1 Introduction

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1.1 Second edition focus

Research and applications in the field of acculturation psychology have been on the rise over the decade since the first edition of this *Handbook* was published in 2006. We attribute this increased interest in the field of acculturation to several factors: first is the increase in worldwide migration, due to natural and man-made disasters such as war, conflict, poverty and famine, as well as to improved means of traveling over larger distances; and second is the increasing importance of understanding the link between culture and human behavior that has been advanced by those working in the field of cross-cultural psychology.

This rapid growth has stimulated the need for the creation of a second edition. While we want to update the materials published in the first edition, we also want to present a more integrated and comprehensive book. More specifically, we have reduced the number of chapters (by merging topics that were treated separately in the first edition) and we have increased the length of the chapters (to allow for a more in-depth examination of the topic). Most important is the larger range of societies covered; in addition to the coverage in the first edition, we now include work from Africa, Central and South America, East and Southeast Asia, Eastern Europe and South Asia. We hope that these changes will provide students, researchers and professionals with a more comprehensive and deeper understanding of the processes and outcomes of acculturation psychology.

The over 50 authors of this *Handbook* represent the top researchers in the field of acculturation psychology. They provide materials well-tailored for both the beginner and advanced reader. This new edition emphasizes sophisticated levels of conceptualizing and empirical research.

1.2 The scope of acculturation

Contact between peoples of different cultures is certainly not a new phenomenon. Throughout human history, mankind has traveled around the world for various reasons, either in search of greener pastures, fleeing from persecution and catastrophe, to trade or to conquer and colonize or in search of adventure or fun. These activities have resulted in the meeting of peoples of diverse backgrounds. This

process has led to changes in the original patterns of life and cultures of the peoples concerned, as well as to the formation of new societies. The meeting of cultures and the resulting changes are what collectively has come to be known as *acculturation.* Of course, it is not only cultural groups that experience change following contact; individuals also experience changes in their behaviors. These changes have become known as *psychological acculturation.* This *Handbook* examines both the cultural and individual acculturation phenomena.

Although acculturation is as old as recorded history, and the field indeed engaged the minds of ancient philosophers, it was not until the last few decades that we saw a major surge in research interest in the topic in psychology. However, in the field of anthropology, the interest in acculturation developed earlier, with research carried out with indigenous peoples (e.g., Hallowell, 1955), and in sociology with immigrants (e.g., Park, 1928). In psychology, books and articles reviewing and integrating the literature on acculturation began appearing in the 1980s and 1990s (e.g., Padilla, 1980; Chun, Balls-Organista & Marin, 2003). Rudmin (2003) has tracked this trend in psychology, noting a rapid increase in publications from less than 100 in the 1940s, to over 500 in the 1980s and over 1,500 in 2000. We could identify over 70,000 records of psychological acculturation research in the 15-year period from 2000 to date.

1.3   Acculturating peoples

There are many reasons for groups and individuals of different cultures to come into contact and to experience acculturation. First is international migration, which is partly due to the widening socioeconomic differences between low- and high-income countries. This gap has acted as a "push" factor in sending people from less economically developed regions of the world to the more developed parts in a search for a better livelihood. Many regions of the world have witnessed an increase in political, ethnic and religious conflicts that have culminated in collective violence. In its aftermath, there has been a surge in the numbers of people seeking asylum and becoming refugees in other countries. These activities have all contributed to an increase in worldwide migration, and undoubtedly contributed to acculturation research becoming very relevant in contemporary societies.

The International Migration Report of the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, the Population Division reported that there were 232 million international migrants in 2013 (United Nation Population Facts, 2013). Most migrants (59 percent) lived in the developed regions of the world, while the balance (40 percent) lived in developing regions. Of the 136 million international migrants living in developed countries, 82 million (60 percent) originated from a developing country, while 54 million (40 percent) were born in developed countries. Between 1990 and 2013, the number of international migrants worldwide rose by over 77 million or by 50 percent. The statistics in the report indicate that there is hardly any country that is currently not affected by migration in one way or another, either as a sender or as receiver. There are both positive and

negative aspects to these migrations. For sending countries, one of the concerns is brain-drain, but, on the positive side, monetary remittances from abroad serve to support their families and bolster their domestic economies. Receiving countries may be concerned with ethnic conflicts and social problems, on the negative side. However, on the positive side, immigrants contribute to their demographic base during times of population decline, as well as to economic development. In spite of the fact that the one major motivating factor in migration is to improve one's personal, social and economic situation, most migrants face several challenges as they traverse two or more cultures. All in all, it is not surprising that migration is not simply a personal issue, but one that attracts vested political interests with important global implications.

