Chapter 1

General Introduction

The study of social psychology is primarily a western phenomenon. With the rise of globalization however, it is becoming increasingly recognized that social psychology needs to broaden its scope. This has given rise to a somewhat separate discipline of cross-cultural research. This research has more often than not taken the form of transplanting Western-derived theories to determine if they are applicable in other cultures, most commonly, Eastern cultures (Cross & Markus, 1999). The assumption has been that such research will facilitate the understanding of cultural differences and more specifically how culture influences social behaviour and thought. However, as Azuma has (1984, pp. 49) pointed out, "When a psychologist looks at a non-Western culture through Western glasses, he may fail to notice important aspects of the non-Western culture since the scheme for recognizing them are not provided by his culture." Perhaps in reaction to this kind of thought, many researchers have tended to endorse a version of cultural relativism.

Cultural relativism is based on the premise that one cannot apply the standards of one culture to evaluate the content of another culture. It would argue that there is "no transcending metric that one can use to draw such culture-free evaluations of specific achievements" (Rychlak, 2003, pp. 115). In anthropology, cultural relativism has been a longstanding assumption. Between 1915 and 1934 American anthropologists articulated basic principles of the nature of culture, declaring that it is a distinct phenomenon, that it is a fundamental determinant of human behaviour, and that it is essentially arbitrary (Brown, 1991). Thus, in this view universals were considered to be both unlikely and unusual. Within psychology, cultural relativism is similar to what has been referred to as the "standard social science model" by Tooby and Cosmides (1992). In this view people are considered blank slates upon which culture is imposed, with the idea that people will internalize almost any values, attitudes and behaviours they are exposed to. In stark contrast to these two theoretical

assumptions, Deci and Ryan (2000) have developed a theory of human motivation, based on research in Western contexts, that they are now attempting to demonstrate is in fact universally applicable.

Self-Determination Theory

Self-determination theory (SDT) adopts a needs based approach to understanding human motivation. Within this theory needs are considered to be "innate psychological nutriments that are essential for ongoing psychological growth, integrity, and well-being" (Deci & Ryan, 2000 pp. 229). Indeed, SDT assumes that people are in fact fundamentally oriented towards psychological growth, integrity and well-being. Therefore, self-determination theorists argue that individuals do not wait for a deficit in one of their needs to respond with need satisfying behaviour. Rather, they are naturally inclined to seek out need satisfying activities. These activities may not be sought explicitly to achieve need satisfaction, however, need satisfaction will be inherent in these types of activities.

The three needs that SDT has identified as essential to an individual's well-being are autonomy, competence and relatedness. Researchers outside of self-determination theory have similarly argued for the universality of the needs for competence (Csikszentmihalyi, 1988; White, 1959) and relatedness (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Across theories, competence is conceptualized as the desire to have an effect on the environment and to attain valued outcomes, while relatedness refers to the desire to feel connected or related to others. However, SDT is unique in its emphasis on autonomy and it applies a highly differentiated definition of autonomy compared to other theorists (Chirkov, Ryan, Kim & Kaplan, 2003). Within SDT, autonomy is defined as a feeling of self-determination or volition, it is the sense that one's actions are self-endorsed.

Due to the apparent controversy around how SDT conceptualizes autonomy self-determination theorists have delineated what autonomy *is not* (Ryan, 1993). First, autonomy

is not a developmental stage. While Erikson (1950) theorized that the second and third years of life are a critical time for children to develop their autonomy, Piaget (1967) considered autonomy to be an issue to be resolved during middle childhood. In both models autonomy is considered to be particularly relevant at a discrete time point in a child's development. Once that stage has been passed however, autonomy concerns are no longer considered salient for that child. In contrast, SDT would argue that autonomy is relevant throughout a person's lifespan. The developmental tasks and challenges an individual will face may differ considerably during their life; however, across the lifespan whether a person feels internally or externally regulated will always be an issue (Ryan, 1993).

Second, and perhaps more relevant to the present discussion, autonomy is not independence (Ryan, 1993). Independence refers to self-reliance whereas dependence requires reliance on others to help one meet one's needs. We are born dependent on others. Over the course of our life this dependence will change considerably, however, it can still remain a natural and desirable state. Thus, a teenager may feel comfortable being financially dependent on their parents as they receive an allowance. Or a teenager may feel compelled to assert their financial independence by taking on a part-time job. Thus, it is possible for a person to feel volitional or controlled in both dependent and independent relationships.

In recognition that people frequently have to engage in tasks that are not inherently appealing, and thus, would not lend themselves to need satisfaction, SDT has hypothesized that it is possible to internalize extrinsic motivational factors, such as parental prompts and guidelines. Internalization is a natural, active process in which socially sanctioned mores or requests become personally endorsed values and self-regulations (Ryan, Rigby & King, 1993). Thus, within SDT socialization is highly influential. If a person's social world provides no reliable paths to fulfill the three needs, SDT predicts that there will be significant psychological costs. The effects of socialization are also far-reaching because the manner in

which persons are regulated with respect to a particular activity has been found to shape the way in which they will subsequently regulate themselves in future activities (Grolnick & Farkas, 2002). Thus, the person with a controlled or amotivational orientation is likely to regulate themselves in the same manner during future tasks, thereby further thwarting their basic need satisfaction (Hodgins & Liebeskind, 1998). In this respect SDT places a great importance on the environment in which a person develops as fundamentally influencing their ability to satisfy their basic needs and as a result derive well-being in the present context and in their future endeavours.

Controversial nature of the need for Autonomy

It is important to note that while SDT does hypothesize that the three needs are universal, the theory also predicts that the means by which these needs are satisfied will not be universal. That is, the needs may be differentially manifest and satisfied by individuals, in a manner shaped by the individual, those around the individual, and at a somewhat more abstract level by the individual's culture. Nowhere may this be truer than with the need for autonomy. Despite SDT's consistently defining autonomy in terms of volition the tendency to relate autonomy to independence has persisted in the literature. In a study of subjective well-being across 39 countries Oishi (2000) concluded, after noting that individualistic nations are a minority throughout the world, that autonomy appears to be a significant predictor of life satisfaction in Western nations, whereas in non-Western, or collectivistic cultures autonomy was unrelated to well-being.

It has further been argued that the benefits of choice, which is often considered synonymous with autonomy, may be culture bound. This argument has a foundation in Markus and Kitayama's (1991) highly influential self-systems theory. According to this theory personal agency is a central component in the self-construals of individualists (i.e. Westerners), whereas for collectivists (i.e. Easterners) it is hypothesized to be much less

relevant. In line with this theorizing Iyengar and Lepper (1999) examined whether choice would be associated with intrinsic motivation, persistence, performance and satisfaction in samples of Western and Eastern children. The children were asked to complete an anagram task chosen by themselves, the experimenter, or their mom. For the Western sample intrinsic motivation was hampered when the choices were made for them. However, the Eastern sample performed best and seemed to enjoy the task the most when their mom had chosen for them. Iyengar and Lepper (1999) concluded that a lack of individual choice or personal control and autonomy will not necessarily induce negative consequences, such as decreased intrinsic motivation, particularly with a non-Western sample. Self-determination theorists would likely disagree with such a conclusion. They might suggest that Iyengar and Lepper's (1999) results do not reflect the fact that choice, and by extension autonomy, are only of value in individualistic cultures, rather they would argue that such results are an indication that it is possible to be autonomously interdependent. That is, it is possible to accept and autonomously internalize a value or regulation if the person recognizes the advisors expertise or otherwise respects their opinion.

One of the ways in which SDT researchers have begun to test assertions regarding the universality of the three needs has been to conduct cross-cultural studies. With Korean, Russian, Turkish and American, samples autonomous internalization of specific cultural values was positively associated with well-being (Chirkov et al., 2003). A further study replicated the key results with a Brazilian and Canadian sample (Chirkov, Ryan & Willness, 2005). Autonomy support has been shown to be beneficial with Russian and American teens (Chirkov & Ryan, 2001) as well as with Bulgarian employees of a state owned company (Deci, Ryan**,** Gagne, Leone, Usunov & Kornazheva, 2001). While it may be that the degree to which members of diverse cultures report experiences of autonomy differ, the results do indicate that the process whereby autonomy serves to foster well-being have been the same

across these samples. Further suggesting that while autonomy may not be specifically, or explicitly, valued in particular cultural contexts it may still serve an important purpose.

Self-determination and Ethnic Minorities

Immigrants represent a further opportunity to test SDT's hypotheses regarding the universality of the need for autonomy. International migration has increased rapidly over the past 20 years (Castles & Miller, 1998). As a result, societies throughout the world are becoming increasingly culturally plural. In Canada alone, the rising rates of immigration and the changing source countries have led to predictions that by the year 2017 one out of every five people living in Canada will be a visible minority ("Study: Canada's visible minority population," 2005, March 22). The great diversity of cultures represented in Canada should therefore provide a good opportunity to determine whether the same processes are equally applicable and beneficial across cultures. Ethnic minorities as a population are set up nicely to test SDT particularly in light of the goals that they generally espouse. Immigrants endeavour to maintain their cultural heritage, participate in the new society, and maintain or enhance their level of psychological health (Aycan & Berry, 1996; Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987; Liebkind, 1992; Safdar, Lay & Struthers, 2003).

If an immigrant is able to successfully master the first two goals, he or she would be considered biculturally competent. Bicultural competence is the ability to successfully interact in one's own heritage culture as well as in one's new host culture. Within this framework individuals are able to assimilate the norms of the two cultures so that they are readily available to them as they meet the demands of any situation (Mpofu & Watkins, 1997). The third goal may be a reflection of how well they are able to achieve the first two goals in light of the existing research on the importance of bicultural competence (Berry, Kim, Minde & Mok, 1987, LaFromboise, Coleman & Gerton, 1993; Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000).

Based on SDT one would expect that the motivation for maintaining, or attaining, competence in a culture should also importantly impact on a person's level of cultural competence and their well-being. A previous study using four independent Christian samples found that more autonomous reasons for practicing a religion were associated with global self-esteem, and self-actualization (Ryan et al., 1993). Alternatively, when participants reported controlled or non-autonomous reasons for religious engagement they were also more likely to report experiencing decreased global self-esteem and self-actualization as well as increased feelings of anxiety and depression. These results have also been obtained by other researchers (O'Connor & Vallerand, 1990). Thus, engagement per se was not where participants derived their well-being, rather it was when they autonomously participated that their well-being flourished. The findings of this study indicate that motivation towards a cultural identity should similarly influence the well-being that an individual will derive from such an association. That is, cultural competence may be beneficial to the extent that an individual autonomously regulates themself in that cultural context.

Present Studies

The present thesis seeks to consider the relevance of autonomy to ethnic minorities. It was expected that autonomous internalization of cultural norms would be associated with well-being. Furthermore, how multicultural individuals integrate their identities was also anticipated to impact on their well-being and their daily functioning. By using multicultural samples, in contrast to cross-cultural samples, we increase the difficulty of the developmental task participants are being asked to perform. For an ethnic minority greater effort may need to be extended to maintain their affiliation with their heritage culture, thus internalization and socialization should play an important role in determining an ethnic minority's level of competence with respect to their multiple cultures and the satisfaction they derive from that association.

Chapter 2 describes a correlational study that examined the effects of autonomous internalization on cultural competence and domain specific well-being. Internalization was assessed by adapting the methodology employed by Chirkov et al. (2003). Cultural competence was assessed using the Vancouver Index of Acculturation (Ryder et al., 2000). The study also considered the influence of how a person conceptualizes their identity on their global well-being (Ryff & Singer, 1996). Peer reports were collected to strengthen the validity of the findings. This study was intended to extend the results of Chirkov et al. (2003) by demonstrating the importance of autonomous internalization to the well-being of a sample of ethnic minorities living in Canada. Additionally, the study also sought to replicate Chirkov's findings regarding the difficulty of internalizing hierarchical cultural values using an objective measure of cultural values (Schwartz, 1994).

Chapter 3 presents two studies that examined the impact of autonomy support to cultural internalization and well-being. Both studies evaluated parental autonomy support (Robbins, 1994), cultural internalization (Chirkov et al., 2003), and well-being (Ryff & Keyes, 1995). The first study comprised a sample of ethnic minorities living in Montreal, Canada. It extends the previous chapter by considering how autonomous internalization is fostered. The second study tested whether the same relations held among the variables using a sample of Chinese-Malaysians who are sojourning in diverse Western cultures, thereby further testing the value of autonomy and autonomy support in a distinct population.

Chapter 4 describes a social interactions study that considered the relation of perceived evaluations of a multicultural person's heritage group to the nature and quality of their social interactions. This study extended previous research by taking an event contingent approach to understanding how a multicultural identity can shape a person's daily interactions. The study made use of the Rochester Interaction Record (Wheeler & Nezlek, 1977) as well as our measure of cultural chameleonism (Downie, Koestner, ElGeledi & Cree, 2004) and a measure

of psychological adjustment (Ryff & Keyes, 1995).

Together these studies were designed to extend self-determination theory by exploring how autonomous internalization is relevant to the cultural competence and psychological well-being of ethnic minorities. The first two chapters will directly assess the value of autonomy on both domain specific and global well-being of ethnic minorities. The fourth chapter considered how minorities can maximize the well-being they derive from their daily social interactions.

Chapter 2

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The Impact of Cultural Internalization and Integration on Well Being Among Tricultural Individuals

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Abstract

The cultural internalization and competence of a diverse sample of tricultural university students was assessed. Based on recent research on the internalization of cultural norms (Chirkov, Ryan, Kim, & Kaplan, 2003) it was predicted that: (1) having a heritage culture that embraced egalitarian values would be conducive to autonomous internalization and cultural competence; (2) competence and internalization would be associated with positive affect in heritage cultural contexts; (3) the same positive relations between competence, internalization, and affect would be evident in English- and French-Canadian contexts. 113 participants representing over 35 distinct ethnicities participated in the study. Results supported the hypothesized relations among egalitarianism, autonomous internalization, competence, and affect. Furthermore, the results indicated that individuals' cultural adaptation in both heritage and English-Canadian cultures combined with the extent to which they had integrated their cultural identities in their self, predicted psychological well-being.

The Impact of Cultural Internalization and Integration on Well Being Among Tricultural Individuals

For most North Americans a day in which they strolled through Chinatown, ate fondue at a Bistro and viewed a Hollywood film, would be seen as a day filled with varied cultural experiences. However, for some people this set of experiences would represent nothing more than a typical day in which they were required to seamlessly negotiate their multicultural identity. The present study explored how individuals manage to simultaneously function in multiple cultural contexts. Specifically, the study attempted to determine (1) how multicultural individuals derive positive affect within each of their cultural contexts and (2) how a more general sense of psychological well-being, which translates across these cultures, can be developed.

Autonomous Forms of Cultural Internalization

Self-determination theory (SDT) argues that the basic psychological needs for autonomy, competence and relatedness are universal and that the satisfaction of these needs is requisite for optimal psychological functioning. While many researchers have supported the universality of the needs for competence (Csikszentmihalyi, 1988) and relatedness (Baumeister & Leary, 1995), the need for autonomy has been controversial (Chirkov, Ryan, Kim, & Kaplan, 2003). Autonomy concerns the extent to which individuals endorse and stand behind their actions. SDT argues that individuals vary in the degree to which their behaviour can be seen as autonomously regulated. Autonomously regulated behaviours truly reflect the abiding interests, values and sensibilities of the individual. Research in numerous domains has demonstrated that autonomous regulation is associated with successful goal-striving and increased well-being (Deci & Ryan, 2000, Koestner, Losier, Vallerand & Carducci, 1996; Sheldon & Kasser, 1998, Vallerand, 1997).

SDT has recently been applied to the internalization of cultural norms and practices.

SDT has proposed that, as in other domains, the process by which individuals take in cultural guidelines and standards will importantly impact upon their competence and well-being (Deci & Ryan, 2000). In addition, the theory highlights that cultural norms that are inherently compatible with the satisfaction of the needs for autonomy, competence, and relatedness are more likely to be internalized in an autonomous manner. Hierarchical societies may thwart an individual's need for autonomy and relatedness if they require individuals to subjugate themselves to heteronomous influences and impose restrictions on who an individual may interact with. Thus, the theory would suggest that egalitarian norms that stress equality and reciprocity would be more easily internalized than hierarchical norms that stress status and conformity.

