicting cultural meanings? How does a bicultural mind guide cognition and behavior?

In the present dissertation we investigate and compare the Dutch and the Greek culture on certain psychological domains at the level of (i) between cultures, (ii) within cultures and (iii) within individuals. In order to explain my central aims and how this work contributes to the existing literature, I will first briefly discuss the main theoretical and methodological approaches concerned with cultural influence.

1.4 Theoretical framework

Cross-cultural psychology

Cross-cultural psychologists draw attention to the different ways in which culture influences human thought and behavior and argue that cultural contexts should be considered in psychological theories. They posit that human behavior is only properly understood in its socio-cultural context (see Segall, Dasen, Berry and Poortinga, 1990). In this sense, they argue that the validity of many psychological theories, which are mainly based on the mainstream cultures of North America and Western Europe, should be tested and possibly challenged. There is, however, a variety of views, and concomitant debates, on how to approach research on culture.

One view is that psychological outcomes should be examined through the lens of each culture's historical background and every-day practises (Miller, 2002). The core concern is to get insight into the cultural grounding of psychological processes and it is argued that this can be done only by studying the specific ecological and cultural context. Research should therefore focus on the culture-bound views, as shown for example in the literature on causal reasoning (Choi, Nisbett & Norenzayan, 1999; Miller, 1984; Morris & Peng, 1994). A strong point of this approach is that meanings of concepts are culturally grounded, such as the notion of filial piety or friendship (Argyle, Henderson, Bond, Iizuka & Contarello, 1986; Ho, 1996; Rodriguez Mos-

quera, Manstead & Fischer, 2002; Sheets & Lugar, 2005; Triandis, 1990; Verkuyten & Masson, 1996). Miller (2002) argues, furthermore, that such a culturally focused approach does not exclude a cross-cultural generality of findings. Psychological phenomena may take different forms in different cultures, but they share similar functions, such as duty-oriented behavior (Ho, 1996; Miller, 1994).

Another view is to investigate and compare cultures by employing the so-called cultural dimensions. These dimensions facilitate cross-cultural comparisons that can provide empirical evidence for the influence of culture and can identify general cultural models that could be adapted to particular cultural contexts and therefore enable prediction of variation in psychological outcomes. Such dimensions are for example, power distance, which measures the extent to which people accept authority and status (Hofstede, 1980), and masculinism versus feminism, which predicts perceptions and behavior on the basis of gender stereotyping (Deaux, Lewis, 1984). Moreover, the notion of honor is also used to predict attitudinal responses (Cohen & Nisbett, 1994) and is, in addition, associated with the individualism and collectivism dimension (Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2002).

The latter dimension - individualism versus collectivism – has become the most prominent one for making predictions across societies, cultures and groups. The review by Oyserman, Coon and Kemelmeier (2002) offers a comprehensive overview of the extensive literature and the related theoretical assumptions. Individualism has its roots in norms and beliefs that historically were developed in Europe and North America (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005; Lukes, 2006; Weber, 1930), such as civic emancipation, appreciation for individual rights, personal choice and freedom. As a psychological measure it was first properly established by Hofstede's (1980) landmark multinational study. He used it, along with three other dimensions (power distance, uncertainty avoidance and masculinity versus femininity), to differentiate and contrast systems of values, thought, affect and behavior across more than fifty nations. Hofstede assessed individualism by analysing and clustering work-related goals such as personal time, freedom of choice, and security and hierarchy values. Although the exact way he implemented and measured this dimension enjoys only limited follow-up, individualism-collectivism itself, elaborated on and advanced by other well-known voices in the field (Bond 2002; Fiske, 2002; Kagitcibasi 1997; Markus and Kitayama 1991; Triandis 1972, 1989, 1995), has become the most frequently used dimension and has enabled prediction of psychological outcomes in diverse cultural contexts (Hofstede 1980; Inglehart & Baker 2000; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987; Triandis, 1989, 1995). The individualism versus collectivism based predictions have shown consistent findings over a wide range of domains, such as self-perceptions, values, attitudes and cognitive style (Oyserman et al., 2002), a fact that increases our confidence in the validity and usefulness of this dimension.

However, it should be clear that the individualism-collectivism dimension, although the one most prominently used in research on cultural influences, is neither the only one nor without its criticism. Even within the individualism-collectivism tradition theorists do not always agree that this dimension can adequately describe the ways in which cultures differ. Some of these researchers have proposed addi-

tional dimensions to better capture cultural variations. Triandis (1996, 1989), for example, has suggested horizontal (egalitarian) versus vertical (hierarchical) relationships for cross cultures variation, the tightness-looseness of norms, and cultural complexity to conceptualize within culture variation. Kagitcibasi (2005) argues for a distinction between agency and interpersonal distance for further elucidating the typical distinction of autonomy and relatedness resulting from the individualism-collectivism dimension. Others, like, Nisbett (2003), propose more socio-historical based and process-oriented (analytic vs. holistic) dimensions to study modes of thinking and provide further insight into how culture matters.

In addition, the dominant use of the individualism-collectivism dimension has sparked debate and criticism as it overshadows the specific socio-historical context and socialization practises that account for the emic meanings certain concepts acquire. These factors should deserve more attention (Bond, 2002; Fiske, 2002; Kitayama, 2002; Miller, 2002). It is also recognized that insufficient attention has been paid to other dimensions of culture (e.g. power distance, Oyserman et al., 2002).

Despite these limitations, individualism-collectivism has provided a useful framework for investigating a wide range of psychological domains such as self-concept, endorsement of values and attribution style. A quantitative review of the existing literature (Oyserman et al., 2002) has shown that this framework is able to systematically predict and robustly replicable cross-culture differences in these domains. An example pertinent to our studies is that a more individualist perspective of the self-concept is associated with valuing personal autonomy, while a more collectivist perspective is connected with maintaining relationships and interdependence (Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

Levels of research

The role and impact of culture can be investigated at three different levels: (i) between countries or cultural groups, (ii) within cultures and (iii) within individuals.

(i) As far as research between cultures is concerned, individualism and collectivism as contrasting orientations are often used to characterise societies as a whole. Although this approach tends to obscure within-culture differences, it nevertheless provides a framework on how culture influences cognition, affect and behavior, and helps to model cultural comparisons. It highlights particular aspects of constructs, namely those accentuated in one culture or another, and can therefore mark the distinctive differences between cultures. Social institutions, daily routines, interpersonal discourses and practices, (e.g. parental practices, Kagitsibasi, 1996; Kitayama, 2002), determine which aspects are more frequently emphasized and thus more chronically accessible within a culture. Cultures thus differ primarily in the likelihood that certain aspects are endorsed.

(ii) Cultural knowledge is to a great extent shared, which, however, does not mean that all individuals or groups within a society homogenously endorse the same norms, values, worldviews and traditions. Economic developments, for example, are often associated with a shift from absolute norms to more secular and

individualist oriented ones, although the influence of cultural heritage should not be underestimated (Inglehart & Baker, 2000). In societies traditionally considered as 'collectivist' but currently in transition, considerable segments of the population may adopt individualist orientations, yet also maintain local cultural orientations. In this case, heterogeneity, or variance in, for example, self-perceptions or the endorsement of certain values may partition the population into sub-groups (Baron & Kenny, 1986; Frazier, Tix & Baron, 2004). In addition, it is important, in particular for cultures in transition, to investigate cultural continuity between generations: In how far is the understanding of certain concepts maintained or changed across generations? Finally, at the within culture level, one can also study differences between individuals, for example, by measuring personal collectivism (allocentrism) or personal individualism (idiocentrism) (Triandis 1989; Triandis, McCusker & Hui, 1990).

(iii) The idea that contrasting orientations, be they individualism and collectivism, or any other polar dimensions, may not only exist in societies but also within individuals, demands consideration and suggests new research directions (Oyserman et al., 2002). For example, the premise that bicultural individuals possess dual cultural systems which, dependent on cues in the environment, enable them to alter their behavior appropriately to either culture (La Fromboise, Coleman & Gerton, 1993, has raised the question how and why, or under which conditions, behavior is shifted. As the number of bicultural individuals is substantive and only expected to increase in coming years, such questions have also become timely. Principles derived from cognitive psychology, such as cognitive accessibility of constructs and contextual salience (Higgins, 1996; Hong, Benet-Martínez, Chiu & Morris, 2003), are used to design experiments in order to get insight in how bicultural individuals organize and process cultural knowledge. Consequently, studies on biculturalism enjoy growing interest.

In this thesis, the influence of culture is investigated (i) between cultures by comparing the Netherlands and Greece, (ii) within culture, with the focus being on the Greek context, and, (iii) within individuals in the form of Dutch-Greek biculturalism. The choice of the two cultures is appropriate as the Netherlands is a highly individualist society, while Greece is traditionally considered a collectivist one (Hofstede 1980). So, there are significant differences to be expected between the two. The choice is also timely, as Greece is currently undergoing a transition, and thus presents an appropriate context to study cultural changes (Georgas, 1989; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005).

1.5 Present thesis

The present dissertation presents two main lines of inquiry. The first is aimed at advancing research on biculturalism. The second is concerned with self-perception at the within and the between cultural level. Both research lines contribute to the existing literature by posing new questions and refining earlier approaches. Before presenting a more detailed overview of the thesis, I will discuss the theoreti-

cal framework associated with the studies on biculturalism and on self-concept and well-being.

Biculturalism and the cultural frame switching hypothesis

Present-day social mobility can only be expected to increase the number of individuals having more than one cultural origin. This holds especially within the territory of the European Union, where free movement is facilitated by legislation affecting four hundred million people. There are for example, half a million married couples in the Netherlands alone of whom one or both of the partners were born in another country. Their children, often bilingual, are typically socialized and enculturated in both parental cultures. Another significant group of individuals may be born in one culture, but subsequently raised in a second, following migration. To set the scale for our present investigation, as of 2009 the Netherlands counted a little over seven thousand Greek nationals as residents (Statistical data available on www.cbs.nl).

A central premise of the research on biculturalism is the dynamic constructive approach to culture and cognition as proposed by Hong, Morris, Chiu and Benet-Martínez (2000). In this approach, culture is not supposed to be organized as a single integrated structure, but rather as networks of domain specific categories, representing mental modules and implicit social theories. The second key assumption is that individuals are able to acquire dual cultural meaning systems (LaFromboise, et al., 1993) even if these contain conflicting elements, but that these systems do not simultaneously guide thought. Each time, dependent on the cultural context, specific information that fits this context will be activated to produce culture consistent responses. Hong et al. (2000) have coined the term cultural frame switching to denote this shifting ability of the bicultural mind.

The central issue in these studies is whether, and to what extent, cultural frame switching takes place. The first experiments on the mechanism of frame switching, involving Hong Kong bicultural students that were randomly assigned to a Chinese or an American culture condition, reported differences in attribution (Hong et al., 2000). Later experiments have examined cultural shifting effects in relation to spontaneous self-descriptions (Ross, Xun & Wilson, 2002), behavioral (e.g. being cooperative or competitive) scripts (Wong & Hong, 2005), and the degree to which bicultural identities are seen as oppositional or compatible (Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002; Haritatos & Benet-Martínez, 2002). All these experiments have used bicultural participants with a Chinese background and made specific cultural frames active by using either typical cultural symbols (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002; Hong et al., 2000; Wong & Hong, 2005) or language (Ross et al., 2002).

Research on biculturalism inevitably involves two different cultures. For testing the cultural frame switching hypothesis among Dutch-Greek bicultural individuals we, first of all, should identify domains that differ significantly in the two cultures. These differences are predicted by the individualism-collectivism dimension as the Netherlands is a typical individualist society and Greece a relatively collectivist one.

The shifting ability of the biculturals is qualified by the response patterns of mono-cultural participants in the Netherlands and Greece.

The present thesis increases our insight in the cultural frame switching hypothesis as follows: Firstly, by extending the investigation to not previously investigated psychological domains. Does cultural frame switching also occur for personal and social self-evaluations, self stereotypes, value endorsement, and explanations of social behavior? In addition, we discuss the social identification perspective (Turner et al., 1987) next to the cultural frame switching. Secondly, by examining cultural frame switching at the level of culture specific networks of associations. Do Dutch-Greek bicultural individuals, under either the Greek or the Dutch culture condition, produce different associations and, in a prime consistent manner?

In this study we also introduce novelties to the methodology used to model experiments on biculturalism. Firstly, by using new samples and including different age-groups. The targeted cultures were not the usual Asian versus the American ones, but a North European (the Netherlands) versus a South European country (Greece). In addition, the samples are not composed of students, but rather of early adolescents and adults. Secondly, by explicitly employing control conditions consisting of results obtained on the two mono-cultural groups. Research conducted in the Netherlands and Greece among mono-cultural individuals provided the culture-specific patterns required to interpret the responses of the bicultural participants. Thirdly, by applying strong criteria to the selection procedure of the bicultural individuals. We required high bilingual competence, a criterion that proved to be a selective requirement, especially for the children of Greek descent who live in the Netherlands. Cultural frame activation could then be reliably based on both language (Krauss & Chiu, 1998) and cultural symbols (e.g., Hong et al., 2000; 2003). Fourthly, both, level oriented techniques for testing switching in the importance assigned to targeted concepts, and structure oriented techniques for testing switching in culture-specific networks of meaning were considered.

The self and well-being

The second line of inquiry concerns the impact of culture on the self and links to a more general debate on how culture may evolve in our present-day globalising world. Greece was traditionally considered a collectivistic culture, albeit currently undergoing a transitional process of individualization and modernization (Hofstede 1980; Georgas, 1989; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). It has been argued that economic development goes hand in hand with the adoption of more individualistic orientations, although strongly grounded traditions remain important (Inglehart & Baker, 2000). Although modernization processes influence various domains and aspects of life, this does not necessarily imply that all sections of a population react in a similar manner.

This line of inquiry improves on existing research, firstly, by comparing self-understandings in a typical individualist culture (the Netherlands) and a collectivist culture in transition (Greece), and by studying how these self-understandings are

associated with key indicators of psychological functioning. Do self-perceptions in the changing Greek society point to a more individualist perspective? But, most critically, do present-day personal and collective self evaluations reproduce the familiar patterns for an individualist and collectivist context? Two studies address this issue and their findings contribute to the theoretical framework that predicts well-being in different cultural settings.

Secondly, by examining cultural continuity of the social self between two distinct generations in these two cultures. The main question addressed is how people in the two cultures understand their social self. Relatively collectivist cultures are more 'we' oriented than individualist cultures, but that of course does not mean that a 'we' feeling does not exist in the latter cultures. Although the frequency of the social self representations is culture-relative, their ubiquity underscores the universal significance of living with and being connected to others. But what exactly is the content of a 'we' feeling in the two cultures? How do members in the two societies experience their social self and what are the patterns of their representations of it? Furthermore, are these cognitive patterns identical among early adolescent and adults in each culture? These two comparative inter-generational studies contribute to the existing literature on cultural continuity in relation to social self-understanding.

Summary of aims:

In conclusion, the present thesis contributes to the existing literature related to:

1. The cognitive process of the bicultural mind. Dutch-Greek biculturalism is examined in the domains of self-perceptions, values, social attributions, and in networks of associations.

2. The impact of culture on the personal and social self-understanding and how these self-understandings are related to positive psychological functioning in the two cultures, with the focus being on the changing Greek society.

1.6 Overview of the present Dissertation

In Chapter 2 the Cultural Frame Switching hypothesis is examined among bicultural early-adolescents of Greek origin living in the Netherlands in relation to social attributions, self-evaluations and endorsement of values. Findings, qualified by the responses among mono-cultural control groups in the Netherlands and Greece, provide support to the hypothesis.

In Chapter 3 Cultural Frame Switching is tested among adult bicultural participants of Greek origin living in the Netherlands and in relation to self-evaluation, self stereotyping and endorsement of values. Findings provide additional support to the Cultural Frame Switching theory. The group identification perspective is also discussed as a mediator in linking cultural frames to perceptions.

In Chapter 4 Dutch-Greek biculturalism is examined at the level of cultural networks of associations. Priming and control conditions are consistently the same with the previous experiments. This approach offers a more subtle understanding of how culture informs meanings of concepts and how the bicultural mind navigate within culturally bound networks of meanings.

In Chapter 5 attention is drawn to present-day self-perceptions and their role in psychological well-being in the two countries. Two studies are involved. In Study 1, personal-and-collective self evaluation are shown to undergo important changes with consequences for well-being in the modernizing Greek society. In Study 2, the role of individualism-collectivism in these changes and at the individual level is discussed.

In Chapter 6 cultural continuity with respect to social self-understandings in the two counties is examined. Spontaneous self representations among middle-aged adult and early adolescent participants are compared. The focus is on the importance and the cognitive mode of the relational self. Similarities and differences are discussed.

In Chapter 7 a summary and discussion of the main findings of my research is presented. In addition, limitations of the research and directions for future studies are discussed.

Notes to the reader

The experiments on biculturalism presented in Chapters 2 and 3 were based on typical differences between individualist and collectivist cultures, revisited in the context of the Dutch and the Greek culture. In Chapter 4 we discuss Dutch-Greek biculturalism based on more culture-specific associations. In Chapters 5 and 6 we attempt to obtain an even more detailed insight into the two cultures. In this sense, the chapters are not just in a chronological order, but also represent a progression towards a more focused and subtle insight into the two cultures. All chapters can, however, be read independently. As a consequence, unavoidably some overlaps occur, mainly between the introductory parts, of the various chapters.

In the literature different terms such as social self and collective self are used for indicated people's 'we-feelings'. The term 'social self' is more common in Europe and in the social identity perspective, whereas the term 'collective self' is more often used in the North American context. In this thesis both terms are used. However, in the research conducted (Chapters 2, 3, 5, and 6), personal and social self were consistently measured by asking participants to indicate their evaluative reactions towards the words 'I' and 'we', respectively. In Chapter 6, a more detailed investigation is undertaken to identify the exact meaning of this 'we' feeling in the Netherlands and Greece and a distinction between three levels is made: the relational self, the communal self, and the 'collective self'. In Chapter 3 and 5, 'We', is referred to as 'collective self' which, in fact corresponds to the overall social self of Chapter, 6 (and Chapter 2).

Chapter 2

Biculturalism among older children: Cultural frame switching, attributions, self-identification and attitudes

This study examines cultural frame-switching among bicultural Greek children between the ages of nine to twelve living in the Netherlands. By means of experimentally primed bicultural children and the use of mono-cultural comparison groups in the Netherlands and Greece, it was demonstrated that social explanations, self-identification and attitudes towards family integrity and obedience were affected by cultural identity salience. Compared to Dutch identity salience, activating Greek identity especially led to more external attributions, stronger identification with friends, a more positive evaluation of social identity and a less positive evaluation of personal identity. Similar tendencies were found for the attitude measures. Additionally, similar differences were found when comparing mono-cultural Dutch and mono-cultural Greek children. It is concluded that this kind of experimental study and its results help to improve our understanding of the experiences of bicultural individuals and the way culture influences people's lives.

This chapter was published in the Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology 36, 596-609, (2002). (Together with M. Verkuyten)

2.1 Introduction

In their review of the literature on the psychological impact of biculturalism, LaFromboise, Coleman and Gerton (1993) discuss different models, such as acculturation, assimilation and fusion models. Each of these models has its own assumptions about the changes and processes involved in biculturalism. LaFromboise et al. (1993) emphasize the alternation model which assumes that an individual is able to understand two cultural frameworks and will alter his or her perception and behavior depending on the circumstances. However, little is known about the reason why and how people shift between these frameworks, or about the consequences.

Hong, Morris, Chiu and Benet-Martínez (2000) present a dynamic constructivist approach to understanding, what they call, frame-switching in bicultural individuals. A first premise of the model is that culture is not internalized in the form of an integrated structure but rather as domain-specific knowledge, such as implicit social theories. Furthermore, individuals are thought to be able to acquire more than one cultural frame even if these contain conflicting elements. However, these frames are not thought to guide thinking simultaneously. Cognitive accessibility of constructs and contextual salience are the concepts used to explain how different cultural knowledge becomes operative in particular situations. In their experimental research, Hong et al. (2000) examined cultural frame-switching in response to contextual cues that make different ethnocultural identities salient. Particularly, when using attribution tasks, they found that Westernized Chinese students in Hong Kong were more likely to give situational explanations when their Chinese identity was activated than when an American cultural priming condition was. The same results were found among Chinese American students in California. Their findings indicate that cultural frame-switching occurs in response to contextual cues that make different cultural identities salient. When a given cultural identity is salient, beliefs, theories and standards that define the salient identity govern people's thinking and acting.

The research by Hong et al. (2000) is concerned with attribution processes among university and college students and focuses on bicultural individuals only. The present experimental questionnaire study examines cultural frame switching among older children (9-12 years old) and focuses on social explanations, self-identification and the endorsement of cultural values. In addition, bicultural Greek children who have immigrated to the Netherlands are compared to mono-cultural Dutch children and to mono-cultural Greek children in Greece.

Miller (1984) asked American and Indian participants of various ages to explain the behavior of an acquaintance witnessed in everyday life. She found that explanations of eight-year-old and eleven-year-old children in the two cultures alike, stressed contextual factors. In addition, with age, Americans were increasingly seen to focus on internal explanations whereas Indians gave more external situational explanations. These results suggest that dispositional explanations and person-centered theories are acquired with age, and are not evident among children. However, Miller

(1984) was not concerned with bicultural children and focused only on social explanations. Furthermore, her findings do not necessarily indicate similar processes of attribution in both cultures (see Morris & Peng, 1994).

Other research has shown that identity activation influences children's perceptions and behavior (e.g. Verkuyten & Thijs, 2001). Ambady, Shih, Kin and Pittinsky (2001), for example, examined the performance of Asian-American children in a math test as a function of ethnic and gender identity salience. They found that in children as young as five the performance was affected by identity salience. Asian-American girls (respectively, boys) performed significantly worse (respectively, better) than a control group when their gender identity was activated. However, they all performed significantly better when their Asian identity was activated. Thus, depending on the salient identity, cultural stereotypes associated with gender and ethnicity affected the children's behavior.

The present study examines cultural frame-switching among bicultural children of Greek descent living in the Netherlands. Greek culture has been found to be more collectivist than the Dutch one (Hofstede, 1980, 1991; Triandis et al., 1986). Traditionally, in Greece, there is a relatively stronger emphasis on collectivist values than in the Netherlands. Although over the years extensive individualization of Greek society has taken place (Georgas, 1989), important differences remain. This is especially evident in relation to extended family life and family values (Georgas, Berry, Shaw, Christakopoulou & Mylonas 1996; Georgas et al., 1997). Furthermore, compared to adolescents and students who increasingly adopt individualistic views, Greek children are thought to be more influenced by traditional values.

Cultural frame-switching was examined in relation to phenomena that in cross-cultural comparative research have been found to be affected by the cultural context. Hence, we examined whether cross-cultural differences could be replicated on the level of bicultural individuals (see Hong et al., 2000). First of all, we focused on explanations of social behavior. A growing number of studies have identified the role of culture in attribution (e.g. Chiu, Morris, Hong & Menon, 2000; Choi, Nisbett & Norenzayan, 1999; Morris & Peng, 1994). In general, these studies show that in individualistic cultures perceivers tend to explain behavior more in terms of internal dispositions whereas in collectivist cultures more weight is given to the social context. Especially, cultural influences on attribution seem to originate from a different emphasis on the external social context (Choi et al., 1999). The present study examines situational attributions for non-human and human social events. Different kinds of social events were used as Morris and Peng (1994) argue that cultural differences due to implicit social theories (unlike differences due to scripts and stereotypes) should extend to different types of social events. Bicultural children were expected to make more situational attributions for different social events when their Greek rather than their Dutch identity was activated.

In addition, we examined biculturalism in relation to self-identification. Existing research on cross-cultural differences in conception of self is extensive (see Fiske, Kitayama, Markus & Nisbett, 1998; Markus, Kitayama & Heiman, 1996). In general, people in individualistic cultures are more likely than those in collectivist cultures

to give personal and independent self-descriptions, and they are less likely to give interdependent self-descriptions in which relatedness and the importance of close relationships are emphasized. Furthermore, in collectivist cultures, people have been found to make fewer self-enhancing statements (e.g. Heine, Lehman, Markus & Kitayama, 1999). By priming different cultural identities, this study tried to replicate these cross-cultural differences on the level of the bicultural individual. In doing so, we focused on identification with friends and on the evaluation of personal and social identity.

High in-group identification is a defining attribute of collectivism (Triandis, 1990). Identification with friends concerns the interpersonal level or that of the relational self (Brewer & Gardner, 1996), and this level is particularly important for children and adolescents (Harter, 1999). Among ethnic minority and majority youth in the Netherlands, Verkuyten and Masson (1996) found a positive association between personal collectivism (or allocentrism) and identification with friends. Hence, in the present study bicultural children were expected to consider their relationships with friends as closer whenever their Greek identity was activated rather than their Dutch identity.

Although in collectivist cultures few self-enhancing statements are made, self-evaluation motives are not necessarily absent in these cultures. Members of these cultures are more likely to evaluate their social identities favorably, whereas in individualist cultures, it is personal identities that tend to be evaluated positively (Hetts, Sakuma & Pelham, 1999; Pelham & Hetts, 1999). Furthermore, among ethnic minority groups, Hetts and colleagues have argued and found, that these tendencies are most evident for more indirect or implicit measures of self-evaluation. These measures are thought to reflect people's subconscious feelings about the self that are related to the normative beliefs and values learned in early childhood. Explicit self-evaluations are more transparent and are thought to be more dependent on current social and cultural context (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). Hence, in the present study, personal and social identity were measured indirectly. Bicultural children were expected to evaluate themselves and their group differently depending on the salient identity: Greek or Dutch. Whenever Greek identity was salient a more positive implicit evaluation of social identity was expected whereas personal identity was expected to be rated more positively whenever Dutch identity was salient.

The attitudes and values that are endorsed in collectivist and individualist cultures differ substantially. For example, in collectivist cultures values of family harmony, obedience and duty are stressed, whereas in individualist cultures more emphasis is placed on autonomy and equality. This study focuses on issues of family integrity and the importance of obedience by children to parents and elders. Family integrity and obedience are probably among the most meaningful dimension for children, and their importance has been highlighted in cross-cultural work (Kagitcibasi, 1990; Triandis, McCusker & Hui, 1990). Furthermore, in the context of acculturation processes, the family plays an important role and family integrity has been found to have important implications for both immigrant experiences and ethnic identity (Georgas et al., 1996; Lay et al., 1998). Family integrity and children's

obedience were expected to be endorsed more strongly by bicultural children when their Greek identity is activated.

When testing these predictions for cultural frame-switching among bicultural children living in the Netherlands, a group of mono-cultural Dutch children and a group of mono-cultural Greek children in Greece were included. There were two reasons for doing so, the first one being that differences in, for example, self-evaluations between Greek and Dutch identity priming conditions do not necessarily have to reflect cultural frame-switching. One alternative interpretation for a more positive social identity evaluation in the Greek condition may be that the minority position of the in-group in the Netherlands is made salient. When this happens, people may respond by emphasizing their social identity and accentuating positive in-group distinctiveness (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). A cultural interpretation is more convincing if the result for Greek identity activation among bicultural children is similar to that of Greek children in Greece, and the result for Dutch identity activation is similar to that of Dutch children. The second reason is that it can be examined whether there are indeed cultural differences between the children of both societies.

In addition to cultural differences, attention is paid to the role of gender. Triandis (1990) argues that the behavior of collectivists and women is quite similar, and so is that of individualists and men. For instance, compared to men, women are found to be more other-oriented, more intimate in friendships, more focused on relatedness and harmony, and to have lower self-evaluation (e.g. Cross & Madson, 1997; Kling, Hyde, Showers & Buswell, 1999; Verkuyten & Masson, 1996). Similar differences were hypothesized for collectivism and individualism. It can be said that cultural differences may at times resemble gender differences. However, other researchers have failed to find many parallels between culture and gender differences (e.g. Goodwin & Lee, 1994; Kashima et al., 1995). In this study we examined whether there are gender differences in social explanations, self-identification and values. Girls were expected to give more external social explanations than boys. They were also expected to identify more strongly with their friends, and endorse family integrity and the importance of obedience by children more strongly.

To summarize, in the present research cultural frame-switching among bicultural children was examined by activating either the Dutch or the Greek identity. It was expected that in the Greek condition children would make more situational attributions, would identify stronger with their friends, would evaluate their social identity more positively and their personal identity less so, and would endorse more strongly the importance of family integrity and obedience by children. In addition, similar differences were expected to be found between mono-cultural Dutch children and mono-cultural Greek children, and between boys and girls.

2.2 Method

Participants

The study was carried out among children between nine and twelve years of age. The children visited schools that have pupils from a middle class background. Included were 51 mono-cultural Dutch children and 58 mono-cultural Greek children in Greece. In addition, there were 74 children of Greek descent living in the Netherlands. This latter group consisted of bicultural children who, in addition to Dutch elementary school, went to Greek classes for a few hours a week where they learnt Greek language and culture. The majority of these children were born in the Netherlands (62%) or had lived in this country for over five years (29%). Of the bicultural children, 77% had two Greek parents, 18% had a Greek father and a Dutch mother, and 5% had a Dutch father and a Greek mother. Of the total group of participants, 51% were boys and 49% were girls. There was no significant difference between the three groups for gender, $\chi^2(2,183) = 0.36$, $p > .10$, and for age, $\chi^2(3,181) = 0.87$, $p > .10$.

Design and measures

An experimental questionnaire study was carried out. There were two versions of the questionnaire. For priming Dutch and Greek cultural identity, iconic cultural symbols and language were used. That is, in keeping our procedure consistent with that used by Hong et al. (2000) the participants were presented with pictures of either Dutch icons (the national flag, a windmill, and a person in traditional clothing) or Greek icons (the national flag, the Acropolis, and person in traditional clothing). In addition, the questionnaires were presented in the Dutch and Greek language, respectively. That is, the whole study was introduced and conducted in one or the other language. Furthermore, the cultural background of the experimenter was either Dutch or Greek.

The combination of icons and language (see Krauss & Chiu, 1998) was considered an effective means of activating the two different cultural identities. For each icon, the children were asked to answer two short open-ended questions. Each first question checked whether the children recognized the icons and thus whether the corresponding cultural identity was activated (e.g. 'From which country is this flag', 'In which country can you find this building', and 'In which country can you find a person like this?'). The second question induced the children to tell something about the country in question ('Mention three typical things from this country', 'What do you like about this country?', and 'What do you think about this country?').