A second reason for acculturation to take place is that urbanization in many countries has led to internal movement of people from rural areas into urban areas. These flows often involve people of different cultures, languages and identities, setting the stage for acculturation to take place. Although these migrations are "domestic" or "internal," they nevertheless constitute arenas where acculturation takes place.

Third, many societies are culturally plural, where peoples of diverse backgrounds live side by side and engage each other in their daily living. Many of these situations involve long-standing indigenous peoples or national minorities. Worldwide, there are about 350 million people who are considered to be indigenous; these can be classified into at least 5,000 cultural groups ranging from the Inuit and Sami in the Arctic to Maori in New Zealand and Biaka in Africa. Many indigenous people live in remote areas, and although some have willingly come into contact with other cultures as part of programs of national development, others have been colonized, encroached upon and annexed against their will. In this latter group are people who have been forced to live together with, and dominated by, cultures different from their original one, and subsequently to experience acculturation. In addition, there are societies where the descendants of previous waves of international migration (sometimes called ethnocultural groups) engage each other.

Fourth, international travel has been rising steadily, from 500 million in 1993 to over 900 million in 2007 (People and the Planet, 2008). Tourism involves short-term visits and is for a specific purpose, usually for rest or adventure. Despite the short duration, tourism leads to a meeting between peoples of different backgrounds and in the process leads to changes in the original cultural patterns of the groups concerned. In addition to tourism, international education has also been on the rise since the end of World War II. Estimates are that there may be over 1 million people studying in countries other than their own each year. One consequence of international education is the experience of acculturation, for both the students and the receiving institutions.

1.4   Culture and human behavior

In the 1960s, many psychologists became concerned about the cultural bias that was inherent in their discipline. Most theories, data and researchers were rooted

in a small cultural corner of the world, while most of the world's peoples were being ignored. Even worse, when other cultural groups became part of the research enterprise of psychology, they were studied using concepts and instruments that were alien and culturally inappropriate. Missing were points of view that matched the cultural realities of these other populations, including meanings and procedures that could allow psychologists to understand people *in their own terms*. To deal with these problems, a field of psychology developed that became known as *cross-cultural psychology* (for an overview of these trends, see Berry, Poortinga, Breugelmans, Chasiotis & Sam, 2011; Berry, Poortinga & Pandey, 1997; Berry, Poortinga, Segall & Dasen, 2002; Segall, 1979; Triandis et al., 1980). For this field, the primary question was how does culture influence human behavior? The focus was on how the cultural context in which a person develops might shape (either promote or constrain) behavior. Substantial information is now available to answer this question. The field has clearly demonstrated that cultural experiences do indeed shape the development of behavior and its display in daily life. The field has also developed theories, research methods and domains of application that have radically transformed the way psychology views human diversity.

Some psychologists working in this field came to be interested in a parallel question: how do people born and raised in one society manage to live in another society that is culturally different from the one they are used to? This is the basic acculturation question, and is the focus of this *Handbook*. It is rooted in the finding of cross-cultural psychology that people develop behaviors that are adapted to living successfully in their own sociocultural contexts. If this is the case, what happens to people when they take their behavioral repertoire to a different cultural context? We can imagine a number of possible answers to this question. One is that their behavior remains unchanged, and they may risk becoming maladapted to their new setting. Another is that their behavior changes rather easily and rapidly as they learn to live well in their new setting. And a third is that there is a more complex pattern of both behavioral continuity and change as people negotiate how to live in their new society. This complexity involves many psychological processes, including social learning, stress and coping, identity, resilience, mental illness, conflict and many others. It is this very complexity that has spurred the development of this field of acculturation psychology, and the production of this *Handbook*.

1.5   Contemporary research in psychology of acculturation

Research in the psychology of acculturation now abounds and there is no lack of studies listed on the PsycINFO website and in dissertation abstracts. The references at the end of each chapter in this volume are a testimony to how fast the field is growing. Many of these studies have been reported not only in general psychological journals but also in cross-cultural and multidisciplinary journals. The titles of the journals are unending, and for that reason we will not make any effort to list them.