A study by Chirkov, Ryan, Kim and Kaplan (2003) tested SDT's propositions regarding the internalization of cultural guidelines in four countries that were highly distinct in their orientation towards both individualism and collectivism as well as horizontal (emphasizing egalitarian values) and vertical values (emphasizing hierarchies or social stratification). The study measured the internalization of culture by asking participants to indicate their reasons for endorsing cultural practices. Intrinsic and identified reasons (e.g., "because it is interesting and personally important") reflect autonomous internalization whereas introjected and external reasons (e.g., "because I would feel guilty if I didn't do it") reflect controlled regulation. The study assessed well-being with a variety of measures such as Satisfaction with Life (Diener, Emmons, Larsen & Griffin, 1985) and the Center for Epidemiological Studies-Depression Inventory (Radloff, 1977). The study found that the extent to which cultural norms were internalized in an autonomous fashion depended on whether the culture was seen as horizontal or vertical by the participant. Individuals in self-described horizontal cultures were more autonomous in how they internalized cultural values than their counterparts in vertical cultures. Furthermore, it was found that autonomous

internalization was related to well-being in each of the four cultures. That is, regardless of whether the sample was American, Turkish, Korean, or Russian, those individuals who reported that their cultural practices and beliefs truly reflected their abiding interests, values, and sensibilities (rather than something they felt compelled to do by external or internal pressures) also reported greater well-being. Chirkov and colleagues concluded that: "whether one's behaviour and attitudes are individualistic, collectivistic, horizontal or vertical in nature, more autonomous enactment is associated with greater well-being" (p. 106).

The present study sought to extend Chirkov et al's (2003) work by examining the relation of cultural internalization to well-being among tricultural individuals who have to navigate among diverse cultural settings in their everyday lives. We planned to measure internalization and well-being in a culture-specific manner in order to examine whether autonomous internalization was associated with better well-being outcomes regardless of whether the cultural referent was the heritage culture, or one of the two host cultures. We also follow Chirkov et al (2003) in exploring whether egalitarian values are more easily internalized than hierarchical ones. However, rather than using self-report measures of the relative verticality and horizontality of an individual's heritage culture we will use Schwartz's (1994) cross-national data to estimate the level of egalitarianism inherent in participants' heritage culture. Schwartz (1994; 1999) has identified values on which cultures can be compared and which have been validated in 49 nations around the world.

Cultural Competence

By using a sample of tricultural individuals we are also able to further examine the role that internalization plays in the derivation of well-being, as well as in the development of competence in each of the three cultures. Previous research has focused on the development of competence in two cultures, or bicultural competence. Bicultural competence is the ability to successfully interact in one's own heritage culture as well as in one's new host culture.

Within this framework individuals are able to assimilate the norms of the two cultures so that they are readily available to them as they meet the demands of any situation (Mpofu & Watkins, 1997). Several characteristics have been found to be necessary in order to consider an individual biculturally competent. Within each culture, the individual must have knowledge of the cultural beliefs and value systems, an ability to function in various cultural settings, an understanding of the necessary language and communication skills, and positive attitudes towards the two societies (LaFromboise, Coleman & Gerton, 1993). Given the difficulty of mastering all these tasks, it is not surprising that many immigrants and children of immigrants struggle with the process of adapting to a new culture, sometimes suffering bouts of psychological distress and anxiety that can precipitate psychopathology (Rivera-Sinclair, 1997).

Empirical research has consistently demonstrated that there are significant psychological benefits derived from developing competence in one's host culture while also maintaining competence in one's culture of origin (see LaFromboise et al., 1993 for a review). Bicultural competence has been linked with greater interpersonal adjustment (Fernandez-Barillas & Morrison, 1984), decreased anxiety (Rivera-Sinclair, 1997), and greater socio-cultural adaptation (Ward & Searle, 1991). A new measure of bicultural competence was recently developed in which participants were asked to indicate the extent to which they endorsed the values, engaged in social relations, and adhered to the traditions of both their heritage culture and their host culture (Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000). Interestingly, it appears that competence in the host versus heritage culture may impact different aspects of well-being. It was found that immigrants' competence in their heritage culture predicted greater family life satisfaction, while host culture competence was associated with greater global adjustment (Ryder, et al, 2000). Other studies have obtained similar results using different measures of cultural competence (Nguyen, Messe & Stollak,

1999).

Given the complexity and importance of developing cultural competence, one might ask what would happen if the task was made even more challenging by expanding the number of cultures that one has to simultaneously function within. The Canadian province of Quebec presents an intriguing cultural setting in this regard because it welcomes immigrants from Asia, Europe, Africa, and South America, but it can itself be considered bicultural, with a majority French-Canadian culture thriving beside a traditional English-Canadian culture. Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedom's recognizes that Quebec is a "distinct society" wherein "the vitality and development of the language and culture" of Quebec's French and English speaking community's must be preserved (Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons, 1992). On surveys of values, French-Canadian samples group together with European nations such as Belgium, France, and the Netherlands whereas English-Canadian samples cluster with other English speaking countries including Australia, New Zealand, and the United States (Schwartz, 1994; 1999). The purpose of the present study was to make use of the unique cultural context of Quebec to explore motivational factors that influence the development of tricultural competence and to determine what psychological benefits are derived from it.

We expect to find considerable variation in the well-being of individuals as they manoeuvre between their three cultural contexts. That is, if competence and autonomy can vary across cultures, then the psychological effects of interacting within each culture should also vary. The present study will measure not only global psychological well-being, but also reports of positive and negative affect specific to the three cultural settings that all participants navigate among: heritage, English-Canadian, and French-Canadian. In this way we will be able to determine which factors are responsible for the derivation of positive affect within a specified cultural context as well as psychological well-being that is experienced across

cultural contexts. It is expected that autonomous internalization and competence will relate to greater positive affect within each particular cultural context.

Multicultural Identity Integration

Based on the cultural specificity of our measures of internalization and competence it is expected that positive affect in one culture may not translate into positive affect within the context of another culture. In order for an individual to achieve a generalized sense of well-being that transcends cultural boundaries it is necessary to consider how the individual negotiates their *multi*cultural identity. The acculturation literature has identified two modes of biculturalism that can be described as compatible and oppositional. Someone with a compatible bicultural identity views their heritage and host cultures as complementary whereas someone with an oppositional identity views the precepts of the two cultures as highly discrepant or even conflicting. The oppositional bicultural view fosters internal conflict that may compromise global well-being (Vivero & Jenkins, 1999). Research on these two forms of biculturalism show that perceptions of compatibility are not a function of the length of time that an individual has resided in the host culture (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997), or even their attitudes towards biculturalism (Vivero & Jenkins, 1999).

Thus, the competing demands of a multicultural identity may require some individuals to adopt a chameleon-like approach to managing their multicultural identity. For example, a Korean-Canadian may be reluctant to self-disclose with other Koreans but will try to be more expressive when interacting with French-Canadians. While it has been argued that multiple selves are adaptive in a post-modernist society (Gergen, 1991), it has also been suggested that such compartmentalization can lead to fragmentation (Donahue, Robins, Roberts & John, 1993). Research on self-complexity has shown that even though compartmentalization does provide a buffering effect against a threat to any one self-aspect, overall it has a negative main effect on well-being (Ryan, La Guardia & Rawsthorne, 2001). These researchers maintain

that self-complexity is not so much adaptive as it is characteristic of fragmentation, which betrays the incoherence of one's personality. Thus, if a multicultural individual does in fact perceive discrepancies between the cultures that comprise their identity then we would anticipate that, as in previous research on self-complexity, this would not impact their functioning in each culture, but it would impact their overall psychological well-being. The present study will assess the extent to which participants have integrated their heritage, English- and French-Canadian identities into a coherent multicultural identity.

Present Study

The general purpose of the present study was to examine the relation of internalization and integration of cultures to positive affect and psychological well-being amongst a sample of tricultural individuals. Following Chirkov et al (2003), internalization was assessed by asking participants to report why they engaged in various cultural practices. However, we asked people to answer these questions separately for their heritage culture, English-Canadian culture, and French-Canadian culture. Competence in all three cultures was assessed via reports from peers who were members of the specific culture. Well-being in each of the three cultural contexts was assessed with Emmons (1992) Positive-Negative Affect Scale. Psychological well-being was assessed with Ryff and Singer's (1996) measure. Multicultural identity integration was assessed with a scale developed for this study (modeled after Benet-Martinez, Leu, Lee & Morris, 2002).

Three sets of hypotheses were examined. First, participants' ratings of heritage culture internalization, competence, and affect were used to test Chirkov et al's (2003) findings that the values of egalitarian cultures are more easily internalized in an autonomous manner and that such internalization is associated with greater well-being in the culture. Second, the relation of internalization, competence, and well-being were also examined within participants' second and third cultures – English- and French-Canadian. We expected that the

same positive relations would be obtained for each of these cultures, reflecting the fact that autonomous internalization promotes competence and positive affect even for non-heritage cultures that have been adopted later in life. No previous study has examined this issue. Finally, the relation of cultural adaptation and multicultural identity integration to psychological well-being were explored. Cultural adaptation was calculated as an aggregate of the individual's levels of internalization, competence, and affect within each of their three cultures. It was expected that cultural adaptation and multicultural identity integration would have positive and independent effects on adjustment. It remained to be seen whether a particular type of cultural adaptation (heritage versus English- or French-Canadian) is implicated more in psychological well-being.

Methods

Participants

One hundred and thirteen individuals participated in this study; two individuals failed to indicate a heritage culture and were excluded from all analyses. The remaining 111 participants consisted of 48 males and 63 females, with a mean age of 20.5. For participants not born in Canada, the average number of years that they had been living in Canada was 5.5. 60% of the sample were first generation immigrants. For all participants the average number of years that they had been living in Quebec was 5.4. Participants were comprised of members of over 35 ethnic groups. The most frequent self-identified heritage cultures were Chinese (N=24), Korean (N=6), Jewish (N=5), Pakistani (N=5) and Russian (N=5).

Procedure

Participants were recruited from the paid participant pool at McGill University. All respondents were paid $10, while peer participants received $2. Participants completed a self-report questionnaire consisting of demographic information as well as the scales described below. In order to minimize relations due to self-report biases and shared method

variance, peer reports were collected. Specifically, participants were requested to have two people, one from their heritage culture and either an English- or French-Canadian, complete reports on their behalf. It was decided to request that the participant have only two peers fill out questionnaires in order to increase the ease of completing the task and thereby increase the response rate. Peers were asked to indicate the nature of their relationship with the participant. The peer then completed a questionnaire that contained shortened versions of the scales already completed by the participants including competence in the culture of the peer and psychological well-being. The response rate for the peer reports was 63.5%.

Research Materials

Demographic information. Participants were asked to indicate their gender, age, ethnic identity, generational status, year of arrival in Canada and Quebec, the language spoken predominantly in their home, as well as their perception of which cultures they identified with the most (i.e. heritage, English-Canadian or French-Canadian).

Relative Autonomy of Internalization. In order to assess the manner in which individuals had internalized cultural norms a methodology similar to that of Chirkov et al, (2003) was used. For each of their three cultures, participants were asked to endorse their reasons for "participating in the cultural traditions," "maintaining the cultural practices," and "believing in the specific cultural values." For each statement participants were asked to indicate "How much do you pursue this for the following reasons?" Four possible reasons representing the types of internalization proposed by self-determination theory were provided. *External regulation*, "Because my parents and relatives want me to;" *introjected regulation*, "Because I would feel ashamed, guilty or anxious if I didn't – I feel I ought to do this;" *identified regulation*, "Because I really believe that it is important to do – I endorse it freely and value it wholeheartedly;" and *intrinsic regulation*, "Because of the fun and enjoyment of participating – the primary reason is simply my interest itself."

The reasons reflect an underlying continuum of autonomy with external representing the least autonomous and intrinsic the most autonomous (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Possible responses ranged from “not at all for this reason” (1) to “Completely for this reason” (9). From this scale an index of internalization, or relative autonomy, was calculated based on the formula used by Ryan and Connell (1989) and adopted by Chirkov et al (2003): (-2)*External regulation + (-1)*Introjection + (1)*Identification + (2)*Intrinsic. It should be noted that over 60 studies have used the same procedure to assess internalization in various domains (Deci & Ryan, 2000). For heritage, English, and French Canadian cultures Cronbach’s alpha was 0.76, 0.84 and 0.89 respectively.

Positive affect in culture. To assess the individual’s positive affect while they were participating in their heritage, English- and French-Canadian cultures the same 3 cultural competence items that were used to assess internalization were repeated for each of the three cultures. For each item participants were asked to rate how they felt while they were in the context of that type of situation using a nine-item affect scale (Emmons, 1992). Four of the emotions described positive affect (e.g. joyful, pleased) while the remaining 5 represented negative affect (e.g. unhappy, frustrated). The negative affect items were recoded to provide a mean positive affect score. Possible responses on the scale ranged from “very slightly” (1) to “extremely” (7). Cronbach’s alpha was 0.90 for heritage culture, 0.92 for English Canadian culture and 0.94 for French Canadian culture.

Egalitarian Commitment. Schwartz (1994; 1999) assessed the level of egalitarianism in large samples in 49 nations around the world. Egalitarianism refers to a “transcendence of selfish interests” in that it extols values that serve to promote the welfare of others (Schwartz, 1994, p. 104). It is characterized by such values as social justice and equality. The standardized scores reported by Schwartz (1994) were applied to the heritage cultures identified by participants in order to provide an objective assessment of the horizontal versus

vertical nature of the values of each culture. Egalitarianism was chosen because it offered the greatest face validity for the distinctions between vertical and horizontal cultures. Given Schwartz's (1999) assertion that nations cluster according to geographical location, shared history and religious affiliation, individuals from nations that have not been assessed were assigned the values of the most similar countries, based on these criteria. For example, Norway was equated with Sweden. Thus, in our sample egalitarian scores ranged from Thai's who were assigned the value 4.34 to Italians who were assigned the value 5.57. In Schwartz's (1994) cross-cultural assessment, the mean egalitarianism score was 4.97 and the standard deviation was 0.35.

Multicultural Identity Integration (MII). The purpose of this scale was to determine the individual's perception of compatabitility between their heritage culture and English- and French-Canadian cultures, and how they managed conflicts between cultural demands. This scale can be seen as an expanded version of the vignette used by Benet-Martinez and colleagues (2002) to assess bicultural identity integration. The bicultural identity integration vignette asked participants to rate the extent to which they keep their heritage and host cultures separate, and feel caught between two competing cultures. The 15-item multicultural identity integration scale used in this study asked participants about their perceptions of cultural disparity, the ease with which their cultures coexist, and their preferred strategy for interacting with individuals from each of the three cultures (i.e. separately or simultaneously). Sample items include "How I present myself does not change based on the cultural context of a particular situation" and "Within myself, I feel that my heritage, English- and French-Canadian cultures conflict," (reverse-scored). Participants rated the extent to which they agreed with each item; potential responses ranged from "strongly disagree" (1) to "strongly agree" (9). Cronbach's alpha was 0.83.

Psychological well-being. This scale was adopted from Ryff and Singer (1996). In the present study the short form of the scale was used including three questions for each subscale for a total of 18 items (Ryff, 1989). The six dimensions of this scale are self-acceptance, positive relations with others, autonomy, environmental mastery, purpose in life and personal growth. Respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed with the statements on a 5-point scale ranging from "strongly disagree" (1) to "strongly agree" (5). Cronbach's alpha was 0.79.

Peer-Rated Psychological well-being. This measure was comprised of 6 items representing each of the dimensions in Ryff and Singer's (1996) scale. Peers were asked to indicate how characteristic of the participant each statement was. Possible responses ranged from "strongly disagree" (1) to "strongly agree" (5). Cronbach's alpha was 0.55, 0.68 and 0.78 respectively for heritage, English-, and French-Canadian peers.