The group of mono-cultural Dutch children completed the Dutch version of the questionnaire and the group of children in Greece completed the Greek version. In addition, because we wanted to have four groups equal in terms of demand-load a between-subjects design rather than a within-subjects design was used. Hence, the bicultural children were presented randomly with either the Dutch or the Greek

version of the questionnaire. For the present purposes, we will refer to the former group of bicultural children as the Dutch-Greek children and the latter group as the Greek-Dutch children.

There were three sets of dependent variables. Some of these variables have been used in previous Dutch studies among this age group (Verkuyten, 2001; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2000). In addition, in a pilot study the Dutch version of the questionnaire was discussed individually with five Dutch children and five bilingual children discussed and compared the Greek and Dutch versions. This was done to ensure that all groups of children understood the tasks and during the actual study no reading or interpretation problems occurred.

Each set of dependent variables was presented immediately after a cultural icon. The first icon was the national flag; this was followed directly by five allegedly unrelated attribution tasks. The first task was adapted form Morris and Peng (1994) and concerned a non-human event that was interpreted as a social event. The children were shown a realistic picture of a fish swimming in front of a school. The children were asked why they thought the fish swam in front of the others. There were four response categories. Two gave an external explanation ('because the other fish are chasing it', and 'because the other fish do not want to swim with it') and two an internal explanation ('because the one fish is stronger', and 'because the one fish is the better swimmer'). The next four tasks involved the interpretation of social behavior by unknown contemporaries. The behavior was described by means of short stories: (a) "One day a child is late for school. What could be the reason?" (b) "Four friends enter a shop. One of them takes a chocolate bar and goes out without paying. Why do you think he does this?" (c) "During playtime, a girl is standing by herself. She is not playing with the other children. Why do you think that is?" and (c) "One day, a girl is playing with three other girls. She has got some sweets on her that her mom gave her. She does not eat them all by herself, but gives the other girls a fair share. What makes her do that?" As response categories, there were two internal and two external explanations for each task (e.g. for the second story, "because he often nicks things", "because he likes chocolate", "because he is with his friends", and "because his friends make him").

Immediately after the second icon (windmill or Acropolis) the children were given three self-identification questions. In the first one, the children were asked to indicate the level of connectedness between themselves and their friends. The Inclusion of Other in the Self Scale was used. This is a valid and reliable single-item measure to assess the degree to which a particular in-group is included in the self (Tropp & Wright, 2001). The children were asked to choose the pair of circles that best represented their sense of connection to their friends. The choices range from 1 (no overlap) to 7 (high degree of overlap). Significant cultural differences with higher scores among collectivist participants have been found for different versions of this measure (Tropp & Wright, 2001; Verkuyten & Masson, 1996).

The other two identification questions assessed personal and social self-evaluation, respectively. To attain more implicit or indirect measures of self-evaluations the children were asked about their feelings towards the words "I" and "We". Experiments

have demonstrated that these pronouns carry evaluative significance that is activated automatically and subconsciously (Hetts, Sakuma, & Pelham, 1999; Perdue, Dovidio, Gurtman & Tyler, 1990). Both questions were rated on a 7-point Likert-type scale with seven "faces" as developed by Yee and Brown (1992) in their research among children. The faces range from very happy to very sad, with the biggest smile indicating the most positive attitude, the one with the straight mouth a neutral position, and the biggest frown the most negative attitude. A higher score reflects a more positive attitude.

After the third icon (picture of a person in traditional clothing) the participants were presented with eight questions on cultural values, partly taken from Triandis et al. (1990). The response categories ranged from 1 (No, certainly not) to 5 (Yes, certainly). Principal components analysis showed that four items loaded on a first factor (34.8% explained variance), the items being, 'You always have to listen to your elders', "Children should always do as their parents tell them", "Children should go to bed on time", "Children should stay at home with their parents". Reliability analysis for these four questions yielded an α of 0.72. This scale was labeled obedience; a higher score indicated a stronger endorsement of the importance for children to be obedient.

Three questions loaded on the second factor (17.9% explained variance).The three items were, "My family is the most important thing there is", "I want my grandparents to live really close to me", and "I am really close to my family". Reliability analysis for the three items yielded an α of 0.56. This scale was labelled 'family integrity' (Triandis et al., 1986, 1993).

2.3 Results

The results are presented in three sections. The first set of analyses examines the attributions. The second set of analyses examines the self-identification questions, with the third set of analyses focusing on cultural attitudes. Preliminary analyses indicated no age differences. Thus, data were collapsed across ages. Furthermore, virtually all children identified the different icons correctly. That is, all children identified the national flag as being from either The Netherlands or Greece. However, there were three Dutch and four Dutch-Greek children that stated that the windmill belonged to another country than The Netherlands, and two Greek-Dutch children and one Greek child said the same about the Acropolis in relation to Greece. The picture of the person in traditional clothing was identified incorrectly by four Dutch, five Dutch-Greek, four Greek-Dutch, and two Greek children. Preliminary analyses with and without the children that failed to identify the pictures yielded a similar pattern of results. Furthermore, all children identified the national flag correctly and identity salience was also manipulated by the language of the questionnaire. Therefore, the data were analyzed using the complete sample.

Attributions

The results of the attribution tasks were examined in terms of external or situational (versus internal) explanations. We expected differences in situational attributions between the four groups of children. Particularly, the mono-cultural Greek and the bicultural children in the Greek condition were expected to make more situational attributions than the Dutch children and the children in the Dutch condition. To examine this prediction, the non-human event (the picture of swimming fish) and the four stories about human events were analyzed as multiple dependent variables using MANOVA. Participant group and gender were included as predictors. The main effect for participant group was significant, $F(15, 173) = 4.91$, $p < .000$. Thus, the attributions made differed between the four groups of children. The results for the five tasks are presented in Table 2.1. For all five, the pattern of results is quite similar. With the exception of story three, the Greek children tended to make most external attributions followed by the Greek-Dutch, the Dutch-Greek and the Dutch children. Importantly, on all five attribution tasks more Greek-Dutch than Dutch-Greek children gave situational explanations. Furthermore, the result for the explanation for the fish swimming in front of the group was comparable to the explanations of human events.

Table 2.1: *Percentages of Situational Attributions for Four Group of Children and Five Attribution Tasks by Univariate Analyses.*

Item	*Dutch (n=51)*	*Dutch–Greek (n=37)*	*Greek–Dutch (n=37)*	*Greek (n=58)*	*F-value*
Fish	21.6^{a}	27.0^{ab}	37.8^{ab}	39.7^{b}	1.55
Story 1	51.0	48.6	64.9	65.5	1.21
Story 2	47.1^{ab}	35.1^{a}	59.5^{b}	63.8^{b}	3.27^{*}
Story 3	86.3^{a}	59.5^{b}	86.5^{a}	70.7^{a}	3.79^{*}
Story 4	45.1^{a}	43.2^{a}	54.1^{a}	93.4^{b}	17.75^{***}

Note: Row means with different superscripts represent significant differences.
$^{*}p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$

For three of the five tasks, univariate analyses indicated a significant effect (see Table 2.1). Post hoc tests of difference of means showed that, as predicted, Greek-Dutch children made significantly more external attributions than the Dutch-Greek children on two of the tasks (Table 2.1). We conducted an additional analysis (ANOVA) using a summated score. The total number of situational explanations on the five tasks was the dependent variable, and participant group and gender were the predictors. The results for participant group are presented in Figure 2.1. The main effect for participant group was significant, $F(3, 173) = 12.53$, $p < .000$. Post hoc tests indicated that external attributions were made significantly more often by the Greek-

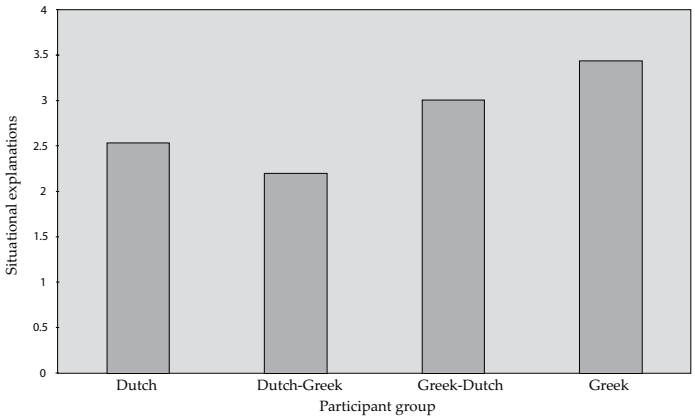

Figure 2.1: *Mean number of situational explanations*

Dutch and Greek children than by the Dutch-Greek and Dutch children. There were no significant differences between the Greek and Greek-Dutch children nor between the Dutch and Dutch-Greek children.

MANOVA with the five tasks as multiple dependent measures also showed a main effect for gender, $F(1, 173) = 6.37$, $p < .000$. Univariate analyses indicated a significant gender effect for the non-social task, $F(1, 173) = 25.56$, $p < .000$, and for the fourth story, $F(1, 173) = 4.62$, $p < .000$. In both cases, as expected, girls made more external attributions than boys. There was also a significant gender effect for the total number of situational explanations, $F(1, 173) = 11.68$, $p < .000$. Girls gave more situational explanations than boys.

Self-identification

The evaluation of social identity showed a low significant correlation with personal identity evaluation ($r = 0.16$, $p < .05$), and with the identification with friends ($r = 0.20$, $p < .01$). Identification with friends turned out not to be related to the evaluation of personal identity ($r = 0.12$, $p > .05$).

We expected the four groups of children to differ in self-identification. In particular, the Greek and Greek-Dutch children were expected to feel connected more strongly to their friends than the Dutch and Dutch-Greek children. In addition, compared to the latter two groups, the former two were expected to evaluate their social identity more positively but their personal identity less so. To examine these predictions, the three self-identification measures were analyzed as multiple dependent variables using MANOVA. Participant group and gender were included as predictors. The main effect for gender turned out to be not significant, $F(3, 173) = 1.49$,

$p > .10$. However, the main effect for participant group was $F(9, 173) = 5.06$, $p < .000$. Thus, self-identification differed between the four groups of children.

The results for the three measures are presented in the upper half of Table 2.2. Univariate analyses indicated significant effects for all three measures. Post hoc tests of difference of means showed that, as predicted, the Dutch-Greek children identified less strongly with their friends than did the Greek-Dutch and Greek children. Furthermore, the Dutch and Dutch-Greek children evaluated their social identity less positively than the Greek and Greek-Dutch children. Also as expected, compared to the Greek-Dutch children, the Dutch-Greek children evaluated their personal identity more positively. Unexpectedly, however, the Dutch children scored lowest on personal identity.

Table 2.2: *Mean Scores and Standard Deviations (in Parentheses) for Self-Identification and Cultural Values for four Groups of Participants. Univariate Analyses.*

Item	*Dutch (n=51)*	*Dutch–Greek (n=37)*	*Greek–Dutch (n=37)*	*Greek (n=58)*	*F-value*
Self-identification					
Identification friends	5.41^{ab}	5.02^{a}	5.76^{b}	5.88^{b}	2.38^{*}
	(1.76)	(1.84)	(1.67)	(1.28)	
Evaluation social identity	5.90^{a}	5.91^{a}	6.43^{b}	6.45^{b}	5.27^{**}
	(1.06)	(0.99)	(0.90)	(0.75)	
Evaluation personal identity	4.98^{a}	6.30^{b}	5.67^{c}	5.96^{bc}	9.09^{***}
	(1.23)	(1.01)	(1.75)	(1.08)	
Cultural values					
Family integrity	3.54^{a}	3.96^{b}	4.14^{bc}	4.37^{c}	11.54^{***}
	(0.84)	(0.68)	(0.85)	(0.85)	
Obedience	2.93^{a}	3.20^{ab}	3.52^{bc}	3.75^{c}	10.45^{***}
	(0.66)	(0.98)	(0.97)	(0.75)	

Note: Row means with different superscripts represent significant differences.
$^{*}p < .07$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$

Attitudes

The measures for attitude towards family integrity and obedience by children appeared to be correlated positively ($r = 0.22$, $p < .01$). The two measures were examined as multiple dependent variables in MANOVA with participant group and gender as factors. There was no significant main effect for gender, $F(2, 173) = 1.51$, $p > .10$, but the main effect for participant group was significant, $F(6, 173) = 8.70$, $p < .001$. Table 2.2 shows a similar pattern of results for both measures. The scores on both measures have a linear trend: the Dutch children score lowest, followed by the Dutch-Greek children, the Greek-Dutch children, and the Greek children that

score highest. The differences between the mono-cultural Dutch and Greek children are significant and in agreement with the relatively higher degree of collectivism in Greece compared to the Netherlands. The Greek children also have significantly higher scores compared to the bicultural children in the Dutch experimental condition but not, however, in comparison to the bicultural children in the Greek condition. This latter group scores higher on 'obedience' compared to the Dutch children. Although the Greek-Dutch children have higher scores than the Dutch-Greek children, these differences are not significant. This may be due to the limited number of participants in both conditions.

2.4 Discussion

In this study, biculturalism is examined at the level of psychological processes. Research on biculturalism normally tends to focus on outcomes and correlates of bicultural attitudes rather than on the processes involved (see LaFromboise et al., 1993). By activating different cultural identities we tried to replicate cultural differences found in cross-cultural comparative research. In particular, social explanations, self-identification and family values were examined in an experimental study among bicultural children of Greek descent living in the Netherlands. Although not all differences appear to be significant, as a whole, the findings present a clear pattern that is in agreement with other studies (e.g Hong et al., 2000). More so than when Dutch identity was activated, in the condition of Greek identity activation, bicultural children tended to make more situational explanations, identify more strongly with their friends, evaluate their social identity more positively and their personal identity less positively, and endorse more strongly the importance of family integrity and obedience by children. These results are similar to differences in attribution (see Choi et al., 1999), self-identification (see Fiske et al., 1998), and cultural attitudes (see Triandis, 1990) found between cultures that are, to a greater or lesser extent, collectivist or individualist.

Although, over the years, an extensive individualization of Greek society has taken place, Greek culture has been found to be relatively more collectivist than the Dutch one (Hofstede, 1980, 1991; Triandis et al., 1986). Furthermore, compared to adolescents and students, who increasingly adopt individualistic views, Greek children are more likely to be influenced by traditional values. The significant differences that were found on most measures between the mono-cultural Dutch children and the mono-cultural Greek children in Greece were in agreement with this suggestion.

In addition, the results for the two mono-cultural groups are important for interpreting the experimental findings on the bicultural children. On several measures, the Greek children and those in the Greek condition scored similarly, but their scores differed from that of the Dutch children and the children in the Dutch condition. The scores of the latter two groups were again similar. On other measures there was a linear trend in which the mono-cultural Dutch children scored lowest, followed by the

bicultural Dutch-Greek children, the bicultural Greek-Dutch children and the mono-cultural Greek children. These results suggest that the differences between the two experimental groups of bicultural children are related to cultural frame-switching (Hong et al., 2000) and not, for example, to higher salience of the in-group minority position in the Greek condition (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In response to cultural identity cues, bicultural children seem to shift between interpretive frames rooted in different cultures.

However, not all differences between the two mono-cultural groups were significant or in the expected direction. This may indicate that the cultural priming was not very strong. We wanted to keep our priming procedure consistent with that used by Hong et al. (2000), but the primes may not be very powerful. This could explain why a few children were not able to associate some of the icons with the intended country. It would also mean, however, that a moderate experimental manipulation is sufficient for cultural frame switching effects. Alternatively, the non-significant differences between the two mono-cultural groups may indicate that cultural priming is more meaningful or salient for bicultural children. Cultural frames may be more self-evident and implicit for mono-cultural children compared to bicultural children who have learned to be sensitive and responsive to cultural differences. To examine these possibilities, future studies could use stronger primes and could also examine the degree of cultural frame switching. In the present study no measure of cultural frame switching was used and the study had a between-subjects design. It would be interesting to examine these processes within the same participants.

Within a cultural explanation there are various possible theoretical interpretations (Kashima, 2000). One possibility is based on an explicit structural model in which cultural frameworks are cognitively represented and stored as separate, integrated and general structures. Another takes a more dynamic constructivist approach in which culture is conceptualized as domain-specific knowledge that becomes activated by situational cues and cognitive accessibility. For example, the bicultural children may have two separate circles of friends and the priming condition may have activated domain-specific schemas relevant to the Greek friends or the Dutch friends. The present study was not designed to test these different models, nor did the tasks include clearly divergent domains such as physical events or educational performance. However, the fact that similar differences were found across attributions, self-identification and family values suggests that the scope of the cultural frameworks involved in the frame-switching is quite broad.

Apart from the question how cultural knowledge is stored and to which extent an individual is able to acquire and retain different cultural frameworks, it needs to be considered when and how cultural frames become activated and operative in perception and behavior. In the present study, cultural icons and language were used experimentally to activate different frames. That is, using situational cues, particular cultural identities were made salient. However, the momentary salience of cultural frames is not only determined by situational cues, but also by the individual's readiness to use particular frameworks. Cultural knowledge may be easily accessible because of frequent use and habitual needs and motives. Thus, in addition to cir-

cumstances, it might be useful if future studies on cultural frame-switching among bicultural individuals were to examine the role of accessibility. One possibility is to examine the extent of biculturalism so that differentiations within the bicultural group can be made. Another possibility would be to include a measure of ethnic group identification. Measures of identification could be employed to assess the centrality and emotional value attached to group membership (Turner, 1999). Identification is one of the psychological resources – others being with individual motives, needs, experiences, and goals – that are used to make sense of situations and events.

Future studies may also examine developmental issues. In the present research, no differences were found between children of nine to twelve years of age. In other words, older bicultural children were susceptible to the activation of cultural identities. To understand the development of cultural frame-switching it is necessary to include younger children as well. The process of enculturation starts at birth, and the behavior of children as young as 5 has been found to be affected by the subtle activation of different social identities (Ambady et al., 2001).

The development of cultural frame-switching should also be examined among different groups in different countries. The present study focused on Greek children in the Netherlands but it is possible that stronger effects will be found among, say Dutch-Chinese or Iranian-American children. However, it may also be more problematic for children to acquire and use cultural knowledge systems that differ more clearly. Furthermore, as in acculturation issues (e.g. Georgas, 1996), cultural frame-switching may be affected by the level of multiculturalism in institutions such as schools, or even the country as a whole.

In the present study, differences in attributions were found between boys and girls, with girls giving more external explanations. Hence, gender effects were found independent of participant group and experimental condition. Moreover, in contrast to group differences, no gender effects were found for self-identification and values. Hence, ethnocultural group differences cannot be characterized by the same set of features as can gender differences. In an earlier study of friendship patterns in the Netherlands, Verkuyten and Masson (1996) came to a similar conclusion.

In evaluating the present results some qualifications should be considered. For example, the sample size of the two bicultural groups was rather small. Although our results are in agreement with other studies (e.g. Ambady et al., 2001; Hong et al., 2000) future studies could try to involve a larger sample. Furthermore, the cultural value measures had moderate reliabilities. This is not uncommon in studies among children (e.g. Verkuyten, 2001) and is probably related to the low number of items used. Although the results for these measures show a clear pattern, more reliable and extensive measure should be considered. Finally, we used the pupil body of the (Dutch and Greek) schools as an indicator of the socioeconomic background of the children. That is, we approached schools that enrolled pupils from predominantly a middle class background. There was no information on the actual background of the children and the effect of social class can be greater than the effect of culture (Kohn, Naoi, Schoenbach, Schooler & Slomçzynski, 1990). However, there are no reasons to believe that the four groups of children differed systematically for social

class. In addition and in contrast to adults and adolescents, no clear relationship between social class and, for example, self-evaluations has been found for primary school children (for a review, see Twenge & Campbell, 2002).

In conclusion, the present study has tried to make a contribution to the literature by examining cultural frame-switching among older children through using attribution tasks and questions on self-identification and the endorsement of cultural values. By studying experimentally primed bicultural children and by including mono-cultural comparison groups, it was demonstrated that a child's perceptions and evaluations are affected by cultural identity salience. This kind of study and its results help to improve our understanding of the experiences of bicultural individuals and the way culture influences people's lives.

Chapter 3

Biculturalism and Group Identification:The Mediating Role of Identification in Cultural Frame Switching

This chapter discusses a study that examined cultural frame switching among bicultural Greek participants living in the Netherlands. The research demonstrated that self-evaluations, self-stereotypes, and attitudes toward family integrity and friendship were affected by cultural framing. Experimentally primed bicultural participants and mono-cultural comparison groups in the Netherlands and Greece were used. Activating Greek culture especially, in comparison to activating Dutch culture, led to a less positive evaluation of the personal self, stronger Greek self-stereotyping, and stronger endorsement of family integrity and friendship. Similar differences were found when comparing mono-cultural Dutch and mono-cultural Greek participants. In addition, cultural priming affected group identification, which was found to be associated with perceptions and attitudes. The pattern of results suggests that group identification, in part, mediates the relationship between cultural framing and perceptual and evaluative responses. It is concluded that social identity principles are important for understanding the experiences of bicultural individuals.

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3.1 Introduction

In many countries around the world, the number of individuals who have internalized more than one culture is substantive and can be expected to increase in future years. Biculturalism raises all kinds of psychological questions, about psychological well-being, coping skills, the organization of knowledge, and identity development (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993), among others. Another question raised is how and why individuals shift between their different cultural frameworks: What are the processes involved in cultural frame switching, and what are the consequences? Cultural frame switching can be approached by applying the principles derived about knowledge activation by social cognition research (e.g., Morris & Fu, 2001). It is also possible to use social psychological ideas about (dual) group identity and comparative group context (e.g., Verkuyten & De Wolf, 2002). Our aim with this study was to combine these approaches in an attempt to show that group identification can mediate, in part, the relationship between cultural frames and perceptions and attitudes. In doing so, we wished to extend the existing experimental work on biculturalism that predominantly draws its inspiration from cognitive psychology.

Hong, Morris, Chiu, and Benet-Martínez (2000) presented a dynamic constructivist approach to understanding frame switching in bicultural individuals. A first premise of the model is that culture is not internalized in the form of an integrated structure but rather as domain-specific knowledge, such as implicit social theories and private and collective self-cognitions (Trafimow, Triandis, & Goto, 1991). Furthermore, individuals are thought to be able to acquire more than one cultural frame even if these contain conflicting elements. However, these frames are not thought to guide thinking simultaneously. Using cognitive psychological ideas about knowledge activation, the approach tries to account for the dynamics of cultural frame switching. Cognitive accessibility of constructs and contextual applicability are the concepts used to explain how different cultural knowledge becomes operative in particular situations (Higgins, 1996; Hong, Benet-Martínez, Chiu, & Morris, 2003). Culturally specific knowledge is thought to guide perception and behavior only when the relevant meaning systems are cognitively accessible and fit contextually.

In their experimental research, Hong et al. (2000, 2003; see also Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002) examined cultural frame switching in response to contextual cues that cause different cultural frames to become salient. In particular, when using attribution tasks, they found that Westernized Chinese students in Hong Kong were more likely to give situational explanations when their Chinese cultural knowledge was activated than when an American cultural priming condition was. The same results were found among Chinese American students in California. Other studies have reported similar results, not only for attributions but also for self-evaluations and attitudes (e.g., Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2002). These findings indicate that cultural frame switching occurs in response to contextual cues that make different cultural frames salient. When a given cultural frame is salient, culturally specific beliefs, theories, norms, and standards govern people's thinking and acting.

The ideas and principles of the dynamic constructivist approach are quite simi-

lar to the social identity perspective developed in European social psychology and to self-categorization theory (SCT) in particular (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987: Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McGarty, 1994). The social identity perspective argues that our sense of who we are is partly informed by the groups or categories to which we belong. Central to SCT is the idea that different forms of perception and behavior arise from different categorical definitions of the self. In particular, it is argued that, through the activation of a group identity, people tend to view themselves as interchangeable exemplars of the particular group and self-stereotype themselves in terms of what characterizes the group. Self-identification as a group member "systematically biases self-perception and behavior to render it more closely in accordance with stereotypic in-group characteristics and norms" (Hogg & Turner, 1987, p. 326). Hence, depending on the particular group identity that is cognitively activated, people will view themselves and the world differently. SCT argues that group identities are actively generated in contexts depending on the interaction between cognitive accessibility (or perceiver readiness) and (comparative and normative) contextual fit.

Many studies have supported ideas and principles of SCT (see Oakes, Haslam, & Turner, 1994; Turner, 1999), including studies that have focused on cultural constructs. For example, a study by Jetten, Postmes, and McAuliffe (2002) demonstrated that, somewhat paradoxically, individualism can be a function of group identification. They found that, in North America, those who identify highly with their national group tended to be more individualist than low identifiers. In contrast, in Indonesia, high identifiers were more collectivist and less individualist than low identifiers. In addition, low identifiers in Indonesia were more individualist compared to high identifiers in North America and also less collectivist. Thus, in agreement with the social identity perspective, identity salience was found to lead to perceptions consistent with the appropriate cultural norms. When a group identity is salient, people will shift toward whatever values and beliefs the group defines.

The previous discussion indicates that there are many similarities between the dynamic constructivist approach of cultural frame switching and SCT. However, there are also some important differences. For example, whereas the dynamic constructive approach focuses on the activation of domain specific cultural knowledge structures, SCT argues for the central role of variable self-definitions. In their experiments among bicultural people, Hong and colleagues (2000) use North American and Chinese cultural icons as primes. These icons are supposed to activate different networks of cultural constructs that subsequently guide perceptions and behavior. However, following SCT, it could be argued that these icons also activate different group identities. Iconic images like the national flag, national buildings (e.g., White House, Forbidden City), and national figures (e.g., George Washington) will activate not only cultural knowledge networks but also group identification processes. This was shown by Briley and Wyer (2002), who in two experiments used Hong et al.'s (2000) procedure and found that the cultural icons increased feelings of group membership, which led to group-level concerns and responses. Group identification, in turn, can lead to different forms of self-stereotyping, attitudes, and attributions.

In other words, group identification may have a mediating role in linking cultural frames and perceptions and behaviors. For example, a Chinese American may express collectivist attitudes because her Chinese identity is salient, and this identity is salient because it has been activated by Chinese icons. The existence of such a mediating role for group identification would help us to further understand how exactly, or the psychological mechanism by which, cultural constructs affect perceptions and behaviors.

This article discusses a study that examined this mediating hypothesis among bicultural individuals of Greek descent living in the Netherlands. Following SCT, it was expected that group identification would mediate the relationship between cultural frames and perceptions and behaviors. Cultural frame switching and group identification were examined in relation to phenomena that have been found to be affected by the cultural context in cross-cultural comparative research and by social-identity processes in intergroup research. First, we examined biculturalism in relation to self-evaluations. In collectivist cultures, people have been found to make fewer self-enhancing statements (Heine, Lehman, Markus, & Kitayama, 1999), but that does not mean that self-evaluation motives are necessarily absent in these cultures. Members of these cultures are more likely to evaluate their social self ("We") favorably, whereas in individualist cultures, it is the personal self ("I") that tends to be evaluated positively (Hetts, Sakuma, & Pelham, 1999; Pelham & Hetts, 1999). In the present study, both personal and social self were measured. Bicultural participants were expected to evaluate themselves and their group differently depending on the cultural frame: Greek or Dutch. Whenever the Greek cultural frame was salient, a more positive evaluation of the social self was expected, whereas the personal self was expected to be rated more positively whenever the Dutch cultural frame was salient.

Second, we examined self-descriptions by asking participants to rate trait adjectives in terms of how strongly they typified themselves. It was expected that self-descriptions would differ between the two bicultural groups. Particularly in the Greek context, we expected the use of traits that are more familiar or more commonly seen as stereotypical for the Greeks, whereas in the Dutch context, we expected Dutch stereotypes to be used for self-description (Oakes et al., 1994). In other words, in the Greek context, participants were expected to describe themselves, for example, as being more emotionally expressive and traditional and as less individualist than they would in the Dutch context.

Third, as the attitudes and values endorsed in collectivist and individualist cultures differ substantially, we expected family integrity and friendship to be endorsed more strongly by bicultural participants when a Greek cultural frame was activated. The focus on issues of family integrity and the importance of friendship arises because these are two dimensions that have been highlighted in cross-cultural work (e.g., Lay et al., 1998; Triandis, McCusker, & Hui, 1990). For example, in collectivist cultures, values of family harmony, friendship connection, and duty are stressed, whereas in individualist cultures, more emphasis is placed on autonomy and equality. These effects for cultural frame switching were all expected to be mediated,

in part, by group identification. That is, cultural framing was expected to affect ethnic group identification, and identification, in turn, was expected to affect self-evaluation, self-stereotyping, and attitudes toward family integrity and friendship.

When testing the predictions for cultural frame switching among bicultural participants living in the Netherlands, a group of mono-cultural Dutch participants in the Netherlands and a group of mono-cultural Greek participants in Greece were included. There were two reasons for doing so. One of these was so that we could examine whether there are indeed cultural differences between the participants of both societies. Greek culture has been found to put a relatively stronger emphasis on collectivist values than Dutch culture (Hofstede, 1980, 1991; Triandis et al., 1986), especially in relation to extended family life, family values, and friendship (Georgas, Berry, Shaw, Christakopoulu, & Mylonas, 1996; Georgas et al., 1997). However, through the years extensive individualization of Greek society has taken place (Georgas, 1989). The inclusion of two mono-cultural groups allows us to examine whether samples from these societies differ on the various measures.

The second reason is that differences in, for example, self-evaluations between Greek and Dutch identity priming conditions do not necessarily have to reflect cultural frame switching. One alternative interpretation for a more positive social self-evaluation in the Greek condition may be that the minority position of the in-group in the Netherlands is made salient. When this happens, people may respond by accentuating positive in-group distinctiveness (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). An interpretation in terms of minority position salience is less convincing if the result for Greek framing among bicultural participants is similar to that of Greek participants in Greece and the result for Dutch framing is similar to that of Dutch participants in the Netherlands.