Another important outlet for psychological acculturation research is at international conferences. Many conference presentations are naturally further developed for journal papers and conference proceedings, and therefore may be included in the list of references in this *Handbook*. However, several important and powerful presentations are not developed further and get lost in the system. A list of conferences where acculturation studies abound may therefore be appropriate, but here again there can be no end; mention can, however, be made of the predominant international psychological associations whose conferences are often dominated by acculturation studies. These are the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology (IACCP), and the International Academy for Intercultural Research (IAIR). As an example of how acculturation studies dominate several of these conferences, more than half of the about 100 presentations at the just ended conference of IAIR in 2015 were on acculturation (see IAIR, 2015).

Furthermore, there have been a number of specialized conferences on acculturation over the last couple of decades, two of which might be mentioned here. The first (Padilla, 1980) drew together psychologists who had made early contributions to conceptualizing acculturation, and who had made empirical contributions to the field. The second (Chun, Balls-Organista & Marin, 2003) was an explicit attempt to replicate and update the earlier conference. Both of these conferences have resulted in very well-cited books on acculturation. Unfortunately, both books were mainly focused on acculturation research done in only one country (the United States), and are sometimes of less relevance to acculturation taking place in the wider world. This is the same issue of limited cultural coverage that the field of cross-cultural psychology has attempted to deal with.

Although the list of book chapters on acculturation studies is unlimited, textbooks entirely devoted to the psychology of acculturation are rare. This general lack of books on the psychology of acculturation in its entirety, coupled with the overwhelming dominance of US acculturation studies, has been one of the motivating factors behind the development of this *Handbook*. Our goal is to organize a book that covers a very broad range of topics within acculturation, as well as to draw on scholars from different parts of the world. As you go through this revised edition, *you*, the reader, will be the best judge of how we have succeeded. Much as our goal has been to cover acculturation research globally, acculturation research is still most prominent in the Western world.

In spite of the abundance of acculturation research, one area of research that is largely lacking is comparative studies that cover more than a few countries. Many of the studies cited focus on a single society and at best a few ethnic groups, making it very difficult to achieve any generalizations about acculturation phenomena (Berry, Kim, Minde & Mok, 1987). The editing of the first edition of the *Handbook* coincided with the publication of a large-scale cross-national study on young immigrants' psychological acculturation. This was the International Comparative Study of Ethnocultural Youth (ICSEY) project. Although this was a one-time study, and the results are now old, a number of the chapters in this *Handbook* refer to some

of the findings accruing from the ICSEY project (see Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006).

1.6   An overview of the volume

In order to cover a broad range of issues relevant to psychological acculturation, this volume is organized in four parts. The first part provides an overview of the main theories and concepts within the field of acculturation, together with a presentation of issues pertaining to research design, methodology and measurement. The second part includes chapters that present some research findings, both general and specific, on some of the major acculturating groups that are found in plural societies. Part III, which forms the largest part of the volume, reviews research findings from a variety of societies of settlement. Many of these societies are the regions of the world where much of the research work on acculturation has been taking place. However, regions of the world where a lot of acculturation is taking place, albeit where very little research is taking place, are also focused on in this third part. The fourth and final part is concerned with applications, drawing upon both theory and empirical findings to address issues of work, school, society and health that may arise in plural societies as a result of acculturation.

The chapters in each part are previewed in a part introduction. There, readers will find sufficient information to allow them to locate the kinds of material that meet their main interests. In addition, at the end of the volume, a Subject Index is provided that gives more detailed access to key concepts and findings.

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PART I

Theories, concepts and methods

While acculturation research originated in the field of anthropology, and was further developed by sociology, this *Handbook* mainly examines the newer research tradition developed by psychologists. The five chapters in this part of the *Handbook* portray some of these earlier roots in the social sciences, and then focus on some perspectives that derive mainly from psychological concepts and research interests. Chapter 2 gives a broad overview of psychological acculturation beginning with its definition, core aspects of the concept, who undergoes acculturation and the central issues that psychological acculturation research should address. This is followed by a chapter on identity (Chapter 3), where the focus is on how individuals make sense of their lives in the face of their interaction with different groups of people in ever-increasingly complex societies. The chapter on personality (Chapter 4) discusses how individual difference variables may be used to understand acculturation processes and the various outcomes for individuals. The developmental chapter (Chapter 5) focuses on young people and proposes that acculturation may best be conceptualized as a developmental process in multicultural contexts; this process, which may result in the acquisition of culture competence, is one kind of developmental task. This first part of the *Handbook* closes with a chapter (Chapter 6) discussing some methodological features of acculturation research. This chapter notes that while the field of acculturation psychology shares most of the problems and solutions that are present in cross-cultural psychology, there are some unique features to acculturation research design, assessment and analyses.