Peer-Rated Cultural Competence[1]. This scale was adapted from the Vancouver Index of Acculturation (Ryder, et al, 2000). The original scale consists of 20 items, 10 of which measure competence in the heritage culture while the remaining 10 items measure the individual's competence in English-Canadian culture. In order to render the scale appropriate for the present sample an additional 10 items were added to account for French-Canadian culture. Thus, three 10-item versions of this questionnaire were utilized that referred to the heritage culture of the participant, English- and French-Canadian cultures. Cultural competence was assessed by peers of the participants choosing that were members of each of the respective cultures (i.e. heritage, English-Canadian, French-Canadian). Peers were asked to indicate the extent to which the participant endorsed the values, engaged in social relations and adhered to the traditions of each of the cultures.

Possible responses on this scale ranged from "strongly disagree" (1) to "strongly agree" (9). For heritage culture competence Cronbach's alpha was 0.89, for English-Canadian it was 0.88, for French-Canadian it was 0.90.

Results

Relations between Egalitarianism, Internalization, Cultural Competence and Positive affect in Heritage Culture

Chirkov et al (2003) used self-reports to determine whether a culture was horizontal or vertical. They found that participants who reported that their culture was more horizontal were more likely to have autonomously internalized the norms of their culture. Furthermore, this more autonomous quality of internalization was associated with increased well-being. Our goal was to determine whether the egalitarian nature of one's heritage culture would have an impact on one's well-being even when the individual was living in a different country.

In the present study we utilized Schwartz's (1994; 1999) extensive cross-cultural work on the values of countries to assess the relative egalitarianism of the heritage culture of each participant. Individuals were assigned the corresponding standardized score for the extent to which their country of origin endorsed the value of egalitarianism. This objective indicator of heritage culture egalitarianism correlated with the self-report's of internalization of their culture (r=0.19, p<.05) and with the peer-report of the individual's heritage cultural competence (r=0.27, p<.05). Individuals were more autonomous about their heritage culture when it could be described as egalitarian. Given that these individuals are no longer residing (and for some they have never lived) in their heritage culture and must actively decide whether or not they will choose to retain this culture the association between the cultures values and the individuals cultural competence is important to note. Not only were individuals from an egalitarian culture more autonomous about that culture, but they were also more likely to be competent in their culture, as rated by another member of the culture.

Thus, an egalitarian culture is associated with both autonomous internalization and demonstrable competence.

Autonomous internalization and competence were significantly related to one's affect when in the context of one's heritage culture. Autonomously internalized participants reported experiencing increased positive affect in their heritage culture (r=0.55, p<.001). Similarly, the peer ratings of the individual's heritage competence were associated with greater positive affect (r=0.30, p<.01). This confirms previous findings in the motivation and culture literature. Internalization is positively related to affect. Furthermore, cultural competence is also related to affect even when rated by peers.

The pattern of these findings led us to hypothesize that mediation effects may exist between egalitarianism, internalization, cultural competence, and cultural affect. We used the Sobel test (1982) to examine whether autonomous internalization mediated the relation of egalitarianism with cultural competence. The test was marginally significant, t = 1.86, p<.06. This provides some support for the idea that an egalitarian culture promotes increased cultural competence by enabling individuals to more autonomously internalize the norms of that culture.

The Sobel test was also used to determine whether competence mediates the impact of autonomous internalization on heritage affect. A highly significant effect, t=4.56, p<.000 confirmed that the autonomous internalization of one's heritage culture promotes cultural competence that subsequently results in the individual experiencing greater positive affect when they are interacting with their heritage culture.

The results of these analyses indicate that individuals from an egalitarian culture are able to more autonomously internalize the norms of their culture and develop cultural competence. Our findings also suggest that the relationship between an egalitarian culture and positive affect in that culture is mediated by the quality of internalization and the level of

cultural competence that is developed. Thus, as in Chirkov et al (2003) we found that egalitarian cultures are more likely to be autonomously internalized, and this internalization is associated with positive affect.

Relation among Internalization, Competence, and Affect for Adopted Cultures

No study has previously explored the relations among internalization, competence and affect for secondary and tertiary cultural identities. We expected that the same patterns of positive relations would be observed within English- and French-Canadian cultural identities[2]. Results supported this prediction. English-Canadian internalization was significantly positively related to both peer rated English-Canadian competence (r = .28, p< .05) and positive affect in English-Canadian cultural settings (r = .52, p< .01). English-Canadian competence and affect were also significantly positively related (r = .40, p< .01). French-Canadian culture internalization was significantly positively related to both peer rated French-Canadian competence (r = .82, p< .01) and positive affect in French-Canadian cultural settings (r = .57, p< .01). French-Canadian competence and affect were also significantly positively related (r = .58, p< .05). It should be noted that only modest relations were obtained across all three cultural settings – e.g., English-Canadian internalization was unrelated to positive affect in French-Canadian settings[3].

Relation of Cultural Adaptation and Multicultural Identity Integration to Global Well-being

The final goal of the study was to understand how tricultural individuals achieve global psychological well-being. Because we effectively had three measures of positive functioning in each of the cultures -- competence, internalization and positive affect -- we created measures of adaptation for each cultural setting by standardizing and combining participants' ratings on these indicators. We then used multiple regression analyses to estimate the amount of variance in psychological well-being that is accounted for by cultural adaptation and integration. Specifically, self-reported and peer reported psychological well-

being were regressed on generational status, (entered first), Heritage adaptation, English-Canadian adaptation, and French-Canadian adaptation (entered as a second set) and Multicultural Identity Integration (entered third). The results of these regression analyses are presented in Table 1. Generational status was included in this analysis because preliminary analysis of the demographic variables indicated that it was marginally positively related to peer-reports of psychological well-being.

Insert Table 1 About Here

The regression for self-reports of psychological well-being was highly significant, multiple R = .47, $F(6,96) = 4.52$, $p < .001$. It can be seen in Table 1 that generational status and French-Canadian adaptation were unrelated to self-reported well-being. Heritage culture adaptation and English-Canadian cultural adaptation were both significantly positively related to well-being (beta's = .20 and .27, respectively). Multicultural identity integration (MII) was also significantly positively related to well-being[4] (beta = .33).

The regression for peer-reports of psychological well-being was also significant, multiple R = .42, $F(6,76) = 2.47$, $p < .001$. It can be seen in Table 2 that French-Canadian and Heritage adaptation were unrelated to peer-reported well-being. Generational status was marginally related to well-being (beta = .21), indicating that first generation immigrants were rated as having relatively lower well-being by their peers than second and third generation individuals. English-Canadian cultural adaptation was significantly positively related to peer judgment of well-being (beta = .28). MII was marginally positively related to peer judgments of well-being (beta = .23).

Insert Table 2 About Here

The significant adjustment results for MII lead us to speculate as to its origin. MII was unrelated to both heritage and English-Canadian adaptation. However, it was positively associated with being from an egalitarian heritage culture (r=0.23, p<.05). These findings suggest that coming from an egalitarian culture may enhance one's ability to effectively integrate the multiple cultures to which one is exposed. This integration combined with an ability to function in the host culture appears to provide the basis for positive psychological functioning for immigrants and ethnic minorities.

Discussion

The primary purpose of this study was to replicate and extend the findings of Chirkov et al (2003) in regards to the relationship between internalization, cultural orientation and well-being in a sample of tricultural individuals. Those authors showed that cross-cultural differences in cultural orientations were associated with differing levels of autonomy and well-being derived from that autonomy. We argued that these cross-cultural differences should be replicated *within* individuals who are themselves cross-cultural. To test this hypothesis our study used tricultural individuals from diverse cultural backgrounds. We expected that the nature of the individual's heritage culture would impact on their ability to autonomously internalize the culture.

SDT argues that the internalization of cultural norms is a universal process, although the specific content of cultural guidelines varies across cultures. More controversially, the theory proposes that cultural practices can vary in their ability to fulfill an individual's basic needs for autonomy and relatedness (Chirkov, et al, 2003). Cultures that endorse hierarchical

norms are expected to form a barrier to the fulfillment of those needs and as a result it is anticipated that they will not be as easily internalized as horizontal cultures. The findings of the present study tend to support these propositions. We found that individuals from more egalitarian cultures reported greater internalization. This internalization was, in turn, associated with enhanced competence and increased positive affect. The associations between internalization, competence and positive affect were replicated in both English- and French-Canadian culture. The uniformity of these findings across the three cultural contexts is a testament to the validity of the predicted relations between these constructs.

Unlike Chirkov et al (2003), we did not find a direct relationship between internalization and global psychological well-being. We suggest that this discrepancy is a function of the differences in our samples. Whereas Chirkov used four monocultural samples we utilized multicultural participants. As previously outlined in the literature on bicultural competence, the addition of cultural identities can substantially complicate matters for an individual. Subsequently, we found that a composite measure of adaptation in heritage and English-Canadian cultures, along with the participants perceived Multicultural Identity Integration (MII) were the best predictors of self-reported psychological well-being. English-Canadian adaptation and MII were the best predictors of peer-reported psychological well-being. Similar to Ryder and colleagues (2000), these results suggest that, at least among college students who spend a significant part of their day interacting with the host culture, adaptation to the host culture appears to be requisite for optimal psychological well-being. These results also highlight the importance of being able to integrate one's multicultural identity.

Our finding for MII support the argument that identity complexity is indicative of fragmentation. MII was unrelated to one's ability to function in one's heritage, English- and French-Canadian cultures. However, MII was associated with greater psychological well-

being. Thus, while positive functioning in the aspects of one's cultural identity is generally independent of one's MII; MII does have a significant main effect on one's psychological well-being. Given SDT's assertion that egalitarian norms are more readily internalized it is perhaps not surprising that egalitarian norms were also more conducive to MII. Egalitarianism may be a characteristic of open societies that allow for greater flexibility in how the culture is practiced, this may enable an individual to synthesize their heritage culture with others cultural forms.

Two methodological strengths of the present study should be highlighted. First, rather then rely on self-reported descriptions of the dominant values of participant's heritage culture, we used Schwartz's (1994) normative multi-national data to estimate the cultures level of emphasis on horizontal versus vertical practices. Second, peer reports were used to substantiate self-reports of cultural competence and levels of adjustment. The fact that our results still mirrored those obtained by Chirkov et al (2003), lends greater support to their main conclusions that horizontal values are easier to internalize in an autonomous manner than vertical values, and that successful internalization and integration of cultural values will predict positive adjustment outcomes across cultural contexts.

The results of this study suggest that it would be interesting to compare cross-national data on cultural values with similar data on levels of psychological well-being. If the values of one's heritage culture can have such a pervasive influence on the well-being of an individual who no longer resides in that environment, then one would anticipate that this relationship would be even stronger for actual residents of the country. We would hypothesize that highly egalitarian nations would also have citizens who report high levels of well-being. Indeed a comparison of data on national differences in well-being (Diener, Diener & Diener, 1995) and values (Schwartz, 1994) reveals that countries that scored highest on well-being, such as Denmark, Switzerland and New Zealand, also scored highly on

egalitarianism. Alternatively, nations that scored quite low on well-being, China, Japan and Poland, also scored among the lowest on egalitarianism. The proposed relations between egalitarianism and well-being at a national level could provide compelling evidence for SDT's assertions regarding the psychological benefits of egalitarian cultural norms.

Furthermore, the present results may have important implications for future trends in immigration and adaptation. North America has a strong tradition of accepting immigrants, indeed they have built and shaped the resulting nations, however, international migration has also increased substantially since 1945, and more particularly since the mid 1980's. Given the growing inequalities in wealth between the North and South, ecological and demographic pressures, as well as increasing political and ethnic conflicts in a number of regions, it is expected that this trend will continue and grow in the new millennium (Castles & Miller, 1998). While the impetus for individuals to leave their culture of origin may primarily be to ensure their material and physical well-being, psychological factors will play an important role in determining how well they adapt in their new host culture. The present study served to elucidate the means whereby individuals faced with the difficult task of juggling multiple cultural identities can derive positive affect within and psychological well-being across cultural contexts.

In conclusion, the present study points to the importance of considering internalization and integration processes in order to understand the contextual and psychological well-being of multicultural individuals. It seems that well-being will be maximized when individuals internalize cultural beliefs and standards in an autonomous manner and when they are able to coherently integrate their multiple cultural identities within their self. The study also suggests that both the internalization of a single culture and the integration of multiple cultures is made easier when one begins with a heritage culture that emphasizes egalitarian values.

Table 1

Results of Multiple Regression of Generational Status, Adaptation and Multicultural Identity Integration (MII) on Self-reported Adjustment

Variable	ß	t	p
Generational Status	.13	1.34	.18
Heritage Adaptation	.20	2.01	.05
English-Canadian Adaptation	.27	2.51	.01
French-Canadian Adaptation	-.06	-.57	.57
MII	.33	3.36	.001

Table 2

Results of Multiple Regression of Generational Status, Adaptation and Multicultural Identity Integration (MII) on Peer-reported Adjustment

Variable	ß	t	p
Generational Status	.21	1.83	.07
Heritage Adaptation	.00	0.00	.99
English-Canadian Adaptation	.28	2.15	.04
French-Canadian Adaptation	-.05	-0.39	.70
MII	.23	1.84	.07

Footnotes

[1] A self-reported measure of *tricultural* competence was completed by the participant in the initial questionnaire. The self-reported and peer-reported ratings of competence were significantly positively related for each culture.

[2] Egalitarianism of one's heritage culture was uncorrelated with internalization of both English-Canadian and French-Canadian cultures. It is not surprising that the relative egalitarianism of one's heritage culture would not influence internalization of the secondary and tertiary because it has no bearing on the qualities of these two cultures.

[3] To test the conceptual and statistical distinctiveness of the three cultures we conducted three separate regressions in which mood in each culture was regressed simultaneously on the internalization and competence of all three cultures. These regressions showed that the only significant predictors of mood in a given cultural context were internalization and competence in that same culture.

[4] Because our index of well-being included 6 dimensions, the relation of MII to each dimension was considered independently. MII was significantly positively correlated with 4 of the dimensions, self-acceptance, positive relations with others, autonomy, and environmental mastery; it was marginally correlated with purpose in life and uncorrelated with personal growth.

Transition from Chapter 2 to Chapter 3

The purpose of the previous study was to consider how ethnic minorities develop competence in their heritage and host cultures, and how this competence in turn reflects on their well-being. The results indicated that when minorities had autonomous reasons for engaging in cultural practices they were more likely to exhibit cultural competence and positive affect. Internalization of the heritage culture was facilitated by the values that culture endorses. Egalitarian values were more readily internalized then hierarchical ones. Moreover, coming from an egalitarian culture was associated with having a more integrated multicultural identity, which was in turn associated with global well-being. Overall the results of this study highlight the importance of autonomous motivation and egalitarian cultural values in the derivation of well-being for minorities.

Considering the functional utility of having autonomous reasons for engaging in cultural practices the next step was to further consider the factors that would promote such motivation. The following two studies examined the role of parental autonomy support in the internalization of cultural practices. The first study tested the hypothesis that autonomy supportive parents would foster greater internalization of the host culture with a sample of ethnic minorities living in the same urban area in North America. The second study evaluated the same hypothesis with a sample of Chinese-Malaysian sojourners now studying throughout Australia, the United Kingdom and North America. These two studies were intended to demonstrate the cross-cultural value of autonomy support and to show that the processes involved in deriving well-being are applicable across-cultural forms.

Chapter 3

Manuscript submitted for publication

Hyphenated Canadians and Malaysians: The Relations of Parental Autonomy Support to Cultural Internalization and Well-being of Immigrants and Sojourners

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Abstract

Two studies considered the relation of autonomy supportive parenting to the cultural internalization and well-being of multicultural students. In study 1 multicultural participants living in Canada were more likely to have autonomously internalized their host and heritage cultures, and to have higher self- and peer-reported well-being, when they had autonomy supportive parents. In study 2 Chinese-Malaysians, who were studying abroad were also more likely to have autonomously internalized their heritage culture and indicated higher well-being when they had autonomy supportive parents. In both studies heritage cultural internalization was also associated with higher well-being.