To summarize, in the present research, cultural frame switching among bicultural participants was examined by activating either the Dutch or the Greek cultural frames. It was expected that in the Greek condition, participants would evaluate their personal self less positively and their social self more positively, would more strongly describe themselves in Greek stereotypical terms, and would endorse more strongly the importance of family integrity and friendship. In addition, similar differences were expected to be found between mono-cultural Dutch participants and mono-cultural Greek participants. Furthermore, the effects for cultural frame switching among the bicultural participants were expected to be mediated by group identification.

3.2 Method

Participants

The study was conducted among adults between 18 and 70 years of age; the mean age was 38.2 years ($SD = 12.3$). Fifty-one percent of the total group of participants were male and 49% were female. The sample included 92 mono-cultural Dutch participants in the Netherlands and 110 mono-cultural Greeks in Greece. In addition,

there were 211 bicultural participants of Greek descent living in the Netherlands. Participants of this latter group had lived at least 5 years in the Netherlands, and the mean number of years living in this country was 27.3 ($SD = 13.3$). In addition, these participants, on average, reported high levels of Greek- ($M = 6.13$, $SD = 1.01$, on a 7-point Likert-type scale) and Dutch-language proficiency ($M = 5.87$, $SD = 1.05$).

Design and measures

An experimental questionnaire study was carried out. There were two versions of the questionnaire. For priming Dutch and Greek cultural identity, iconic cultural symbols and language were used. Similar to other studies (e.g., Hong et al., 2000, 2003; Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2002), the participants were presented with pictures of either Dutch icons (national flag, a windmill, and a person in traditional clothing) or Greek icons (national flag, the Acropolis, and a person in traditional clothing). In addition, the questionnaires were presented in the Dutch and Greek languages, respectively. Thus, the whole study was introduced and conducted in one or the other language. The combination of icons and language (see Krauss & Chiu, 1998) was considered an effective means of activating the two different cultural frames.

The group of mono-cultural Dutch participants completed the Dutch version of the questionnaire, and the mono-cultural Greek participants in Greece completed the Greek version. Also, because we wanted to have four groups more or less equal in terms of demand load, a between-subjects design rather than a within-subjects design was used. Hence, the bicultural participants were presented randomly with either the Dutch or the Greek version of the questionnaire. For our present purposes, we will refer to the former group of bicultural participants as the Dutch-Greek group and the latter group as the Greek-Dutch group.

There was one set of mediating variables and three sets of dependent variables. Each of the variables was presented with cultural icons printed in the corners of each page. To examine the possible mediating role of group identification in cultural frame switching, the two groups of bicultural participants were asked to indicate their level of Greek identification as well as Dutch identification. To assess the degree of group identification, two items with 7-point scales were used. The participants were asked to what extent they, internally, felt really Greek and the extent to which they felt really Dutch.

To attain more indirect measures of personal and collective self-evaluations and to maintain similarity with a previous study (Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2002), the participants were asked about their feelings toward the words "I" and "We." Experiments have demonstrated that these pronouns carry clear evaluative significance (Hetts et al., 1999; Perdue, Dovidio, Gurtman & Tyler, 1990). The participants were asked to indicate their spontaneous, affective reactions toward the two words. Both questions were rated on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (strongly negative) to 7 (strongly positive), with neutral in the middle.

To measure self-stereotyping, the participants were presented with eight trait adjectives. These adjectives were presented together with other characterizations that

were used as fillers. The choice of the trait adjectives was based on previous research on Greek stereotypes (Hopkins, Regan, & Abell, 1997) and on our discussions with Greek people living in the Netherlands. The eight self-stereotyping adjectives were as follows: individualist, modern, hedonist, disciplined, modest, lively, dependent, and emotionally expressive. The first four traits were considered to be more typical of Dutch people, whereas the latter four were considered more typical of Greek people. The participants were required to indicate, on 7-point scales, to what extent each of the traits applied to themselves.

To measure attitudes toward family integrity and friendship, the participants were presented with eight questions (using 7-point scales) on cultural values. The questions were based on our discussions with Greek people and partly taken from Triandis et al. (1990). Principal components analysis showed that four items loaded on a first factor (36.9% explained variance). All four items had a high load (> .61) on the first factor (and < .27 on the second factor). The items were "It is best when children live with their parents until they marry," "You should take care of your aging parents," "You have to be prepared to fight for your family's honor," and "It is not good to sell the house you were born in to strangers." Reliability analysis for these four questions yielded an α of .75. This scale was labeled Family Integrity.

Four other questions loaded (> .66) on the second factor (20.8% explained variance and < .26 on the first factor). The four items were "You should never betray your friends," "You can't live without real good friends," "You should love your friends with all their failings," and "Criticism by your friends indicates that they are really interested in you." Reliability analysis for the four items yielded an α of .71. This scale was labeled Friendship.

3.3 Results

Preliminary analyses indicated no gender difference between the four groups of participants. Thus, data were collapsed across gender. However, there was a significant difference for educational level, $F(3, 411) = 5.15$, $p < .01$, and for age, $F(3, 411) = 4.71$, $p < .01$. Post hoc tests indicated that the mean educational level of the Greek-Dutch participants was significantly lower than that of the Dutch and the Greek participants. The educational level of the two bicultural groups did not differ significantly.

Post hoc tests indicated that the Dutch participants were significantly older ($M = 42.20$, $SD = 12.4$) than the Dutch-Greek ($M = 37.36$, $SD = 12.2$) and the Greek participants ($M = 36.83$, $SD = 11.1$) but not significantly older than the Greek-Dutch participants ($M = 40.83$, $SD = 12.8$). The differences in age between the two bicultural groups and the Greeks were not significant.

The mean number of years that the bicultural participants had been living in the Netherlands was 20.72 ($SD = 10.9$). The two bicultural groups did not differ significantly on this. However, the combination of age and length of residence showed that the two bicultural groups differed in their mean age of immigration, $t(210) = 3.52$, $p < .01$. The Greek-Dutch group had immigrated at a somewhat older age ($M = 21.34$, $SD = 12.3$) than the Dutch-Greek group ($M = 15.18$, $SD = 12.8$).

Self-evaluations

The evaluations of "I" and "We" were positively correlated with $r = .22$, $p < .001$. The two evaluations were analyzed as multiple dependent variables using MANCOVA. Participant group was included as a predictor, and age and level of education were covariates. The multivariate effect (Pillai's) for participant group was significant, $F(6, 410) = 5.02$, $p < .001$. Thus, the evaluations made differed between the four groups of participants. The mean scores for the evaluations together with the univariate results are presented in the first two rows in Table 3.1. For the evaluation of "I," post hoc tests showed a clear distinction between the Dutch and the Dutch-Greek participants, on one hand, and the Greek-Dutch and Greek participants on the other. As expected, the former two groups had a more positive, personal self-evaluation than the latter two groups. However, in contrast to our expectations, there was no significant group difference for the evaluation of "We."[1].

Self-descriptions

We expected the four groups of participants to differ in their self-descriptions. In particular, the Dutch and the Dutch-Greek participants were expected to self-stereotype more strongly on the traits considered more typical for Dutch people than the Greek-Dutch and Greek participants. In contrast, the latter two groups were expected to self-stereotype more strongly on the traits more typical for Greek people. To examine these predictions, the eight trait adjectives were analyzed as multiple variables

Table 3.1: *Mean Scores and Standard Deviations (in Parentheses) for Self-Identification and Cultural Values for Four Groups of Participants. Univariate Analyses and Effect Size Estimates.*

	Dutch (n=92)	*Dutch–Greek (n=106)*	*Greek–Dutch (n=105)*	*Greek (n=110)*	*F Value*	*Partial η^2*
Self-evaluation						
Evaluation 'I'	5.19^{a} (1.14)	5.01^{a} (1.43)	4.51^{b} (1.75)	4.23^{b} (1.48)	8.48^{***}	.07
Evaluation 'We'	5.26 (1.06)	5.38 (1.05)	5.30 (1.41)	5.32 (1.16)	0.72	.01
Self-stereotyping						
Individualist	4.60^{a} (1.51)	4.18^{a} (1.58)	3.40^{b} (1.84)	3.15^{b} (1.56)	16.59^{***}	.12
Modern	4.47^{a} (1.61)	3.93^{ab} (1.85)	3.62^{b} (1.81)	3.59^{b} (1.74)	3.78^{*}	.03
Hedonist	5.69^{a} (1.03)	5.80^{a} (1.31)	5.49^{ab} (1.44)	5.19^{b} (1.41)	4.54^{***}	.04
Disciplined	5.65^{a} (1.14)	5.56^{a} (1.46)	5.22^{ab} (1.71)	4.99^{b} (1.52)	6.92^{**}	.05
Modest	4.21^{a} (1.18)	4.61^{a} (1.45)	5.76^{b} (1.31)	5.35^{b} (1.58)	19.43^{***}	.13
Lively	5.62^{a} (1.05)	5.62^{a} (1.24)	6.08^{b} (1.06)	6.05^{b} (1.29)	4.67^{**}	.04
Dependent	2.54 (1.18)	2.64 (1.73)	2.62 (1.65)	2.26 (1.55)	1.49	.01
Emotionally expressive	5.69^{a} (0.96)	5.74^{a} (1.19)	6.17^{b} (0.96)	6.17^{b} (1.12)	6.52^{***}	.05
Cultural values						
Family integrity	3.17^{a} (0.94)	4.38^{b} (1.28)	5.31^{c} (1.26)	5.11^{c} (1.16)	59.07^{***}	.32
Friendship	5.49^{a} (0.81)	5.65^{a} (1.09)	6.09^{b} (0.73)	6.06^{b} (0.73)	11.22^{***}	.08
Group identity						
Greek identity		5.45 (1.63)	6.39 (0.91)		13.10^{***}	.08
Dutch identity		3.42 (1.89)	2.21 (1.45)		13.92^{***}	.09

Note: Row means with different superscripts represent significant differences.
$^{*}p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$

using MANCOVA. Participant group was included as a predictor, and age and educational level were the covariates. The multivariate effect for participant group was significant, $F(24, 406) = 6.55$, $p < .001$. Thus, self-stereotyping differed between the four groups of participants.

The mean scores together with the univariate results and the effect size estimates are presented in Table 3.1. Univariate analyses indicated significant effects for all traits, except for dependence. Post hoc tests showed that, as predicted, the Dutch participants described themselves as being more individualistic, modern, hedonistic, and disciplined than the Greek participants as well as less modest, lively, and emotionally expressive. Hence, there were clear mono-cultural group differences. In addition, for all adjectives (except "dependence"), the mean scores for the Dutch-Greek were similar to those for the Dutch, whereas the scores for the Greek-Dutch were closer to those of the Greek participants. For four of these adjectives, the difference between the two bicultural groups was significant[2].

Attitudes

The measures for attitude toward family integrity and friendship appeared to be correlated positively ($r = .28$, $p < .001$). The two measures were examined as multiple

dependent variables in MANCOVA with participant group as a factor and educational level and age as covariates. There was a significant multivariate effect for participant group, $F(6, 408) = 25.78$, $p < .001$. Table 3.1 shows a clear pattern of results. As expected, the mono-cultural Greek group endorsed the importance of family integrity and friendship more strongly than the Dutch participants. Furthermore, the Greek-Dutch participants had significantly higher scores for both measures than the Dutch-Greek participants. The scores for the Greek-Dutch and Greek participants did not differ. The Dutch and Dutch-Greek participants had similar scores for friendship, but the Greek-Dutch endorsed the importance of family integrity more strongly than the Dutch participants[3].

Group identification

The two bicultural groups were asked to indicate how strongly they felt that they were Greek and how strongly they felt that they were Dutch. Both questions appeared to be correlated negatively ($r = -.51$, $p < .001$). Hence, stronger identification with the one group was associated with a weaker identification with the other group. In addition, a pairwise test of means indicated that Greek identification ($M = 5.97$, $SD = 1.38$) was stronger than Dutch identification ($M = 2.82$, $SD = 1.82$), $t(206) = 16.37$, $p < .001$.

The two measures for group identification were examined as multiple dependent variables in MANCOVA, with bicultural participant group as a between-subjects factor. Educational level and age at immigration were included as covariates. The multivariate effect for bicultural participant group was significant, $F(2, 206) = 8.62$, $p < .001$. Univariate results indicated significant effects for both identifications. As expected, Table 3.1 shows that the Greek-Dutch identified significantly more as Greek than the Dutch-Greek participants. In contrast, the former group identified significantly less as Dutch than the latter group. Hence, the experimental manipulation produced the expected effects on Greek and Dutch group identification[4].

Group identification, self-perceptions, and attitudes

The previous analyses show that for the bicultural participants, the experimental manipulation affected the responses for the evaluation of the personal self, for self-stereotyping, and for the attitudes toward family integrity and friendship. In addition, the experimental manipulation affected Greek and Dutch group identification. These results meet two preconditions for mediation as outlined by Baron and Kenny (1986) and, therefore, raise the possibility that group identification does indeed mediate the relationship between cultural frame on one hand and self-perceptions and attitudes on the other. A third precondition is that the proposed mediating variable (group identification) must be related to the dependent variable. To examine this precondition, separate regression analyses were conducted for those dependent measures that in previous analyses tended to differ between the two experimental groups. The two group identification measures were the predictor variables. These

Table 3.2: *Mediation Analyses. Unstandardized B and Sobel Test Results.*

Dependent Variable	*Mediator*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*Sobel test (z-value)*
Evaluation 'I'	Dutch	$.12^{**}$	$.49^{**}$	.35	1.81^{*}
Individualist	Dutch	$.25^{\dagger}$	$.84^{\dagger}$	$.53^{**}$	2.44^{**}
Modest	Greek	$.22^{*}$	$1.04^{\dagger}$	$.84^{***}$	2.61^{***}
Emotional Expressive	Greek	$.13^{**}$	$.39^{***}$	.22	1.99^{**}
Lively	Greek	$.12^{**}$	$.31^{**}$	$.23^{**}$	1.94^{*}
Family Integrity	Greek	$.43^{\dagger}$	$.90^{\dagger}$	$.59^{\dagger}$	3.72^{***}
Friendship	Greek	$.16^{***}$	$.41^{\dagger}$	$.29^{**}$	2.29^{**}

$^{*}p < .07$, $^{**}p < .05$, $^{***}p < .01$, $^{\dagger}p < .001$
Note: (1) the unstandardized B's when the dependent variable is regressed on the mediator; (2) the unstandardized B's when the dependent variable is regressed on the independent variable (cultural frame); (3) the unstandardized B's of the independent variable (cultural frame) when the dependent variable is regressed on both the mediator and the independent variable.

analyses indicated that Dutch identification was positively related to the evaluation of the personal self ("I"), $\beta = .17$, $t = 2.12$, $p < .05$. Dutch identification was also significantly related to self-stereotyping as an individualist, $\beta = .22$, $t = 2.79$, $p < .01$; and to describing oneself as being disciplined, $\beta = .17$, $t = 2.17$, $p < .05$.

Greek identification was positively related to describing oneself as modest, $\beta = .33$, $t = 4.31$, $p < .001$; as emotionally expressive, $\beta = .17$, $t = 2.17$, $p < .05$; as lively, $\beta = .25$, $t = 2.90$, $p < .01$; and negatively to describing oneself as modern, $\beta = -.18$, $t = 2.29$, $p < .05$. Furthermore, Greek identification was positively related to the attitude toward family integrity, $\beta = .43$, $t = 5.85$, $p < .001$, and toward the importance of friendship, $\beta = .25$, $t = 3.14$, $p < .01$.

The mediating role of group identification

According to Baron and Kenny (1986), the critical test for mediation is that the relationship between the independent variable (cultural frame) and the dependent variable must be significantly reduced when the mediator variable (group identification) is controlled. Regression analyses were carried out separately for the dependent measures that showed significant differences between the two bicultural experimental groups (see Table 3.1). The results of these analyses are presented in Table 3.2.

The previous analyses indicated that cultural frame was significantly related to the evaluation of the personal self ("I"). In addition, Dutch identification was positively related to self-evaluation. In a further analysis, the evaluation of the personal self was regressed onto Dutch identification and cultural frame. In this analysis, cultural frame was not a significant predictor (see Table 3.2). This pattern of results

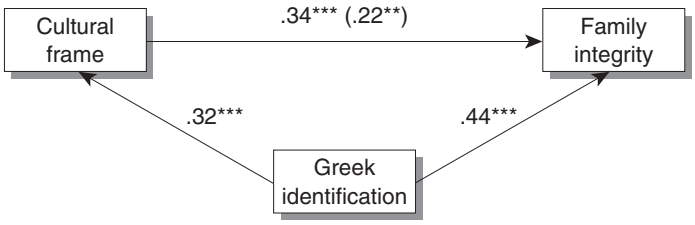

Figure 3.1: *Results of the Mediation Analysis for Attitude towards Family Integrity. Note: Path weights are standardized. The number in parenthesis is the relationship between cultural frame (experimental manipulation) and family integrity while controlling for ethnic identification.* $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$

suggests that Dutch identification mediates the relationship between cultural frame and the evaluation of the personal self. The Sobel (1982) test for mediation showed, however, that the mediational path was only marginally significant with $p = .072$.

The results for the mediation analyses for self-stereotyping as individualist indicated that the mediational path was reliably greater than zero (see Table 3.2). Thus, Dutch identification mediated, in part, the relationship between cultural frame and the self-description as being an individualist.

Cultural frame and Greek identification were related to describing oneself as modest, emotionally expressive, and lively. Regression analyses for these three adjectives indicated that Greek identification mediated the relationship between cultural frame and these self-stereotypes (see Table 3.2). For modesty and emotionally expressive, the Sobel tests were significant, and for lively, the result was marginally significant with p = .052.

The pattern of results for the attitude toward family integrity suggests that Greek identification also mediates the relationship between cultural frame and attitude. The Sobel (1982) test for mediation confirmed that the mediational path was reliably greater than zero (see Table 3.2), and the results of this mediational analysis are shown in Figure 3.1.

The results for the attitude toward friendship were similar to family integrity. The relationship between cultural frame and friendship attitude was less strong when controlling for Greek identification. The Sobel test was significant (see Table 3.2).

3.4 Discussion

Research on biculturalism tends to focus on outcomes and correlates of bicultural attitudes rather than on the processes involved (see LaFromboise et al., 1993). Experimental studies have started, however, to examine the psychological processes in cultural frame switching (e.g., Benet-Martínez et al., 2002; Hong et al., 2000, 2003; Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2002). By using cultural icons for activating different cul-

tural frames, this research tries to replicate, on the level of bicultural individuals, differences found in cross-cultural comparative research. Theoretically, these studies make use of principles arrived at by social cognition research carried out on knowledge activation. The present examination has tried to extend this theoretical approach by including ideas developed by researchers working from a social identity perspective. In particular, we drew on SCT (Turner et al., 1987) in formulating our arguments for the mediating role of group identification. We expected that cultural framing would affect group identification, which would, in turn, influence self-evaluations, self-descriptions, and cultural attitudes.

In a first set of analyses, cultural framing was found to affect these dependent measures. Although not all differences appear to be significant, as a whole, the findings present a clear pattern that is in agreement with other studies (e.g., Hong et al., 2000; Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2002). Interestingly, bicultural participants tended to evaluate their personal identity less positively, described themselves more frequently in stereotypical Greek terms, and endorsed the importance of family integrity and friendship to a greater degree when the Greek culture condition was activated than when the Dutch condition was made salient. Also, similar differences were found between the two mono-cultural (Dutch and Greek) samples. This indicates that despite the extensive individualization of Greek society through the years, Greek culture seems to be still relatively more collectivist than Dutch culture (Hofstede, 1980, 1991; Triandis et al., 1986).

Furthermore, the results for the two mono-cultural groups are important for interpreting the experimental findings on the bicultural participants. On several measures, the Greek participants and those in the Greek condition scored similarly, but their scores differed from those of the Dutch participants and the participants in the Dutch condition. The scores of the latter two groups were, again, similar. On other measures, there was a linear trend in which the mono-cultural Dutch scored lowest, followed by the bicultural Dutch-Greek participants, the bicultural Greek-Dutch participants, and the mono-cultural Greek group. These results suggest that the differences between the two experimental groups of bicultural participants are not related to higher salience of the minority position in the Greek condition (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Rather, in response to culturally iconic cues, bicultural participants seem to shift between interpretive frames rooted in different cultures.

However, it is possible that these effects are mediated by group identification. The cultural icons used for activating specific cultural knowledge structures may affect group identification, which could explain why the evaluation of the collective self was fairly positive for all four groups of participants. Stronger identification will also lead to perceptions and behaviors that are consistent with the particular identity and the appropriate values and norms defining it (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner et al., 1987). Thus, the differences between the two mono-cultural groups may be because of increased national identity salience (Jetten et al., 2002). Similarly, group identification may be involved in the differences between the two bicultural groups.

For the bicultural participants, the results show that the experimental manipula-

tion did indeed affect Greek and Dutch group identification. Compared to the Dutch condition, in the Greek condition Greek identification was higher and Dutch identification lower. Furthermore, group identification was related to various dependent measures, and the Sobel test for mediation indicated that some of the effects of cultural framing were, in part, mediated by group identification. Thus, the priming conditions seem to have activated group identity (see also Briley & Wyer, 2002), and the level of group identification partly affected some of the self-perceptions and attitudes. These results indicate that group identification is an important psychological mechanism through which cultural framing can affect responses and behaviors.

So the findings suggest that the theoretical frameworks of social identity and self-categorization are of value in explaining cultural influences. Within a cultural explanation, there are various possible theoretical interpretations (Kashima, 2000), but these tend to ignore the importance of social identity processes. A social identity perspective, however, offers the possibility of considering additional variables and processes. For example, Jetten et al. (2002) considered the role of group threat. They find that high, compared to low, group identifiers conform more strongly to group norms and show more self-stereotyping when their group is threatened. This could mean that, to understand biculturalism and frame switching, it is not only important to consider to what extent conflicting cultural values and beliefs are involved (e.g., Benet-Martínez et al., 2002) but also the degree to which group identities are seen as oppositional and the nature of the intergroup situation. We have focused on people of Greek descent, and there are no important tensions or conflicts between Greek and Dutch people. However, the situation is quite different for Moroccan and Turkish people living in the Netherlands. These groups are perceived quite negatively, are the least accepted of all ethnic minority groups, and are increasingly urged to assimilate to Dutch society (Hagendoorn, 1995; Verkuyten, 2005). Hence, for these groups, the role of group identification in cultural frame switching can be expected to be of even greater importance. An examination of biculturalism and processes of cultural frame switching should not restrict itself to cognitive mechanisms but should also consider the nature of the intergroup situation and the ideological beliefs involved. The social identity perspective focuses on these latter issues (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

The present results indicate the importance of considering social identity processes. However, group identification did not account for all the variance explained by cultural framing, indicating that the mediation was partial. There were also significant direct effects of the experimental manipulation on self-perceptions and attitudes. Hence, domain-specific cultural knowledge seems to have become activated and influential in perceptions and attitudes, independently of group identification. From a social identity perspective, it is tempting to assume that priming effects are inherently linked to self-categorizations with their related stereotypes, values, and beliefs. This may be the case in situations in which national or ethnic differences and identities are highly salient. However, there are other bicultural contexts and different types of knowledge activation. For example, Hong et al. (2000) found cultural priming effects among Hong Kong Chinese; U.S. cultural icons moved participants'

interpretive style in the American direction. It is very unlikely that this effect was mediated through participants' self-identification as American because that is not a relevant social identity in the Hong Kong Chinese context. In addition, cultural priming effects can involve the differential activation of habitual tendencies or implicit knowledge systems that are learned in early acculturation and of which individuals are not typically aware. These tendencies and knowledge are not necessarily linked to specific group identities or part of the conception of what it means to be, for example, Greek or Dutch. The fact that social identity processes can be important for understanding cultural priming effects does not imply that these processes are always relevant and that they account for all forms of knowledge activation. Cultural primes do not only trigger group identities, and identity-specific norms and beliefs are not the only criteria on which people base perceptions and judgments. Likewise, however, cultural primes may not only activate the corresponding cultural knowledge systems but also social identity processes and concerns (Briley & Wyer, 2002).

In evaluating our results, some qualifications should be considered. One is that it might be argued that language rather than culture is responsible for the cultural priming effects found. Following previous studies (e.g., Hong et al., 2000, 2003), cultural icons and language were used experimentally to activate different frames. Previous studies have found that language serves as a situational cue for the flexible use of cultural self-construals among bicultural individuals (e.g., Kemmelmeier & Cheng, 2004; Ross, Xun, & Wilson, 2002; Trafimow, Silverman, Fan, & Law, 1997). Furthermore, Ji, Zhang, and Nisbett (2004) have shown that culture can affect categorization processes independent of the testing language. Hence, it is unlikely that the effects found are unrelated to cultural framing.

Another qualification relates to the mediation analyses. These analyses were performed following social identity theory and previous experimental findings (Briley & Wyer, 2002). However, the causal direction of the effects cannot be determined. In principle, it is possible that, for example, family integrity mediates the relationship between cultural frame and Greek identification. Hence, future studies could try to assess participants' induced consciousness of their group identity. In addition, group identification was measured with single items. This is not uncommon, and such measures have been found to be valid and reliable instruments to assess the degree of identification (e.g., Tropp & Wright, 2001). Our results for these measures also show a clear pattern. However, more reliable and extensive measures should be considered. Furthermore, it seems important to examine different aspects and dimensions of group identification (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004: Verkuyten, 2005).

Similar to other studies (e.g., Benet-Martínez et al., 2002; Hong et al, 2000, 2003), a between-subjects design was used, whereas a within-subject design would be more appropriate for examining cultural frame switching. Some of the results were also not as expected, and the reasons for this are not clear. In particular, the evaluation of the collective self ("We") and the self-description as being independent did not differ between the four groups of participants. Future studies should include additional measures and might also examine clearly divergent domains and judgments, such

as physical events and attributions. This will allow us to examine just how broad the scope of the cultural frameworks and identity processes involved in frame switching is. Finally, it seems important to consider the extent and nature of biculturalism and the level of acculturation so that differentiations within the bicultural group can be made (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002; Haritatos & Benet-Martínez, 2002).

In conclusion, we have tried to make a contribution to the literature on biculturalism by examining cultural frame switching through using questions on self-perceptions and the endorsement of cultural values. By studying experimentally primed bicultural participants and by including mono-cultural comparison groups, we have demonstrated that perceptions and evaluations are affected by cultural framing. Furthermore, our examination of the role of group identity found that group identification is a mechanism through which cultural frames can affect self-perceptions and attitudes. The results suggest that in studying biculturalism, it is important to consider social-identity processes in addition to principles of cultural knowledge activation. The dynamic constructivist approach and the social identity perspective both help to explain how cultural knowledge and cultural identity influence perceptions and behaviors. We have tried to show that combining these can improve our understanding of the psychological processes involved in biculturalism.

Notes

[1]For the covariates, level of education was positively associated ($r = .14$) with the evaluation of the personal self, $F(1, 410) = 5.79$, $p < .05$; and age was negatively associated ($r = -.13$) with the

[2]The multivariate effects for both covariates were significant: for level of education, $F(8, 406) = 3.44$, $p < .001$; and for age, $F(8, 406) = 4.19$, $p < .001$. Univariate analyses showed that level of education was significantly and negatively related to self-descriptions of being modest and dependent, and it was positively related to perceiving one's self as modern. Age turned out to be significantly related to all adjectives, except to individualist, lively, and emotionally expressive. Older participants considered themselves as less hedonistic, less modern, more dependent, more modest, and more disciplined.

[3]The multivariate effect for educational level as a covariate was significant, $F(2, 408) = 15.43$, $p < .001$; but for age, the multivariate effect was not significant, $F(2, 408) = 0.54$, $p > .10$. Univariate results showed a negative association between ($r = -.27$) education and the attitude toward friendship, $F(1, 408) = 23.69$, $p < .001$. The effect on family integrity was not significant, $F(1, 408) = 2.82$, $p > .05$.

[4]For the covariates, there was a significant multivariate effect for age of immigration, $F(2, 206) = 10.15$, $p < .001$. Participants who had immigrated at a younger age indicated a stronger Dutch identification ($r = .32$, $p < .001$) and a weaker Greek identification ($r = -.27$, $p < .001$). The multivariate effect for educational level was marginally significant, $F(2, 206) = 2.59$, $p < .08$. Univariate analysis showed that higher education was associated with a weaker Greek identity ($r = -.14$, $p < .05$).

Chapter 4

Networks of meaning and the bicultural mind: A structural equation modeling approach

The chapter examines cultural frame-switching among bicultural participants at the level of associated meanings. Bicultural participants of Greek descent who live in the Netherlands were randomly primed with either Greek or Dutch cultural symbols and language. A mono-cultural Dutch group in the Netherlands and a mono-cultural Greek group in Greece, were involved as control groups. Structural equation modeling indicated that the Greek participants in Greece and the bicultural participants primed with Greek culture had a similar pattern of associations. This pattern differed from that of the Dutch participants and the participants primed with Dutch culture. Thus, the two different mono-cultural association patterns were replicated among bicultural individuals. The findings show that meanings are affected by cultural frame-switching, and provide further support for the dynamic constructivist approach.

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4.1 Introduction

Using structural equation modeling, this paper tests a critical idea of the dynamic constructivist approach to cultural frame-switching in bicultural individuals, namely that frame-switching occurs in terms of associated meanings. A central premise of Hong, Morris, Chiu, and Benet-Martínez (2000) dynamic constructivist approach is that culture is not internalized in the form of a single integrated structure, but rather as 'a loose network of domain-specific knowledge structures, such as categories and implicit theories' (p. 710). Hence, bicultural individuals are assumed to have different cultural meaning systems that become activated or operative in response to situational cues (Higgins, 1996; Hong, Benet-Martínez, Chiu, & Morris, 2003). This assumption implies that the relationships between concepts is important. The interconnected constructs or modules of knowledge will have stronger or looser connections depending on culturally bound meanings and experiences (Bruner, 1990; Hong et al., 2000). Therefore, in studying how culture informs behavior, it is important to focus on the differences in patterns of connotations and whether these can be replicated on the level of the bicultural mind. To our knowledge, however, cultural frame-switching research has focused only on differences in mean scores.