2   Theoretical perspectives

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2.1   Introduction

The term *acculturation* is now commonly used in discussions of immigrants, refugees and ethnocultural groups. However, a consensus about its meaning and operationalization within the social and behavioral sciences remains elusive. This has limited the scientific exchange of information and meaningful discussion around theory development and research findings. The goal of this chapter is to clarify the definition of the concept, and its use in the social and behavioral sciences. As an introduction to the concept in a comprehensive handbook, the main emphasis of this chapter will be to give a broad overview. A more detailed coverage of the various aspects of the concept can be found in other chapters in this *Handbook*, and in particular elsewhere in Part I of this volume.

In its simplest sense, acculturation refers to all the changes that arise following contact between groups and individuals of different cultural backgrounds. A more formal definition was proposed by Redfield, Linton and Herskovits in 1936. They defined acculturation as "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups" (Redfield et al., 1936: 149).

Redfield et al.'s definition is now regarded as the classical definition of the concept and is perhaps the one most cited by acculturation researchers. Nevertheless, the term is sometimes wrongly used and/or used as a synonym for *assimilation*. This is exemplified by an everyday expression such as "he is very much acculturated to . . .," implying "he is very much assimilated into . . .," a given society or culture. The rapid expansion and exchange of information, trade and economic harmonization have given rise to the concept of "globalization" (Berry, 2008) and idiomatic expressions such as "Westernization" in the current discourse in acculturation. Accompanying the growth in global migration, there has been a proliferation of new terms such as "biculturalism," "multiculturalism," "integration," "resocialization" and "ethnic identity." These terms have either been used as an alternative concept or interchangeably with acculturation. There is a need to clarify all of these other terms. While some of these terms will become clearer in this chapter, space does not permit a discussion of them all.

Chapters 3 and 22 of this volume elaborate on concepts of ethnic identity and multiculturalism, respectively.

In 2004, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) defined acculturation as "the progressive adoption of elements of a foreign culture (ideas, words, values, norms, behavior and institutions) by persons, groups or classes of a given culture." The two definitions (i.e., by Redfield et al., and the IOM) highlight some of the important differences and controversies surrounding the use of the concept of acculturation. The IOM definition for instance is limited to simply the "adoption of foreign cultural elements." It also overlooks the possibility that acculturation could entail rejection of or resistance to these cultural elements and not simply their adoption. It also overlooks the possibility that individuals may selectively retain features of their own culture while selectively adopting others. These issues have important implications for theory development, which are discussed in this chapter.

Bearing in mind the elusive meaning and use of the term, this chapter will first give a brief historical background of the concept of acculturation as a means to understanding the concept. Subsequently, some of the core features of the concept will be examined to highlight its scope for research and theory development.

2.2   Historical background

Powell (1880, 1883) is probably the first to have used the term "acculturation" in the English language, although the topic has its roots in antiquity (see Plato, 1969). Powell (1883) suggested that acculturation referred to psychological changes induced by cross-cultural imitation. McGee (1898), working from an anthropological perspective, defined acculturation to be the process of exchange and mutual improvement by which societies advanced from "savagery" to "barbarism" to "civilization" and to "enlightenment." From a sociological perspective, Simons (1901) regarded acculturation to be a two-way process of "reciprocal accommodation." She nevertheless equated the word to the English term "assimilation" and defined assimilation as the process of adjustment or accommodation that occurs when the members of two different groups meet.

The terms "assimilation" and "acculturation" have been regarded as synonymous from the perspective of two different social science disciplines. While anthropologists preferred to use the term "acculturation," sociologists preferred to use the term "assimilation." Furthermore, anthropologists' use of the term "acculturation" was primarily concerned with how so-called "primitive" societies changed to become more "civilized" following cultural contact with an "enlightened" group of people. On the other hand, sociologists' use of the term "assimilation" was more directed toward the study of immigrants who, through contact with the society of settlement, gradually conformed to the ways of life of people in the larger society.

To complicate matters, the terms "acculturation" and "assimilation" have also sometimes been used not as synonyms for each other, but as subsets of each other. Specifically, assimilation has sometimes been seen as one form or phase of