Hyphenated Canadians and Malaysians: The Relations of Parental Autonomy Support to Cultural Internalization and Well-being of Immigrants and Sojourners

In the modern world how one identifies oneself has essentially become a wide open question. Not only are the range of possible identities that an individual may adopt seemingly innumerable, but the opportunity to assume these identities is also being granted (Ryan & Deci, 2002). One hundred years ago the son of a rural farmer, would typically grow up to become a rural farmer. Presently that same son, as a young adult, might find himself taking a year off school to travel the globe. He may explore different religions, and contemplate whether he will become an astrophysicist, a nurse, or a yogi. While the increased choice in how to define oneself may seem desirable, it is equally true that the difficulty of this developmental task is now exponentially greater. Furthermore, for a growing number of people the difficulties surrounding the formation of their identity is additionally complicated by the question of how they will define their cultural identity. In pluralistic societies immigrants and ethnic minorities are encouraged to develop a bi- or multi-cultural identity. In such societies, minorities may be given more choice as to how, or if, they will maintain or develop competence in regards to their heritage and host culture. Similarly, they may be able to decide how much they would like to affiliate with members of each culture.

Parents play a central role in this identity-forming process because they serve as the primary socializing agents for the heritage culture by teaching their children about the associated values, beliefs and traditions and by modeling ethnic behaviours (Farver, Narang & Bhadha, 2002). The purpose of the present investigation was to consider how parental socialization experiences related to culture influence young adults' internalization of their heritage culture and the impact this has on their psychological well-being.

Cultural Internalization

The stability and transmission of any culture is dependent on members of that culture internalizing the associated values and norms (Kelman, 1958; Perry, 1970; Ryan, Rigby & King, 1993). Internalization is the process of transforming previously external regulations or values into something that an individual can personally endorse (Ryan et al., 1993). According to the self-determination theory (SDT) of motivation internalization is a natural process whereby individuals learn to identify with the importance of a previously external social regulation and accept it as their own (Deci & Ryan, 2000). Thus, a regulation that is fully internalized is considered autonomous. That is the person volitionally and whole-heartedly endorses the practice. However, full internalization does not always take place; a regulation may remain under the control of external forces (i.e. rewards) or internal pressure (i.e. guilt). Early research on internalization considered the differential effects of having autonomous versus non-autonomous motivation towards religious participation. Autonomous internalization of religious practices was significantly associated with self-esteem and self-actualization, while non-autonomous internalization was significantly associated with anxiety and depression (Ryan et al., 1993).

More recently research has addressed how culture is internalized. As with all other domains in which internalization has been assessed, SDT proposes that in every culture, internalization of the culture's norms and practices varies across the individual members of that culture (Chirkov, Ryan & Willness, 2005). A cross-cultural study of South Koreans, Americans, Turks and Russians found that in each culture autonomous internalization was associated with greater well-being (Chirkov, Ryan, Kim & Kaplan, 2003). This is quite significant given that some researchers have argued that autonomy is only of value in a few highly individualistic Western cultures (Oishi, 2000). The findings of this study appear to support SDT's claim that the need for autonomy does not have to be valued by a specified

culture in order for it to be functional (Chirkov et al., 2005). The key results of the Chirkov et al. (2003) study were replicated with a sample of multicultural immigrants and ethnic minorities in which a distinction was made between internalization of heritage and host cultural values (Downie, Koestner, ElGeledi & Cree, 2004). Participants who autonomously internalized the norms of their heritage culture reported greater positive affect when they were in heritage cultural contexts. Similarly, participants who autonomously internalized the norms of their host culture reported greater positive affect when they were in host cultural contexts. Another study found that global psychological well-being was related to the autonomous internalization of both heritage and host cultural values and guidelines (Downie & Koestner, 2004).

Parental Autonomy Support

Given the strong relation between cultural internalization and well-being among ethnic minorities and immigrants, it is important to explore what factors promote the autonomous internalization of cultural values. We hypothesized that parents would play a central role in a child's cultural internalization, particularly with regard to the heritage culture. As such, we predicted that the way a parent regulates their child's cultural behaviour would influence how the child subsequently regulates themself (Ryan & Deci, 2002). Autonomy-supportive environments are thought to promote internalization and effective self-regulation whereas controlling environments interfere with an individual's inherent tendency to internalize previously external regulations (Chirkov & Ryan, 2001). Thus, the type of environment parents create should influence how an individual will learn to regulate their cultural identity.

Parenting practices can be differentiated along a continuum ranging from highly controlling to highly autonomy supportive (Grolnick & Farkas, 2002). A parent who supports their child's autonomy would take their child's perspective, provide a rationale for why their child should engage in particular cultural activities, and offer their child choice as to how they

negotiate their cultural identities. To understand what is entailed in being autonomy supportive we can consider potential reactions to one common source of parent-child conflict, intimate relationships. If an ethnic minority were to date a member of the dominant culture, against their parents' wishes, a controlling parent may respond by forbidding the individual to date them, or refusing to allow them into their home. Alternatively, an autonomy supportive parent, who may still prefer that their child date a member of their own culture, would make an effort to get to know their child's partner, and perhaps even be happy that their child is happy. The critical element of autonomy support is that a parent does offer guidance, but ultimately they are willing to respect their child's choice, when the decision is one that the child is developmentally capable of making.

Research has shown that parental autonomy support is related to North American children's autonomy, adjustment, and school achievement (Grolnick & Ryan, 1989; Grolnick, Ryan & Deci, 1991; Joussemet, Koestner, Lekes, & Landry, 2005). The experience of autonomy support from relevant others has further been found to foster internalization in domains such as treatment compliance (Williams, Frankel, Campbell & Deci, 2000; Williams, Rodin, Ryan, Grolnick & Deci, 1998), physical activity (Hagger, Chatzisarantis, Culverhouse & Biddle, 2003; Wilson & Rodgers, 2004) prosocial and pro-environmental behaviour (Gagne, 2003; Villacorta, Koestner & Lekes, 2003). It also appears that the benefits of autonomy support are not limited to cultures where autonomy is overtly valued. The Russian culture is traditionally viewed as relatively authoritarian (Ipsa, 1995). However, with a sample of Russian students it was found that the perception that parents and teachers were autonomy supportive was associated with greater academic self-motivation and well-being (Chirkov & Ryan, 2001), suggesting that even in a controlling atmosphere support for autonomy is associated with positive outcomes. This finding seems to hold up even when members of comparatively hierarchical cultures emigrate to a more egalitarian culture.

Among an ethnic minority sample of Turks and Moroccans living in the Netherlands, academically successful students had less authoritarian parents (van der Veen & Meijnen, 2002).

We expected that if parents regulate cultural guidelines in an autonomy supportive manner, then their children will be more likely to autonomously internalize the norms of that culture. That is, the children will "stand behind" their heritage culture behaviours and view them as emanating from themselves (Chirkov & Ryan, 2001). By contrast, if a parent adopts a controlling stance with regards to how their child engages in their heritage culture then the child will not truly internalize their culture. The child may conform to the cultural behaviour but this will reflect "coerced conformity" based in feelings of pressure rather than authentic volition (Chirkov et al., 2005). Importantly, the parenting-to-internalization relations were expected to hold regardless of whether the multicultural young person had a heritage culture that was hierarchical versus egalitarian. As in previous studies it was also hypothesized that autonomy support would foster psychological well-being (Chirkov & Ryan, 2001). Finally, we hypothesized that heritage cultural internalization would mediate the relationship between parental autonomy support and well-being. Such mediation was recently demonstrated for a sample of Chinese students living in Belgium (Vansteenkiste, Zhou, Lens & Soenens, 2005).

An interesting question that the present study also addresses is whether maternal and paternal autonomy support are equally predictive of internalization and well-being. An earlier study using the child version of the autonomy support questionnaire employed in this study found little difference between perceptions of maternal and paternal influence on the child's motivational development (Grolnick et al., 1991). Further research with teenagers did not assess maternal and paternal autonomy support separately (Chirkov & Ryan, 2001; Wiest, Wong, Cervantes, Craik & Kreil, 2001). As a result no specific hypotheses were made

regarding the differential impact of having more or less maternal or paternal autonomy support.

Study 1

The purpose of this study was to consider the challenges faced by immigrants from a developmental and motivational perspective. Immigrants and their children are exposed to the cultural norms, values and regulations of their unique heritage culture and their new host culture, which they must attempt to make their own through a process of internalization. Parents are likely to play a key role in facilitating or impeding the cultural internalization process. Previous research suggests that parental autonomy support facilitates internalization of guidelines in the academic domain (Grolnick & Ryan, 1987; Joussemet et al., 2005). We hypothesized that culturally autonomy supportive parenting experiences would be associated with young people's greater internalization of immigrants' heritage culture. Furthermore, it was predicted that heritage and host cultural internalization would be associated with high levels of psychological well-being. Parental autonomy support for cultural internalization was measured with a modified version of the Perception of Parents scale from Robbins (1994). Internalization of heritage and host cultures was assessed separately (Downie et al., 2004). Psychological well-being was assessed by self and peer reports.

Methods

Participants

One hundred and five multicultural individuals participated in this study. Participants consisted of 29 males and 75 females, one participant failed to specify their gender. The average age of the participants was 20.2. Seventy-four percent of the participants were not born in Canada, on average they had been living in Canada for 6.3 years. Participants were

comprised of members of over 45 ethnic groups. The most frequent self-identified heritage cultures were Chinese (N=10), Russian (N=7), Italian (N=6) and Indian (N=5). The majority of participants (72%) spoke in their heritage language at home. However, overall participants indicated that they felt more proficient in the English language then in the language of their heritage culture ($t = 6.36$, $p < .001$).

Procedure

Participants were recruited from the paid participant pool at McGill University. At the beginning of each semester interested students fill out a slip of paper indicating their willingness to be contacted to participate in social psychology studies. Potential participants were asked to indicate their ethnicity on the slips. Based on their ethnic self-identification minority students were contacted and asked to participate in the present study. Since the participants were studying at an English language university the questionnaires were administered in English. Respondents were paid $10, while peer participants received $2. Participants completed a self-report questionnaire consisting of demographic information as well as the scales described below. In order to minimize relations due to self-report biases and shared method variance, peer reports were collected. Participants were requested to select either a sibling or a friend who they would be willing to have anonymously complete a report on their behalf. The peer reports consisted of a shortened version of the psychological well-being scale. The response rate for the peer reports was 71.4%.

Research Materials

Demographic information. Participants were asked to indicate their gender, age, ethnic identity, generational status, year of arrival in Canada, and the language spoken predominantly in their home.

Autonomy Support. A modified version of Robbins' (1994) college-student Perception of Parents scale was used. The child version of this scale (Grolnick, Ryan & Deci,

1991) has been more widely used (d'Ailly, 2003; Gagne, Ryan & Bargmann, 2003). The measure assessed the extent to which parents were autonomy supportive, as opposed to controlling, in terms of the participant's involvement with their heritage culture. The scale consisted of 14 items; or 7 items each for their mother and father. Sample items include, "My mother, whenever possible, allows me to choose how I will participate in our heritage culture" and "My father insists upon my doing things like a typical member of our heritage culture" (reverse-scored). Participants rated the items on a 7-point scale ranging from "not at all true" (1) to "very true" (7). Cronbach's alpha for the scale was .80.

Internalization of Heritage and Host Culture. The methodology developed by Chirkov and colleagues (2003) and adapted by Downie et al (2004) was used to assess the manner in which individuals had internalized cultural norms. For both their heritage and the host culture, participants were asked to endorse their reasons for "participating in the cultural traditions," "maintaining the cultural practices," and "believing in the specific cultural values." For each statement participants were asked to indicate "How much do you pursue this for the following reasons?" Four possible reasons representing the types of internalization proposed by self-determination theory were provided. *External regulation*, "Because my parents and relatives want me to;" *introjected regulation*, "Because I would feel ashamed, guilty or anxious if I didn't – I feel I ought to do this;" *identified regulation*, "Because I really believe that it is important to do – I endorse it freely and value it wholeheartedly;" and *intrinsic regulation*, "Because of the fun and enjoyment of participating – the primary reason is simply my interest itself."

The reasons reflect an underlying continuum of autonomy with external representing the least autonomous and intrinsic the most autonomous (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Possible responses ranged from "not at all for this reason" (1) to "Completely for this reason" (9). Cronbach's alphas for the four subscales for both heritage and host cultural practices were all

satisfactory (higher than .73). From this scale an index of internalization, or relative autonomy, was calculated separately for the heritage and host cultures based on the formula used by Ryan and Connell (1989): (-2)*External regulation + (-1)*Introjection + (1)*Identification + (2)*Intrinsic. Thus, higher values represent greater internalization. It should be noted that over 60 studies have used the same procedure to assess internalization in various domains (Deci & Ryan, 2000).

Psychological well-being. Ryff and Keyes (1995) 18-item scale was used. The scale consists of three items for each of six-dimensions. The six dimensions are personal acceptance, positive relations with others, autonomy, environmental mastery, purpose in life and personal growth. Respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed with the statements on a 5-point scale ranging from "strongly disagree" (1) to "strongly agree" (5). Cronbach's alpha was .77.

Hierarchical Character of Heritage Culture. Schwartz (1994; 1999) assessed the level of hierarchy in large samples in 49 nations around the world. A culture that supports hierarchy emphasizes the "legitimacy of hierarchical role and resource allocation" (Schwartz, 1994, p. 103). The cross-national scores reported by Schwartz (1994) were applied to the heritage cultures identified by the participants in order to provide an objective assessment of the hierarchical versus egalitarian nature of the values of each culture. This enabled us to assess whether autonomy support facilitates cultural internalization regardless of the hierarchical nature of the heritage culture. Given Schwartz's (1999) assertion that nations cluster according to geographical location, shared history and religious affiliation, individuals from nations that have not been assessed were assigned the values of the most similar countries, based on these criteria. For example, a French-speaking Belgian was assigned the cultural value for France. In our sample hierarchy scores ranged from Italian's who were assigned the value 1.69 to Chinese who were assigned the value 3.70. In Schwartz's (1994)

cross-cultural assessment, the mean hierarchy score was 2.60 and the standard deviation was 0.57.

Peer Reports. Participants were asked to have a sibling or peer complete a very brief questionnaire on their behalf. Of the returned peer reports 39% were completed by a sibling while the remaining 61% were completed by a friend. The peers completed a shortened version of the psychological well-being scale. Six items were selected representing each of the subscales of the measure. Items were selected that peers should reasonably be expected to be able to comment on. For example, a sample positive relations item was "People would describe them as a giving person, willing to share their time with others." Cronbach's alpha for the well-being measure was .57.

Results and Discussion

The purpose of the present study was to examine the factors that lead to enhanced cultural internalization and well-being among ethnic minorities. It was hypothesized that autonomy supportive parenting would be associated with greater (more autonomous) internalization of the participant's heritage culture and with greater overall well-being on both self-report and peer-report measures. Furthermore, heritage and host cultural internalization were hypothesized to be associated with enhanced well-being. Finally, it was anticipated that heritage cultural internalization would mediate the relationship between autonomy support and well-being. All of these effects were expected to be independent of the gender and generational status of the participant, as well as of the specific degree to which their heritage culture endorsed hierarchical values.

Preliminary Analyses: Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations

The means, standard deviations and correlations between all the key variables are presented in table 1. It can be seen that all of the hypothesized relations are evident in the

correlation table. Autonomy support was significantly positively associated with heritage internalization and with both self-reported and peer-reported well-being. Both heritage and host cultural internalization were significantly positively associated with well-being. Because maternal and paternal autonomy support were highly correlated (r=.69, p<.0001) and were similarly correlated with the other variables in the study, they were combined for the central analyses which follow.

Insert table 1 about here

Central Analyses

Hierarchical multiple regression analyses were used to examine our central hypotheses. The first three analyses examined the relation of parental autonomy support to heritage internalization, self-reported well-being, and peer-reported well being. In each analysis, a first set of variables included gender, generational status (first or second) and heritage culture hierarchy. The analysis of peer-reported well-being included the type of peer (sibling/friend) as a control variable in the first set. Autonomy support was entered next. The interaction terms of gender by autonomy support, generational status by autonomy support, and cultural hierarchy by autonomy support were entered as a third set of predictors. Because none of the interaction terms approached significance (p's > .10) in any of the analyses, we report the multiple R, F test, and significance levels, after the second set was entered.