For example, in their experimental research Hong and colleagues (2000; see also Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee and Morris, 2002; Hong, et al., 2003) used cognitive priming techniques and examined cultural frame-switching in relation to attribution tasks. They found that westernized Chinese students in Hong Kong were more likely to give situational explanations when their Chinese cultural knowledge was activated than when an American cultural priming condition was used. The same results were found among Chinese American students in California. Other experimental studies have reported similar results, not only for attributions but also for self-evaluations, attitudes and value endorsement (e.g., Ross, Xun, & Wilson, 2002; Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2002, 2006). All these studies have used multivariate and univariate analyses with post hoc comparisons to examine differences in mean scores. The central question in these analyses is whether the mean scores of the bicultural participants are culturally prime consistent and correspond with the familiar differences between collectivistic and individualistic cultures.

In contrast, the present study examines the cultural meanings of specific constructs among bicultural individuals by using a combination of exploratory factor analysis and structural equation modeling. In this way, we investigate construct (in)equivalence between the two cultures of comparison: the Dutch and Greek. It is our intention to show that a structural equation approach is an important addition to the existing mean-score-oriented analyses of biculturalism that do not examine the patterns of meanings. Data were gathered among bicultural individuals of Greek descent living in the Netherlands. A group of mono-cultural Dutch people in the Netherlands and a group of mono-cultural Greek people living in Greece were included as control groups. We examined whether the patterns found for the experimentally primed bicultural individuals (Dutch cultural identity or Greek cultural identity) were similar to the patterns for the corresponding mono-cultural groups.

Culture-specific meanings

Traits, norms and values can have different connotations depending on the language and cultural context in which they have evolved and function. Ho (1996), for example, has argued that the concept of 'filial piety' has broader connotations in the Chinese culture than in the North American context. In the Chinese context it is more strongly associated with taking care of one's parents, coping with their expectations and treating them with respect. Another example is that the notion of honor is more closely related to family and social interdependence in Mediterranean countries such as Spain and Greece than in northwestern European countries such as the Netherlands (e.g., Gregg, 2005; Rodriguez, Mosquera, Manstead, & Fischer, 2002).

Typically, the distinction between individualism and collectivism is used to make sense of these cultural differences. Although this distinction has been criticized (e.g., Fiske, 2002; Gregg, 2005) it is helpful in describing aspects of particular worldviews and it provides a way of making specific predictions about how the bicultural mind works. For example, focusing on personal development and individual goals, and expressing oneself and communicating directly, are key concepts in a more individualistic context. In contrast, in a more collectivist context, the emphasis is more on establishing and maintaining harmonious relationships. Interdependence entails being receptive to others and developing a motivational system in accordance with obligations and anticipated expectations of close others rather than focusing on personal needs and goals (Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002; Kanagawa, Cross, & Markus, 2001; Markus, Kitayama, & Heiman, 1996).

Hofstede (1980) argues and shows that individualism in the workplace implies an emphasis on personal autonomy, an appreciation of being direct as well as an emphasis on personal time and free choice. In contrast, in more collectivist cultures job stability and hierarchy are relatively more strongly emphasized. Kim and Sharkey (1995) found in organizational settings that Euro-Americans endorse clarity, i.e., making one's intentions explicitly clear, while Asian-Americans were more concerned with efforts to avoid hurting the feelings of the others. Triandis (1990) has specified that in an individualistic context self-reliance has the connotation of personal independence, 'being able to do your own thing', whereas in a collectivist culture it elicits a more relational-oriented meaning, such as 'not being a burden on your ingroup'. Furthermore, the key dimensions relating to 'friendship' have been found to differ between individualist and collectivist cultures. In the former, friendship is more closely linked to ideas about personal development, openness and life-satisfaction, whereas in the latter, it is related to issues of interdependency, strong sensitivity to intimacy and expectations of mutual loyalty and obligations (Argyle, Henderson, Bond, Iizuka, & Contarello, 1986; Sheets & Lugar, 2005; Verkuyten & Masson, 1996).

Research has shown that Greek culture is more collectivist than Dutch culture (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis et al., 1986). Traditionally, in Greece there is a relatively stronger emphasis on collectivist orientations and values than in the Netherlands. Although, over the years, extensive individualization of Greek society has taken

place (Georgas, 1989), important differences remain (see Georgas et al., 1997; Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2002, 2006). For most Greeks, friendship and family expectations are fundamental concerns. Additionally, it has been found that Greeks maintain in-group closeness, e.g. through more frequent personal contact, and have stronger emotional bonds in a wider network of family relations than the Dutch do. Values of respect, and meeting the family expectations also fuel achievement and influence performance related motivation at work and school.

We focused on the conceptual features related to the constructs of 'work', 'friendship', and 'the self'. There were two reasons for doing so. One is that these constructs have been highlighted in cross-cultural work. The other is that in a pilot study we found these constructs to be relevant in both the Dutch and the Greek culture. Furthermore, in a previous analysis we found for these constructs clear differences in mean scores between samples from both cultures, as well as a pattern of prime consistent responses in bicultural individuals (Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2006).

In general terms, we expected that for the Greek participants in Greece (a) the expectations of close others (family) were most likely to positively relate to their work attitudes, (b) friendship would be understood as signifying an intimate, close and trustful relationship and (c) the self would be perceived in terms of being emotional, collectivist, modest, and enjoying life. The Dutch participants, on the other hand, were expected to (a) associate work-related values with more individualistic ideas, such as effective use of personal time, planning and making one's feelings and intentions explicitly clear, (b) to understand friendship as related to life-satisfaction, and (c) to value a self-reliant, modern, and independent self.

For our study, however, the critical hypothesis is that the pattern of associations for the bicultural individuals in the Greek priming condition will be similar to the mono-cultural Greek participants in Greece, whereas the pattern of associations for the bicultural individuals in the Dutch priming condition will be similar to the mono-cultural Dutch participants. It is this prediction that forms the critical test for the idea that cultural frame-switching occurs among biculturals in terms of associated meanings, as implied by the dynamic constructivist approach.

4.2 Methods

Participants

The study was carried out among 408 bicultural and mono-cultural participants. Of the mono-cultural participants, 110 were recruited in Greece (Athens) and 92 in the Netherlands (Amsterdam). The bicultural sample consisted of participants of Greek descent between 18 and 70 years of age that were proficient in both the Greek and the Dutch language. The mean score for self-reported Greek language proficiency was 6.15 ($SD = 1.01$) and for the Dutch language it was 5.86 ($SD = 1.05$). However, to increase response reliability regarding culture-bound connotations (Ralston, Cunniff, & Gustafson, 1995; Bond, 1983), we only included those responses from bicultural individuals that met the criteria for self-reported command of both languages (scor-

ing above the neutral-midpoint on a 7-point Likert-type scale). In total, the present analysis is based on 179 bicultural participants. The mean number of years that these participants had been living in the Netherlands was 21.5 ($SD = 10.11$) and their average age was 38.9 ($SD = 12.79$). Of the total number of participants, 51% were males and 49% females. There were no gender and age differences between the mono-cultural and bicultural groups.

Design

An experimental questionnaire study was carried out. There were two versions of the questionnaire. We used iconic cultural symbols and language to prime Dutch and Greek cultural identity. Similar to other studies (e.g., Hong et al., 2000, 2003; Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2002, 2006), the participants were presented with pictures of either Dutch icons (national flag, a windmill, and a person in traditional clothing) or Greek icons (national flag, the Acropolis, and person in traditional clothing). In addition, the questionnaires were in either Dutch or Greek. In other words, the study was introduced and conducted in one or the other language. Following Krauss and Chiu (1998), we considered the combination of icons and language an effective means of activating the two different cultural frames.

The group of mono-cultural Dutch participants completed the Dutch version of the questionnaire and the mono-cultural Greek participants in Greece completed the Greek version. In addition, because we wanted to have four groups more or less equal in terms of demand-load, a between-subjects design rather than a within-subjects design was used. Hence, the bicultural participants were presented randomly with either the Dutch or the Greek version of the questionnaire. For our present purposes, we will refer to the former group of bicultural participants as the Dutch-primed-group and the latter as the Greek primed- group.

Measures

For the present study, we began with a preliminary survey to identify important cultural orientations endorsed by people in Greece and in the Netherlands. To identify typical Greek orientations we conducted interviews and face–to–face discussions with Greeks who had recently come to the Netherlands (less than 1 year prior to the interview), and we did the same by email with Greeks in Greece. Based on this information an exploratory questionnaire with 37 items was developed and presented to 22 people living in Greece. The participants were found to strongly endorse the importance of friendship, family, modesty, and respect for tradition.

To identify Dutch cultural orientations we held interviews and discussions with Dutch people and examined Dutch newspapers. We found that the idea of becoming a self-reliant and independent (in Dutch, 'zelfstandig worden') individual was emphasized. The notions of 'clarity' (in Dutch 'helderheid' and 'duidelijkheid'), 'discipline' (in a working context; in Dutch 'hard werken'), 'effective use of time', and

'good planning' were also emphasized and were related to performance and achievement in school and at work.

In a previous analysis of the present data we followed existing research on cultural frame-switching and examined differences in mean scores for the importance assigned to various constructs (Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2006). Here we want to go a step further and test cultural frame-switching in bicultural individuals in terms of shifting patterns of meaning. For doing so, two things are important. One is that the items selected for analysis must be directly observed endogenous variables as this is mandatory for the structural equation technique we used. The other is that the selected items must show clear and substantial differences between the two cultural contexts. Therefore, the present analysis focuses on those items that show significant mean score differences between the mono-cultural Dutch and Greek sample, as well as prime consistent responses among the biculturals. Hence, for our present purpose we used a limited set of items.

The items selected were on values related to 'respect for tradition', 'respect for parents' and 'modesty', which were more highly endorsed by the Greek and the Greek-primed participants, and 'discipline' (in the sense of hard working), 'clarity' (in the sense of clearly expressing ones wishes and desires), and 'effective use of time' as values more strongly endorsed by the Dutch and the Dutch-primed participants (see Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2006). For 'friendship' we used the single item (out of four) that elicited the main difference between the two target cultures, namely 'you can't live without real, good friends'. Using 7-point scales, the participants were asked to indicate their endorsement of these values.

In addition, to measure self-related values, the participants were presented with trait adjectives taken from both cultural backgrounds. They were asked to indicate to what extent they identified themselves with a list of six bi-polar traits: 'individualist' (versus being 'collectivist'), 'modern' (versus being 'traditional'), 'modest' (versus being 'impertinent'), 'dependent' (versus 'independent'), 'emotional' (versus 'rational'), and 'not-enjoying life' (versus 'enjoying life'). Being individualist, modern and rational were found to be more typical of Dutch culture, while the other adjectives were considered more typical of Greek people (Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2006). The participants were asked to rate their agreement on a 7-point scale marked 3 to 1 for the first trait, 0 in the middle for a neutral choice, followed by 1 to 3 for the second trait. Thus, higher values indicate greater agreement with either of the two opposite traits. All answers were recoded to a scale ranging from 1 to 7 where higher values indicate stronger agreement with the second adjective.

All questions used were originally constructed in both target languages and then translated. Subsequently, mono-cultural reviewers assessed the translations for any linguistic or comprehension problems. Three mono-cultural Dutch and three mono-cultural Greeks, unaware of the underlying research questions, performed a final proofreading of the questions.

4.3 Results

To examine cultural frame-switching in terms of patterns of associations, we used a combination of exploratory factor analysis and structural equation modeling (SEM; see Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997; Bollen, 1989). For the latter we used the package AMOS (Byrne, 2001).

Identification of relevant factors

We first examined the correlations for the two mono-cultural control groups separately by performing principal component analyses (PCA). We used the Oblimin rotation method with Kaiser normalization and a >.30 criterion for item-scale correlation extraction. For the mono-cultural Dutch group, four factors were found explaining 22.5%, 16.9%, 14.3% and 10.7% of the variance, respectively. For the Greek group also four factors explained 18.4%, 14.9%, 14.0% and 12.16% of the variance.

For the Dutch group, nine items loaded on the first three factors and only one item ('respect for parents') loaded on the fourth factor. The other two items did not load (<.30) on one of the four factors. Thus, for the Dutch we identified three latent factors with nine items. SEM requires that at least two items load on a latent factor and therefore we used these nine items in the further analyses. For the Greek group, ten items loaded on the four factors with at least two items loading on each of the factors. Thus, for the Greeks, we distinguished four latent factors.

The selection of items for further analyses contains only those that cluster together and are indicative of divergent patterns for each culture. Items that were important in just one of the two cultures (such as 'modesty' and 'modest', which only figured strongly in the Greek data) were not included.

Establishing the baseline models

Using the first three latent factors of both factor models, we compared the underlying dimensions of the concepts related to 'work' (working hard), the need for 'friendship' and the self-aspect of being 'dependent'. The fourth factor in the Greek model was related to the self as being 'emotional'.

In defining the two distinct models we first tested the Greek and the Dutch model for each mono-cultural group separately using the AMOS program. After some small amendments following modification indices, the baseline models with identical path diagram structure were established. The following specifications were used. The latent factors were left free to covary. Each observed variable was fixed to load on the specific latent variable in which it most strongly correlates with the other observed variables, following the clustering in the exploratory factor analysis. The first loading on each factor was constrained to be equal to 1.0 for identification purposes. We allowed cross-loadings when a factor was explained with only two variables, because this is necessary in structural equation modeling (Bollen, 1989; Byrne, 2001). In addition, we left the error variance of each observed variable unrestricted, whereas

we fixed their regression weights to the endogenous variables to 1.0. The overall summaries of the estimation process provided by AMOS showed that both baseline models were overidentified, indicating that the number of estimable parameters is less than the number of variances and covariances of the observed variables (Byrne, 2001). This situation allows for the rejection of the models making appropriate tests possible.

The best factor solution was determined by using χ^2 tests. Additional indices were used to estimate the goodness of fit of the models. One is the Goodness-of-Fit (GFI) that measures the relative amount of variance and covariance jointly accounted for by the model. Another is the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) that measures the discrepancy per degree of freedom. The more variance accounted for by the model, the better the fit. Two more fit indices were used: Tucker–Lewis Index (TLI) and, because of the relative small sample size (Bollen, 1989), the Comparative Fit Index (CFI).

The two Figs. 4.1 and 4.2 show different patterns for each cultural group. For the first three latent factors in both baseline models we compared the three underlying dimensions. Within the Greek model's latent factor 'work', 'discipline' (in the sense of working hard) relates most strongly to 'respect for parents', and 'respect for tradition'. Within the corresponding Dutch factor, we found the same item, as expected, to correlate highly with 'effective use of time' and 'clarity' (in the sense of clearly expressing ones wishes and desires), followed by 'respect for tradition'. But surprisingly, within the Greek model, 'effective use of time' and 'clarity' (in the sense of clearly expressing one's wishes and desires) are most strongly linked to 'need for friends' in the latent factor 'friendship'. In the corresponding factor for the Dutch group, 'need for friends' is associated with 'enjoying life', and being 'emotional'. In the Greek model 'being dependent' appears to be strongly and negatively correlated to 'enjoying life', while for the Dutch model 'being dependent' is opposed to 'individualist'. In the Greek model 'emotional' is negatively associated with 'individualist'.

Across-group comparisons

Having established the validity of the four-factor Greek baseline model and the three-factor Dutch baseline model, we next tested our central hypothesis. We followed the standard procedure for testing the across-group invariance of the models with a global test on the equality of covariance structure across the Greek and the Greek-primed-group and across the Dutch and the Dutch-primed-group simultaneously (Byrne, 2004). These tests provide the baseline fit values against which, in the next steps, all subsequently imposed constraints are compared. In this way, we fixed (labeled) parameters in an increasingly restrictive fashion and then tested the invariance of the constrained models across the dual-groups.

In testing the equality of covariance structure of both models, we found that the null hypothesis was confirmed in all tests, both in the single-group analysis and the across-group analysis. As shown in Table 4.1, the fit was adequate for both dual-

Greek baseline model constrained

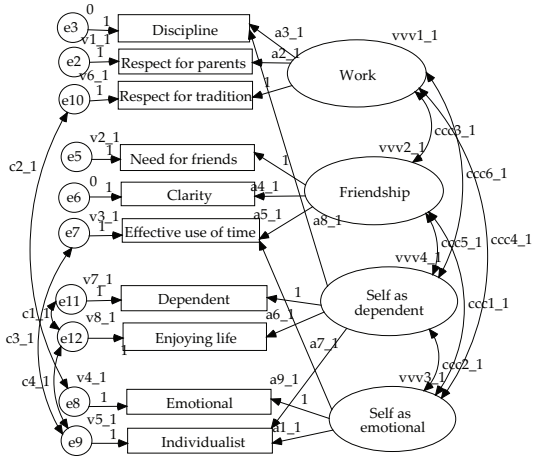

Figure 4.1: *Greek baseline model with equality constraints for all factor loadings and all latent factor variances and covariances (includes two error variances)*

Dutch baseline model constrained

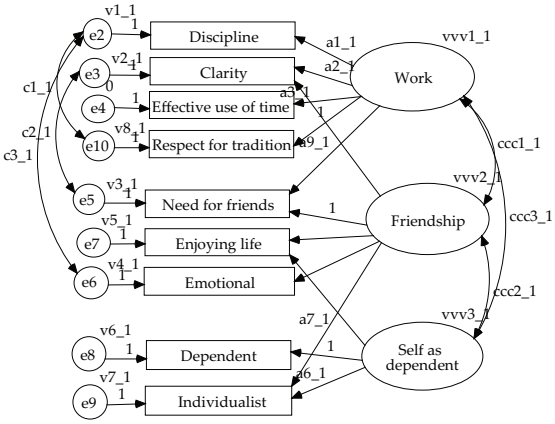

Figure 4.2: *Dutch baseline model with equality constraints for all factor loadings (except for 'friendship'), all latent factor variances and covariances (includes one error variance)*

Table 4.1: *The Greek and Dutch Baseline Models.*

Model description	*Groups*	χ^2	*df*	*p-value*	*GFI*	*CFI*	*TLI*	*RMSEA*
Greek factorial structure								
	Greek+Greek–primed	32.046	48	0.963	0.969	1.000	1.209	0.000
	Greek	10.867	24	0.990	0.980	1.000	1.396	0.000
	Greek–primed	21.225	24	0.625	0.956	1.000	1.065	0.000
Dutch factorial structure								
	Dutch+Dutch–primed	32.554	36	0.633	0.963	1.000	1.036	0.000
	Dutch	21.980	18	0.233	0.953	0.946	0.898	0.049
	Dutch–primed	10.575	18	0.912	0.974	1.000	1.133	0.000

Goodness-of-fit statistics for tests of structural invariance.
Results from across-group and separate validation.

group tests. The overall χ^2 value when both baseline models were simultaneously estimated was summative as required, and equaled the χ^2 values of the models when tested separately for each group. Additionally, the other fit indices in Table 4.1 support this conclusion. Thus, the results indicate that the Greek baseline model is entirely adequate for the Greek-primed participants. Furthermore, the analysis for the Dutch and the Dutch–primed- group also confirmed the adequacy of the Dutch baseline model for the Dutch–primed participants. Hence, the results indicate that the factorial structure of both baseline models replicate across the relevant bicultural groups.

Nested comparisons

Subsequently, a sequence of nested comparison models was tested (Byrne, 2001, 2004) in which successive additional constraints were applied to the baseline models starting with (a) the factor loadings, followed by (b) the latent variances and covariances, and finally (c) the error variances and covariances. We specified the equality of constrains by labeling them in the two graphical representations of the two models presented in Figs. 4.1 and 4.2. In each case, the invariance of the constrained models was tested across the groups with the above order.

Invariance of all four factor-loading constraints was found to be adequate in the data for the Greek and the Greek-primed participants when tested simultaneously. As shown in Table 4.2, comparison with the baseline Greek model yielded an adequate fit. Additional constraints on the latent variances and covariances turned out to be non-invariant across the two groups, but when the nested model was constrained with only the latent covariances, it provided an adequate fit (see Table 4.2). The even more constrained model with equality of all the error variances and covariances, however, reached statistical significance.

The Dutch baseline model was invariant across the Dutch and Dutch-primed groups when all factor loadings were constrained, except those for 'friendship' (see Table 4.2). Additional restrictions concerning latent variances and covariances turned

Table 4.2: *Goodness-of-fit statistics for the Greek and the Dutch Constrained Models.*

Model	Δdf	$\Delta\chi^2$	*p-value*
Greek constrained model simultaneously tested across the Greek and the Greek-primed group			
1. Measurement weights constrained equal (All latent factors)	9	8.895	0.447
1.1 Latent variances and covariances constrained to be equal	10	29.862	0.001
1.2 Latent covariances (only) constrained equal	6	2.621	0.855
1.2.1 Measurement residuals constrained equal	12	24.292	0.019
1.3 Latent variances only constrained equal	4	14.408	0.006
Dutch constrained model simultaneously tested across the Dutch and the Dutch-primed group			
1.Measurement weights except for the 'friendship' factor constrained equal ($a_{i_1} = a_{i_2}$, $i = 1,2,3,6,7,9$)	6	9.567	0.144
1.1 Latent variances and covariances constrained to be equal	6	9.145	0.166
1.1.1. Measurement residuals constrained to be equal	11	25.543	0.008

Results from simultaneously tested Nested Model Comparisons.

out to result in fitting models in both groups too. Further limitations did not reach the necessary level of non-significance.

The results presented in Table 4.2 indicate that both cultural models are indeed invariant across each mono-cultural group and its corresponding bicultural group. Hence, we found evidence that, depending on cultural priming, biculturals follow the corresponding patterns of associations characteristic of the relevant mono-cultural group. The single exception appears to be 'friendship' for the Dutch-primed- group. For them, the modified cross-loading to the 'clarity' item (in the sense of clearly expressing ones wishes and desires) might well indicate that the Dutch-primed participants maintain Greek-oriented connotations in this domain.

Finally, we also cross-validated the models by applying the Greek model to the Dutch and the Dutch-primed group, and the Dutch model to the Greek and the Greek-primed group. In all these cases, we were unable to obtain a fit to the data, showing that the models developed meet the necessary selectivity requirements for our assumption of cultural frame-switching in terms of patterns of connotations.

4.4 Discussion

The present examination has tried to go beyond previous experimental research on biculturalism by focusing on associated meanings and using structural equation modeling. We tried to show that cultural frame-switching in bicultural individuals involves a change in patterns of meaning. For this purpose we compared bicultural people of Greek descent living in the Netherlands with samples of mono-cultural Dutch participants and mono-cultural Greek participants living in Greece.

The key finding is that the mono-cultural factor models fit the data for the cor-

respondingly primed bicultural participants. The Greek participants and those in the Greek-primed group had a similar pattern of associations, and this pattern differed from that of the Dutch participants and the participants in the Dutch-primed group. The models of the latter two groups were, again, similar. Hence, the two mono-cultural association patterns were quite different and these differences were replicated among bicultural individuals. In the Greek context, for example, being dependent is understood as contrary to enjoying life, possibly because of the pressure of ingroup obligations (Georgas, Berry, Shaw, Christakopoulou, & Mylonas, 1996; Oyserman et al., 2002). On the other hand, in the Dutch context it is understood as being opposite to individualism, as it might express a lack of self-reliance and competitiveness (Rodriguez et al., 2002; Oyserman et al., 2002). Furthermore, in the Greek priming condition, not only was the structure of the factors reproduced but also the relative strengths of the associations. The same holds in the Dutch priming condition, with the exception of the 'friendship' factor. These results suggest that frame-switching occurs not only at the level of attributions and degree of value endorsement as indicated by mean score differences (e.g., Hong et al., 2000, 2003; Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2002, 2006), but also at the level of associated meanings. These findings offer critical support for the premise of the dynamic constructivist approach that cultures are internalized in the form of different meaning systems (Hong et al., 2000).

There were also some unexpected findings. For example, the Dutch and Dutch-primed participants associated 'effective use of time' and 'clarity' to work-related values. Surprisingly, however, for the Greek and Greek-primed participants, these items were associated with friendship. This suggest that for the Greeks, ideas about using your time effectively and clearly expressing your wishes and desires is important in friendships. Some anecdotal support for this interpretation comes from three Greek interviewees from our pilot work. They were asked to describe what they mean by 'make good use of your time' and argued that this implies 'having activities, interests, to go out, to meet friends and relatives to travel to study, to do things, not to waste your time without doing anything', and 'to work systematically, so that you finish on time and still have time to meet your friends'.

Another noteworthy finding is that among the Greek mono-cultural group, 'respect for parents' was associated with 'respect for traditions' and 'discipline', whereas among the Dutch mono-culturals, parental respect was not associated with any of the other items. This might reflect the fact that in collectivist cultures values of intergenerational obedience, family integrity, and tradition are stressed, whereas in individualist cultures more emphasis is placed on autonomy and independence (Georgas et al., 1996; Kagitcibasi, 1990). This differences has also been found in comparing Greece and the Netherlands, and among Greek–Dutch bicultural early adolescents (Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2002).

In evaluating our results, some qualifications should be considered. A strong point of our study was the use of sizeable groups of bicultural participants that were proficient in both languages together with mono-cultural participants in two national contexts. However, we focused on a rather limited number of items and latent

factors, namely those that indicated clear differences between both mono-cultural groups and prime consistent responses of biculturals (Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2006). Hence, our analysis can be seen as a first step in a new and promising direction. Future studies might want to adopt and elaborate on the current approach. In doing so, it also seems interesting to consider the extent and nature of biculturalism, the level of acculturation, and the degree of cultural identification so that differentiations within the group of bicultural participants can be made (Benet-Martı´nez et al., 2002; Haritatos & Benet-Martı´nez, 2002; Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2006).

Another qualification is that some might argue that language rather than culture is responsible for the cultural priming effects found. Following previous studies (e.g., Hong et al., 2000, 2003), cultural icons and language were used experimentally to activate different frames. Previous studies have found that language serves as a situational cue for the flexible use of cultural self-construals among bicultural individuals (e.g., Kemmelmeier & Cheng, 2004; Ross et al., 2002; Trafimow, Silverman, Fan, & Law, 1997). Furthermore, Ji, Zhang, and Nisbett (2004) have shown that culture can affect categorization processes independent of the testing language. Hence, it is unlikely that the effects found are unrelated to cultural framing.

In conclusion, we have tried to make a contribution to the literature on biculturalism by examining cultural frame-switching at the level of associations. By studying experimentally primed bicultural participants and by including mono-cultural comparison groups, we have demonstrated that meanings are affected by cultural framing. The dynamic constructivist approach helps to explain how cultural knowledge influences perceptions and behaviors. We have tried to show that this explanation should also consider the associated meanings. The analysis indicates that structural equation modeling is a useful technique for examining the bicultural mind. The technique offers a more complex understanding of cultural meanings regardless of the language used and allows for comparisons across mono-cultural and bicultural groups. Further, the results indicate that the question of comparability or measurement equivalence is not only important in cross-cultural work (see Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997), but also when examining biculturalism. Some constructs are not identically perceived within the two cultural contexts and bicultural individuals follow these contextual meanings in their cultural frame-switching.

Chapter 5

Self-evaluations, psychological well-being, and cultural context: The changing Greek society

In the context of Greece, we examined psychological correlates of individualization. In Study 1, the Greek context was compared to the Netherlands and Study 2 focused on Greece and examined individual differences in self-descriptions. In Study 1, a distinction between Greek 'neo-collectivist' and collectivist participants could be made. For both subsamples, the collective self played a key role in psychological well-being. In addition, for the 'neo-collectivist' participants it was the combination of high personal and high collective self-evaluation that predicted psychological well-being. The second study examined individualism in Greek society at the level of self-descriptions. The results were in agreement with the first study. Only for participants relatively high on individualism, higher personal self-evaluation was related to higher collective self-evaluation and to global self-esteem. Taken together, the findings indicate that individualization in the Greek context increases personal self-evaluation but without changing the positive evaluation of the collective self and its central role in well-being.

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5.1 Introduction

Societies around the world are undergoing processes of modernization. These processes influence various spheres and aspects of life, but do not have to affect all sections of the population equally. It is likely, for example, that some people in changing societies may seek to find a balance between new and traditional values and beliefs whereas others remain more collectivist oriented. There may be important subgroup differences within a society or a culture. The present research examines this assumption within the context of Greece and by focusing on the relationship between personal and collective self-evaluation. Greece is traditionally regarded a collectivist society but is undergoing a process of individualization and modernization (Georgas, 1989; Hofstede, 1980; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005).

Two studies were conducted. In Study 1, the focus was on the two types of self-evaluation and their relationships with global self-esteem and general life-satisfaction as two key indicators of psychological well-being. In this study, the Greek context was compared to the Netherlands. Study 2 focused on Greece and examined personal and collective self-evaluation and the associated role of individualism versus collectivism in terms of self-descriptive traits. Although a fair amount of research has compared personal and collective self-evaluations across cultures, little consideration has been given to the relationship between these two self-concepts within cultures undergoing transitions and how they relate to well-being.

Culture and the Personal and the Collective Self

Comparative research has found cross-cultural differences in self-perceptions and the ways in which these perceptions affect well-being (see Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002, for an overview). For example, the independent self, prominent in more individualist cultures, manifests itself in a number of interrelated ways. An emphasis on self-sufficiency and a relative detachment from the situational and relational context are examples (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). The focus tends to be on internal traits and psychological attributes, with a concomitant endorsement of self-focused values such as personal freedom, personal satisfaction and self-enhancement. Hence, the independent self is self-directed and self-monitoring in promoting personal goals.

In contrast, for the interdependent self, prominent in more collectivist cultures, the emphasis lies on relational-oriented values such as modesty and belongingness, and the relational aspects of the self provide the main criteria for self-worth and success (Gardner, Gabriel, & Lee, 1999; Triandis, McCusker, & Huis, 1990). There is a tendency towards self-criticism which is revealed, for example, by the greater proportion of negative and self-critical descriptions that Japanese compared to North Americans provide (Kanagawa, Cross, & Markus, 2001) and in a modest response style (Heine, Lehman, Markus, & Kitayama, 1999).

Self-criticism and the fear of losing face is also present in the traditional Greek culture and is expressed, for example, in the saying 'den exo moutra', which literally

means 'I no longer have a face (to show in society)'. In the Greek culture, not being attentive to others is linked to egocentrism. The words egocentrism, egoism, egomania, or being an egoist, all derive from the word Ego ('I', in the Greek language) and have negative connotations. They imply a neglect of others because of a one-sided focus on the 'ego'. Moreover, when these terms are used to describe oneself this is commonly perceived as a form of self-criticism that indirectly, but clearly, implies that one is not being receptive enough to the needs of others.

In addition, the idea that it is a 'man's duty'[1] to care about the common interest ('ta koina') and to participate in matters of public benefit because it is his obligation to contribute (through public debates) to the 'democracy', has ancient roots in Greece. In classical tragedies, which are still popular in Greece, the chorus (choros[2]) represents the necessity of public criticism. The comments upon one's actions by the chorus signify, even for the most powerful, the undisputed judgment about what is worthwhile in life and which matters are above and beyond any human attempt to evade the unwritten laws of the Gods.

The importance of the other and the quality of interdependence is still emphasized in present-day Greece. Recent research has shown that, already from early adolescence on, the collective self is privileged (Verkuyten & Pouliasi 2002). Given the strongly grounded collective self in the Greek context and the negative connotations of 'ego', particularly among participants maintaining a collectivist self-orientation, it is likely that the evaluation of the personal and the collective self will not be positively associated.

In individualist cultures, like the Netherlands, it is the emphasis on the personal self that typically yields positive reactions and connotations. Although the collective self, in the form of family and friendship relations, is less positively evaluated in the Netherlands compared to Greece (Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2002, 2006), this is not found when the collective self is examined in an unspecified ('We') way (Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2006). A possible reason is that a sense of collective self can be based upon many contingencies. Furthermore, in an individualist cultural context one's collective self can be a matter of personal choice rather than of duty and obligation. The emphasis is on self-chosen collectivities that are meaningful to one's personal life and not so much on group interdependence and moral commitments to in-groups (Cross & Markus, 1999; Triandis, 1989).

In the present research we focused on the unspecified collective self and, therefore, in Study 1 we did not expect differences in collective self-evaluations between the Dutch and the Greek participants. In addition, in the Dutch context, the importance of the personal self was expected to be emphasized more strongly and a positive association between the evaluation of the personal and the collective self was expected.

Psychological Well-Being

Research has shown that the relative emphasis on either the personal or the collective self within a culture is a key factor in regulating psychological well-being. For exam-

ple, for the more interdependent self, global self-esteem and general life-satisfaction have been found to be associated with family integrity, social appraisal and friendships (Gabriel, Renaud, & Tippin, 2007; Suh, 2002). In contrast, for the more independent self, personal autonomy and independence from others tend to be related to self-esteem (Singelis, Bond, Sharkey, & Yiu Lai, 1999) and life-satisfaction (Cross, Gore, & Morris, 2003). Thus, in Study 1 we expected that in the Dutch context the evaluation of the personal self is more important for global self-esteem and general life-satisfaction, whereas in the Greek context the evaluation of the collective self will play this role. However, we did not expect to find a homogenous pattern of self-understandings in present day Greek society, which is bound to have implications for the expected associations.

Greek Society in Transition

Modernization theorists have argued that economic development goes hand in hand with the adoption of individualist values, both at the national and at the personal level. Inglehart and Baker (2000), for example, have studied this relationship in 65 countries and found consistent support for it. Economic development implies a shift from religious and absolute norms and values to more secular and self-oriented ones. However, these authors also underline the continuing impact of a society's cultural heritage. Individualization does not have to imply the loss of traditions and these traditions might play an important role in coping with the increasing demands of our interconnected world (Giddens, 1994). A similar argument is made in cross-cultural psychology. For example, Kagitcibasi (2005) argues that urbanization and socioeconomic development in societies with collectivistic cultures of relatedness lead to a self-understanding in which autonomy and relatedness are combined.

Greece has seen a gradual economic improvement and the country is listed among the high income countries (World Development Indicators, 2002, as quoted in Inglehart and Welzel, 2005, p. 57). However, the Greeks have a low individualist orientation compared to, for example, the Dutch (Inglehart & Wezels, 2005). Over the years extensive individualization of Greek society has taken place, but there is also a relatively strong emphasis on traditional orientations and values (Georgas, 1989; Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, 1989). For example, although a shift towards the nuclear family system and 'modern' family roles has occurred, strong attachments to the family and family norms persists (Papadopoulos, 1988) and these are substantially stronger than in the Netherlands (Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2002, 2006). Likewise, in Greece the emphasis on 'work discipline' show stronger associations with 'respect for parents' and 'respect for tradition', and not, for example, with 'clarity of purpose' and 'effective use of time' as in the Dutch context (Pouliasi & Verkuyten 2007). Furthermore, in Greece happiness in life is predicted by close relationships with friends whereas, for example, in the UK, social relations in general are important for feelings of happiness (Kafetsios, 2006). Hence we expected that a tradition-grounded collective self is still present in the Greek self-understanding.

Triandis (1989) argues that culture affects the differential sampling of the personal and the collective self. The more collectivist and homogenous a culture is, the more its norms and values are clear and shared and the more the collective self will be sampled. In a society engaged in economic development a tendency to promote the personal self can be expected, which in turn increases the likelihood of its more frequent sampling. Thus, in contemporary Greek society, considerable segments of the population may not only endorse collectivist self-related values and norms, but in addition also adopt individualist orientations. For the Greek participants, we thus expected a rather large heterogeneity, or variance, in the evaluation of the personal self that may moderate the associations with psychological well-being and divide the Greek sample into two subsamples (Baron & Kenny, 1986; Frazier, Tix, & Baron, 2004): a sample of collectivist participants, and a sample of 'neo-collectivists'. Compared to the former, the latter can be expected to have a more positive personal self-evaluation that contributes to psychological well-being, resembling the Dutch pattern. Yet, an emphasis on the personal self does not have to go against the ingrained focus on relatedness and interdependence in Greece (Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2002; 2006; Pouliasi & Verkuyten 2007). Interdependency is expected to remain a shared aspect of the self-understanding of all Greek participants and therefore the collective self can be expected to be a strong source of self-esteem and life-satisfaction, for both the 'neo-collectivist' and the collectivist Greek participants.

The Current Research

The current research goes beyond previous cross-cultural studies by focusing on differences in self-evaluation in Greece in comparison to the Netherlands (Study 1), and in relation to individual differences in the self-descriptive trait of individualism versus collectivism (Study 2). In Study 1, we collected spontaneous self-evaluations and used direct measures, and also assessed global self-esteem and general life-satisfaction as two important indicators of psychological well-being. Compared to the Dutch, the Greek participants were expected to evaluate the personal self less positively, whereas no group differences were expected for the evaluation of the unspecified collective self. Furthermore, for the Dutch participants personal self-evaluation was expected to be the key predictor of global self-esteem and general life-satisfaction. In contrast, for the Greek participants and considering the assumed non-homogenous self-understandings in present day Greek society, we expected a relatively large variance in personal self-evaluation that most likely will moderate the relationships discussed and partition the Greek participants into two subsamples: a 'neo-collectivist' and the familiar collectivist one. The more positive evaluation of the personal self for the first subsample compared to the latter will enhance its role in predicting psychological well-being. However, for both samples the collective self was expected to be the critical predictive factor.

5.2 Study 1

Method

Participants and Procedure

The study was carried out among 131 participants between 18 and 70 years of age ($M = 38.9$, $SD = 12.79$). The 65 Greek participants (32 males and 33 females) were recruited in Greece and the 66 Dutch participants in the Netherlands (32 males and 34 females). Particular care was taken to ensure that the two samples were similar in terms of background characteristics. There were no significant differences ($p_s >$ .10) between the two groups in age, gender, family circumstances (e.g. marriage, children), formal education and employment status, and all participants were from urban areas.

Two versions of a questionnaire were used, one for the Greek participants and one for the Dutch participants each in the corresponding language. Each page of the two versions was discretely illustrated by Dutch (e.g., Dutch national flag, windmill, traditional clothing) or Greek cultural symbols (e.g. Greek national flag, Acropolis, traditional clothing). Several studies have used cultural symbols to make cultural identities salient and to prompt the activation of each culture's constructs (Pouliasi & Verkuyten, 2007). The combination of both language and icons is considered an adequate procedure to increase the effectiveness of culture-bound cognitions (Krauss & Chiu, 1998).

Measures

Spontaneous self-associations were elicited by open-ended questions. We adapted the well-known Twenty Statement Test to make it appropriate to our specific purpose and context (Hong, Ip, Chiu, Morris, & Menon, 2001). In Greece, people do not typically start a self-description by using either the phrase 'I am' or the personal pronoun 'I'. They rather use the proper conjugated form of a verb or just a noun. Thus, the participants were presented with the words 'I' and 'We' (in Greek: 'Ego' and 'Emeis', in Dutch: 'Ik' and 'Wij') and were asked to write seven statements about what came to their mind when they thought about these words. Experimental research has demonstrated that these pronouns carry clear evaluative significance (Hetts, Sakuma, & Pelham, 1999; Perdue, Dovidio, Gurtman, & Tyler, 1990).

Two Dutch and two Greek coders, blind to the goals of the research, categorized these statements in terms of positive, negative or neutral meanings in the respective cultures. The neutral category was added because the Greek coders reported that a dichotomous categorization into either a positive or a negative valence was inadequate. Inter-coder reliability was acceptable: $\kappa = .72$ for the personal self and .82 for the collective self. For each participant we counted the number of positive, negative and neutral statements based on each of the two coders. The correlation between the two codings was very high: for personal self, $r = .97$ and for collective self, $r = .93$. The proportion of each type of response for each participant was calculated

by dividing the number of 'responses classified for each type' by the 'total number of responses'. Subsequently, by taking the average of the categorizations measures for personal and for collective self-evaluation were created.

In addition and in order to attain more direct measures of personal and collective self-evaluations, the participants were asked to indicate their evaluative reactions towards the words 'I' and 'We' (Hetts et al., 1999; Perdue et al., 1990; Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2002). Both questions were rated on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 'strongly negative' (1) to 'strongly positive' (7), with 'neutral' (4) in the middle.

Global self-esteem and general life-satisfaction were measured with single items. We were interested in psychological well-being in general and not in relation to specific components of the self-concept or domains of life. For global self-esteem, the Single-Item Self-Esteem Scale (SISE) developed by Robins, Hendin, and Trzesniewski (2001) was used. Using a seven-point scale ranging from 1 (disagree strongly) to 7 (agree strongly), participants were asked to indicate how strongly they agreed with the statement 'In general, I have high self-esteem'. In four studies, Robins et al. (2001) report findings that support the reliability and validity of the SISE (see also Robins, Tracy, & Trzesniewski, Potter & Gosling, 2001; Robins, Trzesniewski, Tracy, Gosling & Potter, 2002). In particular, they found strong convergence between the SISE and the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSES). This convergence has also been found for different cultural groups (Verkuyten, 2009). Robins, Tracey et al. (2001) found correlations between the SISE and the RSES ranging from .74 to .80. In addition to this, both scales had nearly identical correlations with 37 different criteria, including academic outcomes and psychological and physical health. Their findings suggest that 'researchers using the SISE will find virtually the same relations as they would have had if they used the RSES (Robins, Hendin et al., 2001, p. 159). An additional reason for using the SISE is that this measure appears to be less affected by socially desirable responding than the RSES (see Robins, Tracey et al., 2001).

For general life-satisfaction and in order to be consistent with the measure of global self-esteem, we used a single question as originally developed by Andrews and Whitney (1976). This is one of the most popular measurement instruments that has been used in many studies (e.g., Rojas, 2006; Scherpenzeel & Saris, 1996) and there is evidence for the reliability and validity of the measure (Andrews & Whitney, 1976, Veenhoven, 1984). Using the same seven-point scale, participants were asked to indicate how strongly they agreed with the statement 'In general, I am satisfied with my life'.

Results

Spontaneous Self-Associations in the Two Cultures

As predicted, compared to the Dutch participants, the Greek participants generated more negative characterizations and fewer positive characterizations of the personal self. To examine the spontaneous associations with the word 'I', we conducted a 2 (culture: Dutch, Greek) by 3 (valence: positive, negative, neutral) repeated mea-

sures analysis of variance (ANOVA) with valence as a within-subjects variable. This analysis revealed two significant effects. First, there was a main effect for valence, $F(2,125) = 192.76$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .75$. The proportion of positive associations elicited ($M = .77$, $SD = 0.28$) was larger than that of negative ($M = .13$, $SD = 0.23$) and neutral associations ($M = .10$, $SD = 0.16$). The second significant effect was the expected interaction between culture and valence, $F(2,125) = 6.22$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .09$. The proportion of negative associations elicited by the word 'I' was significantly larger for the Greek sample than for the Dutch sample, $t(126) = 2.44$, $p < .05$ (18.2%, and 8.5 %, respectively). Content wise, the negative associations given in the Greek context, were mostly self-critical terms such as egoism, egoist, super-atomist, super-individualism and being arrogant, whereas in the Dutch context personal characteristics such as a lack of self-confidence, insecurity, and lack of initiative were typically given. Hence, the negative associations in Greece were more other-oriented whereas the Dutch tended to provide self-focused qualifications. The proportion of the positive associations retrieved by the word 'I', was consequently lower for the Greek group, $t(126) = 3.45$, $p < .01$, than for the Dutch one (68.5% versus 85.0% respectively). Also the proportion of neutral associations was higher for the Greek (13,7%) compared to the Dutch group (6.5%), $t(126) = 2.57$, $p < .05$. Levene's test indicated a lack of equal variance for the two groups (for the negative proportions $F = 10.2$, $p < .05$, for the positive $F = 14.1$, $p < .001$, and for the neutral $F = 10.1$, $p < .05$).

In a similar analysis for the spontaneous associations with 'We', only a significant main effect for valence was found, $F(2,124) = 727.95$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .92$. The proportion of positive associations ($M = .91$, $SD = .20$) was much higher than the negative ($M = .04$, $SD = .14$) and the neutral associations ($M = .03$, $SD = .10$). There was no interaction between cultural group and valence, $F(2,124) = 1.76$, $p > .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$, and Levene's test showed no difference in the variance between the two groups, $F = 0.19$, $p > .10$.

Direct self-evaluations

The direct evaluations of the personal and the collective self are in agreement with the findings for the spontaneous self-associations. The 2 (cultural group) by 2 (personal and collective self) interaction was significant, $F(2,126) = 7.46$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .11$. Mean scores are presented in Table 5.1. Among the Greek participants, the personal self was significantly less positively evaluated than among the Dutch participants, $t(127) = 3.74$, $p < .001$. In addition, Levene's test for equality of variance, again, indicated significantly more variance among the Greeks than among the Dutch, $F = 31.22$, $p < .001$. The Greek scores ranged from 1 to 7 and had a bimodal distribution with a peak at the right (around 6) and the left side (around 3) of the scale. For the Dutch the range was from 4 to 7. The higher variance among the Greek participants supports the idea of a non-homogenous personal self-attitude in Greece.

Table 5.1: *Pearson-Product Moment Correlations Coefficients Between the Different Measures, and Means and Standard Deviations.*

	1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*M*	*SD*
1. Personal self	—	.48**	.60***	.41**	5.40	0.88
2. Collective self	.12	—	.21	.22	5.71	1.00
3. Global self-esteem	.33*	.49**	—	.45**	5.43	1.10
4. Life-satisfaction	.20	.46**	.53**	—	5.44	1.17
M	4.52	5.72	5.67	5.45		
SD	1.70	1.00	0.78	0.92		

Note: Dutch participants above the diagonal and Greek participants below the diagonal
$^{*}p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$

The scores for the direct collective self-evaluations were also consistent with the spontaneous association measures. As shown in Table 5.1, the Greek and the Dutch participants did not differ in the mean evaluation of the collective self, $t(128) = -.04$, $p > .10$. Furthermore, Levene's test shows no difference in the variance of this measure between the two groups, $F = 0.19$, $p > .10$.

Analysis of variance indicated that there were no significant differences between the Dutch and the Greek participants for global self-esteem and for general life-satisfaction (see Table 5.1, $p_s > .10$).

Self-Evaluations and Well-Being in the Two Cultures

To examine our predictions about the associations between the evaluation of the personal and the collective self and their relationship with psychological well-being, we used the direct self-evaluation measures. The spontaneous associations were not used as predictors because the proportion of negative associations was very strongly correlated to the proportion of positive ones. In both samples this correlation was $r > -.80$, which poses a multicollinearity problem.

We first computed Pearson product-moment correlations and these are shown in Table 5.1. For the Dutch sample, and as expected, personal self-evaluation correlated significantly with collective self-evaluation, with global self-esteem, and with general life-satisfaction. However, collective self-evaluation was not significantly correlated with self-esteem, nor with life-satisfaction.

In contrast, for the Greek sample, collective self-evaluation correlated significantly with self-esteem and with life-satisfaction, but not with personal self-evaluation. In addition, personal self-evaluation was not related to life-satisfaction but had a positive association with self-esteem.

Predicting well-being

By means of regression analyses we examined whether the relationships of the personal self and the collective self with global self-esteem and general life-satisfaction differed between the two cultures. The effects of cultural group, personal self-evaluation and collective self-evaluation, as well as the two-way and three-way interaction terms, were entered in the regression equations to predict both well-being evaluations. Cultural group was dummy-coded with the Dutch as the reference group. Centered scores were used for the continuous measures.

In predicting global self-esteem, the full model accounted for 37.9% of the variance. Both two way interactions between personal self and cultural group ($\beta = -.32$, $p < .01$), and between collective self and cultural group ($\beta = .34$, $p < .01$), were significant. The three-way interaction effect (cultural group by personal self by collective self) was not significant ($\beta = -.05$, $p > .05$). Hence, cultural group interacts with personal and collective self in predicting global self-esteem. In predicting general life-satisfaction, the full model accounted for 22.1% of the variance. The interaction between personal self and cultural group was significant ($\beta = -.29$, $p < .05$), but the interaction between collective self and cultural group ($\beta = .21$, $p > .05$), was not. However, both effects were qualified by a marginally significant three-way (cultural group by personal self by collective self) interaction effect, $\beta = .23$, $p = .056$. Hence, culture affects the interaction between personal and collective self. Because of the significant interaction effects with cultural group, we then conducted hierarchical regression analyses for each cultural group separately. As predicted, results in Table 5.2 clearly show the relative importance of personal and collective self-evaluation in the two cultures.

For the Dutch participants, personal self-evaluation is the only significant predictor of global self-esteem and of general life-satisfaction. Collective self-evaluation (model 2) and the interaction term (model 3) make no contributions to the explanation of both well-being measures.

In contrast, for the Greek participants the results show a significant main effect of collective self-evaluation on global self-esteem. The personal self remains a significant predictor, although much less strong compared to the collective self (model 2). The interaction term (model 3) did not reach significance. For life-satisfaction, the personal self is a non-significant predictor whereas collective self is a very strong one (model 2). Both effects, however, are qualified by the significant interaction (model 3). This interaction effect was examined with simple slope analysis. In this latter analysis, personal self-evaluation acts as the moderator because of its relatively large variance among the Greek participants (Aiken & West, 1991).

Figure 5.1 shows how the relationship between life-satisfaction and the collective self is significantly moderated by the personal self, resulting in two Greek subsamples. Only at high levels of personal self-evaluation (one standard deviation above the mean) the relationship between collective self-evaluation and life-satisfaction is significant, $\beta = .68$, $p < .001$. The relationship is not significant at low personal self evaluation scores (one standard deviation below the mean), $\beta = .11$, $p > .05$.

Table 5.2: *Hierarchical Regression Analyses Predicting Global Self-Esteem and Life-satisfaction for the Dutch and Greek Sample: Standardized Regression Coefficients.*

	Global Self-Esteem			*Life-satisfaction*		
Models and Variables	*Model 1*	*Model 2*	*Model 3*	*Model 1*	*Model 2*	*Model 3*
Dutch sample						
'I'	.60***	.63***	.65***	.41**	.37**	.39**
'We'		−.06	−.08		.08	.06
'I × 'We'			−.08			−.10
R^2 change	.36***	.01	.01	.17***	.01	.01
F change	36.13***	.32	.56	12.96***	.37	.71
Greek sample						
'I'	.33***	.27*	.35**	.19	.14	.03
'We'		.45**	.48***		.44***	.40***
'I' × 'We'			−.18			.25*
R^2 change	.11**	.20***	.03	.04	.19***	.05*
F change	7.45**	17.54***	2.34	2.41	14.87***	4.05*

$^{*}p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$

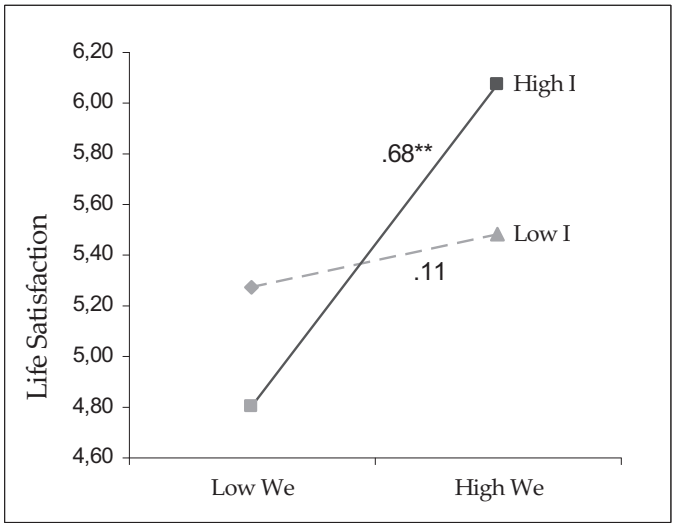

Figure 5.1: *Personal Self-Evaluation Moderates the Relationship between Collective Self-Evaluation and Life-Satisfaction in the Greek Context.*

A high positive personal self in combination with high collective self is thus associated with the highest life-satisfaction, whereas the combination of high personal self-evaluation and low collective self-evaluation results in the lowest level of life-satisfaction.

Discussion

The findings of Study 1 replicate some of our previous results (Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2002; 2006) and are in agreement with well-known findings in cross-cultural research on autonomy and interdependence (see Oyserman et al., 2002). The Dutch participants evaluated their personal self more positively than the Greek participants and the negative associations elicited for the personal self ('I') were also less than those in the Greek group. There were no cultural differences in global self-esteem (see Schmitt & Allik, 2005), in general life-satisfaction, and in the evaluation of the collective self. This latter finding should be interpreted in light of the unspecified 'We' that was used as a prompt. Furthermore, in the Dutch context the evaluation of the personal self was the critical predictor of psychological well-being.

However, among the Greek participants, personal self-evaluation and the proportion of negative associations related to it had significantly larger variance than among the Dutch. Moreover, and as predicted, the results suggest that the evaluation of the collective self plays the key role in well-being. For global self-esteem, the personal self shows a positive significant main effect, similar to the Dutch pattern, but its contribution is clearly weaker than that of the collective self. In predicting life-satisfaction, a positive effect of the personal self is revealed through its interaction with the collective self. Hence, personal self evaluation tended to moderate the relationships with life-satisfaction.

As a whole, the pattern of findings suggests that there are two subsamples within the Greek sample (Baron & Kenny, 1986; Frazier et al., 2004): the 'neo-collectivist' and the collectivist one. For the 'neo-collectivist' a positive evaluation of the personal self without a positive collective self went together with the lowest level of general life-satisfaction. In a free interpretation of Berry's (1990) 'acculturation' model this indicates that the endorsement of autonomy without maintaining interdependence ('assimilation') has the most negative psychological outcome. In contrast, the combination of both ('integration') appears to be associated with the highest life-satisfaction. For the collectivist subsample, variance in life-satisfaction was not explained by the interaction between personal and collective self.

An interaction between personal and collective self-evaluation was not found, however, in predicting global self-esteem of the Greek participants. A possible reason is that self-esteem may be understood as a more private and intimate psychological state, in which personal self-evaluations may operate independently (although less strongly) from collective self. While satisfaction with one's life might depend more on the combination of personal self-feelings and a sense of being grounded in significant social relationships.

5.3 Study 2

Overall the results of Study 1 suggest that the transition in Greek society does not simply proceed in the direction of increasing individualism, but involves a combination of a personal focus and an in-group orientation. We attributed the changes in personal self-evaluation among the Greeks to the adoption of aspects of a more individualist self-understanding. We argued that in modernizing Greece, the individualist trend towards a stronger focus on the personal self might go hand in hand with an ongoing focus on the in-group (Kafetsios 2006; Papadopoulos, 1988; Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2002, 2006). In Study 1 we tested our assumptions by comparing two cultural contexts. Study 2 focuses on the level of individual differences with data from another Greek sample.

Hence, to cross-validate our hypothesis that a shift towards a more positive personal self attitude need not affect the evaluation and the critical role of collective self we examined personal and collective self-evaluations in relation to the self-descriptive trait of 'individualist versus collectivist'. In agreement with Study 1, we hypothesized that higher personal self-evaluation will be associated with higher collective self-evaluation and with higher global self-esteem for participants relatively high on individualism. The relationship between collective self-evaluation and global self-esteem was not expected to be moderated by individualism.

Method

Participants and Procedure

For Study 2 we analyzed data that were collected in Athens, Greece, among 110 Greek participants (Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2006) [3]. The participants were between 18 and 61 years old (48 males and 61 females, one missing value). This study had a similar procedure as Study 1: the pages of the questionnaire were modestly illustrated with exactly the same small Greek symbols aimed at eliciting cultural knowledge. The sample did not differ from the Greek sample in Study 1 on background characteristics such as sex, age, family circumstances (marriage) and employment status.

Measures

For personal and collective self-evaluation and in order to be consistent with our first study, we used the words 'I' and 'We' as prompts. The participants were asked to indicate their evaluative reactions on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from strongly negative (1) to strongly positive (7).

Using a variant of Markus's (1977) self-rating paradigm as adapted by Turner and Onorato (1999; see also Verkuyten & de Wolf, 2002), participants were presented with a list of ten bi-polar self-descriptions. They were asked to indicate how well each pair describes him- or herself. The pair that is relevant for the present purpose is, 'individualist versus collectivist'. The space between the labels was marked with the numbers 3 to zero and then going up again to three. The responses were coded

on seven-point scales (1 to 7), with higher scores indicating higher self-ratings for 'individualism'.

For global self-esteem and similar to Study 1, the Single-Item Self-Esteem Scale (SISE) was used (Robins, Hendin et al., 2001). In Study 2 no measure of life-satisfaction was available.

Results

Mean Scores

Compared to Study 1, participants evaluated their personal and collective self at similar levels ($M = 4.27$, $SD = 1.50$, and $M = 5.63$, $SD = 1.05$, respectively), and they had a similar level of global self-esteem ($M = 5.42$, $SD = 1.10$). The personal self-evaluation scores showed, again, large variance (ranging from 1 to 7) whereas the collective self evaluation scores were more homogenous (ranging from 4 to 7). The mean score for individualism was $M = 3.15$ ($SD = 1.51$) and this variable also shows a large variance (scores ranged from 1 to 7).

Personal and Collective Self-Evaluation Trends

Similar to Study 1, the correlation between personal self-evaluation and collective self-evaluation was not significant ($r = .07$, $p < .10$). In addition, and as expected, individualism was positively and significantly associated with personal self-evaluation ($r = .26$, $p < .01$), but not with collective self-evaluation ($r = -.14$, $p > .10$).

To examine the impact of relative individualism on the relationship between personal and collective self-evaluation, we performed a hierarchical regression analysis. Collective self-evaluation was the dependent variable and personal self-evaluation and individualism the predictors. For both predictors centered scores were used. Describing oneself as individualist had a significant main effect ($\beta = -.24$, $p < .05$), which, however, was qualified by the expected interaction effect with personal self-evaluation ($\beta = .22$, $p < .05$). Simple slope analyses indicated that there was a significant relationship between personal self-evaluation and collective self-evaluation for participants who describe themselves relatively strongly as individualist (one standard deviation above the mean scores, $\beta = .32$, $p < .05$), whereas there was no association for participants low on individualism (one standard deviation below the mean, $\beta = -.04$, $p > .10$).

Global Self-Esteem

We expected individualism to moderate the relationship between personal self-evaluation and global self-esteem, but not the relationship between collective self-evaluation and self-esteem. Thus, we tested whether personal self-evaluation and also collective self-evaluation interact with individualism in predicting self-esteem. Regression analysis yielded the expected significant interaction effect between personal

self-evaluation and individualism, $\beta = .35$, $p < .001$, whereas the interaction between collective self-evaluation and individualism was not significant ($\beta = -.02$, $p > .10$). Simple slope analysis indicated that at high levels of individualism there was a significant relationship between personal self-evaluation and self-esteem, $\beta = .52$, $p < .001$, whereas this relationship was not significant at low levels of individualism ($\beta = -.15$, $p > .10$). Similar to Study 1, the interaction between personal self-evaluation and collective self-evaluation was not significant in predicting self-esteem.

Discussion

The results of Study 2 are in agreement with findings in Study 1. Describing oneself as an individualist was positively associated with the evaluation of the personal self but not with collective self-evaluation. Only among the participants relatively high on individualism, personal self evaluation goes together with collective self-evaluation and with global self-esteem. Furthermore, the relationship between collective self-evaluation and global self-esteem was not moderated by individualism. These findings are similar to those in Study 1 for the Greek 'neo-collectivist' self-view.

5.4 General Discussion

Greek society is undergoing a process of modernization (Georgas, 1989; Hofstede, 1980; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). It is likely that in this process substantial segments of the Greek population adopt aspects of a more individualist outlook and seek to find a balance between new and traditional values and beliefs ('neo-collectivists'), whereas others maintain their familiar collectivist ones. This means that there might be important self-perception differences within Greece. The present research examined this assumption by focusing on self-evaluations and well-being and by making cross-cultural (Greece and the Netherlands, Study 1) and within cultural (Greece, Study 2) comparisons.

In the two studies supporting empirical evidence was found. In both studies, personal, but not collective, self-evaluation differed considerably within the Greek samples. Both studies also show that higher positive evaluation of the personal self does not change the evaluation and the critical role of the collective self for psychological well-being. The results for the collective self illustrate the continuing importance of the in-group in Greek society and makes collectivist as well as 'neo-collectivist' Greeks different from the Dutch. Changes in self-understandings do not seem to imply a simple copying of an individualist perspective but rather a process in which cultural value of relatedness and individualization come together. Study 2 focused on self-descriptions of Greek participants and the findings are in line with this interpretation. A more individualist self-understanding goes together with a more positive evaluation of the personal self but without changing the critical importance of the collective self.