The regression of heritage internalization revealed a multiple R of .38 F (4, 81) = 3.48, p = .01. Parental autonomy support was the only significant predictor of heritage internalization, beta = .38, p < .001. The regression of self-reported psychological well-being revealed a multiple R of .36, F (4, 83) = 3.09, p = .02, whereas the regression of peer-reported well-being revealed a multiple R of .24, F (2, 64) = 2.00, ns. Parental autonomy

support was the only significant predictor of self-reported well being, beta = .30, $p < .01$ and peer-reported well-being, beta = .24, $p < .05$. These results suggest that whether an individual was a first or second generation immigrant; and whether they came from a relatively hierarchical as opposed to an egalitarian culture, if they have autonomy supportive parents they were more likely to fully internalize the norms of their heritage culture and report higher well-being.

The next two analyses examined the relation of heritage and host internalization to reports of well-being. Gender, generational status, and heritage culture hierarchy were entered first. Heritage internalization was entered next, followed by host internalization. The interaction terms of gender by internalization, generational status by internalization, and cultural hierarchy by internalization were entered last. Because no interaction terms were significant, we report the multiple R, F test, and significance levels prior to their entry into the regression.

The regressions of self-reported psychological well-being on heritage and host internalization revealed a significant multiple R of .52, $F (5, 83) = 6.21$, $p < .01$. Both heritage internalization and host internalization were significantly positively related to well-being, betas = .39 and .36, respectively (p's < .01). The regressions for peer-reported psychological well-being revealed a marginally significant multiple R of .31, $F (3, 66) = 2.36$, $p = .08$. Both heritage internalization and host internalization were marginally positively related to well-being, betas = .22 ($p = .06$) and .24 ($p = .07$), respectively. These results indicate that autonomous engagement in both heritage and host cultural practices was associated with enhanced well-being, well-being that was also evidenced by the individual's peers.

Cultural Internalization as a mediator of the effects of Parental Autonomy Support on Psychological Well-being

Given the significant relations between autonomy support, heritage cultural internalization and well-being, it seemed appropriate to determine if heritage cultural internalization mediated the effects of autonomy support on well-being. Following the criteria outlined by Baron and Kenny (1986) we found that heritage internalization mediated the effects of autonomy supportive parenting experiences on well-being (figure 1). That is, the relation of autonomy support to well-being (r=.32, p<.01) was reduced to non-significance (r=.13, ns) when heritage internalization was controlled for using a partial correlation. Accordingly the Sobel test was significant (t=2.80, p<.01).

Insert figure 1 about here

Thus, autonomy supportive parents seem to foster autonomous internalization of heritage cultural norms, which is in turn associated with enhanced well-being.

To summarize, the findings of study 1 supported our hypotheses by showing that parental autonomy support was significantly positively associated with cultural internalization and well-being. Importantly, these associations were not qualified by the gender, generational status, or specific hierarchical quality of the heritage culture of participants. One limitation of this study, however, is that, all of the participants were living in the same urban area of North America, Montreal Canada. The goal of study 2 was to consider if we would obtain the same results with a more homogenous sample who have emigrated to more diverse countries.

Study 2

The purpose of this study was to replicate the previous findings relative to autonomy support, cultural internalization, and well-being with a sample of individuals who begin with a common cultural context and subsequently migrate to varied Western host cultures. Study 1 supports previous research that has shown the benefits of internalizing multiple cultural identities for individuals living in a country that emphasizes multiculturalism in its immigration policies (Downie et al., 2004; Downie & Koestner, 2004). The purpose of study 2 was to determine if these findings are generalizable to sojourners living in a broader range of social contexts. To this end, we utilized the same measures as in study 1, including the modified version of the perception of parents scale (Robbins, 1994), cultural internalization (Downie et al., 2004), and psychological well-being (Ryff & Keyes, 1995), with a sample of Chinese-Malaysians, who were living throughout Australia, North America and the United Kingdom.

Malaysia's population is largely comprised of three ethnicities: Malays (65.1%), Chinese (26%) and Indians (7.7%) (Malaysia Department of Statistics, 2000). Enshrined in the Constitution of Malaysia are special rights for the Malays who are considered Bumiputera, or "sons of the soil" (Kim, 2003). Racial tension between the Malays and the Chinese- and Indian-Malaysians has been rife ever since this constitution was established in 1957 when Malaysia gained independence from Great Britain (Crouch, 2001; Lee, 2000; Tan, 2001). This tension may be a contributing factor in the trend for many Chinese-Malaysian young people to go abroad to further their education. Furthermore, as a British colony English was the language of government administration and the language of instruction in schools. In 1970 the transition from English to Malay as the language of instruction began. However, English is still a required secondary language in the school curriculum. This English fluency would explain why Chinese-Malaysians choose to attend post secondary institutions in

English speaking countries. Study 2 provides us with the opportunity to consider the effects that autonomy support and cultural internalization have on the well-being of a sample of Chinese-Malaysians who are now residing in diverse English-speaking Western countries. The relative collectivistic and vertical nature of the Chinese-Malaysians culture will additionally provide a more stringent test of the validity of the hypothesis that autonomy support and internalization are cross-culturally relevant.

Methods

Participants

One hundred and twenty-five Chinese-Malaysian student sojourners completed a survey over the Internet. Participants consisted of 55 males and 70 females. Participants mean age was 20.8 and they had been living abroad for an average of 2.0 years. Sixty-six of the participants were studying in Australia, 19 in Canada, 22 in the United States, and 18 in the United Kingdom.

Procedure

Participants were recruited by the second author who is from Malaysia. She contacted former high school peers (via email, instant messenger, etc.) who then proceeded to contact other Malaysian students, using a snowball technique. In addition, she contacted Malaysian student societies at universities throughout Australia, North America and the United Kingdom. Participants completed a self-report questionnaire over the Internet. Given that the participants were all studying in English institutions the questionnaire was administered in English.

Research Materials

Demographic information. Participants were asked to indicate their gender, age, where they were studying, and the length of time they had been there.

Measures. Participants completed the following scales that were identical to those completed in study 1: autonomy support, relative autonomy of internalization, and psychological well-being. The *autonomy support* measure was comprised of the same seven items, however, this time they asked about the "parents" as opposed to assessing maternal and paternal autonomy support separately. Cronbach's alpha was .70. (One item from the original scale was deleted because it did not correlate with the full scale in this sample). *Cultural internalization* was assessed in the exact same manner as in study 1. Here however, participants were asked about Chinese culture and the country where they were sojourning. Cronbach's alphas for both cultures on each subscale were satisfactory (all above .87). Once again Ryff and Keyes (1995) measure of psychological well-being was used. Cronbach's alpha for this scale was .79.

Results and Discussion

Preliminary Analyses: Means, Standard Deviations and Correlations

The means, standard deviations and correlations for all the key variables are presented in table 2. It can be seen that all of the hypothesized relations are evident in the correlation table. Autonomy support was significantly positively associated with heritage internalization and well-being. Both heritage and host cultural internalization were significantly positively associated with well-being.

Insert table 2 about here

Central Analyses

Hierarchical multiple regression analyses were used to examine our central hypotheses. The first two analyses examined the relation of parental autonomy support to

heritage internalization and well being. In each analysis, the first set of variables included gender, country in which sojourning (dummy coded), and length of sojourn. Autonomy support was entered next. The interaction terms of gender by autonomy support, length of sojourn by autonomy support, and country by autonomy support were entered as a third set of predictors. Because no interaction term was significant we report the multiple R, F test, and significance levels prior to their entry into the regression.

The regression of heritage internalization revealed a multiple R of .35 F (6, 118) = 2.82, $p < .05$. Parental autonomy support was the only significant predictor of heritage internalization, beta = .30, $p < .001$. The regression of psychological well-being revealed a multiple R of .31, F (6,118) = 2.01, $p = .06$. Parental autonomy support was the only significant predictor of well-being, beta = .29, $p < .01$. These results suggest that regardless of the country in which students are sojourning, autonomy supportive parenting experiences are associated with heritage internalization and higher well-being.

Another analysis examined the relation of heritage and host internalization to well-being. Gender, country in which sojourning (dummy coded), and length of sojourn were entered first. Heritage internalization was entered next, followed by host internalization. The interaction terms of gender by internalization, country by internalization, and length of sojourn by internalization were entered last. Because one significant interaction emerged, we report the multiple R, F test, and significance levels after all variables had been entered into the regression equation.

The regression of well-being by internalization revealed a multiple R of .46, F (17, 107) = 1.66, $p = .06$. Heritage internalization was significantly positively related to well-being (beta = .25, $p < .01$). Host internalization was not significantly related to well-being (beta = .17, p = .14). The only other significant effect to emerge was an interaction between the dummy code for US residence and host internalization, beta = .21, $p < .05$. To understand this

interaction we examined the relation of host culture internalization separately for Malaysians sojourning in the US versus in the other three countries. This revealed that host internalization was especially strongly related to psychological well-being for sojourners in the US ($r = .62$, $p < .01$) compared to those residing in the United Kingdom, Australia, or Canada ($r = .15$, ns). These results suggest that the full internalization of heritage cultural values is positively associated with psychological well-being regardless of country of residence but that the relation of host internalization to well-being may depend on the particular country in which one is sojourning.

Mediation Analyses

Given that the heritage internalization results mirrored our findings from study 1, we thought it warranted to check for mediation (Figure 2). Using the Sobel test we found support for a mediation (t=2.27, p<.05).

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Insert figure 2 about here

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Chinese-Malaysians, sojourning in diverse Western cultures, who have parents who support their autonomy, were more likely to internalize the norms of their heritage culture. This increase in internalization was, in turn, associated with improved well-being. To summarize, with a Malaysian sample we were able to replicate the heritage culture findings we obtained with a multicultural Canadian sample. Interestingly, the relation of host culture internalization to higher well-being was obtained only for Malaysians studying in the United States.

General Discussion

The purpose of these two studies was to consider the influence of autonomy supportive, versus controlling, parenting on immigrants and sojourners. Autonomy

supportive parents are able to take their child's perspective, provide their child with a rationale for why they should engage in a given activity and offer their child choice. It was hypothesized that autonomy supportive parenting would foster autonomous cultural internalization and well-being. Furthermore, we expected to replicate the finding that autonomous cultural internalization is associated with enhanced well-being. These hypotheses were tested with two distinct samples. The first sample consisted of immigrants from diverse cultures who were living in a multicultural urban area in Canada. The second sample comprised Chinese-Malaysians sojourners who were living throughout North America, the United Kingdom and Australia. The results obtained in the two studies were relatively consistent across these diverse samples.

In both studies parental autonomy support was associated with internalization of the individual's heritage culture; these two variables in turn were associated with enhanced well-being. It was interesting to note that in the second study host internalization was particularly adaptive for the sojourners now residing in the United States. While this relation does need to be interpreted with caution due to the limited sample size, it suggests that when a minority is adapting to a culture that emphasizes rapid assimilation, feeling autonomous about the cultures norms is even more critical to the minority person's well-being. Overall the findings of the two studies demonstrate the importance of autonomy support and internalization to the well-being of immigrants and sojourners. The consistency of these findings across two such unique samples highlights the underlying similarity of the processes that are associated with well-being for immigrants and sojourners regardless of where they emigrate from or migrate to.

An interesting issue raised by these two studies is the meaning of autonomy support. As previously described autonomy support is typically considered to be comprised of three elements: perspective taking, provision of a rationale, and choice. Researchers have

emphasized the importance of providing an individual with choice as being critical to fostering a person's autonomy (Deci & Ryan, 2000). If this is the case, it begs the question of whether or not there are cultural differences in how autonomy support is perceived and therefore implemented. In particular, studies with Eastern samples have shown that young children who engage in a task selected by their mothers actually perform better on that task then those children who choose for themselves (Iyengar & Lepper, 1999). Self-determination theorists would argue that this study does not contradict the importance of autonomy, but merely highlights that it is possible to be autonomously interdependent. Someone who is autonomously interdependent would place significant value on the choices of significant others thereby allowing them to autonomously engage in a task selected by that person (Deci & Ryan, 2000). If this is the case then perhaps choice is not the keystone of autonomy support, or at least not outside of Western cultures.

The possibility that the meaning of autonomy may differ across cultures is important to consider further since a previous study comparing American and Russian students' perceptions of autonomy support and internalization found mean differences on these constructs, such that autonomy support and internalization were significantly lower in the more authoritarian context that exists in Russia, compared to the US (Chirkov & Ryan, 2001). Thus, it may be that a country's relative emphasis on hierarchical versus egalitarian values does influence the propensity for members of these countries to demonstrate autonomy support or autonomously internalize the associated values. Unfortunately, the components of autonomy support could not be reliably distinguished based on the nature of the measure employed in this study. However, even though the level of autonomy support and autonomous internalization may differ across cultures, our results suggest that the impact of processes related to autonomy and well-being are identical across cultures. That is, for both Canadian immigrants and Chinese-Malaysians sojourners, parental autonomy support and

autonomous internalization of cultural guidelines were significantly positively associated with well-being. These results support Deci and Ryan's (2000) claim for the universal importance of the satisfaction of the need for autonomy across cultures. Previous studies by Chirkov et al. (2003) and Sheldon et al. (2004) have made the same point.

The present study focused on the extent to which parents' cultural socialization of immigrant children included support of autonomy. Self-determination theory, however, highlights the importance of considering support for two other intrinsic needs – for competence and relatedness. Future work should examine the extent to which parents promote cultural internalization by providing competence-enhancing structures and opportunities to experience relatedness. Future work should also consider the role of other factors such as peers, the media, or globalization in cultural internalization.

In conclusion, the results of this study demonstrate that parental autonomy support is associated with autonomous cultural internalization and well-being for immigrants to Canada and sojourners from Malaysia. The uniformity of these findings indicate that parental autonomy support is one factor that enables diverse ethnic minorities to achieve their goals of maintaining their cultural heritage, participating in the new society, and maintaining their level of psychological well-being in diverse cultural contexts.

Table 1

Means, Standard Deviations and Correlations across all variables, Study 1

	Mean	S.D.	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Parental Autonomy Support	4.9	0.9	.90**	.92**	.35**	.18	.32**	.24*
2. Maternal Autonomy Support	5.0	1.0		.69**	.27**	.15	.31**	.06
3. Paternal Autonomy Support	4.8	1.0			.34**	.17	.30**	.32**
4. Heritage Internalization	9.1	7.0				.49**	.39**	.26*
5. English Internalization	12.3	5.3					.47**	.30**
6. Well-being	4.0	0.5						.49**
7. Peer rated Well-being	4.2	0.4						

**$p<.01$
*$p<.05$

Table 2

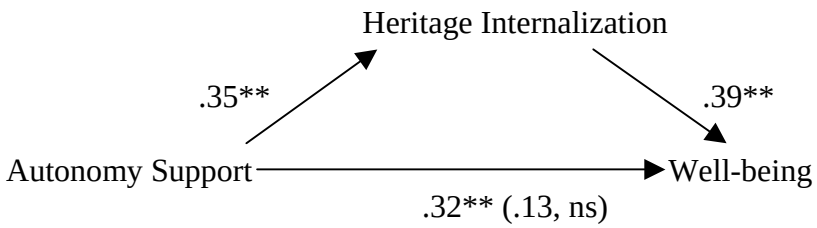
Means, Standard Deviations and Correlations for all variables, Study 2

	Mean	S.D.	2	3	4
1. Autonomy Support	4.5	0.9	.33**	.09	.27**
2. Heritage Internalization	8.6	7.3		.58**	.23**
3. Host Internalization	10.1	7.0			.24**
4. Well-being	3.7	0.5			

**p<.01
*p<.05

Figure 1

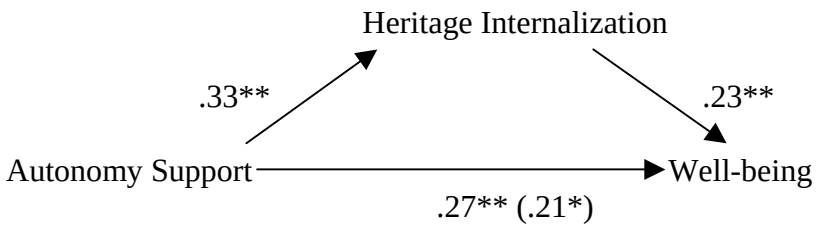
Mediational Analysis of Autonomy Support, Heritage Internalization, and Well-being, Study 1



***p*<.01

Figure 2

Mediational Analysis of Autonomy Support, Heritage Internalization, and Well-being, Study 2



**p<.01
*p<.05

Transition from Chapter 3 to Chapter 4

Thus, far the two previous papers have demonstrated that autonomous internalization and identity integration are associated with global well-being. Autonomous internalization is fostered by having parents who support the individual's autonomy. It appears that the influence of autonomy support was largely independent of the nature of the individual's heritage culture, as demonstrated with the Canadian sample. The influence of autonomy support was also relatively independent of the specific western country the individual chose to reside in, as evidenced with the Malaysian sample.

Having gained a greater understanding of the factors that influence how multicultural individuals regulate and conceptualize their multiple cultures and how this impacts on their overall well-being, it seemed necessary to also consider how possessing multiple cultural identities would impact on the individual's daily functioning. To this end, the third paper involved a study that used the Rochester Interaction Record, an event contingent procedure which requires participants to keep track of their social interactions and rate them on several dimensions. The results of this study were expected to demonstrate the impact of how a multicultural person's heritage culture is viewed on the nature and quality of their social interactions. It was further expected to demonstrate the importance of how a multicultural identity is conceptualized, such that participants who integrated their identity were hypothesized to be at a psychological advantage throughout the course of their daily interactions.

Chapter 4

Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology (in press)

On the Risk of Being a Cultural Chameleon: Variations in Collective Self-Esteem Across Social Interactions

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Abstract

The present study used an event-contingent daily recording strategy, the Rochester Interaction Record, to examine the relation of perceived evaluations of a multicultural person's heritage group to the nature and quality of their social interactions. Hierarchical linear modeling showed that having an interaction partner who positively evaluated one's heritage culture was associated with significantly enhanced interaction intimacy, disclosure and quality, as well as with feelings of personal acceptance. Moderator analyses revealed that individuals who possessed a chameleon-like cultural identity and those who had low public collective self-esteem were particularly reactive to how their heritage group was being evaluated.

On the Risk of Being a Cultural Chameleon: Variations in Collective Self-Esteem Across Social Interactions

The primary purpose of identities, including cultural identities, is to maintain, secure and cement a person's connection to social groups (Ryan & Deci, 2002). Through a process of internalization individuals strive to autonomously identify with the norms and values of the culture into which they are primarily socialized (Chirkov, Ryan, Kim & Kaplan, 2003). This cultural internalization process is complicated for immigrants, who must find ways to internalize the guidelines of secondary, and even tertiary, cultural identities, and simultaneously find ways to integrate these sometimes seemingly disparate identities (Downie, Koestner, ElGeledi & Cree, 2004).

In Canada the proportion of the population that was born outside the country, as of the 2001 census was the highest that it has been in 70 years at 18.4% ("Census of Population," 2003, January 21). At the same time as the immigration rates are rising the source countries are also changing. Traditionally the vast majority of immigrants to Canada were from European nations like the United Kingdom, Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands. Since the 1990's, however, these patterns have reversed such that only about 20% of immigrants are now coming from Europe, whereas 58% are arriving from Asia and the Middle East ("Census of Population," 2003, January 21). At these rates it is projected that by 2017 one out of every five people in Canada will be a visible minority ("Study: Canada's Visible Minority Population in 2017, 2005, March 22). This shift is also evident in the United States where, in 1999, 75% of immigrants were visible minorities ("Census Figures Show," 2000, August 30). Thus, the number of people who find themselves in the position of negotiating multiple, potentially disparate, cultural identities is growing rapidly.

The present study was aimed at examining the social experiences of multicultural individuals. For the purposes of this study a multicultural person refers to an immigrant or

ethnic minority who identifies a heritage culture that is distinct from the dominant host culture. Such individuals are expected to have learned, to varying degrees of proficiency, at least two distinct behavioural responses that enable them to competently interact within the context of their heritage culture and their host culture. This study will assess how the perceived evaluation of a multicultural individual's heritage culture influences their daily social interactions. Specifically, we examine how an identity designed to meet one's need for relatedness may, at times, become a barrier to relatedness.

Personal and Collective Self-Esteem as a Sociometer

Memberships in social groups are desirable to the extent that they foster positive relations with others. The need to relate to others and to feel that one belongs is widely accepted as universal (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Deci & Ryan, 2000). According to sociometer theory this need is so central that what we perceive as self-esteem is nothing more than an evaluative judgment of how desirable a person feels they are as a group member or relationship partner (for a review see, Leary & Baumeister, 2000). In other words, self-esteem is a sociometer that detects changes in the extent to which a person is being accepted or rejected by relevant others in their social environment. Thus, when self-esteem is high this is a reflection that an individual is accepted and valued in their relationships and in the social groups to which they belong. Alternatively, the experience of low self-esteem is functionally important to the extent that it brings to the individual's attention the possibility that they may be rejected, thereby alerting the person of the necessity to do something about it. Thus, according to sociometer theory, the self-esteem motive exists, not to maintain self-esteem, but rather to minimize the possibility of rejection and ostracism (Leary, 1999). Therefore, self-esteem tends to be more strongly related to how a person perceives that others are evaluating them rather than to what may be considered more objective indicators of the person's ability or worth (Leary & Baumeister, 2000).

If personal self-esteem is derived from a person's desirability as a member of a social group, then one may reasonably ask what role does the perceived desirability of this social group play in influencing a person's self-esteem and behaviour. Indeed, given sociometer theory's explanation for the functional significance of personal self-esteem, it should follow that esteem for one's social groups should operate in much the same manner. Individual's evaluation of their social groups should similarly serve as an indication that the group is valued and members of the group are sought after and highly regarded. For this reason the present study will ask participants to indicate how they feel they are personally being appraised and it will further ask them to rate how their heritage culture is being appraised by their interaction partner to consider the effects of the sociometer on the characteristics of their interactions.

A separate line of research has examined the effects of esteem for one's social groups. Crocker and Luhtanen (1990) have argued that just as individuals differ in their personal self-esteem, they may also differ in terms of their collective self-esteem, or in other words, how they evaluate the social groups they belong to. Based on social identity theory, Luhtanen and Crocker (1992) proposed that two of the key components of collective self-esteem are how a person privately evaluates their social group and how they feel their social group is publicly evaluated. Research into the effects of collective self-esteem found that, for samples of White, Black and Asian university students in the United States, collective self-esteem was positively related to psychological adjustment (Crocker, Luhtanen, Blaine & Broadnax, 1994). This relationship was still significant for the Black and Asian sub-samples when personal self-esteem was partialed out. Thus, collective self-esteem is associated with minorities' overall well-being, independent of feelings of personal esteem. The present study will assess feelings of collective and personal self-esteem in the context of social interactions. It is expected that how one's group is evaluated will influence how the individual feels they

are personally being evaluated and how they behave in the interaction.

In applying sociometer theory to collective self-esteem in the context of social interactions, the public dimension of this scale may best reflect a sociometer. The impression that one's heritage culture is being positively or negatively evaluated by one's interaction partner, or in sociometer terms, that one's culture is being accepted or rejected, is expected to influence the intimacy, disclosure, quality and how one feels one is personally evaluated in an interaction. For example, consider a multicultural university student interacting with a fellow student. This fellow student could be a member of the dominant culture, a member of another minority culture, or someone from the same heritage culture. If the student perceives that her interaction partner has unfavourable views of her heritage cultural identity, this perception may have an impact on how the interaction unfolds. For instance, the student may attempt to protect against this perceived rejection by interacting in a guarded, impersonal manner. No doubt, she will also perceive the interaction as unpleasant, and she may feel that not only her heritage culture has been rejected, but that she has been personally rejected by extension.

It is expected that the detrimental effects of a negative evaluation of one's heritage culture will be independent of whether one is interacting with someone from outside one's heritage culture, or someone within one's heritage culture. Indeed, the evaluation of an interaction partner of the same heritage culture may be expected to vary (because of individual differences in collective self-esteem and identification) and it may be particularly impactful if someone from one's own heritage culture seems to view the culture negatively. Thus, whether one's heritage culture is positively or negatively received in an interaction is expected to influence the manner in which a multicultural person interacts, the quality of that interaction, and how they feel about themselves. Moreover, it seems likely that the direct effect of how one's heritage culture is evaluated in the course of one's interactions may be

moderated by the dispositional tendency to see one's heritage culture as generally valued and respected (i.e. public collective self-esteem).

Negotiating Multiple Cultural Identities

A further factor may influence an individual's propensity to be more reactive to how their cultural group is evaluated. In the context of social interactions this reactivity would involve altering their social behaviour in response to whether they perceive their cultural group to be accepted or rejected by an interaction partner. Specifically, we hypothesized that how an individual manages their multiple cultural identities will moderate the effects of heritage rejection on the qualities of the person's social interactions. For immigrants and ethnic minorities the preferred and most adaptive strategy for managing their heritage and host culture seems to be that of adopting a bicultural identity (LaFromboise, Coleman & Gerton, 1993). However, it is now recognized that even a bicultural identity can be differentially enacted (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). The empirical literature on this relatively recent conceptualization has tended to focus on whether the individual perceives their dual (or multiple) cultural identities as compatible or oppositional (Benet-Martinez, Leu, Lee & Morris, 2002, Downie et al., 2004, Haritatos & Benet-Martinez, 2002). Achieving a compatible identity would require the individual to mindfully consider how their cultural identities relate to one another and integrate those cultures in such a way that they form a coherent sense of self (Ryan & Deci, 2002). This does not preclude the possibility that such an individual may find themselves alternating their behaviour in response to the context of a situation as the alternation model of biculturalism would propose. However, when alternation occurs the person with an integrated, compatible cultural identity would not experience the same feelings of internal conflict and pressure to regulate their behaviour as someone with an oppositional cultural identity. Thus, a person with a compatible cultural identity and a person with an oppositional identity may both find themselves in situations where they are behaving

in a respectful deferential manner with their elderly relatives and in a more raucous boisterous manner with their friends from the host culture. The fundamental difference is that the person with the compatible identity would feel comfortable while responding to the differing environments; whereas the oppositional person would attribute the differences in their behaviour to irresolvable cultural differences and would feel compelled to enact a particular role in each situation. In other words the compartmentalized individual may feel as though they are behaving in a chameleon-like manner.

Previous research has shown that individuals who adopt a compartmentalized or chameleon-like approach to managing their identities had decreased well-being compared to those who have integrated identities as indicated in both self- and peer-reports (Downie et al., 2004). Given the apparent risk of adopting such a strategy it seemed important to consider why a person would behave in this manner. A recent study found that individuals who perceive that their parents were controlling with regard to their heritage culture (i.e. strictly enforced values, participation in heritage activities, etc.) were more likely to become cultural chameleons (Downie & Koestner, 2004). It appears that controlling parenting predisposes a person to orient towards whatever cultural demands are imposed on a situation. For these individuals the problem is not so much that their behaviour may differ depending on the cultural context of the situation they are in, but rather that their cultural identities are not integrated in such a way that they can feel as though they are being themselves even when the situation requires them to exhibit different aspects of themselves (Sheldon, Ryan, Rawsthorne & Ilardi, 1997). In other words, behaving like a chameleon per se may not be as problematic as feeling like one is a chameleon.

The fact that cultural chameleons are consciously aware that they are altering their behaviour suggests that they are worried that if they do not do so they may not receive the approval of those they are associating with at the time. This would suggest that chameleons

may have lower public collective self-esteem compared to multicultural persons who have a more integrated identity. In terms of sociometer theory this would suggest that chameleon-like individuals are highly attuned to possible rejection based on cultural criteria. We anticipate that cultural chameleons will be highly reactive to the evaluation they perceive their interaction partner is making of their heritage culture. Thus, for people with a chameleon-like identity, who feel like they are phenomenally different people in response to the cultural composition of a situation, their conception of themselves may be very closely connected to how their culture is being perceived by their interaction partner. We hypothesize, that a cultural chameleon's willingness to behave intimately will be directly tied to how they believe their heritage culture is being evaluated. Indeed, the quality of their interactions and how they feel they are personally being evaluated will be directly tied to how they perceive their heritage culture is being appraised.

Present Study

The purpose of the present study was to examine the influence of heritage group evaluation on the daily interactions of multicultural individuals. Specifically, an event-contingent daily recording strategy, the Rochester Interaction Record, was used to determine the relation of heritage evaluation to the nature and quality of multicultural individuals' social interactions. As a preliminary test of our hypotheses we expected to find, using dispositional measures, that adopting a chameleon-like approach to managing one's multiple cultures would be associated with lower public collective self-esteem (CSE) and reduced psychological well-being. In terms of social interactions, we hypothesized that interactions in which participants felt their heritage culture was positively evaluated would be experienced as more intimate, more disclosing, more personally validating and more enjoyable. Furthermore, it was anticipated that how a person negotiates their multicultural identity would influence the role of heritage evaluation in their social interactions. Adopting a chameleon-

like approach and having lower public CSE were expected to predispose multicultural people to be more affected by the valence of their partner's evaluation of their heritage culture.

Methods

Participants

Ninety-eight ethnic minorities participated in the present study. Two individuals failed to indicate their heritage culture on the questionnaire and were excluded from all analyses. The remaining 96 minorities consisted of 32 males and 64 females, with a mean age of 20.2. Sixty-six percent of the participants were first generation immigrants. The average number of years that they had been living in Canada was 5.7. Participants represented over 45 different ethnic groups and were selected in roughly equal proportions from the following regional categories: sub-Saharan Africa, Middle East and North Africa, Eastern Europe, Western Europe, Latin America and Caribbean, East Asia and Pacific, and South Asia.

Procedure

Participants were recruited from a paid participant pool at a large English-speaking university in Montreal, Canada. Respondents were paid $30. Participants came into the lab to complete a self-report questionnaire consisting of demographic information as well as the scales described below. Upon completing the survey, participants were given detailed instructions on how to fill out the Rochester Interaction Records (Wheeler & Nezlek, 1977). For one week following the initial lab session participants completed one record following every social interaction they had that lasted longer then 10 minutes. Thus, each participant completed a unique number of interaction records depending on how many conversations they had over the course of one week. On average participants completed 36.4 reports about their interactions at discrete time points throughout the week. At the end of this time period participants returned the completed records and were given the opportunity to ask questions,

along with a debriefing sheet which provided them with more information on the study and an email address to contact the researcher if they had any further questions or wished to know the results of the study.

Research Materials

Rochester Interaction Record (RIR). The interaction record was event-contingent in that one record was to be completed for every social interaction the participants had that lasted 10 minutes or longer. Interactions could occur in person, over the phone, or via the Internet (i.e. chatting online, emailing did not qualify because it is not interactive). Participants were asked to complete each record as soon as possible after each interaction. We utilized a slightly modified version of the RIR (Wheeler & Nezlek, 1977) to assess social interactions. Each record included the date, time and length of the interaction, relationship with the interaction partner (e.g. friend, sibling, etc.), ethnicity of the partner, and language of the interaction. Participants rated the interactions on the following dimensions: intimacy, personal disclosure, partner disclosure, quality, heritage acceptance and personal acceptance. These single-item measures were rated on 7-point Likert-type scales. Thus, when rating the *intimacy* of an interaction, participants would be asked to indicate where the interaction fell on a continuum ranging from (1) "superficial" to (7) "meaningful". For *personal and partner disclosure* participants were asked to rate each separately on a continuum from I/other disclosed: (1) "very little" to (7) "a great deal." *Quality* of the interaction was assessed by asking participants to rate the interaction from (1) "unpleasant" to (7) "very pleasant."