Thus, in the Greek context, increased individualism seems to make the personal self more important for well-being, but without changing the role of the collective self. Findings of studies in other countries are in agreement with this interpretation. Sui, Zhu and Chiu (2006), for example, showed the continuing importance and chronic accessibility of the interdependent self in contemporary China, which is also characterized by increased individualist trends. The work by Stewart, Bond, Deeds and Chung (1999) shows that family interdependence can be maintained despite the adoption of other individualistic values. Similarly, Kagitcibasi (2005) has argued for the existence of more complex self-models such as the autonomous-related self that incorporates both psychological interdependence with close others, an aspect of collectivism, and intrapersonal 'agency', as an aspect of individualism.

We focused on the self-perception differences in Greek society and we examined the role of describing oneself in terms of individualism. Individualization does not have to imply a loss of traditions or a breaking away from the continuing impact of a society's cultural heritage (Inglehart & Baker, 2000). In Greek society there is still a relatively strong emphasis on traditional values and norms, particularly in the context of family relationships and friendships (Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2002, 2006). And at the individual level people might describe themselves simultaneously as relatively self-oriented and as traditional, or as being both relatively group-oriented and modern.

It seems likely that our findings reflect modernization processes in Greek society. However, it should be noted that we do not have direct evidence for this proposition. For example, an alternative interpretation for the results of Study 1 is that Greece is more culturally heterogeneous than the Netherlands in terms of self-conceptions. Furthermore, modernization is a multifaceted and complex process. It does not only involve individualization and it does not have to imply a loss of tradition. In experiencing modernization in the rapidly globalizing market of the 21st century, with 'invisible' services and unforeseen risks, traditions might not form an obstacle but rather may prove to be a valuable resource (Giddens, 1994). Future studies should examine the processes of modernization and individualization more closely. For example, by investigating self-evaluations among Greek participants in an experimental design in which modernity versus traditionality and individualism versus collectivism are manipulated.

To evaluate the present results and to give some suggestions for further studies, some other points will be raised. First, global self-esteem (Study 1 and 2) and life-satisfaction (Study 1) were measured with single items. The reason is that we wanted to use simple and direct measures that do not refer to specific dimensions of the self-concept or domains of life. The results show clear and expected patterns in two different studies. However, single-item measures are often criticized and considered to have psychometric problems. Yet, multiple-item measurement scales do not appear to be always empirically better than single-item measures (e.g., Gardner, Cummings, Dunham, & Pierce, 1998). In addition, an increasing number of studies have examined, for example, the reliability and validity of single-item self-esteem measures, including among different cultural groups (e.g., Bagley, 2005; Gebauer,

Riketta, Broemer & Maio, 2008; Robins, Tracey et al., 2001, 2002; Verkuyten, 2009). For example, Gebauer and colleagues (2008) conducted six studies that attested to the validity of their single-item self-esteem measure. In addition, single-item measures seem to be less affected by social desirable responding and do not cause frustration and boredom and the skipping of question that can occur with multi-item self-esteem measures (Robins, Tracey et al., 2001).

For evaluating the personal and the collective self and following previous studies (Hetts et al., 1999; Perdue et al., 1990) we used the unspecified prompts 'I' and 'We'. These prompts have the advantage of eliciting relatively direct evaluative reactions, which allows us to compare the self-related patterns of associations for the different groups of participants. However, future studies might want to adopt and elaborate on the current approach. In doing so, it seems interesting to consider other and more extensive measures and also involve cultural differences in, for example, values and norms.

In conclusion, we have tried to make a contribution to the literature on cultural differences in self-evaluations and well-being by focusing on differences within the modernizing context of Greece. The findings indicate that there are two subsamples and that individualization processes predominantly affect the evaluation of the personal self and its role in well-being, without changing the evaluation and role of the collective self. This suggests that transitions in a more collectivist society affect people living in these societies in different ways. Cross-cultural research within and between societies can help us to improve our understanding of the psychological implications of modernization processes.

Notes

[1]For historical reasons the non-gender neutral phrase is intentionally used here.

[2]A great man, like Oedipus, is basically good and decent. The Greek word for actor is hypokrites, which literally means 'answerer'. In the plot of the plays (be it tragedy or comedy) a 'mistake' (hamartia) will be horribly punished, while the good is generously rewarded in the form of a reunion with long-lost relatives or friends.

[3]There is no overlap between the data published earlier and the data reported in the current paper. In a previous publication the data were used to examine the role of group identification in cultural frame switching among bicultural Greek participants living in the Netherlands. The Greek participants served as a mono-cultural comparison group and no analyses were performed for this group of participants separately. In contrast, the current study focuses on the Greek sample and the results do not duplicate previous findings. Thus, the relationships that we focus upon here were not examined and reported in the previous publication.

Chapter 6

Understanding the relational self: An inter-generational study in the Netherlands and Greece

This study examines spontaneous social self-representations in two different cultures (the Netherlands and Greece) and among adults and early adolescents. A distinction between three levels of the social self is made: the relational self, the communal self, and the collective self. Supporting the notion of the general primacy of the relational self the findings show that the relational self is the most prominent and important one in both cultures and among both age groups. Yet, there is a cultural difference in the cognitive representation of the relation self. In the Dutch context, participants tended to understand their relational self in terms of a personalized or dyadic mode of connection (pair-wise mode). In contrast, in Greece participants understood their relational self in terms of units of significant others (group-wise mode). Implications for the relationship between culture and the self-concept are discussed.

This chapter has been submitted for publication and is currently being revised. (Together with M. Verkuyten)

6.1 Introduction

People in collectivist cultures are more 'We' oriented than those living in individualist cultures, but that does not mean that a 'We' feeling does not exist in the latter ones (Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002). But what exactly is the content of this 'We' (the social self) in different cultural contexts? To better understand how culture influences self-understanding we should not only compare cross-culturally the importance assigned to different selves, but also try to capture their content.

Self-understandings are core forms of thinking and it is their chronic priming (Hong, Benet-Martínez, Chiu, & Morris, 2000) or frequency of use (Higgins, 1996) that results in cultural patterns. In this study, we are interested in the culture-bound meanings of the social self and we adopt the idea that different levels of the social self can be identified as forms of self-representation (Brewer & Gardner 1996). Our focus is on the meaning of the social self ('We') in two societies (Netherlands and Greece) and among adults and early adolescents. The Netherlands is a highly individualist society, whereas Greece is traditionally regarded as a more collectivist one (Hofstede, 1980) and still shows persistent collectivism (Pouliasi & Verkuyten, in press). Two studies were conducted. Study 1 was carried out among adult participants and Study 2 among early adolescents. In both studies the same approach was used.

Culture and levels of the social self

Cross-cultural research (Oyserman et al., 2002; Markus & Kitayama, 1991) has shown that an independent self-understanding is more typical for individualist cultures, whereas a focus on relationships and interdependence is more characteristic of a collectivist context. Dutch people, for example, associate 'working hard and in a disciplined way' with personal qualities (e.g. 'expressing yourself clearly' and 'making effective use of your time'), whereas in Greece this is associated with traditional values and relationships (e.g. 'respect for parents' and 'respect for tradition'; Pouliasi & Verkuyten, 2007; see also, Kim & Sharkey, 1995). Furthermore, whereas 'self-reliance' in former cultures typically acquires an individual-focused meaning, as exemplified by the saying 'being able to do your own thing', in the latter cultures a relational concern is more central and revealed, for example, in expressions as 'not being a burden on your in-group' (Triandis, McCusker, & Hui, 1990).

The distinction between individualist and collectivist cultures and between independent and interdependent self-understandings has been criticized for being schematic, obscuring within-cultural differences, and ignoring the fact that people can think about themselves in both independent and interdependent ways (e.g., Fiske, 2002; Miller, 2002; Oyserman et al., 2002). However, the fact that there are important within-cultural differences does not mean that there are no differences at the level of cultural groups. Similar to multi-level research that looks, for example, at classroom, neighborhood or regional differences, cross-cultural differences indicate that on average people in one cultural context are more similar to each other than to people in another context. Thus, the distinction between individualism and col-

lectivism provides a comparative framework for describing those aspects of the self that are emphasized more in one culture than in another. Research has shown that the self does reflect culture-bound norms and orientations (e.g., Gardner, Gabriel, & Lee, 1999; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Oyserman et al., 2002, for reviews). Thus, the meaning of the social self in one cultural context can differ from that in another cultural context.

In their tripartite model, Brewer and Gardner (1996) make a distinction between three levels of self-representation (see Sedikides & Brewer, 2001). They argue, that people's self-concept reflects their unique traits (individual self), interpersonal relationships (relational self), and group memberships (collective self). The latter two can be seen as aspects of the social self and other researchers have added a third intermediate level. Lickel, Hamilton, Wieczorkowska, Lewis, Sherman and Uhles (2000), for example, empirically determined people's own distinctions between types of collectivities. The three most important types were intimacy or relational groups (e.g., friends and family), task or communal groups (e.g., committees, co-workers, neighbors), and social categories (e.g., women, nationals). These types have psychological meaning and people spontaneously use this typology in processing and storing information about collectivities (Sherman, Castelli, & Hamilton, 2002). They reflect cognitive structures that people use in making sense of the social world and they serve different needs and functions (Johnson, Crawford, Sherman, Rutchick, Hamilton, & Petrocelli, 2006).

Comparative research has shown that three levels of the self are empirically separable across cultures (see Kashima, Kashima, & Aldridge, 2001) and we will use the distinction between the three levels of social self-representation (relationship self, communal self, and collective self). Self-theorists argue that the prominence of self-aspects is dependent on a person's socio-cultural world (e.g., Markus & Wurf, 1987). In a comparison between Chinese and American culture, for example, it has been found that collective duties and obligations are more often endorsed when Chinese identity was activated whereas individual rights where endorsed when American identity was made salient (Hong, Chiu, Morris & Menon, 2001). Thus, we expected that the cultural context is relevant for the way that people understand their social self, but we also expected cross-cultural similarities. First, Greek and Dutch participants can be expected to differ in the salience and importance attached to the communal and collective self. Greek participants as members of a more collectivist culture may more frequently refer to the collective self that relates to social categories, and consider self-representations at this level more important compared to the Dutch (Triandis; McCusker, & Hui, 1990). Dutch participants instead, may more often refer to their communal self because small actual groups can support individual choices and personal development (Oyserman et al., 2002).

Second, it is very likely that in the two cultures and for both generations the relational self will be the most salient and important one. That is, the proportional sampling and the importance attached to the relational self will be higher than for the communal self and the collective self. The relational self is achieved by intimate connections with significant others like partners, family and friends. Tice and

Baumeister (2001) argue for the primacy of the relational self, mainly because of the pervasive motivational power of the need to belong (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). People have a strong need to belong and 'the self is designed partly to help the person form and maintain interpersonal relationships with others' (Tice & Baumeister, 2001, p. 86). Thus, the relational self will be the most prominent one in both cultural contexts. However, there might be subtle cultural differences in the way in which the relational self is understood.

Cognitive representations of the relational self

Triandis and colleagues (1990) concluded that the defining differences between individualism and collectivism are separation from the in-group and family integrity. Studies have shown that the integrity of the family and friendship are, on average, more important in Greece than in the Netherlands (Verkuyten & Pouliasi 2006). Further, compared to the Netherlands, in Greece people have stronger and more extensive family ties and a stronger focus on the family as a group or collective whole (Georgas, Christakopoulou, Poortinga, Angleitner, Goodwin, & Charalambous, 1997; Papadopoulos, 1988). In collectivist cultures people are more group-oriented and tend to think in terms of collective units rather than separate individuals. This leads us to expect that Greek participants will tend to understand their relational self in a group-wise mode (e.g., my family, my friends) rather than in a pair-wise mode or as dyadic, 'one-to-one', relationships (Brewer & Gardner, 1996). The latter is more likely in the Dutch culture in which the emphasis is on individuality and uniqueness. This emphasis implies that intimate relationships are more easily understood from the perspective of individuals connected to each other (e.g., me and my son, my daughter, my friend A, my friend B). Thus, Greek participants were expected to have a more group-wise understanding of their relational self. In contrast, Dutch participants were expected to think of their intimate relationships in terms of dyadic relationships ('pair-wise' mode).

Within-cultural continuity

The participants in the first study were adults who have been enculturated thirty to forty years ago. To investigate cultural continuity, a second study was performed with early adolescents (10-12 years of age) who are currently in the process of enculturation. The question is whether cultural specific self-representations are similar or different between the two generations within each of the two cultural contexts. The social self starts to develop in middle childhood (Bennett & Sani, 2001) and adolescents tend not to have a stable self-understanding. Furthermore, enculturation implies that children's meanings and understandings gradually develop in the direction of those of adults but adolescents might also refuse culturally shared representations of the self. This means that finding a similar cultural difference for early adolescents as for adults in Study 1 strengthens our cultural interpretation of social self-representations. Previous research has found that, compared to peers in the

Netherlands, Greek early adolescents consider their collective self more important (Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2002). Thus, and similar to adults, the collective self was expected to be more salient and important for Greek early adolescents than for their Dutch peers. The importance of the relational self was not expected to differ between the two cultures because relationships at this level are critically important for early adolescents in both cultures. However, in Greece and similar to adults, early adolescents might develop a group-focused understanding of their intimate relationships and therefore represent these in a group-wise mode. In contrast, Dutch early adolescents were expected to think about them in a pair-wise mode.

In summary

We set out to test our hypotheses with two studies among adults (Study 1) and early adolescents (Study 2) in the Netherlands and in Greece. Our starting point was that the relational self will be the more salient and important than the communal and the collective self in both cultures and among the two generations. In addition, in the Greek context and for both generations, the collective self was expected to be more salient and of higher importance than in the Dutch context. Third, the mode of representing the relational self was expected to differ between the two cultures. The Greek participants were expected to think about their relational self more in a group-wise mode (e.g., family, friends), whereas the Dutch participants were expected to think about it more in a pair-wise mode (e.g. family member A, family member B, friend A, friend B).

6.2 Study 1

Method

Participants and procedure

Study 1 was conducted with 129 participants between the 18 and 68 years of age in urban areas in the Netherlands and Greece. The mean age was 42.03 ($SD = 12.62$) for the Greek sample ($N = 63$) and 44.95 ($SD = 10.73$) for the Dutch one ($N = 63$). In total, 49% of the participants were male and 51% female. There were no significant differences ($p_s > .10$) between the two groups in gender, age, family circumstances (e.g., family size, children), employment and formal education. Both groups predominantly consisted of educated people from the economic middle class.

There were two versions of a questionnaire: one for the Dutch and one for the Greek participants. Each of the questionnaires was in the corresponding language and the study was introduced and conducted in one or the other language. Independent back translation was used for making the questionnaires similar in meaning. Each page of the questionnaire was modestly illustrated with either Dutch or Greek cultural icons. The combination of both symbols and language (Krauss & Chiu, 1998)

has been found to be an adequate procedure to activate culture specific meanings (Hong et al., 2000; Pouliasi & Verkyten, 2007).

Measures

Spontaneous social self-representations were elicited with an open-ended question. Participants were asked to write down seven associations with the word 'We' (see Hetts, Sakuma, & Pelham, 1999; Perdue, Dovidio, Gurtman, & Tyler, 1990) and subsequently to indicate on a seven-point scale (1 = not at all important, and 7 = very important) how important they found each of the associations. The question used was: "Who comes to mind when you think of the word 'We'? Write down whom do you think of as 'We', and then indicate how important each of them is to you."

Coding

The associations were analyzed for the level of the social self. The analyses were performed separately for the Dutch and the Greek sample. The answers were read and re-read until a complete inventory was made of the types of social selves that were used. The answers ranged from those related to the most intimate relationships up to categories at the societal level and even of the higher order abstraction of humanity (Cousin, 1989). Thus, the three levels of the social self could be distinguished in both cultural contexts (Kashima et al., 2001). Taking into consideration the categories and coding schemes used in previous research (Lickel et al., 2000; Brewer & Gardner, 1996; Cousins, 1989), we used the following three categories:

1. *The relational self:* This category typically includes the nuclear family, parents and siblings, friends and relatives, and other significant others.

2. *The communal self:* This category refers to personal involvements in professional groups, interest groups (hobbies, sports), and spatial (neighbourhood or city) communities.

3. *The collective self:* This category contains memberships of social categories. These categories may be ascribed (e.g. ethnic, gender) or more voluntary like those expressing social preferences or social movements (e.g. 'anti-conformist', 'romantics', elderly). References to existential categories (e.g., human beings, all people) were coded in this category too.

Two Dutch and two Greek coders, blind to the goals of the research, categorized the written answers into the three categories. Inter-coder reliability was high, $\kappa = .94$, and the Pearson correlation between the two codings was also very high, $r = .98$. For each participant we counted the number of answers per category based on each of the two coders. We calculated the relative proportion of each category by dividing 'the number of answers per category' by the 'total number' of responses.

Cognitive representations of the relational self

Reading and re-reading the relational self descriptions showed that these included references to separate individuals as well as to groups of people. Thus, a distinction could be made between a 'pair-wise' versus a 'group-wise' mode, and an additional third type of reference that we labelled 'singletons'. An answer was categorized as 'pair-wise' when each member of a certain category or sub-category was separately and individually named, and in a singular form e.g., 'my child A', 'my child B', 'my child C', or 'my mother', in combination with a reference to 'my father'. The 'group-wise' mode refers to collective and corresponding impersonal references using a plural form e.g. 'my children', 'my parents', 'my friends'. The third type, the 'singletons', consists of reference to a single person without the possible other member(s) of the same category being mentioned. Examples are references to 'my mother' without a reference to 'my father', or a single reference to 'my son' with no mention of other children. It should be noted that people can of course have only one living parent or only one child, or might not mention the other members of a category.

Two Dutch and two Greek coders, blind to the goals of the research, categorized these statements in terms of 'pair-wise', 'group-wise' and 'singleton' definitions. Inter-coder agreement was high: $\kappa = .91$. For each participant we counted the number of 'pair-wise', 'group-wise' and the 'singleton' representations based on each of the two coders. The Pearson correlation between the two codings was, $r = .95$. We calculated the relative proportion of each type of response by dividing 'the number of each response-type' by the 'total number' of the responses for the relational self.

Results

Levels of the social self: proportions and importance

We first examined whether age was related to the use of the three categories of the social self. No effect of age was found ($F(60, 68) = 1.07$, $p > .05$ and $F(70, 52) = .94$, $p > .05$ for the Dutch and the Greek group respectively).

A 2 culture (Dutch, Greek) by 3 (social self categories) repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) with the last factor as a within-subjects factor was conducted with proportion of self-representations as the dependent variable. This analysis revealed two significant effects. First, there was a significant main effect for self categories, $F(2, 126) = 155.00$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .71$. The relational self clearly had the highest proportion for both the Dutch and the Greek sample (see Table 6.1). The other significant effect was the interaction between culture and self category, $F(2, 126) = 9.29$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .13$. As expected, the proportion of the relational self does not differ between the Dutch and the Greek group, $t(127) = 1.45$, $p > .10$. The significant difference however lies in the proportion of the communal self which is larger for the Dutch participants, $t(127) = 2.42$, $p < .05$, and the proportion of the collective self which is larger for the Greek group, $t(127) = -3.65$, $p < .001$.

Furthermore, the importance ratings (see Table 6.2) indicate that the relational self was rated as the most important one and as equally important by the Dutch and

Table 6.1: *Proportions of the three levels of the social self in two cultural contexts and for adults (Study 1) and early adolescents (Study 2).*

	Adults		Early adolescents	
	Dutch	*Greek*	*Dutch*	*Greek*
Relational self	.74	.68	.93	.80
Communal self	.19	.13	.05	.09
Collective self	.07	.19	.01	.10

Table 6.2: *Importance (Means and Standard Deviations) attached to the three levels of the social self in two cultural contexts and for adults (Study 1) and early adolescents (Study 2).*

	Adults		Early adolescents	
	Dutch	*Greek*	*Dutch*	*Greek*
Relational self	6.17 (.69)	6.16 (.70)	6.58 (.55)	6.59 (.47)
Communal self	4.80 (1.00)	4.82 (1.07)	5.13 (1.84)	5.38 (1.22)
Collective self	3.72 (1.45)	5.48 (1.87)	4.00 (0.00)	5.86 (1.18)

the Greek participants, $t(125) = .05$, $p > .10$. In addition, there was no difference for the importance assigned to the communal self, $t(78) = -.10$, $p > .10$, but the Dutch considered the collective self less important than the Greeks $t(47) = -3.48$, $p < .01$.

Pair-wise versus group-wise

In a preliminary analysis we examined whether age was related to the cognitive mode of 'pair-wise', 'group-wise' and 'singleton' representations of the relational self. There was no age effect for the Dutch $F(60, 68) = 1.25$, $p > .05$, and for the Greek group, $F(70, 50) = 1.30$, $p > .05$.

A 2 (culture: Dutch, Greek) by 3 (cognitive mode: pair-wise, group-wise, and singleton) repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) with the last factor as a within-subjects factor, revealed two significant effects. First, there was a significant main effect for cognitive mode, $F(2, 126) = 74.74$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .54$. The proportion of group-wise representations was larger than that of pair-wise and singleton types. In addition, there was a significant culture by mode interaction effect, $F(2, 126) = 6.87$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .098$. Figure 6.1 shows that, as expected, the proportion of pair-wise representations was larger among the Dutch than the Greek participants, $t(127) = 3.79$, $p < .001$. Consequently, the proportion of group-wise representations was larger among the Greek than the Dutch participants, $t(127) = -2.56$, $p < .05$. There was not a group difference for the singleton representations, $t(127) = -.93$, $p > .10$.

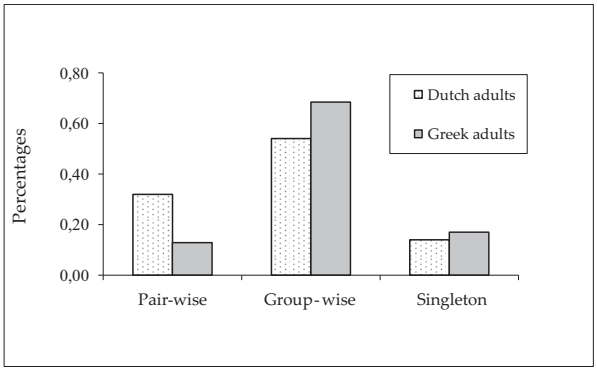

Figure 6.1: *Representations of the Relational Self among Dutch and Greek Adult Participants, Study 1.*

Discussion

Study 1 shows that for participants in both cultures the relational self was highly salient and the most important social self. This supports the familiar notion that the most meaningful sources of the social self reside in intimate relationships in which people primarily satisfy their need to belong (Tice & Baumeister, 2001). However, there was a cultural difference in the mode in which the relational self was understood. As expected, Dutch participants tended to perceive and define one-by-one the significant individuals (pair-wise) in their relational self, whereas Greek participants referred to the corresponding categories and perceive them as a whole (group-wise). Thus, there appears to be a more subtle cultural difference whereby Greek participants understand themselves as part of their significant units or groups (e.g., family, friends) whereas the relational self of Dutch participants is based on dyadic bonds (e.g., my son, my daughter).

In addition, as members of a more collectivist culture, the Greek participants, on average, made more references to the collective self and found this self more important than the Dutch. The Dutch participants more frequently referred to their communal self but both cultural groups found it equally important. Dutch participants may more often refer to their communal self because small groups support individual choices and personal development (Oyserman et al., 2002). In addition, Dutch society has a long and well-established tradition of participating in neighbourhood activities, clubs of interest and other associations which may explain the higher frequency among the Dutch.

6.3 Study 2

Study 2 was designed to investigate within-cultural continuity in the three levels of the social self and in the representation of the relational self. For this, we conducted

a study among early adolescents living in Greece and the Netherlands and by using the same measure. We expected similar findings to those in Study 1. First, Greek early adolescents were expected to give more collective self answers compared to the Dutch, and also to consider this level of the social self more important. Second, although the relational self probably will be the most salient and important one for both cultural groups, the Greek children were expected to more frequently report on it in a group-wise mode, whereas the Dutch children were expected to use a pair-wise mode more.

Method

Participants and procedure

The sample included 148 early adolescents between nine and twelve years of age: 74 in the Netherlands and 74 in Greece. The mean age was 10.99 ($SD = .84$) for the Dutch and 10.87 ($SD = .67$) for the Greek participants. Forty-nine percent of the Dutch was male and 51% female, and of the Greek group 57% was male and 43% female. There were no significant differences ($p_s > .10$) between the two groups in gender and age. All children came from a middle class social background and lived in comparable suburban neighborhoods in Athens and Amsterdam.

Measures

Exactly the same method and coding scheme was used as in Study 1. The only difference was that we asked children to provide five rather than seven answers on the open-ended question. In addition, the children made relatively frequent references to their pets and these were considered as aspects of the relational self.

The same Dutch and Greek coders who categorized the adults' responses judged the children's statements. Inter-coder agreement for the four categories was high, $\kappa = .95$, as was the Pearson correlation between the two codings, $r = .91$. For each participant we counted the number of answers per category based on the agreement between the two coders. The proportion of each category was computed by dividing 'the number of answers per category' by the 'total number' of the answers given.

For the relational self, the inter-coder agreement for the 'pair-wise', 'group-wise' and the 'singleton' mode was also high ($\kappa = .95$), and the Pearson correlation between the two codings was, $r = .99$. The proportion of 'pair-wise', 'group-wise' and 'singleton' associations was calculated by dividing 'the number of each response-mode' by the 'total number' of the relational self answers.

Results

Levels of the social self: proportions and importance

Similar to Study 1, a 2 culture (Dutch, Greek) by 3 (self categories) repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) with the last factor as a within-subjects factor showed

two significant effects. First, there was a significant main effect for self categories, $F(2, 145) = 571.34$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .89$. The proportion of the relational self was clearly the highest for both groups (see Table 6.1). Further, there was a significant culture by category interaction effect, $F(2, 145) = 8.95$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .11$. For the Dutch group the proportion for the relational self was significantly higher than for the Greek group, $t(146) = 3.87$, $p < .001$, whereas the proportion for the communal self was significantly lower, $t(146) = -2.10$, $p < .05$. References to the collective occurred predominantly in the Greek context, $t(146) = -3.99$, $p < .001$.

As expected, no difference in the importance of the relational self between the two groups was found, $t(145) = -.14$, $p > .10$. The highest mean scores with the lowest standard deviation were given to the relational self in both the Dutch and the Greek context (see Table 6.2). The communal self was also rated as equally important in both cultural groups, $t(38) = -.52$, $p > .10$. The collective self was considered less important by the Dutch compared to the Greek children, $t(23) = -2.20$, $p < .05$.

Pair-wise versus group-wise

For the relational self, a 2 (culture: Dutch, Greek) by 3 (mode: pair-wise, group-wise, and singleton) repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) with the last factor as a within-subjects factor was performed. Two effects are significant. First, there is a significant main effect for mode, $F(2, 145) = 362.87$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .83$. The proportion of group-wise responses was larger than of the pair-wise and singleton descriptions. In addition, there was a significant culture by mode interaction effect, $F(2, 145) = 25.62$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .26$. Similar to Study 1, the proportion of pair-wise associations is higher among the Dutch compared to the Greek children $t(146) = 7.13$, $p < .001$ (see Figure 6.2). Consequently, the proportion of group-wise associations is significantly higher among the Greek than among the Dutch children, $t(146) = -6.20$, $p < .001$, and there is no significant difference for the singleton associations, $t(146) = -1.35$, $p > .10$.

Discussion

Findings from our second study are in agreement with Study 1 and with our predictions, and provide evidence for within-cultural continuity. Again, the relational self is by far the most often used and of primary importance among both cultural groups (Tice & Baumeister, 2001). In addition, however, the Dutch children tended to understand their relational self in a pair-wise mode, whereas the Greek children more often used a group-wise mode. Furthermore, for the Dutch children the relational self predominated and the collective self was less important than for their Greek peers. In fact, the Dutch early adolescents hardly used the latter category. In contrast, among the Greek group all three levels of the social self were found.

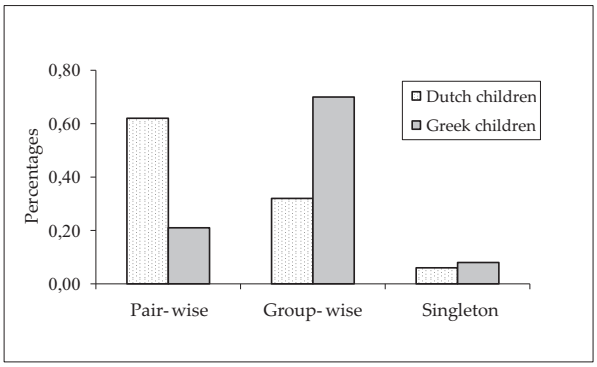

Figure 6.2: *Representations of the Relational Self among Dutch and Greek Early Adolescents, Study 2.*

6.4 General discussion

We have examined levels of the social self in the Netherlands and in Greece. Research has shown that Greek society is more collectivist than the Dutch one (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis et al., 1986). Traditionally, in Greece there is a relatively stronger emphasis on collectivist orientations and group-oriented self understanding than in the Netherlands. This group-oriented self-understanding remain important despite the fact that in the past decades Greek society has undergone a process of individualization (Georgas, 1989; Papadopoulos, 1988; Pouliasi & Verkuyten, in press).

In both cultures and across the two generations, the relational self was clearly mentioned most often and considered the most important aspect of the social self. This supports the primacy of significant relationships that are based on affective bonds that satisfy people's need to belong (Tice & Baumeister, 2001). The similar finding in both cultures and age groups is in agreement with the general importance of a psychological orientation that emphasizes interpersonal relationships and intimacy (Kashima et al., 2001). However, more interestingly, the results demonstrate that the cognitive representation of the relational self differs between the two cultures. In Greece, participants tended to use a group-wise mode of thinking about their relational self ('my family', 'my friends'). In contrast, in the Netherlands a pair-wise mode was more often used by naming individual family members and individual friends. These findings are in agreement with research on how information about the self and intimate others is structured and processed. For example, the cognitive organization of mother-self knowledge has been found to be more united or overlapping among Chinese people compared to North Americans (Sui, Zhu, & Chiu, 2007).