The *heritage acceptance* item on the RIR asked participants to make an evaluative judgment of how their heritage culture was being perceived by their interaction partner. This heritage evaluation item reflects the public collective self-esteem (CSE) dimension on Luhtanen and Crocker's (1992) CSE scale. Keeping in mind sociometer theory's premise that esteem reflects an assessment that one is being accepted or rejected, participants were asked

to make a valenced judgment about how their interaction partner's evaluation of their heritage culture impacted them. The interaction was rated on a 1-7 scale where one end indicated "the interaction made me feel very poorly about my heritage culture" the mid-point, indicating that the discussion was neutral or had no bearing on how they felt about their heritage culture, was "the interaction did not impact how I felt about my heritage culture," and on the other end "the interaction made me feel very good about my heritage culture." Similarly, a second item assessed the *personal acceptance* in the interaction. Participants were instructed to make a valenced judgment of how they felt they personally were being evaluated by their partner. Based on the behaviour of their partner participants rated the interaction on a 1-7 scale where one end of the scale indicated that "the interaction made me feel very poorly about myself" at the mid-point "the interaction did not impact how I felt about myself' and the other end indicated that "the interaction made me feel very good about myself." In this respect participants were instructed to assess how their interaction partner was evaluating their culture and them personally.

Demographic information. Participants were asked to indicate their gender, age, ethnic identity, generational status, year of arrival in Canada, and the language spoken predominantly in their home.

Cultural chameleonism. The purpose of this scale was to determine participant's perception of compatibility between their heritage culture and the dominant cultures, and how they manage conflicts between cultural demands. This scale has previously been referred to as a measure of multicultural identity integration (Downie et al., 2004), however in order to clearly distinguish it from the independently developed measure of bicultural identity integration (Benet-Martinez et al., 2002; Haritatos & Benet-Martinez, 2002) we renamed the measure *cultural chameleonism*, as the items reflect the chameleon-like property of changing one's identity to fit one's cultural surroundings. The 15-item scale asked participants about

their perceptions of cultural disparity, the ease with which their cultures coexist, and their preferred strategy for interacting with individuals from each of the three cultures (i.e. separately or simultaneously). Sample items include “How I present myself changes based on the cultural context of a particular situation” and “I prefer to associate with my friends from different cultures separately.” Participants rated the extent to which they agreed with each item; potential responses ranged from “strongly disagree” (1) to “strongly agree” (9). Cronbach’s alpha was 0.79.

Collective self-esteem. Luhtanen and Crocker’s (1992) 16-item scale was used. The scale is comprised of 4 subscales: private, public, importance to identity and membership. Respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with each statement on a 7-point scale that ranged from “strongly disagree” 1 to “strongly agree” (7). For the complete scale Cronbach’s alpha was .84. When the subscales were considered separately the alpha’s were .92, .78, .80 and .79 for private, public, importance and membership respectively. While the complete scale was administered for the purposes of this study our primary interest was in the public dimension of the scale, as this was the only dimension about which we had made specific hypotheses.

Psychological well-being. Ryff and Keyes' (1995) 18-item scale was used. The scale consists of three items for each of six-dimensions. The six dimensions are personal acceptance, positive relations with others, autonomy, environmental mastery, purpose in life and personal growth. Thus, the well-being measure aggregated the scores across each of the six dimensions. Respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed with the statements on a 5-point scale ranging from "strongly disagree" (1) to "strongly agree" (5). Thus, the well-being measure was calculated by aggregating the scores across each of the six dimensions. Cronbach’s alpha for the complete scale was 0.77.

Results

Overview of the Analyses

The relations between the dispositional variables, cultural chameleonism, collective self-esteem and psychological well-being, are presented first. Next, descriptives are briefly provided for the interaction data and the influence of heritage evaluation on the characteristics of a multicultural person's social interactions is examined. Specifically, at a within-person level, the influence of the perceived heritage evaluation on intimacy, disclosure, personal evaluation and interaction quality is described. The possibility that either personal evaluation, or the characteristics of the person whom one is interacting with, are the driving force behind the effects of heritage evaluation is also considered. Finally, at the between-person level, the moderating effects of adopting a chameleon-like approach to managing one's cultural identity and having dispositionally high public CSE is examined.

Preliminary Analysis

Analyses were conducted to determine the relations between the dispositional measure of chameleonism and collective self-esteem and psychological well-being. Chameleonism was unrelated to the composite measure of collective self-esteem, however, it did relate to the public CSE subscale (r=-.30, p<.01), such that participants who scored high on cultural chameleonism were more likely to indicate that they did not feel that their heritage culture was positively regarded by others. Additionally, chameleonism was significantly associated with reduced well-being (r=-.25, p<.02). Thus, it appears that individuals who adopt a chameleon-like approach to managing their multiple cultures are also more likely to report that they feel their heritage culture is less positively regarded and that they personally have lower well-being.

Central Analysis

On average participants reported having 36.4 (SD = 20.4) social interactions throughout the week. Of these interactions 31% were conducted with ingroup members, while the remaining 69% were with outgroup members. Eighty-three percent of the interactions were with family members or friends, while 17% were with co-workers and acquaintances. The majority of the interactions were completed in English (73.6%), while 16.3% occurred in the heritage language, 9.2% were in French and 0.9% of the interactions were in some other language.

The interaction data is a hierarchically structured data set, where repeated interaction measures (level-1) are nested under participants' dispositional measures (level-2). Thus, Hierarchical linear modeling (HLM) with the restricted maximum likelihood method of estimation (Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002) was chosen as the most appropriate statistical analytic procedure for this type of data set (Nezlek, 2003). HLM analyses integrate the different levels of generality into one multi-level equation allowing for the simultaneous but independent investigation of within- and between-persons variability.

The means and standard deviations for all level-1 and level-2 variables are presented in Table 1. It can be seen that participants generally rated their interactions positively, especially in terms of quality and feelings of self-esteem[1].

Insert Table 1 about here

Influence of Heritage Evaluation on the Outcome Measures

As a first step the unconditional models for each of the dependent variables were tested in order to determine how the between- and within-person variance of each interaction

outcome was partitioned. Intra-class correlations were calculated from the within- and between-variance of the unconditional models (Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002). Results showed that for each outcome, there was more variability between interactions than between participants (i.e., intimacy, within-person = 80.33% and between-person = 19.67%; personal disclosure, within-person = 77.74% and between-person = 22.26%; partner disclosure, within-person = 80.00% and between-person = 20.00%; personal evaluation, within-person = 70.29% and between-person = 29.71%; quality, within-person = 83.02% and between-person = 16.98%).

Next, we tested our hypotheses that a positive heritage evaluation would be associated with enhanced intimacy, disclosure, a positive personal evaluation and quality of an interaction. During HLM analyses, all continuous level-1 variables were centered on each participant's mean, while all level-2 variables were centered on the sample mean (Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002). Percentages of explained variance for each effect in the present paper were calculated by comparing the within- and between-person variance before and after adding level-1 and level-2 predictors respectively (Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002, see Kreft & de Leeuw, 1998, for other points of view).

Results showed that when heritage evaluation was positive, the interaction was rated as more intimate ($\gamma_{10} = .28$, $p < .001$; grand mean for intimacy (γ_{00}) = 4.79), participants disclosed more ($\gamma_{10} = .28$, $p < .001$; grand mean for personal disclosure (γ_{00}) = 4.38), perceived their interaction partner as more disclosing ($\gamma_{10} = .23$, $p < .001$; grand mean for partner disclosure (γ_{00}) = 4.62), felt they were personally evaluated more positively ($\gamma_{10} = .35$, $p < .001$; grand mean for personal evaluation (γ_{00}) = 5.60) and enjoyed the interaction more ($\gamma_{10} = .37$, $p < .001$; grand mean for quality (γ_{00}) = 5.71). Heritage evaluation accounted for 5.67% of the variance in a participant's level of intimacy, 5.61% of personal disclosure, 4.89% of partner's disclosure, 14.46 % of personal evaluation and 13.90% of the variance in

interaction quality. In sum, interactions in which one feels one's heritage culture is being positively evaluated are likely to be experienced as more intimate, more disclosing, more personally accepting and more enjoyable.

It was important to determine whether the effects of heritage evaluation on the characteristics of the interactions could be accounted for by some third variable. In particular, we wanted to be certain that heritage evaluation uniquely predicted interaction intimacy, disclosure, and quality, independent of feelings of how one was being personally evaluated. Additionally, we felt it was also important to rule out the possibility that the characteristics of one's interaction partner were driving the positive effects of heritage evaluation. It may be that the reason culturally affirming interactions are associated with enhanced intimacy, disclosure and quality is due to the fact that such interactions are more likely to occur with ingroup members, or with people whom one is close to. Therefore, interactions were coded as being either with a member of one's ingroup (another member of one's heritage culture) or with an outgroup member (i.e. English-Canadian, French-Canadian, or other). Interactions that occurred with family members and friends were distinguished from those with employers, co-workers, or acquaintances. The analyses were then repeated controlling for personal evaluation, as well as the ingroup/outgroup and close/not close distinctions. In all cases, heritage evaluation was still a significant predictor of intimacy ($\gamma_{10} = .10$, $p = .01$; grand mean for intimacy (γ_{00}) = 5.22), personal disclosure ($\gamma_{10} = .08$, $p < .01$; grand mean for personal disclosure (γ_{00}) = 4.69), partner disclosure ($\gamma_{10} = .09$, $p = .01$; grand mean for partner disclosure (γ_{00}) = 4.86), and quality ($\gamma_{10} = .23$, $p < .001$; grand mean for quality (γ_{00}) = 5.61). This suggests that heritage evaluation has an influence on the characteristics of one's interactions regardless of one's feelings of personal evaluation; the ethnicity of one's interaction partner, or the relationship one has with them.

Cultural Chameleonism and Public CSE as Moderators of Heritage Evaluation

Analyses were conducted to test the hypothesis that the level-2 variables of cultural chameleonism and public CSE would moderate the effects of heritage evaluation on intimacy, personal disclosure, partner disclosure, personal evaluation and interaction quality. The generalized model is presented in Table 2.

Insert Table 2 about here

Both cultural chameleonism and public CSE significantly moderated the effects of heritage evaluation on intimacy, and personal evaluation. However, chameleonism was the only significant moderator of personal and partner disclosure, and neither chameleonism nor public CSE moderated the effects of heritage evaluation on interaction quality. Including chameleonism and public CSE as a moderator enabled us to account for 24.31% of the between-person variability of relationships between intimacy and heritage evaluation, 11.02% of the between-person variability of relationships between personal disclosure and heritage evaluation, 13.98% of the between-person variability between partner disclosure and heritage evaluation, and 32.02% of the between-person variability between personal evaluation and heritage evaluation. Thus, individuals who adopt a chameleon-like approach to managing their multicultural identity and who were low in public CSE were more likely to behave less intimately and feel that they personally were more negatively evaluated in interactions when their heritage culture was poorly evaluated. However, perceived personal and partner disclosure in response to a negative cultural evaluation was solely moderated by whether or not the individual had a chameleon-like identity. Finally, neither chameleonism nor public CSE were significant direct predictors of mean levels of intimacy, personal disclosure, partner disclosure, personal evaluation or quality.

Discussion

The primary goal of this study was to consider the effect of having a multicultural identity on one's daily social interactions. Our findings indicated that multicultural participants who adopted a chameleon-like approach to managing their cultural identities were more likely to feel that their heritage culture was not generally valued by others and they reported having lower well-being. Moreover, in their daily social interactions how they perceived their heritage culture was being evaluated by their interaction partner, played a central role in determining how they rated other aspects of their interactions. Overall, during interactions in which a multicultural person felt that their heritage culture was being positively evaluated they were more likely to perceive the interaction as intimate, they disclosed more and perceived their interaction partner as more disclosing, they enjoyed the interaction more, and they were more likely to indicate that they felt personally accepted. Furthermore, we were able to expand on previous research (Crocker et al., 1994) by demonstrating that collective self-esteem had an impact on participant's well-being in their social interactions independent of personal esteem.

The results of this study also revealed that two personality factors, namely, cultural chameleonism and public collective self-esteem, seemed to predispose multicultural persons to be more reactive to how their heritage culture was perceived across all their interactions. Reactivity was evidenced in their accentuated reduction in intimacy, disclosure, as well as in increased feelings of personal rejection, when they felt that their heritage culture was being negatively evaluated. It is particularly interesting that cultural chameleons and participants with low public CSE showed more disruptions in the intimacy of their social behaviour when they felt their culture was devalued. Extensive research and theory has suggested that the experience of intimacy is essential to satisfying social relationships (Reis, 1990). Future research needs to address whether the reduced intimacy experienced by cultural chameleons

and individuals with low public CSE is an adaptive response to dealing with actual discrimination from their interaction partner, or if instead these individuals are being rejection sensitive, that is anxiously anticipating and strongly reacting to rejection from ambiguous cues (Downey & Feldman, 1996).

The finding that cultural chameleonism and public CSE did not moderate the effects of heritage evaluation on quality was somewhat unexpected. Further research is needed to clarify this relationship, however, it may be that while having an integrated identity or generally feeling that one's heritage culture is positively regarded may enable an individual to be less reactive in terms of how they behave in an interaction when they perceive their heritage culture is being negatively viewed, it may be less effective in inoculating the individual against the negative affective quality that such an interaction would foster[2].

This study adds to the growing body of research on the way in which immigrants and ethnic minorities manage their multicultural identity by further demonstrating the pervasiveness of the impact of integrating or compartmentalizing one's identity. A chameleon-like identity has been associated with well-being deficits (Downie et al., 2004); this study replicated that finding and indicated that such an identity can hinder functioning in daily interactions. In addition, a separate line of research has shown that the level of integration of one's identity impacts social cognition (Benet-Martinez et al., 2002; Haritatos & Benet-Martinez, 2002). These studies have found that Asian Americans presented with a prime for Asian culture will respond to a culturally discerning task in a manner congruent with the Asian prime, if they have an integrated identity. If they have a compartmentalized identity they will respond as though they had been primed with American culture. Benet-Martinez and colleagues (2002) have proposed that biculturals who have an unintegrated identity see cultural cues as being highly valenced. We suggest that this increased valence, which is associated with contrast effects in social cognitive responses (Benet-Martinez, et al.,

2002), leads multicultural individuals to see their social interactions as equally highly valenced. This study would suggest that the valenced reaction of one's interaction partner to one's heritage culture has further implications for the individual's behaviour in their daily interactions.

The present study has limitations. First, all of our measures in the interaction record were single-item measures which may limit the inferences we can draw from them. In particular, our single item measure of heritage evaluation does not allow us to clearly distinguish between the experiences of being neglected, which may be experienced more passively, and being outright rejected, which may be seen as a more active process. While sociometer theory contends that there is little difference between the experience of ambivalence or neutrality and rejection (Leary & Baumeister, 2000) some developmental research would suggest otherwise. Previous studies with children have demonstrated that rejected and neglected children differ in self-reported subjective distress (Asher, Parkhurst, Hymel, & Williams, 1990) and later risks for maladjustment (Ollendick, Weist, Borden, & Greene, 1992). Similarly, different outcomes might be obtained for multicultural individuals who feel that their cultural identity is being neglected as opposed to rejected.

A further limitation is that our sample was composed entirely of university students. However, developmental psychologists have noted that the ages of 18-25 are a critical period of "emerging adulthood" in which individuals must resolve the questions of "who am I" and "how do I want to act in the world" (Arnett, 2002). In this regard it would seem that emerging multicultural adults are an ideal sample to explore the questions raised in this paper. Finally, the study was carried out in Montreal Canada, a context that can be considered in itself bicultural with a majority French-Canadian culture thriving beside a traditional English-Canadian culture. While, this may be a unique cultural environment, we would argue that this does not limit the generalizability of our basic finding that identifying with a minority culture

poses additional challenges to the way a person organizes their identity and this has an impact on their social interactions. However, given that Canada is a country that has a multiculturalism policy that encourages immigrants and ethnic minorities to develop and maintain a bi- or multi-cultural identity our findings may not replicate exactly for immigrants to countries that emphasize rapid assimilation to the host culture.

Based on the results obtained in this study it seems clear that future research on bi- or multi-culturalism needs to further distinguish how a person who does identify with multiple social identities conceptualizes and enacts those identities. These results indicate that having a chameleon-like versus an integrated multicultural identity has an impact on both the general well-being and the daily functioning of multicultural individuals. Consideration should also be given to whether multi-racial persons who simultaneously identify with each of their racial groups also exhibit this same pattern of integration or chameleonism with similar effects. While multiracial individuals still represent a small minority of the population mixed unions are becoming more common, with the number of such couples increasing by 35% between 1991 and 2001 in Canada alone ("Study: Mixed Unions," 2004, June 8). As such, researchers will need to devote more attention to this diversified, growing population.