Thus, the primary importance of the relational self in both cultures does not imply that members of these two cultures think about their relationships in a similar way. The findings for the early adolescents in Study 2 further support our cultural

interpretation. Adolescents do not have a very stable self-understanding and might also reject culturally shared representations of the self. It turned out, however, that the cultural difference in cognitive mode was more pronounced for the early adolescents than the adults. A plausible reason is that early adolescents, who are in the process of enculturation, learn and internalize cultural specific beliefs, norms and values. Refusal of cultural knowledge of the self might be more typical for middle and late adolescence. Future studies should extend the current findings by examining older adolescents and, for example, by investigating the various conditions and forms of interaction that enable inter-generational continuity of cultural patterns (Schönpflug, 2001; Phalet & Schönpflug, 2001).

By looking closely at the meaning of the relational self we were able to achieve a better understanding of cultural differences. A detailed investigation is important for developing an adequate understanding of how culture influences the social self-concept. One implication is that the relational self should not only be understood in terms of dyadic relationships (Brewer & Gardner, 1996) that appear to be more typical for members of an individualist culture compared to a more collectivist one. A detailed investigation is also important for methodological reasons because it indicates that the straightforward classification of apparently similar answers can obscure more subtle cultural differences. Future studies should examine these differences further, for example, by studying other cultural contexts and also immigrants who are in the process of acculturation. In addition, future studies can use other methods and measures. We elicited spontaneous associations that people have with the word 'We' (Hetts et al., 1999; Perdue et al., 1990). Other studies could use more implicit techniques for investigating the social self or could ask directly about what people think about the group-wise and pair-wise mode of the relational self.

Furthermore, future studies should examine the current findings in other cultural contexts. We focused on two European societies and it is likely that a comparison between societies that culturally differ more strongly (e.g., Asian and European) will show stronger effects and perhaps other more subtle differences in self-understandings. In addition, it is important to pay attention to within-cultural differences. Cross-cultural comparisons tells us something about differences at the level of cultural groups; that on average people within one culture are more similar to each other than to people of another culture. However, this type of analysis should not ignore within-culture differentiation and the fact that there can be important subgroup differences within particular societies (Pouliasi & Verkuyten, in press).

To conclude, our results indicate that the relational self has primacy in different cultures and for different age groups. However, there are important cultural differences in the representation of the relational self. These should be taken into account in developing self-theories and in achieving a better understanding of the ways that people in different cultures structure and organize the understanding of their intimate relationships.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

Misunderstandings between individuals with different cultural backgrounds, and sometimes between groups and societies, arise from the fact that we all tend to believe that our own way of feeling, thinking and behaving is the most 'natural' one. These differences, rooted in specific socio-cultural contexts and enculturation practices, but also influenced by contemporary factors such as globalization, may be fundamental and obvious, but at the same time also subtle and tacit.

I myself became aware of these implicit differences, when, upon moving to the second socio-cultural and working environment in my life, I gradually started to realize that the way I was interpreting behavior of others and communicating my own thoughts was self-evident only to myself. Naturally, this process was not without its, often confusing and sometimes stressful, psychological implications. At the same time, raising a fully bilingual and bicultural child, I was able to observe how comfortably my son thinks and behaves within the two cultures he was growing up in. As a toddler he once mentioned that he found it 'not normal' that the mamas and papas of other children spoke the same language (i.e. name each 'object' with the same word). Hence, what is 'natural' or 'normal' follows from the enculturation one undergoes, no matter in what culture specifically. My thus awakened, but as yet unfocused, interest was turned into a commitment to investigate and compare how and to what extent culture influences the ways people make sense of themselves and the world around them. These issues are the domain of cross-cultural psychology.

Cross-cultural psychology tries to understand how cultural context influences thought, affect and behavior, and this is investigated within cultures, within individuals, and compared cross-culturally. Despite the fact that views on how culture should be investigated differ (Chapter 1) –either through the lens of culture-specific contexts or by employing general cultural dimensions – the shared goal is showing that culture should be considered as an integral aspect of psychology. Due to a concerted research effort over the past decades this goal has come closer in reach, as is evidenced by the increased coverage of 'culture' in many Journals and in introductory psychology textbooks (Lonner, Smith, van de Vijver & Murdock, 2010).

Relevance and context

The issue of cultural context and how it relates to psychological functioning is now more than ever timely in our rapidly globalizing world. Within the recently expanded European Union, where free movement is facilitated by legal measures, large groups of people move from one member state and settle down in another, either to seek employment and gain experience, for education purposes, or for private reasons. Nevertheless, the EU is far from culturally homogeneous, encompassing both the individualist Northern European countries and the more collectivist Southern European states. Thus, mobility within the EU can confront individuals with the problem of having to deal with multiple and sometimes culturally conflicting situations. This holds a fortiori for the second generation immigrants, who are often

raised, socialized and enculturated in the practices of both their culture of origin and the host society. They have to learn to successfully deal with cultural differences in daily life.

The present thesis has investigated Dutch and Greek culture at the within individual level in the form of Dutch-Greek biculturalism, the cross-cultural level by making a comparison between both societies, and the within culture level by focusing on changes within Greece. The Netherlands is a Northern European and highly individualist society, while Greece is a Southern European nation that is traditionally considered to be more collectivist, although currently in transition (Georgas, 1989; Hofstede, 1980; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). The national differences provide a framework for comparing the two cultures in various psychological domains, whereas the transition in Greece makes this country appropriate for studying how these domains can evolve.

Our predictions were mainly based on the individualism-collectivism dimension. Specifically, we have used this dimension (i) to characterize the Dutch and the Greek culture for obtaining the default patterns to base our experiments on biculturalism upon (ii) to examine self-understanding comparatively, and (iii) to study how self-understandings evolve in Greece

Aims

The goal of the present thesis was, (a) to advance research on biculturalism by examining Dutch-Greek biculturalism, and (b) to improve our insights in self-understandings in the Dutch and Greek culture, and compare how they relate to psychological well-being with a focus on the changing Greek society.

In the following three sections (i) the main findings of this thesis will be recapitulated and the research questions answered, (ii) the characteristics of the research as well as its limitations will be discussed, and (iii) the implications and suggestions for future research will be presented.

7.2 Summary of the findings

Biculturalism and the Cultural Frame Switching hypothesis

In order to experimentally examine biculturalism, an understanding of the differences between the targeted cultures is a prerequisite. Therefore, to establish the proper comparative framework we first identified the psychological domains that differ significantly between the Dutch and the Greek culture. Bicultural individuals are assumed to have acquired both cultural meaning systems (LaFromboise, Coleman & Gerton, 1993), even if these entail contrasting elements, but these elements will not simultaneously guide thinking and behavior. The basic proposition to be tested is the Cultural Frame Switching hypothesis: whether the responses of bicultural individuals shift in a culturally consistent and appropriate way (Hong, Morris, Chiu and Benet-Martínez, 2000). The dynamic constructivist approach, in which

culture is conceptualized as domain specific knowledge (Hong et al., 2000), tries to account for the effects of the Cultural Frame Switching.

The bicultural samples in the three experimental studies conducted, consist of individuals of Greek origin who live in the Netherlands and are highly competent in both the Dutch and the Greek language. They were randomly assigned either to the Greek or the Dutch culture condition. Culture condition was manipulated by using cultural symbols and language (Higgins, 1996; Hong et al., 2002; Krauss & Chiu, 1998). Responses of the bicultural individuals were compared to the responses of mono-cultural participants in the Netherlands and in Greece.

The questions addressed were: Does Cultural Frame Switching occur for personal and social self-evaluations, self stereotypes, value endorsement, and explanations of social behavior? Do cultural frames affect social identification and related self-perceptions? Do bicultural individuals produce different associations for constructs perceived differently in the two cultures and in a prime consistent manner?

The first experiment, conducted among early adolescents of Greek descent living in the Netherlands, provided support for the Cultural Frame Switching hypothesis. The participants were tested in relation to attributions (social explanations), self-evaluations (personal and social self), identification with friends, and endorsement of values (family integrity, obedience). Their responses were affected by cultural priming: when assigned to the Greek culture condition they provided more external attributions, identified more strongly with friends, evaluated the personal self less positively and the social self more positively, than when assigned to the Dutch culture condition. Greek-primed bicultural children scored similarly to the mono-cultural control group of early adolescents in Greece, and Dutch-primed participants scored similarly to the corresponding control-group in the Netherlands. Although not all differences were significant, the results show a clear pattern of the shifting responses of bicultural children (Chapter 2).

The second experimental study on adult bicultural individuals of Greek origin who live in the Netherlands showed that cultural framing also affects their responses. Adults were tested in self-evaluation, self stereotyping and endorsement of values (family integrity, friendship). Under the Greek culture condition they evaluated their personal self less positively, identified stronger with stereotypical Greek terms, and endorsed family integrity and friendship stronger than under the Dutch condition. Differences were comparable to the differences between the two mono-cultural samples in the Netherlands and Greece. These findings further support the Cultural Frame Switching hypothesis. Yet, cultural symbols and language used to activate cultural frames may also affect social identity salience and the norms and values associated with it (Briley & Wyer, 2002). Findings indicated that the level of Dutch and Greek identification partly affected some of the bicultural individual's responses. Dutch identification mediated the relationship between cultural frame and personal self evaluation and self-stereotyping as individualist, and Greek identification mediated the relationship between cultural frame and self-stereotyping as being modest, emotionally expressive and lively, as well as the attitude towards family integrity (Chapter 3).

In the third study (Chapter 4), Cultural Frame Switching was examined at the level of networks of associated meanings. Some constructs are not identically perceived within the two cultures, but bicultural individuals are able to dynamically and flexibly navigate between networks of meanings that differ between the two cultures. Dutch-primed participants associated, for example, 'effective use of time', 'clarity' and 'discipline' with work-related values, whereas Greek-primed participants associated the same values with 'respect for tradition' 'respect for parents' and 'discipline'. The former group, moreover, understood being 'dependent' as opposed to 'individualist' whereas the latter shown a contrast to 'enjoying life'. The patterns of associations produced by the Dutch-primed participants were similar to those of the mono-cultural Dutch participants and these differed from those elicited from the Greek-primed participants which in turn were similar to those of the mono-cultural Greek participants. There was also an exception: patterns of 'friendship' were not reproduced by the Dutch-primed group. This may indicate that in this domain bicultural individuals maintain Greek-oriented connotations. These findings, showing that meanings are affected by cultural framing, provide further support for the Cultural Frame Switching hypothesis and for the notion that culture is organized in the form of domain specific meaning systems as proposed by the dynamic constructivist approach (Hong et al., 2000)

The self and well-being

The second line of inquiry refers to the impact of culture on the self and on well-being. Self-understanding and well-being were examined by focusing on how they develop in the modernizing Greek society and by making a comparison with the typical individualist Dutch society (Georgas, 1989; Hofstede, 1980; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005).

The first research questions addressed were: Do self-perceptions in the changing Greek society point to a more individualist perspective? Is this perspective predictive of positive psychological functioning similar to what is typically found in an individualist or collectivist context?

To answer these questions two studies were conducted. The findings of the first study show that in the Dutch individualist context the evaluation of the personal self was the critical predictor of psychological well-being. In the Greek context a distinction could be made between the 'neo-collectivists' and the traditional 'collectivists'. For the neo-collectivists, adoption of a more positive evaluation of the personal self enhanced its role in predicting well-being, but only under the condition of a simultaneous positive evaluation of the collective self. For the 'collectivists', the collective self was the sole important factor, indicating that the familiar collectivist pattern applied. To shed further light on these findings, individualism at the level of self-descriptions was examined in a second study in Greece. Findings illustrate that individualization promoted personal self evaluation, however, without changing the strongly grounded role of the collective self in the Greek society. Thus, it is

the combination of a positive personal self and a strong collective self that sets apart the self-understanding in Greece from the Netherlands (Chapter 5).

Considering the continuing importance of the in-group in Greece, the next set of questions was how people in the two cultures understand their social self. What exactly is the content of a 'We' feeling in the Netherlands and Greece? What are the patterns by which it is represented? Furthermore, are these patterns identical among early adolescent and adults in each culture?

To address these questions I focused on spontaneous self-representations. Relatively collectivist cultures are more 'We' oriented than individualist cultures, but that of course does not mean that a 'We' feeling does not exist in the latter cultures. Cultural continuity of social self-understanding was investigated among early adolescents and adults in the two cultures. A distinction between three levels of the social self was made: the relational, the communal and the collective self. The frequency of their sampling in the spontaneous self-representations was culture dependent. In both cultures, both generations most often referred to the relational self which was also considered the most important one. Yet, the results also demonstrated that the patterns of the representations of the relational self differ in the two cultures and that this difference was more pronounced among early adolescents than adults. In the Dutch context, participants tended to understand their relational self in terms of individualized or dyadic (pair-wise mode) interpersonal connections, whereas in the Greek context in terms of memberships (group-wise mode) embedded in their collectivity (Chapter 6).

7.3 Characteristics and limitations

In evaluating the overall findings of this thesis some qualifications should be considered. As the limitations for each specific study have already been discussed (Chapter 2-6), I will focus on qualifications that concern the three studies on biculturalism and the two on self-understanding.

Biculturalism and the Cultural Frame Switching hypothesis

Cultures and sample

The experiments in Chapters 2 through 4 on the Cultural Frame Switching hypothesis were among the first to test this hypothesis outside of the typical Chinese-American samples. Our sample, consisting of young and adult Dutch-Greek bicultural participants, adds to the research on biculturalism. As the participants were of Greek descent, a relatively collectivist culture, living in the Netherlands, an individualist context, it would be interesting to test biculturalism on individuals of Dutch descent living in Greece. Future research, however, should also extend experiments to bicultural individuals with other cultural backgrounds that would provide additional cross-validation of the current findings.

Domains of investigation

The Cultural Frame Switching hypothesis was tested for a range of psychological domains: in the experiments with the bicultural children (Chapter 3) for self-evaluation, endorsement of values (family integrity, obedience), and social attributions, and with the adult bicultural participants (Chapter 4) for self-evaluation, endorsement of values (family integrity, friendship) and self-stereotyping. Although the domains are not fully similar, there is overlap as self-evaluations and endorsement of family integrity are considered in both age groups. The fact that the findings for these domains were similar for both age groups further supports the generality of Cultural Frame Switching. However, the examination whether social identification affects responses of bicultural participants and whether shifting of responses occurs at the level of networks of associations (Chapter, 4) was only done among adult biculturals. A corresponding cross-examination among the children's sample could have provided stronger empirical evidence for the effects of cultural frames and the mediating role of identification.

Individual factors

In this thesis the research on biculturalism focuses on the question whether Cultural Frame Switching takes place. Our research was among the first published studies in this field. However, as findings increasingly provided support for this question, research has started to examine when and to what extent cultural frame switching occurs. To investigate the latter, various factors can be considered. Research, for example, on Chinese-Americans has shown that the degree to which bicultural identity is seen as conflicting affects cultural frame switching (Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002; Haritatos & Benet-Martínez, 2002). Another factor that may moderate the framing effects is the perceived distance between the two targeted cultures. We have considered the role of social identification (Chapter 3) but other individual factors should be examined, also in relation to different age-groups.

Psychological well-being

All three experiments in this dissertation focus on the cognitive processes of the bicultural mind. It would, however, be important to investigate whether and how positive psychological functioning of bicultural individuals depends on the way they understand various concepts in each culture. We have found that personal and collective self self-evaluations differ between the Dutch and the Greek culture and that these evaluations differently predict psychological well-being in the two cultures (Chapter, 5). When manipulating the cultural context for testing whether responses are culture consistent, one, could also consider how these responses relate to psychological well-being by including, for example, global self-esteem as well as life-satisfaction measures. In this way, the notion that bicultural individuals can benefit from valuing both of their cultures (LaFromboise et al., 1993; Ross, Xun & Wilson, 2002) can be validated.

The self and well-being

Below, I will mention some qualifications for Chapters 5 and 6 together, and not repeat those already discussed in each separate chapter.

Cultures and sample

Although the choice of the Dutch and the Greek culture was proper because these are sufficiently different, and also timely, as the Greek culture is currently in transition, no other cultures were investigated. It would be interesting and important to test the findings from the present comparative research by examining other cultures. Even though we did not limit ourselves, as most studies do, to college undergraduates as participants, it would also be interesting if future studies include a broader range of age groups.

Cultural dimensions

Consistent with the many cross-cultural comparative studies we have based our predictions for self-perceptions (Chapter 2, 3, 5, 6), values and attributions (Chapter 2, 3) and cognitive patterns (Chapter 6) on the individualism-collectivism dimension. However, this dimension was not directly measured. Therefore, we cannot exclude the possibility that other cultural dimensions (e.g., power distance or masculinism versus feminism) may account for some of the findings. Our prediction, for example, that Greek children consider obedience to parents and elderly people more important than Dutch children was based on the relatively more collectivist Greek culture compared to the individualist Dutch one. However, the power distance dimension, that indicates the extent to which differences in authority and status are accepted (Hofstede, 1980), might also have been used to make the same predictions.

Self-changes and well-being

The closer investigation of the social self-understanding (Chapter 6) was conducted among early adolescents and adults in the two cultures. In Chapter 5, investigation on the personal and the collective self and how they related to psychological well-being was among adults only. We found for a Greek sub-group, the neo-collectivists, that the adoption of a more positive evaluation of the personal self enhances it's role in predicting well-being when combined with a positive collective self. A similar investigation for the early adolescents was not done and it would be interesting to examine to what extent the same findings exist for early adolescents in the present-day Greek society.

7.4 Implications and future research

The theoretical and methodological contributions to existing literature and suggestions for further research of each study separately have already been discussed in

the respective chapters. Below, I will use the research findings for suggesting implications for my two lines of inquiry, and, beyond that, for discussing issues that can advance future research.

Biculturalism and the Cultural Frame Switching hypothesis

As already mentioned, experimental research on biculturalism was initially aimed at testing whether the mechanism of Cultural Frame Switching occurs and subsequently progressed to examine when and to what extent this hypothesis hold.

Cultures, samples and priming procedure

This thesis has contributed to a number of aspects of the research on biculturalism: Cultural Frame Switching was tested (i) with a new sample, the Dutch-Greek one, (ii) by including both early adolescent and adult participants, (iii) by applying strong criteria of bilingual competence, (iv) by employing control conditions consisting of the Greek and the Dutch mono-cultural groups and (vi) by considering both mean level oriented and structure oriented techniques for testing, respectively, the importance assigned to concepts and networks of culture specific meanings (Chapter 1). It would, however, be interesting to widen the cultures considered beyond the Dutch and the Greek ones for examining the importance assigned to concepts and the networks of culture-specific meanings. In addition, future experiments may also consider a wider range of age-groups.

Domains of investigation

Our findings (Chapter 2 and 3), extend the investigation of Cultural Frame Switching hypothesis to psychological domains which were not previously investigated (Hong et al., 2000; Hong, Benet-Martínez, Chiu, & Morris, 2003; Ross at al., 2002), such as values, self-stereotyping, and social identification. Results, showing shifting in the responses of the bicultural individuals are in agreement with the results of previous experiments that had used different bicultural samples and different, or partly overlapping, domains.

Networks of associations

We improve our insight in the Cultural Frame Switching hypothesis by examining it at the level of culture-bound networks of associations (Chapter 4). Dutch-primed bicultural participants reproduce the Dutch specific networks of associations, as defined by the Dutch mono-cultural control group, and Greek-primed participants replicate the Greek specific ones, defined by the corresponding Greek mono-cultural group. Cultural primes appear to activate networks of concepts as they have been shaped within each of the targeted cultures. Not only are the underlying measurement items of the constructs in comparisons reproduced, but also the relative strength of their relationships. These results have implications for the notion that

culture is organized in the form of domain specific meaning systems as proposed by Hong and colleagues, (2000). Future studies might want to elaborate on this approach and test other or more extensive culture-related networks of meanings.

Individual factors

We extended current research by considering the mediating role of social identification on the effects of cultural framing. In Chapter 3, findings show that cultural priming can also affect the degree of group identification and thereby perceptions and attitudes associated with it. In this way, differentiation within the bicultural group could be made. Future research may give more attention to the role of group identification or other individual factors, such as degree of conflicting bicultural identity (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002; Haritatos & Benet-Martínez, 2002), in order to better understand individual differences in the effects of cultural frames.

Accessibility and applicability

To further evaluate when and to what extent cultural frames are activated and operative in bicultural individuals, attention has to be given to bicultural competence. Because of frequent and habitual use, culture specific knowledge becomes chronically accessible. Certain domain-specific knowledge for some bicultural individuals may be more often used in culture A, compared to its use in culture B. In this case, the domain- specific knowledge of culture A will be more easily accessible and operative than that of culture B. Hence, the degree and nature of biculturalism is critical to how cultural frames are functioning. In addition, experiments have shown that cooperation is activated when the priming condition includes specific social interactions (Wong & Hong, 2005). Features of friendship, for example, practiced in culture A will be activated when the culture priming creates a setting of being among friends in culture A. Thus, the activation of specific knowledge is conditioned on the particular cultural setting in which it is habitually experienced (applicability). Cognitive accessibility and contextual applicability are principles applied to experimentally activated cultural knowledge (Higgins, 1996; Hong et al., 2000). In our experiment (Chapter 4), we found that whereas the Greek friendship patterns were reproduced in the Greek priming condition, the Dutch patterns failed to be reproduced in the Dutch condition. But the experiment was not designed to investigate exceptions in prime consistency. The activation of domain-specific cultural knowledge might thus be dependent on various factors, such as not being chronically accessible in the one or the other culture, being associated with specific conditions in either culture, or other individual factors mentioned above.

The self and well-being

Culture in transition and the self

By focusing on the changing Greek society in contrast with the individualist Dutch culture (Georgas, 1989; Hofstede, 1980; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005) our research has implications for the more general and rather controversial issues relating to modernization and the dynamics of local cultures.

Research presented in Chapter 5 shows that in Greece, personal and collective self evaluations and the role they play in psychological well-being, seem to integrate orientations from a more individualist perspective and from the local collectivist tradition. For the 'neo-collectivist' group of Greeks, the personal self becomes important for predicting well-being without changing the strong role of the collective self. This combination marks a difference with the Dutch context, where personal self is the only key predictor. The main implication is that transitions in traditionally more collectivist societies do not necessarily imply the adoption of the individualist orientation of the self at the expense of a historically grounded in-group orientation (Chapter, 3, 4).

This research contributes to theories of the self and the theoretical framework that predicts well-being in changing collectivist cultures. Future research may examine the development of the self-concept and the role it plays in psychological functioning in other cultures in transition by comparing findings to those in an individualist culture. It is also important to get better insight into the effects of the modernization process. For example, by investigating the impact of a 'traditional' versus a 'modern' priming condition on self-perception or on values endorsement and attributions in a culture in transition, and in comparison to a typical individualist culture.

Cultural continuity and the social self

Research presented in Chapter 6 has implications for studies related to cultural continuity and social self-understanding. In both cultures early adolescents and adults found their relational self to be the most important and at similar levels. These results indicate the primacy of significant relationships in the individualist Dutch society and the relatively collectivist Greek one. Yet, a different form of understanding of the relational self was found: a pair-wise mode in the Dutch culture and a group-wise mode in the Greek culture. Moreover, this difference in the relational self-understanding between the two cultures was more prominent among the younger generation than the older generation. Thus, although Greece is undergoing modernizing transitions, it is the collectivist mode of the relational self that dominates. The implication is that what is typical in one culture—often individualist—should not be uncritically assumed to be the case in a traditional context that is undergoing a process of modernization. These results are in agreement with the findings in Chapter 5 and may contribute to modernization theories and the role of local traditions.

Another implication is that a distinction can be made between the endorsement of a concept (here the relational self) and the cognitive patterns related to it. This dis-

tinction should be taken into account in developmental theories, for example, how children learn to attach meaning to concepts (Clark, 1973). By considering the different ways that culture influences perceptions, we were able to identify cross-cultural similarities as well as differences. Future studies might want to adopt and elaborate on this approach and focus on detailed comparative investigation of other concepts than the social self, and examine how these are transmitted from one generation to the next (Phalet & Schönpflug, 2001; Schönpflug, 2001)

Overall implications

The theoretical framework and methodology

The individualism-collectivism dimension was the main but not the only basis for our predictions. In arguing, for example, for the primary role of the collective self (Chapter 5) in the Greek culture, we also considered the specific socio-cultural context of Greece. Also, for the study on the cultural networks of meanings (Chapter 4) a preliminary qualitative investigation, consisting of interviews, face-to-face discussions and an examination of newspapers, helped at an early stage to identify the research questions. Furthermore, by using an emic approach for developing a detailed classification of the spontaneous self representations (Chapter 6), we were able to examine the different cognitive patterns of the relational self. It is thus worthwhile to use a mixture of quantitative and qualitative methods so that an examination of the content of cultures is possible (Karasz & Singelis, 2009).

Transferability of research questions

Although the studies between the Netherlands and Greece tested Cultural Frame Switching among bicultural individuals, the findings for the domains examined also provide a comparative insight into the two cultures (Chapter, 2, 3, 4). Likewise, the significant differences found in the cognitive mode of the relational self in the two cultures (Chapter 6) may serve as default patterns for examining biculturalism in future studies. Similarly, the findings on how personal and social self-understanding are evolving in the changing Greek context compared to the Netherlands (Chapter 5 & 6) may be used in cultural framing experiments on bicultural individuals. The findings of the research on biculturalism and the self may, thus, be linked together and potentially both lines of inquiry can benefit from each other.

Culture priming experiments

The premise that culture is organized as domain specific knowledge, proposed by Hong and colleagues (2000), together with the premise that bicultural individuals are able to possess dual cultural systems (LaFromboise et al., 1993), directed the research testing the Cultural Frame Switching hypothesis. This was implemented by experimentally activating either of the two cultural frames. Experimental investigation might also be conducted with mono-cultural individuals by employing individ-

ualism and collectivism as priming conditions. For example, although the relative importance of independent versus interdependent aspect varies between individualist and collectivist cultures (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), priming experiments have shown that members of both cultures express both aspects of the self, albeit with different frequencies (Gardner, Gariel, & Lee, 1999; Trafimof, Triandis & Goto,1991). Experimentally priming cultural knowledge within individuals enjoys growing interest and promises further insights into the psychological and social aspects of culture. Oyserman and Lee (2008) provide an overview and discuss the methods and effects of priming individualism and collectivism. These effects are found to be robust across priming methods and dependent variables, underlining their usefulness and validity. It would be interesting to further investigate self-understandings (Chapter 5 & 6) by using experimental manipulation at the within individual level and then make cross-cultural comparisons. Similar investigations can be undertaken for other domains, like attributions and norms.

How cultural knowledge is organized

A recent analysis of the content of the published studies over the past 40 years in the Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology revealed that research questions and participants have become more diverse. This diversity is associated with the use of more sophisticated methods, and a marked blurring of the strict distinction between related disciplines in social science (Cretchley, Rooney & Gallois, 2010). The topic of biculturalism with the notion of bi-cultural competence affords an important opportunity for innovative research. By combining insights on culture, biculturalism and other more cognitively oriented disciplines (cognitive psychology, cognitive linguistics, neuroscience) we may be able to advance our understanding of the processes involved in the activation of cultural frames and elucidate how cultural knowledge is organized and encoded.

One approach, for example, may be the use of 'data-mining' techniques applied to large natural language text corpora (ranging from periodicals and school newspapers to weblogs) in order to produce culturally semantic clusters of concepts. With this technique, one can trace the spontaneous patterns of associations that people have about various topics. Based on these patterns one can subsequently design priming experiments for testing whether and to what extent bicultural participants reconstruct these patterns of associations. In this way, research on biculturalism also touches upon the more general issue of how cultural knowledge is structured and encoded.

Another promising tool in comparative research on culture is the fMRI technique that allows the explicit visualization of linked activation processes in the brain. This technique could, for example, be used to compare the activation of cultural knowledge in early bicultural individuals (and possibly early bilinguals too) with that of individuals who have acquired a second culture and language later in life (Kim, Relkin, Lee, & Hirsch, 1997). These findings, compared to findings among mono-

cultural individuals, could provide important information on how culture is organized in the brain.

7.5 Epilogue

Findings in the present thesis have shown the ways that a northern European individualist culture –the Dutch—and a southern, more collectivist one – the Greek – differ in self-understandings, endorsement of values, social explanations and semantic networks of associations. It is the specific aspect of self-understandings emphasized in each culture that contributes to psychological well-being. In addition, Dutch-Greek bicultural individuals demonstrate that they are able to shift perceptions and behavior in a manner appropriate to each cultural setting. Last, but not least, the importance assigned to the relational self in both cultures may enlighten how important it is for all of us to be related to significant other(s). In short, culture matters in how all of us make sense of ourselves and our lives.

Samenvatting (Summary in Dutch)

Inleiding en overzicht

Verschillen in cultuur vormen vaak een obstakel in het intermenselijk verkeer en kunnen leiden tot misverstanden, variërend van onschuldige incidenten tussen individuen tot verschrikkelijke oorlogen tussen landen of etnische groepen. Deze verschillen, geworteld in de geschiedenis, maar ook beïnvloed door het heden, kunnen subtiel zijn en van verschillend gewicht. De wetenschappelijke studie van de manier waarop sociale en culturele factoren menselijk gedrag vormen is het domein van de interculturele psychologie. De resultaten van intercultureel onderzoek zijn van belang voor de psychologie als geheel omdat ze laten zien dat culturele context invloed heeft op gedrag, affect en cognitie. De hoeveelheid van experimentele aanwijzingen hiervoor is de afgelopen 40 jaar indrukwekkend gegroeid.

Vragen

Om de invloed van cultuur te onderzoeken houdt het intercultureel onderzoek zich bezig met vragen als: Begrijpen individuen uit de ene cultuur zichzelf en het leven op een andere manier dan mensen uit een andere cultuur? Zijn er aspecten van het zelfbeeld belangrijker in de ene cultuur dan in de andere, en beïnvloeden deze verschillen het psychologische welbevinden? Zijn sommige waarden belangrijker in de ene cultuur dan de andere? Redeneren mensen uit verschillende culturen op dezelfde manier over sociaal gedrag? Hoe ervaren mensen hun eigen cultuur in deze snel veranderende en globaliserende wereld? Hoe gaan individuen die opgegroeid zijn met twee culturen om met de botsende aspecten van begrippen in de beide culturen? Hoe stuurt een biculturele geest cognitie en gedrag?