In conclusion, the present study highlights the centrality of the heritage culture in the daily interactions of multicultural individuals. The perception that one's heritage group was being positively viewed was associated with an increase in the intimacy, disclosure, feelings of personal acceptance and enjoyment of the interaction. Moreover, having a chameleon-like identity or low public CSE seems to predispose multicultural people to be more reactive to perceived rejection of their heritage culture. These findings suggest that the pattern of immigrants' social interactions may be contingent on how accepting versus rejecting their partners are of their heritage culture.

Table 1

Means and standard deviations for all level-1 and level-2 variables with the Tricultural Sample

	Mean	**Standard Deviation**
Level-1 variables		
Intimacy	4.75	1.72
Self-disclosure	4.36	1.74
Other disclosure	4.66	1.64
Quality	5.72	1.19
Heritage evaluation	5.23	1.36
Personal evaluation	5.59	1.22
Level-2 variables		
Cultural chameleonism	4.92	1.15
Public CSE	4.80	1.35

Table 2

Conditional models for each of the outcomes variables (i.e., intimacy, self-disclosure, other disclosure, personal evaluation, and quality), with chameleonism and public CSE as a level-2 predictor of means and moderators of slopes

Equations

Level-1: $\text{Outcome}_{ij} = \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j}(\text{Heritage evaluation}) + r_{ij}$

Level-2: $\beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}(\text{Chameleonism}) + \gamma_{02}(\text{Public CSE}) + u_{0j}$
$\beta_{1j} = \gamma_{10} + \gamma_{11}(\text{Chameleonism}) + \gamma_{12}(\text{Public CSE}) + u_{1j}$

Results

	Outcomes									
	Intimacy		Personal disclosure		Partner disclosure		Personal evaluation		Quality	
Fixed Effect	Coefficient	*p* value	Coefficient	*p* value	Coefficient	*p* value	Coefficient	*p* value	Coefficient	*p* value
Means as outcomes, β_{0j}										
Intercept (γ_{00})	4.79	.001	4.38	.001	4.62	.001	5.60	.001	5.72	.001
Chameleonism (γ_{01})	-.00	.44	.00	.86	-.00	.94	-.00	.35	.00	.78
Public CSE (γ_{02})	-.00	.95	.01	.70	-.00	.87	.01	.62	.00	.73
Slopes as Outcomes, β_{1j}										
Intercept (γ_{10})	.26	.001	.27	.001	.22	.001	.33	.001	.36	.001
Chameleonism (γ_{11})	.01	.03	.01	.03	.01	.02	.01	.001	.00	.30
Public CSE (γ_{12})	-.01	.04	-.01	.54	-.00	.55	-.02	.03	-.01	.36

Footnotes

[1] Given that our sample consisted of primarily first and second generation immigrants we conducted an initial t-test to determine whether generational status would influence participant's scores on the dispositional measures or on the mean characteristics of their social interactions. None of these tests were significant.

[2] It is important to note that Crocker and Major (1989) argued that perceiving that others are reacting negatively to one's heritage culture can have self-protective effects that will promote adjustment. The current results do not seem directly relevant to that work for two reasons. First, in the vast majority of interactions multicultural participants did not feel that their heritage culture was being rejected, unlike in Crocker and Major's (1989) studies where rejection was directly manipulated. Second, most interactions that people have that last in excess of 10 minutes are with family members, friends and co-workers, unlike in the work of Crocker and Major (1989) where the other person was someone they had never met. Rejection may have been more potent in these situations because participants were motivated to be valued and accepted by these people (Leary & Baumeister, 2000). Whereas rejection by peripheral persons, for whatever reason, may be upsetting, or disturbing, it may still have no impact on self-esteem, if the person's need for belonging have been adequately met by significant others (Baumeister & Leary, 1995).

Chapter 5

General Discussion

The purpose of the present thesis was to consider the importance of autonomy to the functioning and well-being of ethnic minorities. SDT has hypothesized that there are three universal needs, the satisfaction of which is requisite for optimal psychological health. The needs for competence and relatedness are generally accepted in the literature. In contrast, the need for autonomy has been widely disputed. Thus, the present thesis applied SDT's conceptualization of autonomy to the internalization of minorities' multiple cultural identities. The results demonstrated that in fact autonomy is relevant to how minorities relate to their multiple cultures. The thesis then further elaborated on how these multiple cultural identities influenced ethnic minorities daily social functioning.

Value of Autonomy

The results of the study presented in chapter 2 showed that across a wide range of cultures, autonomous internalization of one's heritage culture was associated with cultural competence and with self- and peer-reported positive affect. Furthermore, autonomous internalization of secondary and tertiary cultures was similarly associated with cultural competence and affect. These results were replicated and extended in chapter 3. With a diverse sample of ethnic minorities living in Montreal, Canada, host and heritage cultural internalization was associated with global well-being. With the Chinese-Malaysian sojourners however, heritage internalization was the only significant predictor of well-being across all participants. Perhaps the exclusive prediction of heritage internalization in this sample had to do with the transiency of sojourners. For minorities who intend to stay in a specific culture for a prolonged period of time their

ability to feel autonomous when affiliating with that culture may be particularly important for their well-being. Alternatively, sojourners in recognition that they are only in a place temporarily may not feel it necessary or beneficial to engage too much in host cultural practices. This distancing may undermine the need to autonomously regulate oneself with respect to that culture.

The results obtained in chapter 3 further elucidated how autonomous internalization can be fostered. Across the two distinct samples autonomy supportive parenting was positively associated with heritage culture internalization. Thus, whether one's parents resided in the host culture with the participant, or remained behind in the heritage culture, if they supported the participant's autonomy with respect to how the participant regulates their heritage culture, this positively impacted on their internalization. An autonomy supportive parent would "care how their child truly feels about participating in heritage cultural practices" and "allow the child to choose how he or she will participate in their heritage culture." The child is enabled to express dissatisfaction with certain cultural guidelines and encouraged to find their own personal way of integrating cultural beliefs. The results indicate that across a wide-range of ethnicities and across diverse Western host cultures, autonomy support fosters internalization, and internalization in turn is positively associated with well-being.

Influence of Cultures Values

Importantly, the results of this thesis also supported another of SDT's assertions. SDT predicts that all cultural forms are not equally internalizable (Deci & Ryan, 2000). In particular, hierarchical norms are thought to be more difficult to internalize to the extent that they may limit a person's capacity to satisfy their needs for autonomy and

relatedness. In chapter 2 using independently derived measures of a culture's relative emphasis on hierarchical relations versus egalitarianism we found that participants from more hierarchical cultures less readily internalized the norms of their cultures. This effect was particularly striking given that these individuals no longer even reside in that culture. It suggests that the ambient values of a culture may inhibit minorities' propensity to internalize the culture. This lack of internalization has further implications for the extent to which the person will retain their competence in that culture and experience positive affect when interacting in that culture.

The results in chapter 2 and 3 also highlight another of SDT's predictions regarding the functional utility of autonomy, even in cultures where it is not explicitly valued (Chirkov, Ryan & Willness, 2005). In chapter 2, across all cultures, autonomous internalization was associated with well-being. Similarly, in chapter 3 autonomy support was also predictive of well-being, even when the relative hierarchy of a culture was controlled for (study 1). The Chinese-Malaysian sample further confirmed this relationship. Despite the relative cultural value placed on hierarchy, autonomy supportive parenting was associated with higher well-being. Taken together the present results indicate that a culture's values may influence an individual's proclivity to internalize the specific values, however, irrespective of the relative hierarchy of a culture, autonomy appears to have psychological benefits.

Conceptualization of the Multicultural Identity

The results of this thesis are also relevant to how ethnic minorities conceptualize their multiple cultural identities. In chapter 2, having an integrated cultural identity, that is the perception that one's cultures are complementary as opposed to conflictual, was

significantly associated with self-reported well-being and was marginally associated with peer-reported well-being. Chapter 4 further explored this relationship in the context of daily social interactions. It was first established that how one's heritage culture was evaluated by one's interaction partner influenced one's behaviour and perceptions of oneself during the social interaction. This relationship was moderated by feelings of public collective self-esteem and the tendency to adopt a chameleon-like approach to managing one's cultural identity. Specifically, compartmentalizing one's cultural identities appeared to predispose participants to be highly reactive during interactions in which they felt their heritage culture was not well received. In these interactions intimacy and disclosure as well as feelings of personal esteem suffered. Thus, while culture specific internalization does predict well-being, for minorities the lack of a fully integrated multicultural identity does appear to be costly in terms of their global well-being and in the feelings of personal esteem and relatedness that they may hope to derive from their daily interactions.

Limitations

The present thesis has several limitations. First, all of the studies used university students as participants. Therefore, with the exception of the Chinese-Malaysian sojourners, most of our participants may have had little input in the decision to immigrate. It would be important to consider how a minority's willingness or hesitancy to immigrate will influence their motivation towards engaging in the new host culture and towards maintaining their heritage culture. Further, this motivation may also vary depending on the person's age upon immigrating. While first and second generation immigrants were equally capable of autonomously internalizing the norms of both

cultures, perhaps if the studies had included participants who immigrated during adulthood they would have shown a different pattern of internalization.

Second, the data is cross-sectional in nature thus no inferences can be made regarding the trajectory of host and heritage cultural internalization. Previous research has indicated that upon immigrating minority's well-being can dip dramatically as they experience nostalgia and a sense of "paradise lost" (Boski, 1994). Some immigrants may have a tendency to idealize their heritage culture and derogate their new host culture. Perhaps this would be related to feeling controlled or pressured by the new host culture. A longitudinal study would be necessary to determine whether in fact recent immigrants do experience the host culture as controlling, and if so, at what point do they begin to feel more autonomous about the culture.

Finally, all the studies were correlational in nature. While efforts were made to avoid self-report biases by including peer-reports, objective ratings of cultures, and by using the event-contingent Rochester Interaction Record, experimental studies will be needed to clarify the relationships among the constructs we have examined. Although it is not possible to manipulate who will immigrate, a growing body of research is examining the social cognitive implications of being bicultural (Benet-Martinez, Leu, Lee & Morris, 2002; Hong, Morris, Chiu & Benet-Martinez, 2000). These studies randomly activate one cultural identity to determine its effect on such things as social inferences. In terms of identity integration it may be interesting to activate one culture and then determine how that influences the person's attitudes towards values lauded in the opposing culture. The idea being that those with an integrated identity should have a clear sense of their own values, while those with a chameleon-like, or

compartmentalized, identity may be much more susceptible to altering their responses based on which culture is primed.

Implications

In spite of these limitations, the present research does speak to the question of how minority's can improve their well-being in the new host culture. Previous research has shown that minority's who can competently function in both their heritage and host cultures have improved well-being (LaFromboise et al., 1993). The present research would further suggest that not only is possessing the requisite skills to be considered culturally competent important, but having autonomous reasons for acquiring those skills will further improve one's cultural competence and one's well-being. Thus, in support of SDT's claims, autonomy does appear to be valuable across cultural contexts. Furthermore, autonomous internalization is most likely to be fostered in an autonomy supportive environment. With respect to the host culture this would suggest that immigrant receiving nations that would like minority's to internalize the host culture would be well-advised to avoid having a "controlling" immigration policy. Whether the national policy emphasizes assimilation or multiculturalism if it is implemented in a manner where the individual feels "compelled" to act or identify themself in a specified way these results would suggest that under these conditions they will have difficulty internalizing the norms of the culture. Failure to internalize the culture will be associated with reduced host culture competence and with well-being decrements.

Similarly, the present results indicate that parents who are attempting to socialize their children with respect to their heritage culture will be more successful to the extent that they support their child's autonomy. This is not to be confused with being lax or

permissive (Grolnick & Farkas, 2002). An autonomy supportive parent will still impose limits and requirements on their child. For instance, a child may be required to attend language classes. However, the parent would impose the limits in a manner that the child would understand the rationale behind the request, feel that their perspective is acknowledged and understood, and feel that they do have some choices in the matter. The parent would also need to be willing to relinquish the requirement once the child is developmentally capable of making that decision. Autonomy supportive parenting would thus encourage a child to internalize the value of an activity because the child personally recognizes the value in the task, rather then because their parents recognize the value in it.

More generally, it may be possible that the present line of research is relevant to a broader population. Arnett (2002) has argued that one of the effects of globalization is that many young people are developing a bicultural identity. Along with their local identity, they may also develop a global identity. This can be particularly challenging if the values of the global culture conflict with traditional cultural values (Arnett, 2002). Subsequently, an ever increasing number of people are experiencing the challenge of learning to negotiate multiple, potentially disparate identities. Moreover, it is increasingly being recognized that how individuals conceptualizes their multiple identities will have an influence on them and on their relationships (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). The present research would suggest that global teens' well-being will thrive to the extent that they feel they do not feel that there are irresolvable differences between their local culture and the global culture.

Directions for Future Research

There are several future directions for this line of research. In light of the finding that host internalization was only a significant predictor of well-being for Chinese-Malaysians sojourners in the United States (Chapter 3, study 2) a more thorough study of the influence of a country's immigration policies seems necessary. The present results would indicate that in host cultures where rapid assimilation is considered highly desirable the need for autonomous internalization may be quite rapid if one is to ensure one's well-being, no matter how briefly one expects to live there. By extension, minorities in cultures where immigration is quite restrictive and not encouraged for particular groups (e.g. Moroccans in the Netherlands) may find that autonomous internalization of the host culture has little impact on their global well-being. Thus, it may be possible that internalization is either unlikely, or not advantageous, when full participation in a cultural context is discouraged.

Along, the same lines, future research also needs to address immigrants' transition to non-Western cultures. As a more stringent test of SDT's hypothesis it would be important to show that autonomy is not only relevant when one moves to a culture where autonomy is valued, but, that it is also important for the individual irrespective of whether they come from a culture where autonomy is clearly valued or not, who then moves to a non-Western culture where autonomy is not overtly endorsed. According to SDT one would expect that the same processes evidenced in the present research would apply in any non-Western context.

Another interesting issue to consider is whether a person can intentionally forego satisfaction of one need for a time without experiencing a decrement in his or her well-

being. A longitudinal study of immigrants to Canada found that 60% were not employed in the same occupational field as they had been before coming to Canada ("Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada," 2003, September 4). Thus, some immigrants may find themselves in the position of willingly sacrificing their capacity to satisfy the need for competence in the host culture to provide for themself, and perhaps their family, the opportunity to satisfy their needs for autonomy and relatedness. Would such an individual have the same level of well-being as the immigrant who is able to retain employment in their chosen field? If the sacrifice was made to ensure the well-being of others, for example one's children, then perhaps this would provide the individual with an alternative means of deriving competence that would be equally effective.

Finally, would it be possible for a minority to differentially satisfy their needs for autonomy, competence and relatedness through different cultural contexts throughout the day? For example, if a person satisfied their needs for competence and relatedness when interacting in their heritage culture and their need for autonomy when interacting with the host culture. Would such a person have the same levels of well-being as an individual who was able to satisfy all three needs in either cultural context? It may be that their well-being in each context would be slightly lower, but as long as the other needs are only being neglected and not actually thwarted in each context, then they may still have the same overall high levels of daily well-being. In other words, perhaps it is possible to "store up" need satisfying experiences and reap the benefits at the end of the day.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the present thesis serves to support Self-Determination Theory in highlighting the adaptive value of internalizing important guidelines in an autonomous

manner. Across diverse cultures, autonomous internalization and autonomy-supportive contexts were consistently associated with enhanced well-being. Also in support of self-determination theory, egalitarian cultural values were more readily internalized then hierarchical norms. Furthermore, the findings regarding the value of autonomy supportive parenting provide further evidence of the similarity of the processes across cultural forms. In contrast, to what one might expect based on the cultural relativism premise it appears that there may be a set of universal needs that when satisfied, through various culturally appropriate means, will foster enhanced psychological well-being.

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Appendices