De doelen van de interculturele psychologie

Het onderzoek in de interculturele psychologie richt zich op het bestuderen en vergelijken van hoe culturele context de manier waarop mensen denken, voelen en handelen beïnvloedt, op het niveau van hele samenlevingen, groepen daarin of individuen. De kritieke vraag is in hoeverre, en in welke mate, cultuur van invloed is op psychologisch functioneren. Om deze vraag te beantwoorden wordt een groot aantal psychologische domeinen onderzocht, vanuit een veelheid aan theoretische en methodologische benaderingen.

In deze studie staan deze vragen centraal in een vergelijking van de Nederlandse en Griekse cultuur, waarbij drie verschillende niveaus bekeken worden– tussen de culturen als geheel, binnen de culturen afzonderlijk, en binnen het individu.

Theoretisch kader

Kijk op en cultuur: individualisme versus collectivisme als kader

Bij het beschouwen van de invloed van cultuur zijn er meerdere stromingen te ontwaren. De een meent dat men de uitkomsten van psychologische processen moet

bezien in het licht van de socio-historische achtergrond van iedere cultuur (Miller, 2002). Een ander propageert het gebruik van zogenaamde *culturele dimensies* zoals machtsafstand, masculien versus feminien, vermijden van onzekerheden, en individualisme versus collectivisme (Hofstede, 1980). Vooral het laatste onderscheid wordt breed toegepast en heeft het mogelijk gemaakt om in diverse culturele contexten voorspellingen te doen over psychologische uitingen (Hofstede 1980; Inglehart & Baker 2000; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987; Triandis, 1989, 1995). Deze voorspellingen blijken opmerkelijk consistent op een groot aantal terreinen zoals zelfbeeld, onderschrijven van waarden en attributies (zie Oyserman et al., 2002, voor een overzicht). Er is echter ook kritiek op het gebruik van het onderscheid individualistisch/collectivistisch toegepast op samenlevingen als geheel, omdat het aanwezige individuele verschillen maskeert.

Tussen culturen

Toch is de individualisme-colectivisme dimensie zeer bruikbaar bij het vergelijkende onderzoek, omdat het focusseert op aspecten van begrippen die in de ene cultuur meer gewicht hebben dan in de andere. Sociale instituties, intermenselijk verkeer en alledaagse handelingen bepalen in hoge mate welke aspecten van constructen de meeste nadruk krijgen in een cultuur en daardoor ook voortdurend *toegankelijk* zijn (Higgins, 1996). Zo verschillen culturen voornamelijk in de *waarschijnlijkheid* dat bepaalde aspecten benadrukt worden.

Een voorbeeld hiervan, relevant voor ons eigen onderzoek, is dat het meer individualistische perspectief op het zelfbegrip, het *onafhankelijke zelf*, geassocieerd is met persoonlijke autonomie en zelfgestuurde doelen, terwijl het meer collectivistische zelfbegrip, de *afhankelijke zelf*, verbonden is met het onderhouden van relaties en wederzijdse verwevenheid (Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

Binnen een cultuur: de rol van veranderingen

Culturele kennis wordt in grote mate gedeeld, wat echter niet wil zeggen dat alle individuen of groepen in een samenleving dezelfde normen, waarden, wereldbeeld en tradities onderschrijven. Economische ontwikkeling gaat vaak gepaard met een verschuiving van absolute waarden, naar meer seculiere en individualistisch georiënteerde opvattingen (Inglehart & Baker, 2000). In traditioneel als collectivistisch bestempelde culturen, die nu een dergelijk veranderingsproces ondergaan, kunnen grote groepen van de bevolking een meer individualistische oriëntatie aannemen, zonder noodzakelijkerwijs bestaande culturele waarden te verliezen. In dat geval verwachten we dat de spreiding van uitkomsten wat betreft zelfperceptie toeneemt. Ook is het interessant om vanuit dit perspectief te kijken naar de continuïteit van opvattingen tussen opeenvolgende generaties.

Binnen het individu

Het is heel wel mogelijk dat contrasterende oriëntaties, zoals individualisme en collectivisme, of andere dergelijke tegengestelde begripsparen, niet alleen binnen een samenleving, maar zelfs binnen het individu kunnen co-existeren. Dit laatste idee trekt vooral de aandacht en leidt tot nieuwe onderzoeksvragen. Principes ontleend aan de cognitieve psychologie, zoals *cognitieve toegankelijkheid* van constructen en *contextuele prominentie* (Eng: salience), worden tegenwoordig gebruikt om te onderzoeken hoe individuen hun culturele kennis opslaan en verwerken (Higgins, 1996; Hong, Benet-Martínez, Chiu & Morris, 2003). Dit verklaart ook de sterk toegenomen belangstelling voor het onderzoek naar biculturaliteit.

Dit proefschrift

Niveaus

In dit proefschrift onderzoeken wij de invloed van cultuur *tussen* de Griekse- en de Nederlandse cultuur, *binnen* de Griekse cultuur die aan het veranderen is, en op het individuele niveau in de vorm van Grieks-Nederlandse biculturalisteit. Nederland is een Noord-Europese en sterk individualistische samenleving, terwijl Griekenland een Zuid-Europees land is dat traditioneel als collectivistisch wordt beschouwd, al is dit tegenwoordig mogelijk aan het veranderen (Georgas, 1989; Hofstede, 1980; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). De keus voor deze twee culturen is dus passend, aangezien zij duidelijk van elkaar verschillen. De keuze voor Griekenland is tegelijk opportuun vanwege de veranderingen die dit land doormaakt, wat het geschikt maakt om de bijbehorende culturele veranderingen te bestuderen.

De Europese context

De vraag hoe culturele context het psychologisch functioneren beïnvloedt is meer dan ooit actueel in onze snel globaliserende wereld. In de, nog recentelijk zo sterk uitgebreide, Europese Unie, waar de vrije mobiliteit van mensen door wettelijke regelingen gefaciliteerd wordt, vertrekken grote groepen mensen van de ene lidstaat om zich in een andere lidstaat te vestigen. Desondanks is de EU verre van homogeen op cultureel gebied, aangezien zij zowel de individualisticshe Noord-Europese samenlevingen als de collectivistische Zuid-Europese samenlevingen omvat. Mobiliteit binnen de Unie kan burgers dus confronteren met het probleem van de omgang met meerdere en soms vanuit cultureel oogpunt botsende situaties. Zo worden zij gedwongen om te leren succesvol om te gaan met culturele verschillen in hun dagelijks leven. Dit geldt in nog sterkere mate voor tweede generatie migranten, die zowel in de gebruiken en mores van de thuis- als de gastland-cultuur zijn grootgebracht. Alleen in Nederland zijn er een half miljoen getrouwde paren (bron: www.cbs.nl) waarvan één of beide partners in een ander land zijn geboren. Hun

kinderen, meestal tweetalig, zijn zowel in de cultuur van hun ouders als die van Nederland ingevoerd.

Thema's

In het voorliggende proefschrift beschouwen wij twee thema's: (i) Grieks-Nederlandse biculturaliteit en (ii) zelfpercepties en hoe deze gerelateerd zijn aan positief psychologisch functioneren zowel in Griekenland als in Nederland. Bij dit onderzoek maken wij veelvuldig gebruik van de individualisme-collectivisme dimensie om (a) referentiepatronen vast te stellen voor het onderzoek aan biculturelen, (b) zelfpercepties te kunnen vergelijken en (c) culturele veranderingen in Griekenland te onderzoeken.

Biculturaliteit en de hypothese van het Schakelen van Cultureel Kader

Een centraal uitgangspunt in ons onderzoek naar biculturalisme is de dynamisch-constructivistische benadering van cultuur en cognitie zoals die door Hong, Morris, Chiu en Benet-Martínez (2000) is voorgesteld. In deze benadering wordt cultuur niet meer gezien als een geïntegreerd geheel, maar eerder als een netwerk van domeinspecifieke categorieën. De tweede cruciale aanname is dat individuen in staat zijn dubbele culturele betekenisstelsels te verwerven (LaFromboise et al. 1993), *zelfs* wanneer deze onderlinge tegenstrijdigheden vertonen, zolang deze begrippenstelsels maar niet gelijktijdig geactiveerd zijn. De belangrijkste hypothese die hieruit voortvloeit en die we willen testen is het *Schakelen van Cultureel Kader*: het idee dat individuen hun reacties zo kiezen dat ze toepasselijk en consistent met de culturele context die op dat moment op de voorgrond is. Ons onderzoek verbreedt ons inzicht in het Schakelen van Cultureel Kader omdat dit verschijnsel bestudeerd wordt op een aantal tot nu toe nog niet beschouwde domeinen, de hypothese uitbreidt naar cultuurspecifieke netwerken van associaties, en de gebruikte experimentele methoden aanscherpt.

Zelf en welbevinden

Intercultureel onderzoek heeft verschillen in zelfbeeld aangetoond en onderzocht hoe deze van invloed zijn op psychologisch functioneren (zie Oyserman et al., 2002, voor een overzicht). Voor de onafhankelijke zelf, prominent in de meer individualistische culturen, ligt de nadruk op interne eigenschappen en psychologische kenmerken, met daaruit voortvloeiend het aanhangen van zelfgerichte waarden zoals persoonlijke vrijheid, persoonlijke bevrediging en zelfontwikkeling (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Maar ligt voor het afhankelijke zelf, prominent in meer collectivistische samenleving, het accent op relatiegerichte waarden zoals bescheidenheid, saamhorigheid, en zijn het de relationele aspecten van het zelf die de belangrijkste criteria vormen voor zelfwaardering en succes (Gardner, Gabriel, & Lee, 1999; Triandis, McCusker, & Huis, 1990). Dit deel van ons onderzoek verdiept onze kennis over

de indicatoren van welbevinden in de Griekse en de Nederlandse cultuur en geeft inzicht in de manier waarop culturele veranderingen plaatsvinden.

Doelen

In het kort wil dit proefschrift bijdragen aan onze kennis over:

- De cognitieve processen van de biculturele geest: Grieks-Nederlandse biculturaliteit wordt onderzocht op het gebied van zelfbeeld, waarde, sociale attributies en netwerken van associaties
- De invloed van cultuur op onze persoonlijke en sociale zelfbegrip en hoe deze samenhangen met positief psychologisch functioneren in de beide culturen, met speciale aandacht voor de veranderingen in Griekenland.

Overzicht van de resultaten

Biculturaliteit en de hypothese van het Schakelen van Cultureel Kader

Om biculturalisme experimenteel te onderzoeken is natuurlijk een grondig kennis van de verschillen tussen de twee bronculturen een eerste vereiste. Dus identificeerden wij eerst die psychologische domeinen waarin verschillen optreden tussen de Griekse en de Nederlandse cultuur. Daarvoor deden we ook onderzoek onder monoculturele controlegroepen in Griekenland en Nederland. De groep van biculturele proefpersonen bestond uit personen van Griekse afkomst die al geruime tijd in Nederland wonen en zowel de Griekse als de Nederlandse taal goed beheersen. Zij kregen blind een vragenlijst uitgereikt die dan wel in het Nederlands dan wel in het Grieks gesteld was. Bovendien waren deze vragenlijsten voorzien van specifieke symbolen en afbeeldingen die bij de desbetreffende cultuur horen. Op deze wijze werd het culturele kader waarin de vragenlijsten werden ingevuld geactiveerd en gemanipuleerd (Higgins, 1996; Hong et al., 2002; Krauss & Chiu, 1998).

De vragen die wij wilden beantwoorden waren: Treedt het Schakelen van Cultureel Kader op voor wat betreft persoonlijke en sociale zelfwaardering, zelftypering, aanhangen van waarden en verklaringen van sociaal gedrag? Hebben biculturele individuen associaties bij begrippen die een verschillende lading hebben in de twee cultuur en reproduceren zij deze associaties op een consistente manier afhankelijk van aangeboden cultuurspecifieke prikkels?

De resultaten van ons eerste experiment met jonge pubers ondersteunden de hypothese van het Schakelen van Cultureel Kader. De deelnemers werden onderzocht op het gebied van sociale verklaringen, persoonlijke en sociale zelfwaardering, identificatie met vrienden, aanhangen van waarden (familie-integriteit, gehoorzaamheid). Hun antwoorden werden significant beïnvloed door de gemanipuleerde culturele setting. In de Griekse setting refereerden zij vaker aan externe factoren, identificeerden zij zich meer met vrienden, waardeerden zij het persoonlijke

zelf minder positief en het sociale zelf meer positief, dan wanneer de vragenlijst de Nederlandse setting activeerde. Bovendien waren de scores van de Grieks gemanipuleerde groep vergelijkbaar met die van een controlegroep van Griekse pubers die de vragenlijst in Griekenland hadden ingevuld, en die van de Nederlandse gemanipuleerde groep met die van een overeenkomstige controlegroep in Nederland. Deze resultaten (besproken in Hoofdstuk 2) laten zien dat jonge biculturelen inderdaad in staat zijn om hun cultureel kader te schakelen afhankelijk van de relevante culturele context.

Dat ditzelfde ook geldt voor volwassen biculturelen bleek uit een tweede experimentele studie (Hoofdstuk 3). Deze volwassenen van Griekse afkomst werden onderzocht op het gebied van zelfwaardering (persoonlijk en sociaal), zelftyperingen en het aanhangen van waarden (familie-integriteit, vriendschap). In de Griekse culturele setting waardeerden zij het persoonlijke zelf minder, identificeerden zij zich sterker met Griekse zelftyperingen en vonden zij familie en vriendschap belangrijker dan in de Nederlandse culturele setting. De waargenomen verschillen kwamen wederom overeen met die tussen controlegroepen in Griekenland en Nederland. Ook deze resultaten ondersteunen de hypothese. Toch is het niet uitgesloten dat de door ons aangewende manipulatie van taal en culturele symbolen ook de *etnische identiteit* activeert. Er was inderdaad een correlatie tussen de mate van zelfgerapporteerde identificatie met het Grieks of Nederlands zijn en de individuele antwoorden. Zo modereerde de Nederlandse zelfidentificatie de relatie tussen culturele context en de zelftypering als individualist, terwijl de Griekse zelfidentificatie van invloed was op de mate waarin men de Griekse zelftypering als bescheiden gebruikte.

In een derde studie (Hoofdstuk 4) breidden wij het begrip van Schakelen van Cultureel Kader uit naar netwerken van associaties tussen begrippen. Sommige begrippen worden niet alleen verschillend geïnterpreteerd *an sich* in de twee culturen, maar staan ook in een andere relatie tot ermee geassocieerde andere begrippen. Biculturelen blijken ook in staat op een flexibele manier te schakelen tussen hele netwerken van associaties. De in de Nederlandse context bevraagde deelnemers associeerden 'hard werken' bijvoorbeeld met 'effectief met de tijd omgaan', 'helderheid' en 'discipline', terwijl de in de Griekse context bevraagde deelnemers een sterkere relatie legden met 'respect voor traditie', 'respect voor ouders' en ' discipline'. Een ander voorbeeld was dat de eerste groep (NL context) 'afhankelijk zijn' als tegengesteld zagen aan 'individualistisch zijn', terwijl de andere groep (GR context) dit tegenover 'genieten van het leven' stelden, waarschijnlijk onder invloed van sterkere verplichtingen aan het gezinsleven. De patronen van associaties van de in de in een verschillende context benaderde biculturele deelnemers kwamen ook hier overeen met die van corresponderende controlegroepen, en bovendien significant verschillend tussen de twee culturele contexten. Er was een markante uitzondering: de typisch Nederlandse associaties met het begrip ' vriendschap' werden niet gereproduceerd door de Nederlands geprikkelde biculturelen. Misschien overheerst in dit domein de Griekse culturele invloed, en is verder onderzoek gewenst.

Zelf en welbevinden

De invloed van cultuur op zelfbeeld en welbevinden hebben we onderzocht door te kijken naar hoe deze relatie zich ontwikkeld in het snel moderniserende Griekenland en hoe dit contrasteert met de typisch Nederlandse individualistische samenleving (Georgas, 1989; Hofstede, 1980; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005).

De eerste vragen die we wilden beantwoorden waren: Laat het zelfbeeld in de veranderende Griekse samenleving een verschuiving zien in de richting van een meer individualistisch perspectief? Is dit zelfbeeld een voorspeller voor positief psychologisch functioneren op dezelfde manier als dit gebeurt in een individualistische of collectivistische culturele context? Om deze vragen te beantwoorden verrichten wij twee studies, beschreven in Hoofdstuk 5. De resultaten van de eerste studie laten zien dat in de Nederlandse culturele context een positieve waardering van het persoonlijke zelf een goede voorspeller van psychologisch welbevinden is. In de Griekse culturele context bleek er onderscheid te maken tussen twee groepen: een *neo-collectivistische* groep en een traditioneel collectivistische groep. Voor de neo-collectivisten gaat een positievere waardering van het persoonlijke zelf gepaard met grotere psychologisch welbevinden, *maar alleen indien ook* de waardering van het sociale zelf hoog is. Voor de traditionele collectivisten is slechts de waardering van het sociale zelf een goede voorspeller in lijn met het bekende collectivistische patroon. Om dit resultaat verder uit te diepen werd een tweede studie verricht speciaal naar het onderscheid tussen individualistische en collectivistische zelfidentificatie, ditmaal alleen in Griekenland. Hier kwam uit dat toegenomen individualisering weliswaar leidt tot toegenomen waardering van de persoonlijke zelf, echter *zonder* de sterk verankerde rol van het collectieve zelf in de Griekse samenleving te ondervragen. Het is deze combinatie van een positieve persoonlijke zelfwaardering en een sterk collectief zelf dat het zelfbeeld in het hedendaagse Griekenland doet verschillen van Nederland.

Gegeven de hierboven gesignaleerde voortdurende invloed van de collectivistische in-groep oriëntatie in Griekenland, stelden wij ons de vraag hoe men in de twee culturen het sociale zelf begrijpt. Met andere woorden, wat is precies de inhoud van het "wij"-begrip in Nederland en Griekenland. Hoe wordt dit begrip cognitief gerepresenteerd? En hoe verschilt dit tussen de generaties in iedere cultuur? Deze vragen benaderden wij door ons toe te leggen op spontane zelfbeschrijvingen (Hoofdstuk 6). Meer collectivistisch ingestelde culturen zijn natuurlijk meer "wij" georiënteerd dan meer individualistisch ingestelde culturen, maar dat wil nog niet zeggen dat deze laatste geen "wij" gevoel kennen. We onderzochten de culturele continuïteit van het sociale zelfbeeld onder pubers en volwassenen in de twee culturen. We maakten daarbij onderscheid tussen drie niveaus van het sociale zelf: het relationele, het communale en het collectieve zelf. De relatieve frequentie waarmee aan deze niveaus in de spontane zelfbeschrijvingen gerefereerd werd, bleek duidelijk cultuurafhankelijk. In beide culturen, en in beide leeftijdsgroepen, werd het vaakst aan het relationele zelf (nabije en intieme relaties) gerefereerd, die bovendien ook als het belangrijkst gewaardeerd werden. Wel bleek dat de manier waarop gerefereerd

werd aan deze persoonlijke relaties te verschillen tussen de beide culturen, waarbij de verschillen meer geprononceerd waren bij pubers. In de Nederlandse context verwijst men naar deze persoonlijke relaties op een één-op-één manier in de vorm van dyadische connecties, zoals "mijn moeder en ik", "mijn broer A" (paarsgewijs). In de Griekse context werd naar dezelfde relaties meer in termen van onderdeel zijn van gehelen gerefereerd, zoals "ons gezin", "onze kinderen" (groepsgewijs).

Discussie

Karakteristieken, beperkingen, implicaties en vooruitblik

Hieronder vat ik in het kort de theoretische en methodologische bijdragen van ons onderzoek samen, en bespreek de implicaties van onze resultaten voor toekomstig onderzoek.

Biculturaliteit en de hypothese van het Schakelen van Cultureel Kader

Zoals reeds opgemerkt, richtte het onderzoek naar biculturaliteit zich in eerste instantie op de vraag *of* het mechanisme van het Schakelen van Cultureel Kader optreedt. Vervolgens zijn wij verder gegaan met de vraag *wanneer* en in *hoeverre* het optreedt. Daardoor hebben wij op de volgende terreinen bijgedragen aan dit veld kunnen leveren.

Culturen, proefpersonen en manipulatie van culturele context

We hebben de hypothese van Schakelen van Cultureel Kader voor het eerst getoetst

- op een geheel nieuwe steekproef van Grieks-Nederlandse biculturelen
- bij zowel pubers als volwassen
- met sterke criteria voor tweetalige competentie
- met verbeterde controle condities door het betrekken van mono-culturele referentiegroepen
- door het gebruik van zowel gemiddelde als structuur georiënteerde methodes, waardoor het mogelijk was niet alleen het belang gegeven aan enkele constructen te onderzoeken, maar ook hun samenhang in netwerken van associaties.

Voor toekomstig onderzoek zou het interessant zijn om een dergelijk onderzoek te herhalen onder Nederlands-Griekse biculturelen in Griekenland, om vast te stellen in hoeverre er een symmetrie bestaat in deze situaties.

Onderwerpen van onderzoek

In ons onderzoek naar de Schakelhypothese hebben we nieuwe nog niet eerder beschouwde domeinen betrokken, zoals waarden en zelftyperingen. Aangezien we een aantal van deze domeinen (zelfwaardering, aanhangen van waarden) in twee leeftijdsgroepen hebben getest, konden we sterker experimenteel bewijs voor de effecten van culturele kaders leveren.

Cultuurgebonden netwerken van associaties

Manipulatie van culturele context lijkt netwerken van geassocieerde concepten te activeren, die gevormd zijn in ieder van de doelculturen. Dit resultaat ondersteunt het idee dat cultuur georganiseerd is in de vorm van domeinspecifieke betekenissystemen zoals dat door Hong en haar collega's wordt betoogd (2000). Toekomstig onderzoek zou dit idee verder kunnen uitwerken en zich richten op meer uitgebreide betekenisnetwerken.

Individuele factoren

We hebben het bestaande onderzoek ook uitgebreid door aandacht te geven aan modererende of mediërende factoren zoals de rol van etnische identificatie op het effect van cultuur kader. Toekomstig onderzoek zou zich ook meer op individuele factoren moeten richten, om inzicht te krijgen welke rol deze spelen op het omgaan met culturele context. In dat licht is het ook belangrijk om de relatie met psychologisch welbevinden te betrekken bij het onderzopek naar de culturele context, om het idee te valideren dat biculturele individuen ook daadwerkelijk voordeel ontlenen aan hun manier van omgaan met beide culturen (LaFromboise et al., 1993; Ross, Xun & Wilson, 2002).

Toegankelijkheid en toepasbaarheid

Tenslotte moet er meer aandacht besteed worden aan biculturele competentie en aan de mate van doorlopende toegankelijkheid van de cultuur, om te bepalen wanneer en in hoeverre culturele kaders geactiveerd en operatief worden in biculturele individuen. Sommige domeinspecifieke kennis wordt voor sommige individuen nu eenmaal vaker aangesproken in de ene cultuur dan in de andere. Daarom is de *mate* en de *aard* van de biculturaliteit van groot belang voor het functioneren van culturele kaders. Bij het activeren specifieke kennis moet dit geconditioneerd worden op de culturele context waarin deze beleefd wordt (toepasbaarheid) (Higgins, 1996; Hong et al., 2000). In de ontwerpfase van experimenten zou dus rekening gehouden moeten worden met het feit dat de mate van het activeren van bepaalde culturele kennis afhankelijk kan zijn van meerdere factoren.

Zelf en welbevinden

Cultuur in verandering en zelfbeeld

Bij het vergelijken van de Griekse en de Nederlandse proefpersonen vonden wij dat het zelfbegrip verschilde per cultuur. Hierbij viel het op dat in het hedendaagse Griekenland de mate van persoonlijke en sociale zelfwaardering en de rol die deze spelen bij het bepalen van psychologisch welbevinden zowel een individualistische als een colectivistische oriëntatie laten zien. Dit verschijnsel heeft implicaties voor de theorievorming over het zelf en het onderzoek naar veranderende culturen.

Culturele continuïteit en het sociale zelf

Ons gedetailleerde onderzoek naar de relationele zelf laat zien dat er een verschil bestaat tussen de mate waarin een bepaald concept *gewaardeerd* wordt en de cognitieve representatie van ditzelfde concept. Dit onderscheid is wellicht van belang voor ontwikkelingspsycholgische theorie rond de manier waarop kinderen leren betekenis te hechten aan bepaalde concepten.

De voornaamste implicatie van beide studies over het zelf is dat men niet onkritisch mag aannemen dat een traditioneel collectivistische cultuur die aan het moderniseren is de typische eigenschappen van een individualistische cultuur overneemt. Dit resultaat kan betrokken worden bij de veelbesproken vragen rond modernisering en de dynamica van culturele verandering. In ieder geval is het wenselijk meer inzicht te krijgen in het moderniseringsproces, bijvoorbeeld door expliciet een traditionele versus een moderne context te activeren door experimentele manipulatie.

Algemene implicaties

Overdraagbaarheid van onderzoeksvragen

Hoewel sommige studies specifiek ingericht waren om de hypothese van het Schakelen van Cultureel Kader te testen, konden de resultaten tegelijkertijd gebruikt worden om verschillen tussen de culturen beter in kaart te brengen. Op dezelfde wijze kunnen ook de resultaten op het gebied van zelfbegrip en hoe dit in Griekenland aan het veranderen is ten op zich van Nederland, ook weer gebruikt worden om experimenten te ontwerpen waarbij op het individuele niveau bepaalde aspecten van cultuur geactiveerd worden. Op deze wijze zijn de resultaten van de twee thema's met elkaar te verbinden en vullen zij elkaar aan.

Theoretisch kader en methodologie

De individualisme-collectivisme dimensie was weliswaar ons belangrijkste onderzoeksinstrument, maar ook andere factoren speelden een rol bij onze voorspellingen. Zo werd het onderzoek naar netwerken van associaties (Hoofdstuk 4) voorafgegaan door een kwalitatief vooronderzoek om de juiste onderzoeksvragen te formuleren. Ook speelde de specifiek sociaal-culturele context van Griekenland een belangrijke

rol in onze argumentatie voor het primaat van het sociale zelf in de Griekse cultuur (Hoofdstuk 5). Tenslotte pasten wij een emische benadering (emic) toe bij het classificeren van de spontane zelfrepresentaties in Hoofdstuk 6, wat ons in staat stelde de verschillen in cognitieve representaties van de relationele zelf te onderzoeken. Het is duidelijk dat een goed gekozen mix van kwalitatieve en kwantitatieve benaderingen vruchtbaar is om culturele verschillen duidelijk in beeld te brengen (Karasz & Singelis, 2009).

Cultuur en manipulatie van culturele context

In ons onderzoek naar biculturaliteit activeerden wij steeds één van de twee culturele contexten. Het is echter een veelbelovend idee om culturele kennis door manipulatie te activeren op het individuele niveau, wat toegang geeft tot andere psychologische aspecten van cultuur. In dit soort experimenten is het bijvoorbeeld mogelijk om individualisme dan wel collectivisme te activeren. Zulke manipulatieve experimenten hebben al laten zien dat individuen binnen één cultuur zowel de afhankelijke als de onafhankelijke aspecten tot uitdrukking kunnen brengen, zij het met relatieve frequenties die cultuurbepaald zijn (Gardner, Gariel, & Lee, 1999; Trafimof, Triandis & Goto,1991).

Hoe culturele kennis is georganiseerd

Biculturalisme en de notie van biculturele competenties opent nieuwe mogelijkheden voor innovatief onderzoek. Door het combineren van inzichten over cultuur, biculturalisme en andere meer cognitief gerichte disciplines (cognitieve psychologie, cognitieve linguïstiek, neurowetenschappen) kunnen wij inzicht verwerven in de processen die ten grondslag liggen aan de manier waarop wij culturele opslaan en verwerken.

Epiloog

De resultaten van het onderzoek neergelegd in dit proefschrift laten zien hoe in een Noord-Europese, individualistische cultuur – de Nederlandse – verschilt van een Zuid-Europese, collectivistische cultuur – de Griekse – , het zelfbegrip, het aanhangen van waarden, sociale verklaringen en netwerken van betekenissen verschillen. Het is het specifieke aspect van het zelfbegrip waar iedere cultuur de nadruk op legt dat bijdraagt tot psychologisch welbevinden. Grieks-Nederlandse biculturelen blijken om te gaan met deze verschillen door flexibel hun percepties en gedrag aan te passen aan de culturele context waarin zij zich bevinden. Een laatste, maar zeker niet onbelangrijkste, bevinding is dat hoewel in beide zo verschillende culturen de relationele zelf als het belangrijkste wordt gezien, de inhoud die aan dit begrip gegeven wordt markant verschilt. Dit alles onderstreept het belang van cultuur in het bepalen hoe wij onszelf, de wereld om ons heen en ons leven daarin begrijpen.

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Finally, I must also complain (een beetje Nederlands zeuren) a lit bit about life: Not always being generous, it has prevented my aged father and my recently passed away mother from fully sharing this milestone in my life with me and from allowing me to make them proud.

Curriculum Vitae

Katerina Pouliasi was born in Greece in Corfu on March 22, 1952. She graduated in Economical and Political Science at the faculty of Law and Economical Sciences of the Aristoteles University in Thessaloniki in 1975. After graduating she was first employed in a few private enterprises, dealing with trade contracts and financial matters. In 1982 she joined the administration of the National Technical University of Athens (NTUA), where she was appointed general secretary and head of the administration of the department of Marine Engineering. In 1995 she participated in the Karolus European Exchange Programme and was placed in the Dutch Ministry of Home Affairs (BiZa) in order to compare the implementation of the EU directives regarding public procedures in Greece and in the Netherlands. From 1995 up to 1998 she was seconded from the NTUA, first to the European Institute of Public Administration (EIPA) and later to the European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relation (ERCOMER) at the University of Utrecht. At EIPA she developed a Management Information System and helped set up their first electronic publishing efforts. After her secondment, she continued working at ERCOMER up to the end of 2002, both as web-manager and editor of the, at time well-known and often consulted, WWW Virtual Library on Migration and Ethnic Relations. As a specialist in database-driven publishing she contributed to the EuroCRIS platform aimed at the standardization and harmonization of a common European research information format. In early 2001, she first teamed up with Maykel Verkuyten to conduct an experimental study on biculturalism among Greek-Dutch early adolescents in the Netherlands. From that point on she gradually, but persistently, redirected her interests from organizing the data of others to producing information on how culture influences cognition, affect and behavior. This thesis is the result of her 'labors of love' in that field over the past few years.

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